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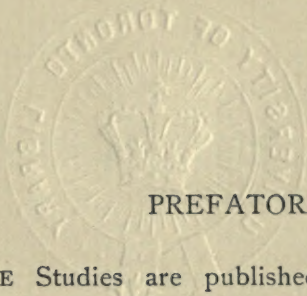


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The articles in the present volume are contributed by former pupils or present colleagues of William Watson Goodwin, Eliot Professor of Greek Literature Emeritus, in commemoration of the happy completion of fifty years since he received his first degree in Arts from Harvard College, and of forty-one years since he became Eliot Professor.

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## ΜΑΘΗΤΑΙ ΕΤΑΙΡΟΙ

ΣΥΜΦΙΛΟΛΟΓΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΜΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΥΝΤΕΣ

# WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN

## ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ

Καὶ πάνυ χαίρομεν ἡμεῖς, ὦ φίλε καὶ τιμιώτατε — καίπερ σφόδρα λυπούμενοι ὅτι ἐβδομηκοντούτει γενομένῳ σοὶ παύσασθαι δοκεῖ τοὺς νεανίας ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημίᾳ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ διδάσκοντι — παραλαμβάνοντες δὴ παρὰ σοῦ ταῦτα διανοηθέντος καιρὸν τινα καλὸν τοῦ δηλοῦν καὶ διορίζειν πρὸς ἅπαντας ὅσον δὴ σ' ἀγαπῶμεν καὶ προσκυνούμεν· καὶ ταῦτ' εἰκότως καὶ προσηκόντως ποιούμεν· διδάσκαλος μὲν γὰρ ἦσθ' ἡμῖν σὺ πολυμαθὴς καὶ φιλόμουσος, ἐταῖρος δὲ φρονιμώτατος καὶ δίκαιος, ἡγεμὼν δ' εὐγνώμων καὶ σοφώτατος· μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἀρχὴν τιν' ἐν ἡμῖν ἤρχές τε καὶ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἄρξεις, ἡμῖν δ' ἡδομένοις ἐστὶ τοιούτου τοῦ τυράννου ὑπηκόοις εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ οὐ μόνον τὸν τρόπον ἐπαινοῦμεν τοῦ βίου, ὅπερ ἡμᾶς τε καὶ ἄλλους πρὸς φιλίαν προσέλκεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ σὲ θαυμάζομεν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις· διὰ τούτων γὰρ καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐπὶ πλεόν ἠΰξησαι τὴν γραμματικὴν, ἔνδοξος δὴ παρὰ πᾶσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις γενόμενος ὡς γραμματικὸς ὢν ἀκριβέστατος, ὅστις γε τῷ ἐρευνᾶν τε τὰ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλώττης καὶ μελετᾶν πολλὰ καὶ κάλ' εὐρῶν αὐτὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις τοσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτ' ἔδειξας ὥστε μηκέτι σκοτεῖν εἶναι μηδενί

τὰ πρὸ τοῦ πᾶσι σκοτεινὰ μηδὲ χαλεπὰ τὰ χαλεπά. τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀγάσαιοτο σοῦ τοῦ βιβλίου ἐκείνου ὅπερ νέος μὲν ἔτ' ὦν ἔγραψας γέρων δὲ γενόμενος διώρθωσας, τὴν τέχνην λέγομεν ἐκείνην τὴν περὶ τὰς τε ἐγκλίσεις τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησιν ῥημάτων καὶ τοὺς χρόνους; καὶ τίς οὐκ ἂν συνήδοιτο σοὶ καρπουμένῳ δόξαν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκδόσει τῇ σῇ τοῦ ἐνδόξου ἐκείνου λόγου τοῦ ῥήτορος, ἥπερ καὶ σαυτῷ στέφανον περιέθου; καὶ μὴν τίς ἂν σοῦ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων τε παλαιῶν ἀναγιγνώσκοντος ἀκούσας καὶ διεξηγουμένου καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ Πινδάρου, Αἰσχύλου, Θουκυδίδου, Πλάτωνος, Δημοσθένους, Ἀριστοτέλους, δύναιτ' ἂν τῶν τότε ἐπιλαθέσθαι; ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐπιλείψει γ' ἡμᾶς ἢ ἡμέρα διεξιόντας τὰ σοὶ πεποιημένα καὶ γεγραμμένα καὶ εἰρημένα, οὕτως ὄντα καὶ ὠφέλιμα καὶ ἥδιστ' ὥστε καὶ αἰεὶ δεῖν ἐμμένειν τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν εὖ πεποιθότων. τούτων τοίνυν οὐκ ἀμνημονήσαντες ἡμεῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν μάλιστ' ἐνθυμούμενοι, καὶ τοιαύτη δὴ τῇ μνήμῃ κεχαρίσθαι βουλόμενοι, τάδε τὰ συγγράμματα σοὶ δίδομεν, δόσιν ὀλίγην τε φίλην τε.

Σὺ μὲν οὖν καὶ πανταχοῦ — εἴτ' ἀποδημῶν, εἴτε παρ' ἡμῖν τὸν λοιπὸν βίον ὥσπερ τὸ πρότερον διάγων, εἴτ' οὖν ἐν τῇ Κληρουχικῇ ἐκείνῃ νήσῳ μεθ' ἡσυχίας διατρίβων πλείστης ὅπου δὴ πρῶτην καὶ οἱ πρόγονοί σου ἀνάπαυλαν λέγονται πορίσασθαι τῶν πόνων — εὖ πράττοις καὶ κατὰ πάντα, χατέρους δὲ πολλοὺς πόλλ' ἔτ' ἔτη διατελοίης, ἅμ' αἰεὶ γηράσκων, κάλλιστα τὸ καλῶς τε καὶ εὖ ζῆν διδάσκων, οἶον δὴ σ' εἶδομεν ὄντα τοιοῦτος αἰεὶ καὶ ὦν. εὐτύχει.



Χαῖρε, πάτερ μέγ' ἄριστε, καὶ εὐμενέως τάδε δέξαι·  
καρπὸν σοὶ φέρομεν σῶν ἀπὸ φυταλιῶν.  
ἡμεῖς γὰρ σὲ φίλην νεαροὶ χερὶ χεῖρα λαβόντες  
Ἑλλάδος εὐανθῆ γαῖαν ἀφικόμεθα.



## CONTENTS

	PAGE
ON ELLIPSIS IN SOME LATIN CONSTRUCTIONS . . . . .	1
By J. B. Greenough.	
CATULLUS <i>vs.</i> HORACE . . . . .	7
By William Everett.	
A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF CERTAIN MANUSCRIPTS OF SUETONIUS' LIVES OF THE CAESARS . . . . .	19
By Clement Lawrence Smith.	
IAMBIC COMPOSITION OF SOPHOCLES . . . . .	59
By Isaac Flagg.	
TZETZES'S NOTES ON THE <i>Aves</i> OF ARISTOPHANES IN CODEX URBINAS 141 . . . . .	69
By John Williams White.	
THE ORIGIN OF SUBJUNCTIVE AND OPTATIVE CONDITIONS IN GREEK AND LATIN . . . . .	109
By Wm Gardner Hale	
UNPUBLISHED SCHOLIA FROM THE VATICANUS (C) OF TERENCE .	125
By Minton Warren.	
STUDIES IN SOPHOCLES . . . . .	137
By John Henry Wright.	
PLATO AS A PLAYWRIGHT . . . . .	165
By Louis Dyer.	
LUCIANEA . . . . .	181
By Francis G. Allinson.	
MUSONIUS IN CLEMENT . . . . .	191
By Charles Pomeroy Parker.	
PLATO, LUCRETIUS, AND EPICURUS . . . . .	201
By Paul Shorey.	

	PAGE
THE ORIGIN OF THE STATEMENTS CONTAINED IN PLUTARCH'S LIFE OF PERICLES, CHAPTER XIII . . . . .	211
By Harold N. Fowler.	
NOTES ON THE SO-CALLED CAPUCHIN PLANS OF ATHENS . . . . .	221
By J. R. Wheeler.	
MISCELLANEA . . . . .	231
By Morris H. Morgan.	
THE PREPOSITION <i>AB</i> IN HORACE . . . . .	249
By John C. Rolfe.	
NOTES ON A FIFTEENTH CENTURY MANUSCRIPT OF SUETONIUS . . . . .	261
By Albert A. Howard.	
THE ANTIGONE OF EURIPIDES . . . . .	267
By James M. Paton.	
THE USE OF $\mu\etá$ WITH THE PARTICIPLE WHERE THE NEGATIVE IS INFLUENCED BY THE CONSTRUCTION UPON WHICH THE PAR- TICIPLE DEPENDS . . . . .	277
By George Edwin Howes.	
NOTES ON THE TRAGIC HYPOTHESES . . . . .	287
By Clifford Herschel Moore.	
AN OBSERVATION ON THE STYLE OF S. LUKE . . . . .	299
By James Hardy Ropes.	
THE USE OF $\mu\etá$ IN QUESTIONS . . . . .	307
By Frank Cole Babbitt.	
NOTES ON THE OLD TEMPLE OF ATHENA ON THE ACROPOLIS . . . . .	319
By William Nickerson Bates.	
ON THE GREEK INFINITIVE AFTER VERBS OF FEARING . . . . .	327
By Charles Burton Gulick.	
ARGOS, IO, AND THE <i>Prometheus</i> OF AESCHYLUS . . . . .	335
By Joseph Clark Hoppin.	

## ON ELLIPSIS IN SOME LATIN CONSTRUCTIONS

BY J. B. GREENOUGH

IT is fitting that for this volume, dedicated to Professor Goodwin, I should write upon a syntactic subject; for it was through the reading of Professor Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses*, about 1870, that the idea of Syntax proper, a Syntax that should mean something, not involved in the mists of metaphysics, but plain and substantial, first occurred to me.

At that time there had been a tendency to explain many constructions by supposing an ellipsis of some expression which, when the nature of the moods was better known, proved to be unnecessary. Hence arose an opposing tendency to eschew ellipsis altogether as a means of syntactic explanation. This tendency was assisted by the impossibility of supplying directly in many cases an ellipsis satisfactory in form, and hence it became the prevailing one, and, though otherwise disposed, I joined in this tendency and came to explain constructions without resort to ellipsis. But in the course of my lectures on the subject I was later forced to recognize a principle which I jocosely called, in allusion to Alice in Wonderland, the "Cheshire Cat theory," that is, that an elliptic construction could naturally arise without definite ellipsis, or, in other words, you could have the grin without the cat.

Thus in such phrases as *Vnde mihi lapidem? Quo mihi fortunam?* it would be difficult to supply any definite verb with certainty on which the words should have originally depended, but no one can doubt that they are in the accusative as objects of some verb or verbs once used in such idioms, but now forgotten and no longer definitely conceived; else why in an inflected language like the Latin are accusatives used at all? The verb has vanished, but its power to govern the accusative as a general idea remains.

So there are also two forms of construction which are apparently exclamatory: the accusative and infinitive, and the subjunctive with *ut*. Both of these regularly take an interrogative particle which can have

no sense except as properly belonging to some suppressed clause. It is perhaps impossible to supply here any definite verb or verbs on which these constructions should depend, but it must be noticed that the two, though parallel, are different. The infinitive refers to a thought of something that has happened or is happening, thus suggesting a verb of saying. And we may compare the use of *dicam*, or the occasional use of *memorabo*, introducing what might as well have been an exclamation. The subjunctive, however, refers to something anticipated or feared, such as in a question might not unnaturally be introduced by a form "Do you bid me?" or "Am I ordered or requested?" Not that any definite form either of commanding or saying is any longer, if it ever was, conceived; but the vague idea of a verb is sufficient to carry an objective clause, and to this clause the original interrogative particle (all that remains of the suppressed sentence) is appended, to denote the question as it appeared originally in the construction. All of which points to a clause *felt* to introduce these exclamatory expressions in each case, but never expressed nor even definitely conceived. There may also be compared the cases in which we cannot be certain whether a clause is an exclamation of this kind or an interrogative depending on the words previously expressed. Such are Hor. *Sat.* 2, 5, 18, *Vtne tegam spurco Damae latus*. Here we cannot be sure whether *utne tegam* is an exclamation of Ulysses or a repetition by him of the supposed commands of Tiresias. Again, in Cic. *Cat.* 1, 22, *Quamquam quid loquor? . . . Te ut ulla res tangat?* the second clause is probably an exclamation, but might equally well be a purpose clause completing the preceding question. Such usages show the habit of the language to employ these clauses in an independent or semi-independent manner, out of immediate connection with the governing verb.

Certain forms of the subjunctive are often found in expressions either of wish or command, apparently independent, with *utinam* and *ut*, and the question of ellipsis has arisen in respect to these. *Vtinam* in such cases is undoubtedly interrogative and as such can introduce an independent clause. Hence no ellipsis is necessary or natural. The analysis is clearly "How shall the thing occur which is desired?" which passes into a wish that it might occur. The same is true of the rare use of *ut* in the same sense. But where the expression is one of command or the like, such an analysis seems impossible. In expressions of command

*ut (uti)* is only explicable, as *that* and the like in other languages, as a fully developed relative. If relative, it must require an antecedent, at least in idea, and therefore a clause must be supplied to contain that antecedent. The clause, as in the other cases, need not be precisely formulated. It is sufficient that it be vaguely conceived in the mind as an idea of "taking care" or "seeing to it" or the like. It is to be noticed that these expressions are found only in colloquial language, in which ellipsis is especially common. We may then well distinguish between these clauses of command and those of wish in which no ellipsis is necessary.

A construction about which much question has arisen appears in Cic. *T. D.* I, 115 :

*Nam nos decebat coetus celebrantes domum  
Lugere ubi esset aliquis in lucem editus, etc.*

Is there or was there ever in this a felt ellipsis of a condition? Certainly, if this referred to past time, as such forms often do, there would be no need of assuming any condition. There can be no doubt that a judgment can be expressed regarding the fitness or unfitness of a past action without any protasis either expressed or implied, in case the action was performed or in case it is not known whether it was performed or not. In such a case, therefore, there certainly need be no protasis implied.

But this expression also means, and preferably, "it ought *now* to be done so and so, *but is not*" (for a difference in intonation between the two meanings see *Harvard Studies*, vol. VII, p. 13 ff.). How from the first meaning, the natural one, it could possibly gain the second without an ellipsis of some conditional idea, it seems impossible to comprehend. Without such an idea, it would always remain an abstract judgment in past time as to the propriety of a certain course of action. I can conceive of no other way by which the change could be made except by a natural growth through the idea of a supposed case like "if the rule had made any difference." Thus the genesis would be through an expression like "The *rule* is (if you propose to follow it, or if you want to know) so and so." One can suppose a lawyer giving such advice to a person asking what to do with his tax assessment list. He might not express such a condition, nor even have it formulated, but

the emphasis on *rule* obviously implies that such a vaguely conceived idea is there. Such a judgment transferred to past time, as in *decebat* "it was fitting," would retain the same condition, now, in consequence of its non-performance, become contrary to fact.

In the same vague way as before the condition still remains. It is to be remembered that, according to this theory, formulation is not needed. It is sufficient if the notion of the condition is present to the mind, in however vague a form. It is through such a process as this, undoubtedly, that the then past becomes now conditionally present and thus the contrary to fact idea arises. Nothing but a condition combined with the inherent futurity of the judgment made in past time could turn it into a present contrary to fact.

In regard to the analogous construction in the *present* indicative where a judgment is expressed as to the fitness or unfitness of a course of action, we are not logically authorized to assume a condition where none is expressed, because there is nothing to show whether the first idea above mentioned is intended or the second, unless a condition is expressly added. Thus in the famous Horatian passage (Hor. *Odes*, I, 37)

*Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero  
Pulsanda tellus, nunc Saliaribus  
Ornare pulvinar deorum  
Tempus erat dapibus sodales, . . .*

as to the first action no condition need be assumed, as the judgment might be expressed absolutely, but as the second is impliedly not performed the whole would lose its logical force unless some condition were in the speaker's mind. But it is quite otherwise when a condition is expressly stated, as in Plaut. *Trinummus*, 1185 :

*Immo huic parum est:  
Nam si pro peccatis centum ducat uxores, parum est.*

There seems no necessity for a condition to the first *parum est*, but the second one has one; hence, though the action is performed, the judgment is shown to be conditional by its reference to the condition actually expressed.

On the contrary, when the *subjunctive* is used in potential expressions, as it is with other verbs than those of necessity, etc., a condition is



always present to the mind, as in *velim, videas, cerneres*, though, as in the last case, its expression would be almost absurd. It cannot be too often reiterated that in a conditional sentence a conclusion would be illogical without a corresponding member of some form, however vague, and the only two uses that can be traced of the subjunctive in the Indo-European languages are the hortatory (probably itself a conditioned future, see my *Latin Subjunctive, passim*) and the conditional. So we may fairly assume that the presence of a subjunctive is a sign of a condition of some kind unless the mood is hortatory in its origin, which is impossible here.

Taking together, then, these several constructions, it appears (1) that the Latin language is not inimical to the ellipsis of obviously important parts of the sentence, (2) that to prove an ellipsis it is not necessary to supply one in form, but that a vague idea, unformulated even in the mind of the speaker, is sufficient, if present, to perform a grammatical function even in so precise an inflected language as the Latin, and (3) that there are many cases in which logic demands the assumption of omitted parts of the sentence, either sporadically or as a regular phenomenon in the construction, so that we need not hesitate on account of any prejudice against ellipsis to explain constructions by it where logic seems to require.



## CATULLUS *vs.* HORACE.

BY WILLIAM EVERETT

TO those who were studying Latin poetry in England forty years ago, and who now, like Cicero and Atticus, are beginning to hear the foot "*aut jam impendentis, aut certe adventantis senectutis,*" there are two teachers' names which shine with a peculiarly mellow lustre, John Conington and Hugh Munro. They were very different, — as different as two Britons can well be. Scotland and Lincolnshire, Shrewsbury and Rugby, Cambridge and Oxford, were the contrasted influences which had trained two natures more radically unlike than the most variant of these pairs. It is only a proof of the unexhausted wealth of Classical literature, and especially of Latin poetry, that it should have afforded labor for a lifetime — labor unwearied and enthusiastic — to two such different men.

In one thing, as all their pupils well knew, they were alike. The authors to which they gave their lives were as real to them as the authors of their own land. Virgil abode in Conington's heart as truly as Shakespeare; Catullus was as living a man to Munro as Burns. That astounding fallacy, that Latin and Greek are dead languages, never stood out in its native absurdity more clearly than in the teaching of those men.

It was almost inevitable that they should review each other's publications. Most certainly, if they were not competent to this work, there was no third man in England more so. Accordingly, Munro having reviewed the first volume of Conington's Virgil in 1860, Conington reviewed Munro's Lucretius in 1864. In the course of this criticism — in the Edinburgh Review — he raised a question on the comparative poetic force of the Ciceronian and Augustan ages — Lucretius and Catullus as opposed to Virgil and Horace. Munro took up this subject in his second edition; Conington replied in an Oxford lecture; and Munro said his last word at the end of his book on Catullus in 1878. Conington's part of the controversy will be found in the first volume of his Miscellanies, where he quotes entire all that Munro had yet written.

The thesis which Conington steadily maintained, and which Munro as steadily combated, was that the poetic art of the Augustan poets is superior to that of their predecessors. It is hard to say of such a powerful intellect as Munro's that he failed to understand this proposition; and yet we are reduced to that alternative, unless we hold that understanding it he deliberately chose to shift the ground of discussion. Munro was a master of dialectic fence. In the days of the Scholastic philosophy he would have beaten Conington out of the field; and like all dialecticians, from Socrates down, he had no great aversion to an *ignoratio elenchi*. At all events, he carried the discussion, as far as Catullus and Horace went, into the question which of them had the greatest natural inspiration, the most penetrative and ardent poetic genius, and this he made almost synonymous with passion. When he has contrasted Lesbia, the living object of Catullus's *odium et amor* with Lalage, "not a girl with a flesh and blood heart beneath her ribs at all, but a mere doll stuffed with sawdust," he claims to have settled the question of whether "*Ille mi par*" is superior to "*Integer vitæ*."

A student of 1870 can hardly expect one of these days to take a lively interest in the discussions between his old teachers. Nor is it necessary to use so much "local coloring;" the controversy belongs to this day also: the Munrovan side of it has been maintained by Professor R. Y. Tyrrell in his book on the Latin poets, published in 1895. His judgment on the case *Catullus vs. Horace* comes to the same thing: — Catullus's lyrics are more truly the utterance of spontaneous passion; therefore they are better poetry than Horace's, which are a painful patchwork from the remnants of Greek looms.

Now it seems to me there is a really vital question at issue here; a question which does not lose its interest with 1864, or 1894. Indeed Professor Tyrrell quotes Goethe on his side, and whatever Goethe discussed is likely to be of permanent interest. As long as poetry is recognized to be a work of mingled art and genius, each modifying the other, so long will it be worth while to enquire into the relations of two such widely known authors as Catullus and Horace.

One side of the contention is so plainly put in Professor Tyrrell's book — which is very largely digested from Munro's — that I need not copy from a treatise easily accessible. The counter thesis of Conington, which he tells us he found it difficult to formulate even to himself, I

should state somewhat as follows :—Catullus, one admits, is the poet of passion ; “the glow of the breast thrilled him in sweet youth and sent him wildly into swift iambics,” and other metres too. To portray his own passions, and occasionally those of others, he employs a vast variety of metrical forms, many of them never attempted in Latin before. In this employment, he consults his passion and that only ; he either cannot or will not consider whether there is any other spirit in the universe which it behoves a poet to take account of. He is a law to himself in poetic construction ; or rather it is his law to have no law. Now if he is only writing for himself, — if his lyrics and iambics are merely Catullus speaking to Catullus and his friends, we may fairly say he has a right to compose as he will. But as soon as he not only writes but publishes, — as soon as we come to give him his place on the ridge of Parnassus, we must hold him amenable to laws which are as old as Homer. Macaulay speaks of Catullus, in a passage which Munro quotes with high approval, as intensely Greek. But he is one thing that no Greek, while writing seriously, ever was, — he is ἀκόλαστος ; there is one Greek virtue he obviously lacks, — σωφροσύνη, or if one prefers, ἐγκράτεια. He seems to put self-control as completely out of account in his poetry as he would put a cretic out of account in a hexameter verse. He is nothing if not passionate, — and passion assuredly is not an Hellenic trait.

On the contrary, I assert that Horace, whatever coldness, or unreality, — Professor Tyrrell calls it insincerity — there may have been in him, did respect the laws of poetic art. He recognized that in an ode, as much as in a Doric temple, there was the need of self-restraint, σωφροσύνη — of suppression, omission, composition, in order to make the verses do their utmost, and that as it should be done. Professor Tyrrell believes, following Munro, that he had no passion to let out, — that he, being only a bee, had no swan's or eagle's flight to check. Perhaps ; but our contention is that in art a bee may degenerate into a wasp, a swan into a goose, and an eagle into a vulture, if no temper but the satiating of their own instincts governs their flight. We contend that Horace drew honey even from pools and carcasses where Catullus found nothing but garbage and carrion.

If the phrase “the laws of poetic art” seems undefined, let us say simply “the law,” meaning thereby self-control, σωφροσύνη, itself.

Every true artist must recognize this principle, that there is something above his own instinct and passion; and although no one law, and no ten laws are applicable to every case, though it is his duty as well as right to apply specific restraints to specific cases, some restraint he always must apply, for the sake of the restraint itself.

This is of course the old question between *morale* and *technique*: need the artist have a conscience? And my contention is that he must at least have an artistic conscience. It may be true, as Catullus urged, that a loose poet may be a pure man. But to my eye and ear Catullus is guilty not only of personal but of poetic impurity. It is not whether he sincerely loved Lesbia, whereas Horace only pretended to love Lydia; it is not whether in his Epithalamium he paints a more touching union than Horace does in *Carm.* 2, xiii, but it is whether he has purged his picture of every thing which needs the excuse of sincerity and tenderness to make up for its raw colors, harsh outlines and ill-balanced composition.

It may be the case that morality or immorality does not enter into the question; that if Catullus's love for Lesbia is better told than Cowper's love for Mary, we must not ask if they stand at the two extremes of purity and impurity. But Catullus's love, pure or impure, was a selfish one, and if he tells it as selfishly as he feels it, he violates his poetic duty to the world in whose stock of delineated passion he seeks to deposit it. Cowper wrote with the same absolute sincerity that Catullus did; he despised and flung to the winds every fantastic and unreal poetic convention of his day. But he composed his poetry under the same sense of responsibility that he did his life, and without the fanaticism. The same man who could make a heroic stand against the prevalent idolatry of Pope bowed in reverence before the divinity of Milton. I aver that if Catullus could have lived to read Horace he might have learned something, not in the passion of loving, but in the art of writing, and the philosophy of this assertion is here:—whoever gives way to the selfish expression of his own emotion is sure to say things which others will find (*a*) unintelligible, (*b*) tedious, (*c*) flat, (*d*) repulsive. Every one of these faults is perfectly compatible with sincerity. To explain, to condense, to omit, and to soften are all forms of the grand principle of sacrifice or self-control.

To compare poem with poem, and show where Horace or Catullus is superior in artistic management was attempted by Conington, but not very successfully. Munro on his side did the same thing in greater detail; but, I cannot help saying, unfairly. He insisted on using select stanzas of Catullus as if they were average passages. Now Conington had protested against judging the Republican poets by the standard of select passages, because, as he maintained, one of their essential defects in poetic art was their inequality, — they suddenly rise to a very remarkable height, and then drop to a dead level, and sometimes to a base profound. He mentions a striking instance of this inequality in a much lauded line of Lucretius (V. 745) *Altitonans Volturnus et Auster fulmine pollens*, remarking on the utter flatness of the companion line *Inde aliae tempestates ventique sequuntur*.

Munro selects for comparison Catullus xxxiv with Horace *Carm.* 1, xxi, and sets off these two stanzas against each other:

Montium domina ut fores  
 Silvarumque virentium,  
 Saltuumque reconditorum  
 Amniumque sonantium.

Vos laetam fluviis et nemorum coma  
 Quaecumque aut gelido prominet Algido,  
 Nigris aut Erymanthi  
 Silvis aut viridis Cragi.

and justly claims very great superiority for the former. It is a very magnificent stanza. If Catullus had always written like it, he would have had few equals in the art of poetry of a certain strain — eminently musical, dignified and suggestive, though somewhat in the monotone. But he did not always write like it, — and in this very poem not one of the other five stanzas is anything but commonplace.

The ode of Horace is not a specially good one. The metre which he uses with so much effect in 1, v; 1, xiv; 3, vii; 3, xiv, because he allows the verses to play into each other, is here tied down to a precise stanza to which it is very far from being as well adapted as the Alcaic or Sapphic. But from the beginning to the end of the sixteen lines it

is sustained and subjected to some constructive principles. The hymn of Catullus runs on to twenty four lines, and might as far as one can see "extend from here to Mesopotamy." In Horace's ode, girls and boys have each their appropriate deity to celebrate; in Catullus's no one very clearly sees what the boys have to do with Diana at all. "*Notho lumine*" is a strangely astronomical and utterly un-Latin description of the light of the moon, inevitably recalling, not to its own advantage, the glorious name of "*Siderum regina bicornis*." The respective final stanzas, which naturally stand off against each other, are in neither case of great poetic force; but the specific application of the prayer to the impending danger of Rome is to my mind much more poetic than the vague wish for the nation of Romulus, granting that Catullus is somewhat more sonorous. But there is one point wherein it seems to me Catullus shows the inherent want of nobility in his poetic nature, a sordidness which Horace steadily pushed away from him since the day of the Epodes. It was of course to be expected that a hymn to Diana should mention Latona. This Horace does in two lines, which suggest in five noble words the paramount distinction of the great Titanid above all the other partners of Jupiter, even Juno or Ceres: — "*Latonamque supremo dilectam penitus Jovi*." Catullus on the other hand insists on coupling this exalted parentage with an incident which cannot but be painful and which he will make repulsive: "*O Latonia maximi magna progenies Jovis, quam mater prope Deliam deposivit olivam*." There is in these last two lines to me an earth-born note — "a squealing of the wry-necked fife," which refuses to be drowned in the glorious organ swell of the next stanza.

But, as Munro says, the Glyconics of Catullus are grouped so differently from those of Horace that the odes in these metres can hardly be compared. And yet the task is still harder in the other odes. Horace has no Phalaeceans, no Sczons, and no Elegiacs; Catullus has no Alcaics, nor one of Horace's epodic metres. The only metre they have both handled is the Sapphic, in which Catullus has only two odes to Horace's twenty six. Conington succeeded but imperfectly when he compared "*Ille mi par esse*" and "*Integer vitae*." Munro has suggested a comparison between Catullus xi and Horace 2, vii. But he stopped short where a further examination would not have helped the case.



I print Catullus xi at length for purposes of analysis :

Furi et Aureli, comites Catulli  
Sive in extremos penetrabit Indos,  
Litus ut longe resonante Eoa  
Tunditur unda,

Sive in Hyrcanos Arabasque molles  
Seu Sacas sagittiferosque Parthos  
Sive qua septemgeminus colorat  
Aequora Nilus.

Sive trans altas gradietur Alpes  
Caesaris visens monumenta magni  
Gallicum Rhenum, horribilem fretum, ulti-  
mosque Britannos, —

Omnia haec quodcumque feret voluntas  
Caelitum tentare simul parati  
Pauca nuntiate meae puellae  
Non bona dicta : —

Cum suis vivat valeatque moechis,  
Quos simul complexa tenet trecentos,  
Nullum amans vere sed identidem omnium  
Ilia rumpens ;

Nec meum respectet, ut ante, amorem  
Qui illius culpa cecidit velut prati  
Ultimi flos, praetereunte postquam  
Tactus aratro est.

(In line 11, *Gallicum Rhenum, horribilem fretum ulti-*, the reading *fretum* is my own conjecture. As *fretus* is a rare word (see Lucretius vi, 364) *aestum* was written over it to explain it, and *horribile aestu ulti-* became *horribiles ulti-*. If any one prefers *aequor* (Haupt) *salum* (Munro) or *insulam* (Ellis) the argument is unaffected.)

The first thing that strikes one, in the artistic construction of *Furi et Aureli*, is its curiously disproportionate and unconnected character. The largest half of it is an expansion of the simple words *comites*

*Catulli*; the field over which Furius and Aurelius will attend him is made to occupy the whole world, in the remotest parts of Asia, Africa and Europe, nation after nation being enumerated; then suddenly he changes, and assigns to these friends, who are ready to share anything the gods send him, a disagreeable commission in his behalf. This commission is to speak to his mistress the most insulting words conceivable, puffing the prostitute away with a blast of sulphureous contempt. The sort of friendship Catullus had for Furius and Aurelius appears from his other poems extremely equivocal, and one cannot say positively whether he means to address them as devoted friends who will stand by him in a terrible necessity, or as toadies whom he can properly call upon for the meanest services.

If passion is all we need for an ode, it is certainly there in the last three stanzas with a witness. Catullus is so bent on inflicting a wound on the insolent, ungrateful and false Lesbia, that he uses a weapon not merely barbed and poisoned but malodorous. His indignation, his contempt, his mingled frost and fire, *odi et amo*, have carried him, as they did Dante, beyond the bounds of physical decency. His fifth stanza is nasty, and being nasty, it is unfit for poetry.

I propose now to set against this ode two of Horace's, in both of which the same metre is used, and in both, as I conceive, Catullus xi was in the poet's mind. In *Septimi Gades* (*Carm.* 2, vii) Horace takes up the idea of a devoted friend who will travel anywhere with him. This conception is pressed in one stanza instead of three, enough to make it clear and not tedious; on this he builds up a thoroughly appropriate structure — what place shall the two friends select as their home, where they shall live in peace, and the survivor shall bury the first to fall with pious tears? First, he casts a wistful gaze at Tibur, the special resort of luxurious Romans, where every one wanted to go; rejecting that, as denied by an unjust fate, he expatiates on the charms of Tarentum, and winds up with a gentle look to the day, never out of his mind, when he shall cease to live anywhere.

Of course there is no passion here; there is nothing deeper or stronger than sober friendship and gentle longing. Catullus draws on a string of his heart till it almost snaps, and flies back again in agonized vibrations, which make ours ring with something like the same agony — not at all in real sympathy, but wrung from them by the cruel compulsion

of his transcendent selfishness. Horace only touches a chord to which there instantly sounds an according note in every heart of man, — unknown to none, but sounding richer, deeper, sweeter as the heart in which it vibrates is more refined, more cultivated, more dependent on the company of books, of nature and of men. Catullus calls loud to all mankind to come and hear his song of self-torture; Horace gently invites all his brother men to share in his modest hopes. There is the same difference that there is between the demands of a highwayman and of the agent of a charity; one is indifferent to what we think of him provided he gets our money, the other would have us for his friend, even if we refuse him. I believe Horace shows the truer art in handling the subject.

And I believe this is shown in another way. Each poet mentions half a dozen places, or nations, and says something about each. Every one must judge for himself which does this most to his satisfaction. To me Catullus's catalogue is for the most part fearfully prosaic, and Horace's full of imagination and association. If, as I believe, the allusion to Caesar's achievements is bitterly ironical, the phrase *Cantabrum indoctum ferre juga nostra* touches the same note, that the Romans were not always invincible, with much greater truth and delicacy than *Gallicum Rhenum*, etc.

And so of the mere metrical construction; Munro dwells on the magnificent roll of "*Litus ut longe resonante Eoa tunditur unda.*" It is grand, — it takes hold of the ear and will never leave it; it is no doubt in a richer strain than "*Barbaras Syrtes, ubi Maura semper aestuat unda.*" Not that Horace's lines are feeble or harsh; but Catullus's are wonderful. But there the strain ends. It is all through, — and it affects us in much the same way as the one we have just noted in xxxiv. Where Munro discovers any richness or sweetness in the stanza about the memorials of Caesar is hidden from me. But Horace's ode is melodious and tender throughout; there is not a harsh line in it, and one stanza is to me the very perfection of rhythm and melody:

Ver ubi longum, tepidasque praebet  
Juppiter brumas, et amicus Aulon  
Fertili Baccho minimum Falernis  
Invidet uvis.

Surely the long spring and the mild winter which Jove grants to the realm of Phalanthus have poured into these exquisite lines something of the same sweetness and spirit which swells in the clusters of Aulon.

Of the second part of Catullus's ode the first stanza seems to me simply flat, and the second disgusting. Munro pronounces the last stanza to be extremely poetical, introducing the metaphor of the flower cut down by the plough. It is used again in lx (lxii), is copied by Virgil, *Aen.* ix, 435, and expanded into a whole poem in Burns's "Mountain Daisy," though it is almost inconceivable that Burns should have been indebted to Catullus, or even to Virgil. But Burns and Virgil, and Catullus himself in lx (lxii) give it a grace which is wholly wanting in xi, by associating it with the untimely lopping of a youth's life or a maiden's honor. In xi it is simply Catullus's own passion which has fallen a prey to the steely heart of Lesbia, and if she does not care, why should anyone else, except a very few Furi and Aureli, who are in the same league of lust? Mr. Munro compares Catullus to Burns, which is a Scotchman's way of saying that he is only one step removed from ideal perfection. But Burns possessed, and his "Mountain Daisy" shows it, exactly what Virgil possessed and Catullus did not; human sympathy. The Fenelons and Macaulays who declare that Catullus moves them to tears, may be perfectly certain he never would have shed one tear for them.

In more than one poem Horace deals with the conception of casting off a faithless mistress; but he does it nowhere with such effect as in *Carm.* I, xxv. The gradual dropping away of the once tumultuous lovers, — the cessation of the tender cry, — the lonely and darkling watch in the storm-swept alley, — the festering passion smarting deeper as it grows more hopeless, — and all wound up by an entirely appropriate and finished comparison, certainly form a most artistic bit of composition, whether we believe this Lydia to be equally genuine with Lesbia, or a bodiless and soulless name.

Now of this poem lines 9–10 recall Catullus xi and lviii, and recall them without presenting the obtrusive nastiness of the original. But now follow lines 11–16, where Horace puts his merciless knife into Lydia's very vitals, to "anatomize Regan and see what breeds around her heart." He is just as picturesque as Catullus — but he is *σώφρων*, — he is *ἐγκρατής*, — and consequently we are not treated to the

unpoetical Latin realism which attained its maximum perhaps in Lucan's sacrifice, sorceress and serpents. Yet Horace was not without an inclination that way. Epode v has plenty of the charnel-house about it, to say nothing of viii and xii. But he learned at last the limitations of his art; and he learned that sincerity of feeling and heat of passion do not of themselves make poetry.

The lyric poet who publishes his odes appeals to the world to sympathize with his emotions. The words, the imagery, the rhythm of his strain are the electric wire along which are transmitted the vibrations of his heart. This instrument no one poet invented; we can scarcely say that any one has patented improvements on it; but in any supposition it must be made and used according to the laws of human nature, to which even the electricity and magnetism of lyric feeling are subject, and to the laws of the great empire of poetry, wherein for us Homer is the undethroned autocrat. If any passion is so violent as to jar or snap the wire, — if it is so egotistical in its acids as to corrupt and befoul the strings through which it speaks, it must yield its preëminence of control over the feelings of other men to some one which does not speak with so much force, but does secure the sympathy for which it appeals by accommodating its very tempest to the hearts it addresses.

Lightning is the most brilliant and forcible of electric phenomena, but it cannot be conveniently used to transmit messages of business or of affection. Catullus may blast us and leave the places smoking far and wide with sulphur, after we have seen his bright star hide itself in the forest; but Horace can talk to us as a man talks with his familiar friend.



## A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF CERTAIN MANUSCRIPTS OF SUETONIUS' LIVES OF THE CAESARS

BY CLEMENT LAWRENCE SMITH

EVERY one who has read Roth's preface to the Teubner edition of Suetonius is aware, as Roth himself was fully aware, of the very insecure foundation on which our present text of the *De Vita Caesarum* rests. Of the manuscripts on which it is based Roth had himself collated Parisinus 6115 (Codex Memmianus) and 6116; for the rest he depended mainly on the often inaccurate excerpts of the earlier editors from manuscripts, some of which can no longer be identified with certainty. That was in 1857. Five years later Gustav Becker published his *Quaestiones Criticae*, in which he brought forward some additional material for the constitution of the text, including the important Gudianus 268, and marshalled a considerable body of evidence bearing on the relations of the manuscripts then known. In 1867 Becker published in the *Symbola Philol. Bonn.* an account of the 'Vaticanus Lipsii,' of which he had procured a collation. All this was more than thirty years ago. Within recent years the systematic collation of the manuscripts of the *De Vita Caesarum* has been undertaken by more than one scholar, but the results of their labors have not yet been given to the world, and the construction of an adequate apparatus criticus for the text is an end still to be attained.

As a contribution towards that end I undertook, during my residence at the American School of Classical Studies in Rome in 1897-98, to make a preliminary examination of the manuscripts of the Lives in the library of the Vatican, which were practically unknown to Roth; and in the course of my journey from Italy to England, in the following summer, I took the opportunity to inspect the most important manuscripts of the same work in Florence, Venice, Munich, Leyden, and London. The time at my disposal for this undertaking was unfortunately limited by the demands of other duties and by the exigencies of travel, so that I had not succeeded in examining all the manuscripts of the Lives in the Vatican when the library closed near the end of June; and not all the manuscripts examined, there or elsewhere, could be excerpted with

equal fullness. The notes and excerpts made, however, constitute a substantial body of evidence on the character and relations of over thirty manuscripts, and I here submit the results of my investigation in the hope that they may clear the ground to some extent for the much needed work to be done in this field.

I give first a list of the codices examined, with the abbreviations by which I shall designate them.

*In the Library of the Vatican*

- V*<sup>0</sup> Vaticanus Latinus 1860. Parchment, folio, early XIV. century. Suetonius occupies fol. 16-63, following Florus and followed by Vegetius, Eutropius, and two other works, all in the same handwriting; the rest of the codex is in a different hand. A subscription at the end of Vegetius gives the date, 1313.
- V*<sup>1</sup> Vaticanus Lat. 7310. Parchment, folio, late XIII. or early XIV. century. Suetonius occupies fol. 1-63.
- V*<sup>4</sup> Vaticanus Lat. 1904. Parchment, folio, XI.-XII. century. Suetonius occupies fol. 1v-52r, the latter being a completed page, ending with *decreta sua re-* (*Cal.* 3, p. 120, 14 Roth). The other side of fol. 52 is filled with writing of a later date, showing that the copy of Suetonius was never carried beyond this point. This is the 'Vaticanus' of Lipsius and Torrentius.
- V*<sup>5</sup> Vaticanus Lat. 1905. Parchment, small folio, XV. century. Written in Italy in 1466 (colophon).
- V*<sup>6</sup> Vaticanus Lat. 1906. Parchment, small folio, XV. century, with colophon: Liber Ioannis tortellii arretini, quem scribi feci a Ioanne alemaño familiari meo. (Giov. Tortelli lived 1400-1466.) A beautifully written manuscript, with corrections and marginal notes by Tortelli, who is *V*<sub>2</sub><sup>6</sup> in my excerpts.
- V*<sup>7</sup> Vaticanus Lat. 1907. Parchment, small 4°, early XV. century. In two hands.
- V*<sup>8</sup> Vaticanus Lat. 1908. Parchment, large 4°, late XIV. century. Colophon gives the date, 1387.
- V*<sup>10</sup> Vaticanus Lat. 1910. Parchment, small 4°, XV. century. Written in Rome, 1464. In two hands.
- V*<sup>13</sup> Vaticanus Lat. 1913. Parchment, large 4°, XV. century. In two hands.



- V*<sup>14</sup> Vaticanus Lat. 1914. Parchment, large 4°, XV. century.
- V*<sup>15</sup> Vaticanus Lat. 1915. Parchment, large folio, late XIV. or early XV. century. Contains Suetonius' Lives (fol. 1-80) and Pomponius Mela.
- V*<sup>85</sup> Vaticanus Lat. 3335. Parchment, 4°, XV. century.
- V*<sup>86</sup> Vaticanus Lat. 3336. Parchment, XV. century. Written by Liainoro of Bologna in 1460 (col.).
- V*<sup>88</sup> Vaticanus Lat. 9338. Parchment, 4°, XV. century. Colophon erased. Folia 1-8, 10, 14, 15, 17, and 33-48 are lost, carrying away most of the *Julius*, the last part of the *Augustus*, and the first two thirds of *Tiberius*.
- U* Urbinas Lat. 457. Parchment, folio, XV. century.
- O*<sup>1</sup> Ottobonianus Lat. 1562. Parchment, folio, XV. century.
- O*<sup>2</sup> Ottobonianus Lat. 2008. Parchment, 4°, XV. century. Colophon gives the date, 1430.
- R*<sup>1</sup> Lat. Reginae Suecorum 833. Parchment, 4°, late XIV. or early XV. century.
- R*<sup>2</sup> Lat. Reg. Suec. 1990. Parchment, folio, XV. century.
- P*<sup>1</sup> Palatinus Lat. 898. Parchment, folio, XIV. century. This is Gruter's 'Palatinus I.'<sup>1</sup>

*In the Mediceo-Laurentian Library in Florence*

- M*<sup>1</sup> Bibl. Med. LXVI. 39. Parchment, large 4°, early XIII. century. Suetonius begins fol. 20, following Aurelius Victor.
- M*<sup>2</sup> Bibl. Med. LXIV. 8. Parchment, small 4°, early XIII. century.
- M*<sup>3</sup> Bibl. Med. LXVIII. 7. Parchment, small folio, XI. century. Suetonius begins fol. 73, following Caesar's Commentaries.

(The foregoing are cited by the older editors as Mediceus I, II, and III, respectively.)

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<sup>1</sup> In addition to the foregoing, the Vatican possesses the following codices of the Lives:

Vaticanus Lat. 6396. Parchment, XV. century (this ms. escaped my notice, not being, I think, in the Catalogue; its existence was made known to me by Professor E. T. Merrill, who found it in the Inventory in 1899); Palatini Lat. 897 (parchment, 4°, A.D. 1411) and 896 (paper, 4°, XV. century), Gruter's Palatinus II and III respectively; and the following paper codices: Vaticani Lat. 1909, 1911, 1912, 2966, 6800, 6803, 7717; Ottoboniani Lat. 1898, 2846; Lat. Reg. Suec. 932, 1755.

*M*<sup>4</sup> Bibl. S. Crucis XX sin. 3. Parchment, folio, late XIII. century.

*M*<sup>5</sup> Bibl. Med. LXIV. 9. Parchment, folio, XIV. century. Suetonius begins fol. 36, following Sallust.<sup>1</sup>

*In the Library of St. Mark's, Venice*

*Ven*<sup>1</sup> Lat. X. 30. Paper, 4°, XV. century.

*Ven*<sup>2</sup> Lat. X. 31. Parchment, folio, XV. century.

*Ven*<sup>3</sup> Lat. X. 345. Parchment, small folio, XV. century.

*Z* Lat. Zanetti 382. Parchment, 4°, XV. century.

*In the Royal Library, Munich*

*Mon* Lat. 5977. Paper, 4°, XV. century. Lacks part of the last chapter of *Domitian* (from *senatus*, p. 253, 31), where the writing breaks off in mid-page (fol. 176 R). There are also blank spaces in the text, towards the end, where the following words should be: *proximos* (251, 11), *et Saturius* and *ludo* (251, 34 and 35), *gratius quicquam* (252, 26), *subrutulum* (253, 8), and *non* (253, 16). The copy was evidently made from a codex which had suffered some mutilation towards the end and had lost its last leaf entirely.

*In the University Library, Leyden*

*L* Perizonianus 4. Parchment, folio, XV. century.

*In the British Museum*

*B*<sup>1</sup> Britan. 15. C. III. Parchment, XII. century. Incomplete by loss of last two leaves, carrying away all after *alia magis* (250, 1); fol. 1 and 2 are torn and sewed, with destruction of some of the writing.

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<sup>1</sup> Besides these five, Badini's catalogue names six parchment codices of the Lives (Bibl. Med. LXIV 3, 4, 5; Bibl. Gaddiana LXXXIX infer. 8. 1, 8. 2; Bibl. S. Crucis XX sin. 4); and two in paper (Bibl. Med. LXIV. 6, 7), all of the XV. century; also a copy of the Milan edition of 1475, collated by Politian 'cum uetustis duobus exemplaribus Florentiae MCCCCLXXX · XV · Kal. Quintilis . . . iterum cum tertio et ipso uetustissimo,' and a copy of the Roman edition of 1470 with marginal notes by Politian.

- B*<sup>2</sup> Britan. 15. C. IV. Parchment, early XIII. century. Suetonius occupies fol. 3-69, written by at least four hands.
- B*<sup>3</sup> Lat. Cl. 31914. Parchment, early XV. century. Written in Italy in 1419 (col.).
- B*<sup>4</sup> Lat. Cl. 12009. Parchment, XV. century.
- B*<sup>5</sup> Lat. Cl. 24913. Parchment, early XV. century. Written at Florence in 1419 (col.).

The excerpts which follow have been selected partly for their intrinsic value, but mainly for the light they shed on the character and relations of the manuscripts represented. In transcribing them here I have usually neglected, as rather confusing than helpful for our present purpose, differences in punctuation, in the division of words, and in the use of capital initials; also in abbreviations and in spelling (such as *ae* and *e*, *c* and *t*, *ph* and *f*, *sym-* and *sim-*, etc.); differences which are largely due to ignorance or carelessness or whim or at best to temporary fashion, and cannot be relied upon as evidence of real manuscript tradition. In addition to the excerpts from my own collection I have taken, in the case of three manuscripts, a few readings from partial collations made, at my suggestion, by students of the American School in Rome, — of *V*<sup>4</sup> by Mr. J. B. Gilbert, of *V*<sup>0</sup> by Dr. B. O. Foster, and of *V*<sup>1</sup> by Mr. W. P. Woodman. I have also inserted, for purposes of comparison, the readings of Memmianus (*A*, Parisinus 6115, IX. century), for which I am indebted to my colleague, Professor A. A. Howard, who has kindly placed his collation of that manuscript at my disposal, and those of Gudianus 268 (*G*<sup>2</sup>, XI. century, the 'Gudianus II.' of F. A. Wolf) so far as they are given by Becker in his *Quaestiones Criticae*. The reading first given in each case is that of Roth's edition, at the page and line indicated. The reading ascribed to a manuscript is always that of the first hand, unless otherwise noted; if a variant or correction or the reading of a second or third hand is given, it is distinguished by *var* or *corr* or the figure 2 or 3, below the line on the right. An asterisk (\*) stands for a letter erased. Abbreviations to avoid repetition are indicated in the usual way by a period; abbreviations with a raised point, as *populi r. censum*, are copied from the manuscripts.

- 3, 8 annum agens  $AV^{45} M^3$  annum agens caesar  $V^{016781536}$   
 $UO^{12} R^1 M^{1245} Ven^{13} LB^{125}$  a agens c. caesar  $R^2$  annum  
 iulius caesar agens  $B^3$  iulius caesar annum agens  $V^{10181435}$  gaius  
 iulius caesar annum agens *Mon* iulius caesar diuus annum agens  $P^1$
- 4, 5 regi *A plurimi* regiae  $V^{014} B^3$
- 4, 17 et triumphalen  $AV^4 M^{13} Mon$  et triumphalen uirum  
 $V^{015681013141535} R^1 M_2^1 M^{245} LB^{123}$  triumphalemque uirum  
 $V^{786} UO^{12} R^2 B^5$
- 4, 30 desiderare  $AV^{0178} UO^{12} R^2 P^1 M^{245} Mon LB^{1235}$  diside-  
 dere  $V^{15}$  dissidere  $V^{45610} R^1 M^{13}$  diffidere  $V^{1814}$
- 4, 34 tribunatu  $AV^{46} R^1 M^{13} Mon LB^3$  tribunatum  $V^{01781014}$   
 $V^{153536} UO^{12} M^{245} B^{125}$  tribunatus  $V_2^1 R^2$  tribunos  $V^5$   
 tribunōs  $V^{13}$
- †4, 35 actores  $AV^4 R^1 M^{13} Mon G^2$  auctores  $V^5 13 14 LB^3$   
 auctoresque  $V^{01678101535} UO^{12} R^2 M^{245} B^{125}$
- †5, 18 mandatu  $A R^1 P^1 M^{1245} Mon B^1$  mandatum  $V^0$  man-  
 dato  $V^{14567810131415} UR^2 M^3 M_2^4 LB^{35}$  ex mandato  $B^2$
- 5, 27 arbitrium *A plurimi* arbitrum  $V^4 Mon$
- 6, 8 cogitarat *plurimi* cogitauerat  $V^{13}$  cogitaret  $AV^{45} Mon$
- 6, 36 improbabatur  $V^{15678101335} UO^{12} R^2 M^{245} LB^{135}$  im-  
 probabam  $V^0$  improbatu  $AV^{41415} R^1 P^1 M^{13} Mon B^2$
- †7, 6 adiutore  $AV^{0178103536} UO^{12} P^1 M^{245} LB^{235}$  auctore  
 $V^{456131415} R^1 M^{13} Mon$
- †9, 8 pollicendi  $V^{0167810141535} UO^{12} M^{245} LB^{1235}$  pollicenti  
 $AV_2^1 V^{451335} R^1 M^{13} Mon$
- 9, 23 accensus ante eum iret  $AV^{458101335} R^1 M^{12345} Mon LB^{12}$   
 $B_2^3$  accensas a. e. i.  $B^3$  accensus funis ante eum iret  $V^{671415}$   
 $O^{12} R^2$  a. ter funis a. e. i.  $V^{36} U$  a. tibi funis a. e. i.  $B^5$   
 senatores ante eum irent  $V^{01}$
- 9, 37 quicquam  $V^{011814} R^{12} M^1$  quidquam  $V_2^6 V^8 U_2 L$   
 quiddam  $A_2 V^{41036} U_{(v)} O^{12} M^{2345} Mon B^{1235}$  quidam  $AV^{5715}$
- †10, 6 licerentur  $AV^{47101536} V^{35}$  (*corr. from* ducerentur)  $UO^{12} M^{245}$   
 $Mon LB^{135}$  ducerentur  $V^{56814} V_{var}^{15} R^{12} M^{13}$  deducerentur  $V^{13}$   
 uterentur (*with var.* licitarentur)  $B^2$  lucrarentur  $V^{01}$
- †10, 27 consul kal. ianuariis  $AV^{781015} M^{24} Mon B^{125}$  consulis  
 kl. ianuar.  $R^2$  consul kl. ianuaris  $V^{01}$  kal. ianuariis consul  
 $V^{4561314} R^1 M^3$  kalendas ianuariis consul  $M^1$

10, 32 uatinia *AV*<sup>0 1 4 6 7 10 18 14 15</sup> *M*<sup>2</sup> *Mon* *B*<sup>1 2 5</sup> uacinia *V*<sup>8</sup>  
 uatitinia *M*<sup>4</sup> uaticinia *V*<sup>5</sup> *M*<sup>1 8</sup> *B*<sup>3</sup>

11, 1 responderet *V*<sup>14</sup> responderit *AV*<sup>4 5 18 15</sup> *R*<sup>1 2</sup> *P*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>1 2 3</sup> *Mon* *B*<sup>1</sup>  
 respondit *V*<sup>0 1 6 7 8 10 35 36</sup> *UO*<sup>1 2</sup> *LB*<sup>3 3 5</sup>

†11, 1 syria *V*<sup>5 18</sup> *M*<sup>1</sup> siria *A* *M*<sup>3</sup> suria *V*<sup>4</sup> *R*<sup>1</sup> syra *Mon*  
 syriam *V*<sup>14</sup> assyria *V*<sup>0 1 6 10</sup> *M*<sup>4 5</sup> *L* *B*<sup>1 8</sup> asyria *V*<sup>8</sup> assiria *V*<sup>15</sup>  
*M*<sup>2</sup> *B*<sup>2 5</sup> asiria *V*<sup>7</sup>

†11, 17 consulatus *A* *Mon* consulatu *V*<sup>0 1 6 7 8 36</sup> *UO*<sup>1 2</sup> *M*<sup>2 4 5</sup> *B*<sup>1 2 5</sup>  
 consularis *V*<sup>4 5 10 18 15 35</sup> *R*<sup>1 2</sup> *P*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>1 8</sup> *M*<sup>2</sup> *B*<sup>3</sup> *V*<sup>14</sup> (apparently corr. from  
 consulatus)

11, 20 ut detrudendi *A* *plurimi* ut detruendi *R*<sup>1 2</sup> detrahendi *V*<sup>14</sup>  
 deludendi *V*<sup>0 1</sup>

11, 23 alias priuato sumptu addidit *V*<sup>7 8 10 35 36</sup> *UO*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>2 4 5</sup> *B*<sup>1 2 3</sup>  
 alias p. s. abdidit *V*<sup>6</sup> alias p. s. addit *AV*<sup>4</sup> *O*<sup>2</sup> *R*<sup>2</sup> *Mon* *B*<sup>5</sup> aliis  
 p. s. additis *V*<sup>18 14</sup> *R*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>1 8</sup> aliis p. s. adiectis *V*<sup>5</sup> aliam p. s. ad-  
 didit *V*<sup>1</sup> aliam p. s. *V*<sup>0</sup> alias priuato alias pri<sup>o</sup> sumptu addidit *V*<sup>15</sup>  
 alias priuato alias publico addidit *L*

11, 32 decedentibus *A* *plurimi* cedentibus *B*<sup>2</sup> succedentibus  
*V*<sup>0 1 5</sup>

11, 33 dierum *A* *plurimi* deorum *V*<sup>5 18</sup> deo *V*<sup>0 1</sup>

12, 1 eique in *ceteri omnes* eique cccc in *V*<sup>4</sup>

†12, 18 et *V*<sup>5 6 7 8 15 35</sup> *UO*<sup>1 2</sup> *R*<sup>2</sup> *LB*<sup>2 5</sup> sed *AV*<sup>0 1 4 10 18 14 35</sup> *R*<sup>1</sup>  
*P*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>1 2 3 4 5</sup> *Mon* *B*<sup>1 8</sup>

12, 22 maxima *V*<sup>14</sup> *Mon* *B*<sup>2 3</sup> maxime *A* *plurimi*

†12, 33 e praeda: et praedia *AV*<sup>4 5 6 10 18 15 35</sup> *R*<sup>1 2</sup> *M*<sup>1 2 3 5</sup>  
*Mon* *B*<sup>8</sup> *B*<sup>2 5</sup> et prelia *V*<sup>14</sup> et prandia *V*<sup>7 8 36</sup> *UO*<sup>1 2</sup> *B*<sup>5</sup> om. *M*<sup>4</sup>

13, 2 prosequabatur *V*<sup>0 1 5 6 8 10 18 14 15</sup> *R*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>3</sup> *LB*<sup>2</sup> persequabatur  
*AV*<sup>4 7</sup> *R*<sup>2</sup> *P*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>1 2 4</sup> *Mon* *B*<sup>1 3 5</sup>

†13, 4 tum *V*<sup>5 6 7 8 14 35 36</sup> *UO*<sup>1 2</sup> *R*<sup>2</sup> *M*<sup>2 4 5</sup> *LB*<sup>1 2 5</sup> *B*<sup>2 3</sup> cum *V*<sup>0 1</sup>  
 tam *AV*<sup>4 10 18 15</sup> *R*<sup>1</sup> *P*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>1 8</sup> *M*<sup>var</sup> *Mon* *B*<sup>(?)</sup>

†13, 34 temptante *AV*<sup>0 1 6 7 8 10 18 14</sup> *O*<sup>var</sup> *R*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>1 2 3 5</sup> *Mon* *B*<sup>1 2 3</sup> tem-  
 pantem *V*<sup>5</sup> tempestate *V*<sup>4 35 36</sup> *UO*<sup>1 2</sup> *R*<sup>2</sup> *M*<sup>4</sup> *LB*<sup>5</sup>

†14, 16 aduentu suo fecerat *V*<sup>0 1 7 8 10 14 15 36</sup> *UO*<sup>1 2</sup> *R*<sup>2</sup> *P*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>2 4 5</sup> *L* *B*<sup>1 8 5</sup>  
 aduentu f. suo *V*<sup>18 35</sup> suo aduentu f. *B*<sup>2</sup> aduentu sui f. *AV*<sup>4 5 6</sup>  
*R*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>1 8</sup> *Mon*

14, 37 regnandi *V*<sup>5 10</sup> *V*<sup>8</sup> *R*<sup>2</sup> om. *AV*<sup>0 1 4 8</sup> *R*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>1 2 3 4 5</sup> *Mon*  
*B*<sup>1 2 8</sup> *G*<sup>2</sup> regni *V*<sup>7 15 36</sup> *UO*<sup>1 2</sup> *B*<sup>2 3</sup> *B*<sup>5</sup> imperii *V*<sup>6 18 14 35</sup> *L*

†15, 27 exhortandoque  $V^0 1 10 15 R^2 M^2 4 B^3$  adhortandoque  
 $AV^4 5 6 7 8 13 14 35 36 UR^1 M^1 8 5 Mon B^1 2 5$  adhortandumque  $O^1 2$

†16, 12 et fugientem  $V^0 1 7 8 10 15 36 UO^1 2 R^2 M^2 4 5 LB^1 2 3 5$  ef-  
 fugientem  $AV^4 5 6 13 14 35 R^1 P^1 M^1 3 Mon$

†17, 9 dextra atque sinistra  $V^0 1 5 7 8 10 15 36 V_2^6 UO^1 2 R^2 M^2 4 5 L$   
 $B^1 2 3$  dextraque sinistra  $AV^4 6 R^1 M^1 3$  dextraque et sinistra  $V^{14}$   
 dextra sinistraque  $V^{13 35} Mon$

†17, 36 minorumque  $V^0 1 5 6 7 8 13 14 15 35 36 UO^1 2 R^2 M_2^1 M^2 4 5 Mon$   
 $LB^1 2 3$  minorum  $AV^4 R^1 M^1 3$  iuniorum (puerorumue)  $V^{10}$

†18, 4 regione  $AV^4 5 M^1 3 Mon$  in regione  $V^0 1 6 7 8 10 13 14 15 35 36$   
 $UO^1 2 R^1 2 M_2^1 M^2 4 5 B^1 2 3 5$

†18, 19 ac  $AV^1 7 8 10 36 UO^1 2 R^2 M^2 4 5 Mon B^1 3 5$  atque  $V^0$   
 et  $V^4 5 6 13 14 15 35 R^1 M^1 3 LB^2$

18, 36 dominos insularum *A plurimi* domos i. *Mon* denos  
 tantummodo  $V^0 1 5$

19, 19 fere *plurimi* pene  $V^{15}$  fieret  $AV^4 P^1 M^3$  <sup>fere</sup> fieret  $M^1$

†19, 22 exulabant  $AV^0 1 4 6 7 8 36 UO^1 2 R^1 2 M^1 2 4 5 Mon LB^1 2 3 5$  exu-  
 larent  $V^{10 13 15 35} M_2^2 M^3$  exularet  $V^{14}$  exultarent  $V^5$

19, 36 in dies *A plurimi* om.  $V^5 M^1 3$

†20, 25 adsueuerat  $AV^0 1 4 5 6 7 8 10 14 15 36 UO^1 2 R^2 M^2 3 4 Mon LB^1 2 3 5$   
 consueuerat  $V^{13 35} R^1 M^1$

†20, 30 ut  $V^6 7 8 10 15 35 36 UO^1 2 R^2 M^2 4 LB^3 5$  om.  $AV^0 1 4 5 13 14$   
 $R^1 M^1 3 5 Mon B^1 2 G^2$

†21, 6 rectiora  $V^6 36$  retiora  $AV^4 M^1 3$  recentiora  $V^0 1 5$   
 $V_2^6 V^7 8 10 13 14 35 36 V_2^{36} UO^1 2 R^1 2 M_2^1 M^2 4 5 LB^1 2 3 5$  recensiora  $V^{15}$   
 preciosiora *Mon*

†21, 6 ipsum  $V^0 1 5 6 7 8 10 13 14 15 UO^2 R^1 2 M^2 4 5 LB^1 2 3 5$  ipse  $M^1$   
 ipse  $AV^4 35 O^1 M^3 Mon$

21, 30 uinum *plurimi* ui  $AV^4 M_2^3$  in  $M^3$  uina *Mon G^2*  
 om.  $V^{35} M^1$

†22, 6 ecce—gallias  $V^0 1 5 6 7 8 10 13 14 15 35 36 38 UO^1 2 R^1 2 P^1 M_2^1 M^2 4 5$   
 $LB^1 2 3 5$  om.  $AV^4 M^1 3 Mon$

22, 10 postumiam *plurimi* postumam  $V^{36}$  postuminam  $AV^4$   
 $R^1 M^1$

†22, 27 aurum . . . effutuisti  $AV^4 8 13 36 R^1 M^1 M_2^3 Mon$  aurum  
 . . . effudisti  $V^6 14 M_2^3$  auro . . . stuprum emisti  $V^0 1 7 10 15 35 36 U$   
 $O^1 2 R^2 M^2 4 5 B^1 2 3 5$

22, 29 ut naso  $V^0 1^5 V_2^{88}$  ut nasa  $V^8 M_2^2$  ut uasa  $V^6 7 13 14 15 85 86 88$   
 $UO^1 2 R^1 P^1 M^1 2 3 4 5 B^1 2 8 5$  ut uasas *Mon* et uasa  $V^{10} R^2 L$   
 uasa  $AV^4$

23, 19 proconsule et a sociis  $V^4 M^1$  proconsul et a sociis  $AV^5 18$   
 $M_2^1 M^8$  proconsul ex sociis *Mon G^2* a proconsule et a sociis  
 $V^0 1 6 7 8 10 14 15 85 86 UO^2 R^1 2 M^2 4 5 LB^1 8 5$  et proconsule et a s.  $O^1$   
 ac proconsule et a s.  $B^2$

23, 33 militarique re  $V^{14} U$  militari quare  $AV^4 6 7 8 10 86 O^2 R^1 2$   
 $P^1 M^1 2 3 4 5 LB^1 2 3 5$  militare quare  $O^1$  militari qua  $V^{18}$   
 militari  $V^{15 85} Mon$  militari omnium quidem  $V^0 1 5$

24, 2 oratorum  $V^0 1 V_2^6 V^7 8 10 13 14 15 86 UO^1 2 R^2 P^1 M^2 4 M_2^8 LB^1 2 3 5$   
 oratorem  $AV^4 5 6 85 R^1 M^1 M_{(v)}^3 Mon$

†24, 5 adolescens  $AV^0 1 4 5 10 18 14 O^1 R^1 P^1 M^1 5 M_2^8 Mon B^2 5$  ado-  
 lescentis  $V^6 7 8 15 85 86 UO^2 R^2 M^2 4 M_{(v)}^3 B^1 8$  eloquentis  $L$

†24, 25 caesaris  $AV_2^1 V^4 5 6 7 13 14 86 UR^1 2 M^1 8 M_2^4 Mon LB^5$  ce-  
 sariis  $V^{10}$  cesaris  $B^8$  om.  $V^0 1 8 15 M^2 4 5 B^1 2$

24, 34 cuius tamen — emendate  $V^{10 85}$  om. *A plurimi* alii  
 enim quam eleganter  $B^2$

25, 17 uolet: uelit  $B^2$  uellet *A plurimi*

25, 18 et a puero et  $V_2^6 V^7 8 15 86 UO^1 2 R^2 M^2 4 LB^2 8 5$  et a  
 puero  $M^5 B^1$  a puero et  $V^0 1 85$  et *Mon* uero  $V^5 13 14 R^1 M^1 8$   
 uero a puero  $V^{88}$  uero et a puero et  $V^6 10$  et ait uero  $AV^4$

†25, 24 et  $V^0 1 6 7 8 10 14 15 86 88 UR^1 2 P^1 M^2 4 5 Mon LB^1 2 3$  om.  
 $AV^4 5 13 M^1 8$  (equitandi) que  $V^{85}$

26, 8 omine  $V^0 1 5 6 7 8 10 88 UO^1 2 R^2 P^1 M^1 2 3 4 5 Mon LB^1 2$  òmine  
 $V^{13 14}$  omne  $V^{15}$  \*omine *A* homine  $V^4 R^1$

26, 17 cunctatior *A plurimi* cunctantior  $V^4$  cunctatorum  $V^0 1$

26, 32 aquilifer moranti se cuspide: aquilifero moranti se cuspide *A*  
 aquilifero moranti secus cuspide  $V^0 1 7 85 88 UO^1 2 R^1 2 M^4 5 Mon B^1 2 5$   
 aquilifero moranti c.  $V^{14}$  aquilifero moranti secus cuspide  
 $V^6 M_2^2$  aquilifero moranti cuspide  $V^4 5 8 10 13 15 M^1 2 3 LB^8$  aquilif-  
 ifero moranti securi  $V^{86}$

27, 29 coniebat  $V^{85 88} M^2 5 B^1 2$  conniebat  $V^{10} M^4 LB^8$   
 coniebat  $AV^4$  cohibebat  $V_2^1 V^5 6 7 8 13 14 15 86 UO^1 2 R^1 2 M^1 8$   
*Mon B^5 G^2* continuabat  $V^0 1$

29, 14 praetura *A plurimi* praefectura  $V^{88} Mon G^2$

29, 18 deuersoriolo eo: deuersorio loco  $AV^{45} R^1$  diuersorio loco  $V^{671488} M^{134} Mon$  in diuersorio loco  $V^8 15 35 36 UO^{12} R^2 M^{25} B^{125}$  et in diuersorio loco  $V^{10} L B^8$  in diuersorium locum  $V^0 1$  diuersori locum  $V^{13}$

30, 28 permisit  $V^0 15 L B^2$  permiserat *plurimi* permisserat  $AV^{10}$   
 †30, 34 notas  $AV^5 6 7 8 10 13 14 35 36 38 R^1 2 M^3 Mon L B^8 5$  nota  $V^0 1 4 15 M^{24} B^{12}$

31, 26 amplius  $V^7$  amplius  $V^8 13 14 36 UO^{12}$  amprius  $AV^4 6 15 38 R^1 2 M^{1234} Mon L B^{1235}$  lamprius  $V^{1035}$  apuleius  $V^0 15$

31, 30 tristia *A plurimi* tristitia  $V^{45}$  intestina  $V^8$

31, 31 exta quondam  $AV^4 38 M^3$  exacta q.  $M^1 Mon$  exacta sacra q.  $R^1 M^2 1 M^2 4 B^{12}$  exacta sacra q.  $V^8$  exacta sacra q.  $V^{15}$  exta sacra q.  $V^0 1 6 10 14 35 V_2^{38} UO^{12} R^2 L B^8 5$  exta sacra quodam  $V^{86}$  exta (quodam sacro *add. in marg. m. i*)  $V^{13}$

†32, 14 seu parum  $AV^0 1 4 6 8 13 14 15 36 UO^{12} R^1 2 M^{123} Mon B^{125}$  seu propter parum  $V^{671035} M^4 L B^3$

†32, 26 libris  $V^0 1 4 6 7 8 10 13 14 15 35 36 UO^{12} R^1 2 M^2 4 B^{1235}$  *om.*  $AV^5 M^{13} Mon$

32, 26 contineretur *plurimi* detineretur  $AV^4$

32, 28 causa *A plurimi* *om.*  $M^2$  summa causa  $V^7 10 35 B^8$  sententia causa  $L$  sententia lata causa  $M^4$

33, 2 more *plurimi* mouere  $A$  mouere  $V^4$

33, 25 iulo  $V^{67} M_2^2 M^3 L B^8$  iulio  $V^{10} R^1 M^1$  iulio  $V^4 36 UO^{12} R^2 B_2^1 B^5$  iullo  $V^5$  iulius  $V^{13 14 35}$  iuli  $V^8$  ilio  $A V^0 1 15 M^2 4 B^{12}$

†33, 27 cuius rei  $AV^5 6 7 8 10 13 14 15 36 UO^{12} R^1 2 M^{123} Mon B^5$  cuius regi  $V^4$  quam rem  $V^0 1 35 M^4 B^{123}$

33, 30 rubicone flumine  $V^0 1 5 6 7 8 10 13 14 15 R^1 P^1 M^{13} L B^{13}$  flumine rubicone  $B^2$  rubiconi flumini  $V^4 Mon$  rudiconi flumini  $A$

33, 35 laureo *A plurimi* aureo  $V^4 M^3 Mon$  aureo  $M^1$

†34, 8 insidiarum indicem  $AV^0 1 8 10 13 15 36 UO^{12} R^2 M^2 4 Mon B^{1235}$  ins. inuicem  $V^7$  indicem insidiarum  $V^4 5 6 14 35 R^1 M^{13}$

†34, 8 obuio  $V^0 1 5 6 8 10 13 14 15 35 36 UO^{12} R^2 M^2 3 4 Mon B^{1235}$  ouio  $AV^4 7 R^1 M^1$

34, 20 cascae  $V^{15} B^1$  casie *Mon* cassii *A plurimi*

35, 1 maximae quintus (*or q.*) *plurimi* maxime t.  $V^{14}$  maximo aequintus  $AV^4$  maxime ut quintus *Mon G^2*



35, 6 ima  $AV^{4\ 8\ 10\ 13}\ M^{1\ 2\ 3}\ Mon\ L\ B^1$  una  $V^{0\ 1\ 5\ 6\ 7\ 14\ 15\ 35\ 36}\ U$   
 $O^{1\ 2}\ R^2\ M^4$

36, 18 adinspectantium se  $AV^3\ M^4\ Mon\ B^1$  adinspectantium se  
 $M^2$  inspectantium se  $V^{4\ 5\ 7\ 10\ 13\ 15\ 35\ 36}\ U\ O^{1\ 2}\ R^{1\ 2}\ M^{1\ 3}\ B^{3\ 5}$  ex-  
 pectantium se  $V^{6\ 38}$  aspectantium se  $V_2^6$  spectantium se  $V^{14}$   
 circumstantium se  $V^{0\ 1}$  se seruantium  $B^2$

38, 14 minores gentis  $V_{var}^6\ R_2^1$  minos gentes  $AV^4$  minis gentis  
 $R^1\ M^{1\ 3}$  primas gentes  $Mon\ G^2$  romanas gentes  $V^{0\ 1\ 5\ 6\ 36\ 38}\ U$   
 $O^{1\ 2}\ R^2\ M^5\ L\ B^{1\ 3\ 5}$  romanos  $B^2$  romanos  $M^{2\ 4}$

38, 16 magno interuallo per  $V_2^4\ V^{5\ 6\ 36\ 38}\ U\ O^{1\ 2}\ B^5$  magno inter-  
 uallo  $V^4\ M^{1\ 3}$  magno inter  $A$  magna ui per  $V^{0\ 1}\ R^1\ M_2^1\ M^{2\ 4\ 5}$   
 $L\ B^{1\ 2\ 3}$  magnanimitèr per  $Mon$

†39, 18 profiteri  $AV^{0\ 4\ 5}\ B^2$  confiteri  $V^{6\ 36}\ U\ O^{1\ 2}\ R^1\ M^{2\ 3\ 5}\ L\ B^{1\ 3\ 5}$

39, 29 parmensis  $V^0\ M^{4\ 5}\ B^{1\ 2\ 3}$  permensis  $V_{var}^6$  carmensis  
 $AV^{4\ 5\ 6}\ R^1\ M^3\ B^5$

40, 30 tantum  $V^{36}\ U\ O^1\ L$  tum  $O^2$  cum  $V^{0\ 1}\ M^{2\ 4\ 5}\ B^{1\ 2\ 3\ 5}$   
 $e\bar{u}\ A$  enim  $V^4$  autem  $V^{5\ 6}\ R^{1\ 2}\ M^{1\ 3}$

42, 3 ac  $AV^{0\ 1}\ M^{2\ 5}\ B^{1\ 2}$  hac  $V^6$  hac  $V^{4\ 5\ 38}\ R^1\ M^3\ B^3$

42, 16 pansae quidem adeo  $A\ M^{2\ 5}\ B^{1\ 2}$  pansae equidem adeo  
 $V^{5\ 38}\ M^3$  pansa aequidem ad eos  $V^4$  pansae quoque adeo  $V^{0\ 1}$   
 $M^4\ L\ B^3$  pansa quoque adeo  $V^6$

42, 21 partibus (*corr. from* patribus)  $V^{38}$  patribus  $AV^{0\ 5\ 6\ 36}\ U$   
 $R^1\ M^{2\ 3}$  fratribus  $V^4$

44, 31 cleopatra liberis  $A\ M^5\ B^1$  cleopatrae liberis  $V^{4\ 5\ 6\ 36\ 38}\ U$   
 $R^1\ M^3\ L\ B^{2\ 3}$  patre liberisque  $V^{0\ 1}$

45, 9 desideria  $V^{0\ 36}\ U\ M^{2\ 5}\ L\ B^{1\ 2\ 3}$  ad desideria  $A$  et desi-  
 deria  $V^{4\ 5\ 6\ 38}\ R^1\ M^3\ Mon\ G^2$

45, 21 ex caesare cleopatra  $V^{36}\ O^{1\ 2}\ M^{2\ 5}\ B^1$  ex c. c. se  $B^2$  ex  
 c. cleopatram  $V^{0\ 1}\ U$  ex cleopatra  $R^2$  ex caesare patre cleopatra  
 $AV^{5\ 6\ 38}\ M^{1\ 3\ 4}\ M_2^2\ B^3$  ex caesare partae cleopatra  $V^4$

46, 2 alias  $V^{0\ 1\ 4\ 5}\ M^3$  italias  $A$  et alias  $V^{6\ 36\ 38}\ U\ O^{1\ 2}\ R^{1\ 2}$   
 $M^{1\ 2\ 5}\ Mon\ L\ B^{1\ 2\ 3\ 5}\ G^2$

46, 5 integri item asini (*or -nii*)  $V^{5\ 6}\ M_2^3\ Mon\ G^2$  integritem  
 asini  $V^4$  integri temasini (*or them-*)  $V^{0\ 36}\ U\ O^{1\ 2}\ R^{1\ 2}\ M^{1\ 2\ 5}\ L\ B^{1\ 2\ 3\ 5}$   
 tem\*asini  $M^3$  integritatem asini  $AV^{38}$

†46, 10 ad exercitus  $AV^{38}\ M^3$  ad extremum  $V^{0\ 5\ 6\ 36}\ U\ O^{1\ 2}\ R^{1\ 2}$   
 $M^{1\ 2\ 5}\ L\ B^{1\ 2\ 3\ 5}$  adorti  $V^4$

46, 29 albin  $V^0 1^6 36 UO^1 R^1 M^2 5 LB^1 5 B_2^3$  albini  $B^2$  albin  $B^3$   
 abiam  $O^2 R^2$  abim  $AG^2$  abin  $V^4 M^3$  albin proprium  $V^5$   
 ad impropium  $V^{88}$  proprium albini  $M^1$

†47, 3 ultus est  $AV^4 5 88 M^1 3 Mon B^2 G^2$  ultus eius  $R^1$  multa-  
 tus est  $V^6 36 UO^1 2 R^2 M^2 4 5 LB^1 3 5$  multauit  $V^0 1$

†48, 3 cum  $V^0 1 36 UR^1 M^1 2 5 M_2^3 B^1 2 3 5$  om.  $AV^4 5 6 88 M^3$

48, 12 appellabat  $V^0 5 36 UR^1 2 M^1 2 5 B^1 2 3 5$  appellat  $AV^4 5 88$   
 $M^3 Mon G^2$

†48, 18 bis  $V^0 36 UO^1 2 R^1 2 M^1 2 5 B^1 2 5$  om.  $L$  urbis  $B^3$   
 urbis  $AV^4 5 38 M^3 Mon$  uix bis  $V^6$

†49, 4 honores et  $V^4 5 6 88 R^1 M^1 3 LB^2 3$  honores etiam  $V^0 1$   
 honores sed  $AV^{86} UM^2 4 5 Mon B^1 5 G^2$

†49, 15 ut c. (*or g. or gaium*)  $AV^4 6 88 UM^2 4 B^1 2 3$  et c.  $V^0$   
 et brutum  $V^5 R^1 M^1 3$

†49, 17 decimum  $AV^4 5 R^1 M^1 3 Mon G^2$  undecimum  $V^0 1 6 36 38$   
 $UO^1 2 M^2 4 5 LB^5$  . xi .  $B^1 2 3$

50, 21 primum  $AV^5 V^{88}$  primo  $V^0 4 6 36 UR^1 M^1 2 3 B^1 2 3$

50, 28 prae se identidem ferret  $M_2^2 M^3$  praesident idem f.  $AV^4$   
 praesidens idem f.  $V^0 36 V^{38} UO^2 M^4 5 B^1$  praesidem idem f.  $V_2^{38}$   
 prae se idem f.  $B^2 5$  praesidenti dein f.  $Mon G^2$  praesidens iden-  
 tidem f.  $V^6 R^1 M^1 2$  praesedens identidem prae se f.  $L$  ipse  
 identidem f.  $V^5$  praeferret  $B^3$

†51, 10 pro ultione  $V^0 V^1$  (*It in ras.*)  $V_2^6 LB^2$  prouisione  $AV^4 5$   
 $V_6^{86} V^{35 38} UR^1 M^3 5 B^1 3$

51, 20 seruumque praelucentem exanimasset  $AM^2 B^1$  om.  $V^4$   
 s. praeducentem e.  $V^6 6 36 UO^1 R^1 P^1 M^1 3 5 M_2^2 B^2 5 B_2^3$  s. praedi-  
 centem e.  $B^3$  s. perducentem e.  $O^2 R^2 L$  s. per d exanimasset  $V^{88}$   
 unumque praesentem  $V^0 1$

†51, 37 prolotionibus  $AV^4 M^3 Mon G^2$  prolapsionibus  $V^0 5 6 36 38$   
 $UO^1 2 R^1 2 M^1 2 5 LB^1 2 3$

†52, 4 ut qui  $AV^4 5 R^1 M^1 3$  utpote qui  $V^0 1 36 38 UO^1 2 R^2 M^2 5$   
 $B^1 2 3 5$  utpote  $V^6$

†52, 25 flaminium  $V^0 1 5 6 36 38 UR^2 M^2 5 LB^1 2 3 5$  flamonium  $A$   
 $V^4 R^1 M^1 3 Mon G^2$

†52, 36 exemplar  $V^0 4 5 36 U Mon G^2$  ad exemplar  $AV^6 R^1$   
 $M^1 2 3 5 B^1 2 3$

†53, 3 exempli  $AV^4 M^3$  exempli correxit quae  $V^0 1 5 6 36 38 UO^1 2$   
 $R^1 2 M^1 2 5 LB^1 2 3 5$

53, 30 manifesti  $V^0 6^{36} R^1 M^{1 2 5} L B^{1 2 3}$  manifesta *A* manifestum  $V^{4 5} M^3$

53, 34 signatores  $V^0_{corr} V^4$  senatores  $AV^{5 6 36} UO^{1 2} R^1 M^{2 3 5} L B^{1 2 3}$

†53, 35 tabellas  $V^0 86 UO^{1 2} M^5 L B^{1 2 3 5}$  tabulas  $AV^{4 5 6 38} R^1 M^{1 3} B_2^3$  tabèllas  $M^2$

55, 23 a uirili toga: uirili toga  $AV^4$  uirili togae  $V^0 1 M^5 B^1$  die uirilil togae  $B^2$  uirilem togam  $V^5 6 R^1 M^{1 3} L B^3$

55, 36 ex improbatil *L* in exprobatil *A* (as first written)  $V^4 6 O^1 B^2$  in exprobratil *A* (corr. m. r)  $V^5 86 UO^2 R^1 M^3 B^1$  etiam exprobratos  $V^0$

†56, 10 populi recensum  $V^0 1 5 86 UO^{1 2} M^{2 5} B^{1 5}$  populi r. (oro.) censum  $AV^{4 6 38} R^{1 2} M^{1 3} B^2$  p. r. censum  $B^3$  romani populi censum *L*

†56, 33 pullatorum  $AV^4 M^{1 3} B^3$  bullatorum  $V^0 5 6 86 M_2^1 M^5 B^{1 2 5}$

†56, 35 en romanos  $AV^4 R^1 M^1$  en romanos  $M^3$  en ait romanos  $V^{1 5 6 86 38} M^5 L B^{1 2 3 5}$  \*\* ait romanos  $V^0$

†56, 37 circaue  $AV^{4 5} R^1 M^1$  circaue  $M^3$  circoue  $V^0 6 86 38$  *Mon L B^{1 2 3 5} G^2*

57, 2 nummariae  $V^0 4 5 6 R^1 M^3 B^{1 2 3}$  nummummariae *A* nummum marinae *Mon G^2*

57, 22 grauitate  $V^0 4 5 6 86 R^1 M^3$  *Mon B^{1 2} G^2* grauitate *A*

†57, 29 partimque  $AV^{4 6} R^1 M^{1 3}$  partemque  $V^0 5 36 M^5 B^{1 2 3} G^2$  (exceptis — expulisset *om. Mon*)

57, 34 posthac  $V^{86} B^{1 2}$  post hanc  $AV^0 4 5 6 R^1 M^{1 3} B^3$

58, 11 maiorum  $V^{4 86} B^5$  magnorum  $AV^0 1 5 6 R^1 M^{1 2 3 5} B^{1 2 3} G^2$

†58, 11 puerorum  $AV^{4 5} R^1 M^3$  *Mon G^2* puerorum delectu  $V^0 1 6 86 O^2 M^{1 5} L B^{1 2 3 5}$  puerorumque delectu  $M^2$

58, 27 inuisitatum  $AB^{1} G^2$  inuisitatum  $V^0 4 5 6 86 R^1 M^3$  *Mon B^{2 3}*

60, 2 ludis et scena: ludos et scenam  $AV^{4 6 86} R^1 M^3 L B^{1 2}$  in ludos et scenam  $V^0 1 5$

60, 12 ab se frequentauit  $V^0 V^1$  (b add. m. 2) ad se frequentauit  $V^{86} M^{2 5} B^{1 2}$  ad se frequentauit  $V^6$  se frequentauit *A* refrequentauit  $V^{4 5} V^6_{var} R^1 M^{1 3} M_2^2$

61, 26 a loco perferunt: a loco idem perferunt *A plurimi* a loco eodem perferunt  $V^0 1 5$

†61, 34 ne  $AV^0 6 86 B^{1 3}$  et ne  $V^{4 5} R^1 M^{1 3}$

62, 10 sed uiolentius : sedulo lentius *AV*<sup>4 86</sup> *UO*<sup>1 2</sup> *M*<sup>2 5</sup> *B*<sup>1 5</sup>  
 sedulo uiolentius *V*<sup>6 6</sup> *R*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>1 3</sup> *M*<sup>2</sup> *L* *B*<sup>3</sup> s. libenti uiolentius *R*<sup>2</sup>  
 sedulo ac palam *V*<sup>0 1</sup> sedulo *B*<sup>2</sup>

62, 19 exque iis : exquiis *V*<sup>4</sup> ex quiis *A* ex quis *V*<sup>5</sup> *V*<sup>6</sup><sub>var</sub>  
*V*<sup>86</sup> *R*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>1 2 3 5</sup> *Mon* *B*<sup>1 2 5</sup> *G*<sup>2</sup> ex quibus *V*<sup>0 1</sup> *B*<sup>3</sup> quibus *I*<sup>6</sup>

63, 4 grandi iam natu : grandi iam ornatu *M*<sup>3</sup> grandi iam  
 ornatu *AV*<sup>4 6</sup> *R*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>1 2 5</sup> *B*<sup>1 3</sup> grandior iam natu *V*<sup>86</sup> *UO*<sup>1 2</sup> *B*<sub>2,3</sub> *B*<sup>5</sup>  
 grandior natu *B*<sup>2</sup> cum grandi ornatu *V*<sup>0 1</sup>

64, 11 consensu biduo : concessu biduo (ces *in ras.*) *B*<sup>1</sup> concessu  
 biduo *AV*<sup>4 5 86</sup> *R*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>1 3</sup> concessu dubio *V*<sup>0 1 6</sup>

66, 19 diurnos *A* diurno (commentario) *V*<sup>0 1</sup> diuturnos  
*V*<sup>4 5 6 86</sup> *R*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>1 3</sup> *L* *B*<sup>1</sup>

†67, 37 patientiam *V*<sup>4 86</sup> *R*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>1 3 5</sup> *L* *B*<sup>1 2 3 4</sup> impatientiam *V*<sup>0</sup>  
 impatientiam *AV*<sup>5 6 86</sup> *M*<sup>2</sup> *Mon* *B*<sup>5</sup> *G*<sup>2</sup>

†68, 35 uersum — pronuntiatum *V*<sup>0 1 6 86</sup> *M*<sup>2</sup> uersu — pronuntiatu  
*B*<sup>5</sup> uersu — pronuntiato *AV*<sup>4 5</sup> *R*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>1 3 5</sup> *Mon* *B*<sup>1 2</sup> *G*<sup>2</sup>

†70, 29 scribit ad filiam *AV*<sup>5</sup> *V*<sub>2</sub><sup>6</sup> *V*<sup>86 88</sup> *UO*<sup>2</sup> *R*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>3</sup> *L* *B*<sup>3 5</sup> *om.*  
*V*<sup>0 1 4 6</sup> *M*<sup>5</sup> *B*<sup>1 2</sup> s. ad gloriam filiam *O*<sup>1</sup>

†71, 4 in urbe *V*<sup>0 1 6 86 88</sup> *UM*<sup>5</sup> *B*<sup>1 2 3 5</sup> in urbem *A* extra  
 urbe *V*<sup>4</sup> extra urbem *V*<sup>5</sup> *R*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>1 3</sup> *B*<sub>2,3</sub>

†73, 32 et a memoria : etiam memoriam *AV*<sup>4</sup> *M*<sup>2 5</sup> *Mon* *B*<sup>1</sup> *G*<sup>2</sup>  
 etiam in memoriam *V*<sup>5 6 86</sup> *R*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>1 3</sup> *L* ipsius in memoriam *V*<sup>0 1</sup>  
*om. B*<sup>2</sup>

†74, 28 tibur *V*<sup>0 4 6 86</sup> *M*<sup>2 5</sup> *L* *B*<sup>1 2</sup> tibur *AV*<sup>5</sup> *R*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>3</sup> *Mon* *G*<sup>2</sup>

†74, 30 in primis *V*<sup>0 6 86</sup> *R*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>2</sup> *B*<sup>1 2</sup> imprimis *V*<sup>5</sup> primis *A*  
*V*<sup>4</sup> *M*<sup>3</sup> *Mon* *G*<sup>2</sup>

74, 37 pilam *V*<sup>0 4 6 86</sup> *R*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>3</sup> *Mon* *B*<sup>1 2</sup> *G*<sup>2</sup> pillam *V*<sup>6</sup> primam *A*

†75, 17 scriptos : scriptis *AV*<sup>0 4 5 6</sup> *R*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>3</sup> *L* *B*<sup>1 2</sup> in scriptis  
*V*<sup>86</sup> *UO*<sup>1 2</sup>

†76, 2 urbibus *AV*<sup>4</sup> *R*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>1 2 5</sup> *M*<sub>(i)</sub><sup>3</sup> *B*<sup>1 2</sup> uerbis *V*<sup>0 1</sup> *V*<sub>2</sub><sup>6</sup> *V*<sup>86</sup> *UO*<sup>1 2</sup>  
*R*<sup>2</sup> *M*<sub>2</sub><sup>3</sup> *L* *B*<sup>3 5</sup> (neque — addere *om. V*<sup>6</sup> (*add. m. 2*); urbibus addere  
 neque *om. Mon*)

76, 34 diuidit *V*<sup>0 5</sup> *V*<sub>(i)</sub><sup>6</sup> *R*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>1</sup> diuidit ē *V*<sup>4</sup> diuidite *AM*<sup>3</sup>  
*Mon* *G*<sup>2</sup> diuidit et *M*<sup>2 5</sup> *B*<sup>1 2</sup> diuidere *V*<sub>2</sub><sup>6</sup> *V*<sup>86</sup> *M*<sub>2</sub><sup>3</sup> *L* *B*<sup>3 5</sup>

78, 9 est ipse *V*<sup>0 5 6</sup> *R*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>1</sup> *B*<sup>1</sup> ipse *M*<sup>3</sup> est item *V*<sup>86</sup> *UO*<sup>1 2</sup> *R*<sup>2</sup>  
 ipse est *Mon* *G*<sup>2</sup> ipse et *V*<sup>4</sup> ipse ē *A*

80, 21 in eius sinum rem p. quam : in eius signum rei p. quam *A Mon G<sup>2</sup>* in e. signum rei p. qua *V<sup>4</sup>* in e. sinum signum rei p. quam *UO<sup>1 2</sup> M<sup>5</sup> B<sup>1 2 5</sup>* in sinum eius signum rei p. quam *V<sup>6</sup>* in eius sinum signum rei p. quem *V<sup>86</sup>* in e. sinum signum rei p. quod *V<sup>0</sup> (as first written?)* in eius sinum signum quod *R<sup>2</sup> L* in sinum eius signum rei p. quod *V<sup>5</sup> R<sup>1</sup> M<sup>1 3</sup>* in eius sinu felix signum rei p. quod *V<sub>3</sub><sup>0</sup> V<sup>1</sup>*

80, 34 demissum e caelo *V<sup>4 86</sup> M<sup>2 5</sup> B<sup>1 2 5</sup>* demissum caelo *V<sup>0 1</sup> L* demissa e caelo *AV<sup>5 6</sup> R<sup>1</sup> M<sup>1 3</sup>* demisso caelo *Mon G*

80, 38 obuersata *A (uers in ras.?) V<sup>6 86</sup> M<sup>2 5</sup> B<sup>1</sup>* obseruata *V<sup>4 5</sup> R<sup>1</sup> M<sup>1 3</sup>* obumbrata *V<sup>0 1</sup>*

83, 11 obsoniorum rerumque missilia *AV<sup>86</sup> UO<sup>1 2</sup> M<sup>2 4 5</sup> Mon* o. rerumque missia *B<sup>1</sup>* o. rerumque missilium *V<sup>4 6</sup> R<sup>1 2</sup> M<sup>1 3</sup> M<sub>2</sub><sup>2</sup> L* o. rerumque comestibilium *V<sup>5</sup>* obsonicarum rerum lasciuiia *V<sup>0 1</sup>*

†85, 11 et sextante *V<sup>6 86</sup> UO<sup>1 2</sup> M<sup>2 5</sup> L B<sup>1 2 5</sup>* et sextam *AV<sup>4 5</sup> R<sup>1 2</sup> M<sup>1 3</sup> Mon G<sup>2</sup>* necnon et *V<sup>0 1</sup>*

85, 16 quinquies *V<sup>0 5 6 86</sup> M<sup>2</sup> B<sup>1 2 5</sup>* quinques *AV<sup>4</sup>* quinque *R<sup>1 2</sup> M<sup>1 3</sup> L*

†85, 28 tribus *AV<sup>4</sup> R<sup>1</sup> M<sup>1 3</sup> M<sub>2</sub><sup>2</sup>* de tribus *V<sup>86</sup> UO<sup>1 2</sup> R<sup>2</sup> M<sup>5</sup> B<sup>1 2 5</sup>*

85, 30 quae *V<sup>0 4 5 86</sup> M<sup>1 2 3</sup>* quem *AV<sup>6</sup> R<sup>1</sup> M<sup>5</sup> Mon B<sup>1 2 5</sup> G<sup>2</sup>*

†86, 10 atque in *AV<sup>4</sup> M<sup>3</sup> Mon G<sup>2</sup>* a patribus in *V<sup>0 5 6 86</sup> R<sup>1</sup> M<sup>2 4 5</sup> B<sup>1 2</sup>*

87, 30 tiberio *V<sup>0 6 86</sup> M<sup>4 5</sup> M<sub>var</sub><sup>2</sup> B<sup>1 2</sup>* timore *AV<sup>4</sup> M<sup>2 3</sup> Mon G<sup>2</sup>* iuniore *Mon<sub>var</sub> G<sub>var</sub><sup>2</sup>* minore *V<sup>5</sup> R<sup>1</sup> M<sup>1</sup> M<sub>var</sub><sup>3</sup>*

88, 33 per *AV<sup>4</sup> M<sup>3</sup> Mon B<sup>1 2</sup> G<sup>2</sup>* post *V<sup>0 5 6 86</sup> R<sup>1</sup>*

†89, 18 troiam *AV<sup>4</sup> M<sup>3</sup> Mon* troianis *V<sup>0 5 6 86</sup> R<sup>1</sup> L B<sup>1 2</sup>*

91, 29 exseruisse ius : exeruisse ius *M<sup>3</sup> B<sup>1</sup>* exercuisse ius *V<sup>0 5 6 86</sup> R<sup>1</sup> B<sup>2</sup>* exeruisse eius *V<sup>4</sup>* ex seruis eius *A Mon G<sup>2</sup>*

93, 11 ignota scilicet *V<sup>6 86</sup> UR<sup>1</sup> M<sup>3</sup> B<sup>1 2</sup>* ignoti scilicet *AV<sup>4</sup> Mon ignota V<sup>0 5</sup>*

94, 22 multique *V<sup>0 1</sup>* multi *AV<sup>4 6</sup> R<sup>1</sup> M<sup>3</sup> B<sup>1</sup>* et multi *V<sup>5</sup>*

95, 30 ageret : augeter *V<sup>5</sup>* augeter *AV<sup>0 4 5</sup>*

97, 25 sed *V<sup>0 6</sup>* se *AV<sup>4 5</sup> R<sup>1</sup> M<sup>3</sup> Mon B<sup>1</sup>*

99, 4 adisse *V<sup>6</sup>* audisse *AV<sup>4 86</sup> R<sup>1</sup> M<sup>3</sup> B<sup>1</sup>* audere *V<sup>0 5</sup>*

100, 3 impetravit *V<sup>0 5 6 86</sup> R<sup>1</sup> M<sup>3</sup> Mon B<sup>1</sup>* imperavit *AV<sup>4</sup>*

†102, 11 et ortos *AV<sup>4</sup> R<sup>1</sup> M<sup>3</sup>* exortos *V<sup>0 5 6 86</sup> M<sub>2</sub><sup>3</sup> B<sup>1 2</sup>*

105, 32 sestertio *V<sup>0 1 6</sup>* sestertium *AV<sup>4 5 86</sup> R<sup>1</sup> M<sup>3</sup> B<sup>1</sup>*

- 107, 4 ullum  $V^5$  nullum  $AV^{04}$
- 108, 2 creditur  $V_2^4$  *Mon L* credebatur  $V^{05}$  crederetur  $V^{86}$   
 $UO^{12}$   $M^4$  om.  $AV^{46}$   $R^1$   $M^{35}$   $B^{12}$
- 111, 27 cum libertis atque etiam liberis: c. liberis a. e. liberis  $V^6$   
 $R^1$   $M^{12345}$   $B^1$  c. liberis a. e. a liberis  $AV^4$  *Mon* c. liberis a. e.  
 uxorbibus  $V^{586}$   $O^{12}$  c. liberis etiam atque uxorbibus *U* c. coniugi-  
 bus a. e. liberis  $V^{01}$
- 112, 26 euocarat: euocauerat  $V^0$  euocabat  $AV^{456}$   $O^2$   $R^1$   $M^3$   
*Mon L B^1* aduocabat  $V^{86}$   $UO^1$
- †114, 30 patria  $AV^4$   $R^1$   $M^3$  *Mon* patris  $V^{0686}$   $M^2$   $L B^1$  patriae  
 patris  $V^5$  ·p·p· $B^2$
- 115, 38 minois  $V^{0686}$  *Mon G^2* minonis  $AV^{45}$   $M^3$   $B^1$  milonis  $R^1$
- 121, 18 puerascens insigni  $V^{086}$   $V_2^6$   $M^{245}$   $B^{12}$  puer nascens in-  
 signi  $AV^5$   $R^1$  puer insigni nascens *Mon G^2*
- 122, 26 ioco  $B^2$  loco  $AV^{05686}$   $O^2$   $R^1$   $M^3$  *Mon L B^1*
- 122, 31 et conspectu: ex conspectu  $AV^{056}$   $R^1$   $M^{18}$  *Mon B^{12}*  
 conspectu  $V^{83}$   $UO^{12}$
- 123, 25 iam tunc: ne tunc  $M^3$  uete *A* uetere *Mon* hoste  
 $V^{06}$   $M^{245}$   $B^{12}$  hoste tunc  $V^{586}$   $UO^{12}$   $R^1$   $M^1$
- 126, 8 adiecit  $V^0$  adfecit  $AV^{56}$
- 127, 18 quercea  $B^2$  quercica  $V^{86}$   $M^{245}$   $L B^1$  quiercica *A Mon*  
 quercina  $V^{01}$  aurea  $V^5$   $M_{ur}^2$   $M_2^8$  aerea  $R^1$   $M^{13}$
- 127, 18 caetra  $M_2^2$  caethra  $M^3$  caetura  $AV^{86}$   $M^{245}$   $M_{car}^3$  *Mon*  
 $L_2$   $B^{12}$   $G^2$  cinctura *L* cathedra  $V^5$   $R^1$  sceptro  $V^{016}$
- †130, 36 uxorio nomine dignatus est quam enixam  $AM^{18}$   $M_2^2$  *Mon*  
 $G^2$  quam enixam uxorio nomine dignatus est  $V^{56}$   $M^{245}$   $L B^{12}$   
 quam e. uxoris nomine d. est  $V^0$
- 131, 33 paegniaris *A* pegmaris  $R^1$   $M^{18}$  *Mon* pegmares  $V^6$   
 $M^4$  *L* peginares  $O^{12}$  peginatos  $V^{86}$  *U* pigritantes  $V^{05}$  pri-  
 mares  $M^5$   $B^{12}$
- †131, 33 notos  $R^1$   $M^{18}$  *L* notos in bonam partem  $AV^{05686}$   $M^{45}$   
*Mon B^{12}*
- 133, 13 feri  $M^{18}$  fieri *A* fieri  $V^{0686}$   $R^1$  *Mon L B^1*  $G^2$  ferri  $V^5$
- 136, 18 symphonias *Mon G^2* symphro  $AV^{686}$   $UO^2$   $R^1$   $M^{12345}$   
 $L_{car}$   $B^{12}$  scopulos  $V^{015}$  in foro *L* om.  $O^1$
- †141, 1 urbem  $V^{0686}$   $B^{12}$  urbem omnem  $AV^5$  *Mon* omnem  
 urbem  $R^1$   $M^{18}$

142, 12 at uero maiore *M*<sup>3</sup> ad uero maiore *A* ad uero maiora  
*V*<sup>1 5 6 86</sup> *UO*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>4</sup> *LB*<sup>1</sup> ad maiora uero *V*<sup>0</sup> *B*<sup>2</sup> at uero maiora  
*O*<sup>2</sup> *R*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>1</sup> *Mon*

147, 13 noui *V*<sup>0</sup> *LB*<sup>1 2</sup> naui *A Mon G*<sup>2</sup> magna ui *V*<sup>5 6 86</sup> *U*  
*R*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>1 3</sup>

159, 4 aut non *AV*<sup>0 6</sup> *R*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>1 2 3 4 5</sup> *B*<sup>1</sup> at non *B*<sup>2</sup> an non *Mon*  
autem non *V*<sup>5</sup> auete uos *V*<sup>86</sup> *UO*<sup>1 2</sup> *L*

159, 18 dira *AV*<sup>1 5 6 86</sup> *R*<sup>1</sup> *Mon B*<sup>1</sup> *G*<sup>2</sup> dura *V*<sup>0</sup>

†159, 18 aue in capitolio: aut in capitolio *AM*<sup>3</sup> *Mon G*<sup>2</sup> aut  
in urbe aut in capitolio *V*<sup>0 1 5 6 86</sup> *B*<sup>1</sup> aut in u. aut capitolio *R*<sup>1</sup>

†159, 19 pro rostris *AM*<sup>3</sup> *Mon G*<sup>2</sup> commonito pro rostris *V*<sup>0 6</sup>  
*UO*<sup>2</sup> *B*<sup>1</sup> commonitio pro r. *V*<sup>86</sup> *O*<sup>1</sup> commonente pro r. *V*<sup>5</sup> *R*<sup>1</sup>

163, 28 defuit uel stanti *V*<sup>0 6</sup> *M*<sup>2</sup> *LB*<sup>1</sup> d. stanti *V*<sup>86</sup> *UO*<sup>1 2</sup> *R*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>1</sup>  
d. statim *V*<sup>5</sup> d. et ueterum stanti *AM*<sup>3</sup> *Mon*

173, 3 at eosdem dracone e puluino se proferente *Mon* et eos-  
dem etc. *V*<sup>0</sup> *B*<sup>1 2</sup> ad eosdem etc. *AV*<sup>6</sup> *M*<sup>3</sup> eosdem etc. *V*<sup>86</sup> *U*  
*O*<sup>1 2</sup> *R*<sup>1</sup> eosdem dracones e p. se proferentes *V*<sup>5</sup>

174, 38 auium *V*<sup>6</sup> *Mon G*<sup>2</sup> aulum *AR*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>1 2 3</sup> *B*<sup>1</sup> aulium *V*<sup>86</sup>  
*UO*<sup>1 2</sup> aurum *B*<sup>2</sup> donum *V*<sup>0 1 5</sup>

176, 29 de *AV*<sup>86</sup> *R*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>3</sup> *Mon G*<sup>2</sup> sed de *V*<sup>5</sup> sed et de *V*<sup>0 6</sup> *B*<sup>1 2</sup>

178, 23 nauarent *AV*<sup>6</sup> *M*<sup>3</sup> nouarent *V*<sup>86</sup> *R*<sup>1</sup> *Mon B*<sup>1</sup> *G*<sup>2</sup> nauarent  
praecepit *V*<sup>0 5</sup>

178, 24 pueris ac sine anulo laeuiis *AR*<sup>1</sup> pueris ac sine a. uelis *M*<sup>1 3</sup>  
pueri ac sine a. uelis *V*<sup>6</sup> pueri ac sine a. leuis *V*<sup>6</sup> *V*<sup>86</sup> *LB*<sup>1 2</sup> pueri  
nec sine a. leuis *Mon* pueri ac sine a. leui *V*<sup>0 5</sup>

†182, 9 cura *AV*<sup>5 6 86</sup> *R*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>3</sup> *Mon G*<sup>2</sup> causa *V*<sup>0</sup> *B*<sup>1 2</sup>

182, 38 affirmant *V*<sup>5</sup> affirmabant *A*

†183, 27 rete *V*<sup>0 5 6 86</sup> *B*<sup>1</sup> reti *B*<sup>2</sup> ueste *AR*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>1 3</sup> *Mon G*<sup>2</sup>

†186, 15 trierarchis *AV*<sup>0</sup> (*in ras.*) *Mon B*<sup>1</sup> *G*<sup>2</sup> trierarchis (*corr.*  
*from* tetrarchis) *V*<sup>6</sup> tetrarchis *V*<sup>5 86</sup> *R*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>3</sup>

187, 17 fingeret dolo stupratam *A Mon* fingeret et dolo stupra-  
tam *V*<sup>5 6 86</sup> *R*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>1 3</sup> dolo stupratam *V*<sup>0</sup> *B*<sup>1</sup>

†187, 27 inter *AV*<sup>0 5 6</sup> *R*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>1 3</sup> *Mon B*<sup>1</sup> interemit *V*<sup>86</sup> *UO*<sup>1 2</sup>  
*om.* *B*<sup>2</sup>

188, 29 horarum *AV*<sup>86</sup> *UO*<sup>1 2</sup> *R*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>1 3</sup> *B*<sup>1</sup> duarum horarum *V*<sup>0 5 6</sup>  
trium horarum *B*<sup>2</sup> .iii. horarum *Mon G*<sup>2</sup>

188, 38 parsurum *V*<sup>5 6 86</sup> *B*<sup>1</sup> passurum *AR*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>3</sup> parciturum  
*Mon G*<sup>2</sup> perusurum *V*<sup>0 1</sup>

189, 20 ducum  $V^0 \text{ } ^5 \text{ } ^6 M^2 B^1$  dum  $A R^1 M^1 Mon G^2$  deum  
 $V^{86} M_2^2 M^3$

192, 4 male fracto  $V^5 \text{ } ^6 \text{ } ^{86} R^1 M_2^2 M^3$  male facto  $A M^2 Mon B^1 \text{ } ^2 G^2$   
 labefacto  $V^0 V^1$  (lab *in ras. m. 2*)

193, 20 deligata  $V^0 \text{ } ^6 \text{ } ^{86} B^1 \text{ } ^2$  delicata  $AV^5 R^1 M^1 \text{ } ^3 G^2$  dedi-  
 cata *Mon*

194, 6 desisse : dedisse  $A R^1 M^1 \text{ } ^3$  finem dedisse *Mon G^2*  
 decidisse  $V^0 \text{ } ^5 \text{ } ^6 \text{ } ^{86} B^1 \text{ } ^2$

†194, 19 praeteritorum  $AV^5 \text{ } ^{86} R^1 M^1 \text{ } ^3 Mon G^2$  praeteritorum  
 peccatorum  $V^0 \text{ } ^6 M^2 B^1 \text{ } ^2$  peccatorum *L*

†199, 25 minois  $V^0 \text{ } ^5 \text{ } ^6 \text{ } ^{86} R^1 Mon$  minonis  $A M^6 B^1$

200, 17 quamquam  $AV^0 Mon B^1 G^2$  quam  $V^5 \text{ } ^6 \text{ } ^{86}$

201, 6 ostentum  $AV^0 \text{ } ^5 \text{ } ^{86} V_2^6 R^1 M^3 B^1$  portentum *Mon B^2 G^2*  
*om. V^6*

205, 37 ciuitatem r. (*or ro.*)  $V^6 \text{ } ^{86}$  ciuitatem romanam *U* ciui-  
 tates r.  $A R^1 M^1 \text{ } ^3 Mon B^1$  ciuitates romanis (*om. raro*)  $V^0 \text{ } ^1$  ciui-  
 tates regibus  $V^5$

†206, 13 innocentium  $V^0 \text{ } ^{86} B^1$  nocentium  $AV^5 \text{ } ^6 R^1 M^1 \text{ } ^3 G^2$   
 noxiorum *Mon*

207, 9 terrae tremor *Mon* terra et tremor *A* terra tremore  
 $V^0 \text{ } ^5 \text{ } ^6 \text{ } ^{86}$

†207, 10 manifestiora  $AV^5 \text{ } ^6 \text{ } ^{86} R^1 M^1 \text{ } ^3 Mon G^2$  maiora et tristiora  
 $V^0 B^1 \text{ } ^2$

†208, 18 arripere  $AV^5 R^1 M^1 \text{ } ^3 Mon B^1 \text{ } ^2$  prae caluitie arripere  
 $V^0 \text{ } ^6 \text{ } ^{86}$

208, 19 addidit  $V^0 \text{ } ^1$  abdidit  $AV^5 \text{ } ^6 \text{ } ^{86} R^1 M^3 Mon B^1 \text{ } ^2$

208, 29 aurelia uia *Mon G^2* aureliae uiae  $AV^0 \text{ } ^5 \text{ } ^6 \text{ } ^{86} R^1 M^3 B^1$

†208, 36 abundantis : abundanti  $AV^6 R^1 M^3 Mon B^1$  abundans  
 $V^0 \text{ } ^5 \text{ } ^{86} UO^1$

†211, 9 referre  $V^{86} R_{var}^1 Mon G^2$  referri  $V^6$  refelli  $AV^0 \text{ } ^5 R^1$   
 $M^3 B^1$

211, 16 plures affuturos *Mon* plures adfuturis *A* plures affuturi  
 $V^5 \text{ } ^6 R^1 M^3 B^1$  pluribus affuturis  $V^0 \text{ } ^{86} UO^2$  pluribus affuturus  $O^1$

†211, 16 tulerat  $AV^0 \text{ } ^6 Mon B^1$  erat  $V^5 \text{ } ^{86} UO^1 \text{ } ^2 R^1 M^3$

214, 19 scambusque : cambusque  $A M^3 Mon B^1 G^2$  caluusque  
 $V^5 \text{ } ^6 \text{ } ^{86}$  caluus  $R^1 B_{var}^1 G_{var}^2$  claudusque  $V^0$

215, 3 adultores  $V^5 \text{ } ^6 \text{ } ^{86} R^1 M^3 Mon G^2$  adultores *A* adulteros  
 $V^0 B^1$



- 217, 27 uenetae *A Mon B<sup>1</sup> G<sup>2</sup>* ueterem *V<sup>0</sup> 1* suae *V<sup>5</sup> 6 86 R<sup>1</sup> M<sup>3</sup>*
- 218, 32 lustratisque signis: lustrauitque signis *AV<sup>6</sup> 86 UO<sup>1</sup> 2 R<sup>1</sup> M<sup>3</sup>*  
*Mon B<sup>1</sup>* lustrauitque signa *V<sup>0</sup> 1 5*
- †224, 7 an *AV<sup>0</sup> Mon B<sup>1</sup> G<sup>2</sup>* incertum sponte an *V<sup>5</sup> 6 86 R<sup>1</sup> M<sup>1</sup> 3*
- 225, 21 extudit *AV<sup>0</sup> 6 M<sup>1</sup> 3 B<sup>1</sup>* extulit *V<sup>5</sup> V<sup>2</sup> 6 R<sup>1</sup> Mon L<sub>2</sub> G<sup>2</sup>*
- excudit *V<sup>86</sup> UO<sup>1</sup> 2* excussit *L*
- 227, 1 industriae expertae *V<sup>0</sup>* industria experti *A B<sup>1</sup>* industria  
 expertus *V<sup>5</sup> 6 86 R<sup>1</sup> M<sup>1</sup> 3 Mon G<sup>2</sup>*
- †227, 12 quae erat *V<sup>0</sup> 86 UB<sup>1</sup>* erat *AV<sup>5</sup> 6 R<sup>1</sup> M<sup>1</sup> 3 Mon*
- 228, 36 idus *V<sup>5</sup>* .kl. *A*
- 231, 25 patris patriae *AV<sup>5</sup> M<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup> M<sup>3</sup> B<sup>1</sup>* patris patriaeque *V<sup>0</sup> 6*  
 nec patris patriae *Mon G<sup>2</sup>* patriae *M<sup>1</sup>*
- †232, 37 negata sibi gratuita libertate *V<sup>5</sup> 86 R<sup>1</sup>* negatam s. gratui-  
 tam libertatem *AV<sup>6</sup> M<sup>3</sup> Mon B<sup>1</sup> G<sup>2</sup>*
- 233, 12 coae ueneris: coeuenerit *AM<sup>2</sup> 5 B<sup>1</sup> Mon* coemerit  
*V<sup>5</sup> R<sup>1</sup> M<sup>3</sup> 4 Z* coemeret *V<sup>6</sup>* coemerierit *Ven<sup>3</sup>* coemit *V<sup>86</sup> U*  
*O<sup>1</sup> 2 Ven<sup>1</sup> L* coemit *Ven<sup>2</sup>*
- 234, 11 semper alias *AM<sup>2</sup> 3 Mon B<sup>1</sup> G<sup>2</sup>* super alias *R<sup>1</sup>* semper  
 aleas *V<sup>6</sup>* super aleas *V<sup>5</sup> 86*
- 236, 34 summa industriae nec minore modestiae fama: summae  
 industriae n. m. modestia et fama *AV<sup>6</sup> 86 R<sup>1</sup> M<sup>3</sup> Mon B<sup>1</sup>* summa  
 industria n. m. modestia et fama *V<sup>5</sup>* summa industria n. m. sollertia  
 et fama *V<sup>0</sup>* summa industria n. m. sollertia modestia et fama *V<sup>1</sup>*
- 237, 8 legioni *V<sup>0</sup> 5 6 86* religioni *A* religione *B<sup>1</sup>* .x. legioni  
*Mon G<sup>2</sup>*
- 237, 25 regnum sibi *V<sup>0</sup> B<sup>1</sup>* sibi regnum *AV<sup>5</sup> 6 86 R<sup>1</sup> M<sup>3</sup> Mon G<sup>2</sup>*
- 238, 11 aduerso rumore *AM<sup>3</sup>* (rum in ras.) *Mon G<sup>2</sup>* aduersorū  
 more *V<sup>6</sup>* auerso rumore *V<sup>86</sup> U* aduersa re *V<sup>0</sup> 5 R<sup>1</sup> B<sup>1</sup>*
- †240, 17 ferramenta *AV<sup>5</sup> 6 86 R<sup>1</sup> M<sup>1</sup> 3 Mon G<sup>2</sup>* , ornamenta *V<sup>0</sup>*  
*V<sup>6</sup> var B<sup>1</sup>*
- †240, 20 uerum *AV<sup>6</sup> M<sup>3</sup> Mon G<sup>2</sup>* uenturum *V<sup>0</sup> 5 86 R<sup>1</sup> B<sup>1</sup>*
- 240, 33 pallulis *AM<sup>3</sup>* palludis *Mon G<sup>2</sup>* paludibus *B<sup>1</sup>* palu-  
 damentis *V<sup>5</sup> 6 86 R<sup>1</sup>* paludementis *M<sup>1</sup>* pluribus *V<sup>0</sup>*
- 242, 38 consalutauit augustam: consulatu filium uit augustam *A*  
 consulatus filium et a. *V<sup>0</sup> Mon* consalutauerat ut a. *V<sup>5</sup> 6 86 R<sup>1</sup> M<sup>1</sup> 3*
- 244, 19 et odium *AV<sup>0</sup> 1* ethodium *Mon* exin ethodium *U*  
 et exin etodium *V<sup>86</sup>* et methodum *V<sup>5</sup>* et ex metodium *O<sup>1</sup> 2 M<sup>1</sup> 3*  
 et ex methodium *V<sup>6</sup>*

- 245, 1 communi rerum usu *A Mon* communes r. usus *V<sup>5 6 86</sup> M<sup>8</sup>*  
 circensi ludo *V<sup>0 1</sup>*
- 245, 1 nouauit *AV<sup>0 6</sup> M<sup>8</sup> Mon* innouauit *V<sup>5 86</sup>*
- 247, 12 abductam *V<sup>86</sup>* adductam *AV<sup>0 5 6</sup> M<sup>8</sup> Mon*
- 247, 22 paeti *Mon B<sup>1</sup> G<sup>2</sup>* petit *A* petitus *V<sup>6</sup>* petitus  
*V<sup>5 86</sup> M<sup>1 8</sup>*
- 250, 10 tempore *A* tempore uero *A<sub>2</sub> V<sup>0 5 6 86</sup> M<sup>8</sup> Mon*
- 252, 19 adhuc *V<sup>0 5 6</sup>* adhoc *AV<sup>86</sup> M<sup>1</sup> Mon*
- 253, 5 alieno *V<sup>0 5 86</sup>* alfeno *A Mon G<sup>2</sup>* alieno alfeno *V<sup>6</sup> M<sup>8</sup>*  
 alieno alfabeto *V<sup>8</sup> var M<sup>1</sup>*
- 253, 9 incanum *A Mon* canum *V<sup>5 6 86</sup> M<sup>1 8</sup>* etiam canum *V<sup>0 1</sup>*
- 254, 7 rei p. statum *V<sup>0 6 86</sup>* statum rei p. *V<sup>5</sup> M<sup>1 8</sup>* rerum  
 statum publice *A*

Besides their various readings, there are three features of these manuscripts which might be expected to furnish evidence of relationship,—the division into books, the division into chapters, and the manner of dealing with Greek passages; and these do prove to be of some value, though on the whole disappointing.

The uncial Greek of the archetype is copied with fair success in most of the older manuscripts, and in one late one, *Mon*. In some of the older manuscripts, in those of the XIII. and XIV. century, and in some of the XV. century, the scribe has usually copied the Greek letters with more or less diligence, though such forms as **ТАР** for **ΓΑΡ**, **ТАΑΑΑА** for **ТА ΑΑΑΑ** show that he did not know the Greek alphabet. To this class belong *V<sup>8</sup> R<sup>1</sup> M<sup>1 2 8</sup> Ven<sup>1</sup> B<sup>1 2 4</sup>*. In *V<sup>0 1</sup> M<sup>4</sup>* the scribe's ignorance or indifference is such that he makes a mere pretense of copying the Greek, and gives a string of meaningless letters. In *V<sup>7</sup> M<sup>5</sup> B<sup>3</sup>* the Greek passages were only partly copied by the first hand, and in the following codices they were omitted entirely: *V<sup>5 6 10 18 14 35 86 88</sup> UO<sup>1 2</sup> R<sup>2</sup> Ven<sup>2 8</sup> ZLB<sup>5</sup>*. In such cases space has usually been left for the Greek, and these spaces have sometimes been filled by a later, commonly a cursive, hand; sometimes they remain blank. In *V<sup>4</sup> R<sup>1</sup> M<sup>8</sup>* a Latin version has been written above some of the Greek passages.

In dealing with the division into books we have to do with headings and subscriptions, the province of the miniator, whose freer treatment

has introduced a variety that does not always bear a definite relation to the tradition of the text. Such variety, moreover, was inevitable in a work which had its own natural sub-divisions and sub-headings, rendering any book-headings superfluous. It is not surprising, therefore, that in some manuscripts, as  $V^{15} O^{12} M^5 Ven^8 L B^5$  all mention of books has disappeared, or has nearly disappeared, as in  $V^0$ , in which it survives only in the superscription of *Caligula*. On the other hand some, as  $V^{61485} R^1 M^{284}$ , present a simple subdivision into twelve books, one for each life, or number the emperors without mention of books (*e.g.* Vita Vitellii Auli Imperatoris .viii. incipit), as  $V^{88} U$ . Between these extremes there is great variety. In *A* the designation of books goes as far as *Claudius* (liber V); in *Mon*, as far as *Nero* (liber VI), but with the omission of liber III for *Augustus*; and so on. The statement of Suidas that the work was in eight books is not, so far as I know, confirmed by any extant manuscript.

In the division into chapters there is no less diversity. Fifteen of the manuscripts now under consideration,  $V^{01561886} U O^{12} R^2 M^5 Ven^{23} B^{15}$ , have no chapter divisions whatever, though some of them are furnished with marginal *capitula*, or subject-headings. Where there is a division, it is sometimes indicated by breaking the text up into paragraphs (usually with capital initials), sometimes merely by paragraph marks (¶ etc.) and initials in a solid text. In the former case the paragraphs are sometimes subdivided by paragraph marks. These subdivisions are particularly irregular; an extreme instance is  $V^8$ , which in one place has six paragraph marks in seven lines. To take the *Iulius* as an illustration, that life in *A* has 52 chapters (indicated by paragraphs in Roth); in *L* it has 89 (corresponding with the marginal numbers in Roth).  $V^4$  has only 25 chapters, which agree oftener with *L* than with *A*. *Mon* has 53 chapters, of which 42 agree with *A* and only 5 with *L* against *A*.  $R^1 M^{18}$ , having 76, 78, and 80 chapters respectively, agree more nearly with *A* than with *L*, and still more closely with one another and with *Mon*.  $V^4$  also usually agrees with this group, where it differs from *A*. On the other hand,  $V^{710} B^8$  agree almost exactly with *L*, the subdivision in  $V^7$  having gone a little farther; and  $V^{814} M^4 B^2$  show a marked leaning that way. All this proves that the chapter-divisions of the archetype have been modified in its descendents in opposite ways, by omission on the one hand

and by further subdivision on the other; and in view of the great inequality of the chapters in *A* — they range from two or three lines to nearly two pages in the printed text, the longer ones often neglecting transitions of importance in the subject-matter — Roth's theory (p. xii) that the chapter-divisions of *A* emanated from Suetonius himself is hardly tenable. It is much more likely that *A*, which is full of clerical errors, has lost many of its chapter-divisions, as *V*<sup>4</sup> certainly has, and that *R*<sup>1</sup> *M*<sup>1 2 3</sup> more nearly represent the archetype in this matter.

Coming now to the excerpts themselves, we find that although in the majority of them the manuscripts are much scattered, there is still a considerable number in which all or nearly all of the manuscripts are arrayed in support of one or other of two readings, or of two groups of readings which evidently represent only two lines of tradition, like the various spellings of *Syria* and *Assyria*, respectively, at 11, 1, or *aurum effutuisti* and *aurum effudisti*, on the one hand, and *auro stuprum emisti*, on the other, at 22, 27. By confining our comparison of manuscripts, in the first instance, to excerpts of this description, we may get at least a provisional basis of classification. Thus, if two codices are found in agreement in all or almost all of such excerpts, they may be regarded with confidence as closely related to one another; if there is a decided preponderance of agreement between them, this may be accepted as *prima facie* proof of their kinship, for which confirmation must be sought in the often more significant evidence of those passages in which a greater variety of readings has grown up. On the other hand, this comparison has little or no value if it shows no decided preponderance of either agreement or variance, so that we cannot be sure the balance would not be reversed by fuller data. For the same reason it can be relied upon only for manuscripts which are represented by a considerable number of excerpts; and hence I am not in a position to give any opinion on the relations of *P*<sup>1</sup> *Ven*<sup>1 2 3</sup> *ZB*<sup>4</sup>, from which I was able to secure only a few excerpts. From this dual comparison, if I may so term it, must also be excluded as of doubtful value those places in which the variants have arisen from an easy mistake of copying which may have been made to and fro in the same line of tradition, as *prosequabatur* and *persequabatur* 13, 2. The excerpts which I have selected for this comparison, ninety-three in number, are marked with a dagger (†).

In some of the excerpts there are indications of a triple or quadruple division of the manuscripts represented, and these will serve in a few cases to confirm other evidence; but they are not sufficiently numerous nor sufficiently consistent to guide us at the outset. A general comparison, embracing all the excerpts in which the manuscripts compared are both represented, will be found available in a few cases, where the relation is so close as to stand this severer test; but for the most part this broader comparison is too much complicated by the vagaries of individual manuscripts to yield any clear results.

An application of the dual test yields the following indications of the relations of the remaining manuscripts of my list to Codex *A*, the figures in each case showing the number of times the two manuscripts compared are found in agreement and at variance respectively:

<i>AG</i> <sup>2</sup> 28 : 4	<i>AV</i> <sup>0</sup> 24 : 67	<i>AO</i> <sup>1</sup> 14 : 34
<i>AMon</i> 64 : 11	<i>AV</i> <sup>1</sup> 13 : 40	<i>AO</i> <sup>2</sup> 12 : 36
<i>AV</i> <sup>4</sup> 54 : 18	<i>AV</i> <sup>6</sup> 37 : 53	<i>AR</i> <sup>2</sup> 15 : 30
<i>AM</i> <sup>1</sup> 51 : 22	<i>AV</i> <sup>7</sup> 15 : 20	<i>AM</i> <sup>2</sup> 20 : 41
<i>AM</i> <sup>3</sup> 72 : 20	<i>AV</i> <sup>8</sup> 14 : 20	<i>AM</i> <sup>4</sup> 14 : 29
<i>AR</i> <sup>1</sup> 54 : 37	<i>AV</i> <sup>10</sup> 14 : 21	<i>AM</i> <sup>5</sup> 19 : 37
	<i>AV</i> <sup>14</sup> 14 : 19	<i>AL</i> 10 : 40
<i>AV</i> <sup>88</sup> 14 : 11	<i>AV</i> <sup>15</sup> 9 : 25	<i>AB</i> <sup>1</sup> 32 : 59
<i>AV</i> <sup>5</sup> 45 : 45	<i>AV</i> <sup>85</sup> 8 : 21	<i>AB</i> <sup>2</sup> 23 : 52
<i>AV</i> <sup>18</sup> 17 : 17	<i>AV</i> <sup>86</sup> 25 : 64	<i>AB</i> <sup>3</sup> 19 : 39
	<i>AU</i> 16 : 42	<i>AB</i> <sup>5</sup> 18 : 36

The *prima facie* evidence which this table affords, that

*AG<sup>2</sup> Mon V<sup>4</sup> M<sup>3</sup> M<sup>1</sup> R<sup>1</sup>*

belong to a class distinct from the great majority of the rest, is confirmed on closer examination. The evidence that *G*<sup>2</sup> is to be classed with *A* has already been furnished by Becker (*Quaest.* p. III), who includes *M*<sup>3</sup> in the same class, — a thing Roth had hesitated to do. The evidence now before us shows that wherever *G*<sup>2</sup> is placed, *Mon* must accompany it. The dual test finds *G*<sup>2</sup> *Mon* in agreement in every case but one (206, 13); and of all the 85 excerpts in which both occur they differ in only three:

58, 27 inuisitatum <i>G</i> <sup>2</sup>	inuisitatum <i>Mon</i>
193, 20 delicata <i>G</i> <sup>2</sup>	dedicata <i>Mon</i> (alone)
206, 13 nocentium <i>G</i> <sup>2</sup>	noxiorum <i>Mon</i> (alone).

In many places (35, 1; 38, 14; 50, 28; 57, 2; 80, 34; 136, 18; 174, 38; 188, 38; 208, 29; 231, 25; 237, 8) they stand alone in readings, some of which (136, 18 symphonias; 174, 38 auium; 208, 29 aurelia uia) are certainly right, and others should probably be adopted, as

231, 25 nec patris patriae (see Becker, p. XIII)

237, 8 x · legioni (Becker, p. VI).

A similar loss of numeral is made good by  $G^2$  *Mon* (in this case supported by  $B^2$ ) in

188, 29 quam · iii · horarum (Becker, p. VI).

In this case the almost cursive form of the numeral in *Mon* shows clearly how the error came to be made, — by confusion with the final *m* of *quam*.

That *Mon* is a copy of  $G^2$  the discrepancies noted above forbid us to suppose. Moreover, the archetype of *Mon* was incomplete and mutilated towards the end (see p. 22); I infer from Becker's description that  $G^2$  is complete. *Mon* may be a lineal descendent of  $G^2$ ; but it bears some evidence of having been copied directly from an uncial archetype. In marked contrast with all the other manuscripts that I have examined of the XV., and even with those of the XIII. and XIV. centuries, it reproduces the Greek uncial letters with tolerable exactness. It preserves the Roman uncial also in certain notable passages, as 17, 11 · V·E·N·I·V·I·D·I·V·I·C·I·, in the famous words of Titus, 239, 10, and in the inscription at 216, 26. Particularly significant is the use of uncials at 60, 35 T·R·A·I·C·I·E·N·D·I·F·V·I·T, where they appear to serve no other purpose than to fill out the last line of a paragraph at the foot of a page. I am disposed to think, while waiting for further evidence, that *Mon* was copied, not from  $G^2$ , but from its immediate archetype, which had in the mean time become mutilated at the end. Of its external history we learn from a note on the upper margin of fol. 11R that it was formerly (1596) in the monastery at Ebersberg, in Upper Bavaria.

The close relation of this pair of manuscripts to *A*, indicated by the numerical data given above, comes plainly to view in many passages in which *Mon*, or  $G^2$  *Mon*, where we have the readings of both, preserve the blunders which the scribe of *A* has faithfully copied from his

archetype, such as 91, 29 *ex seruis eius*; 127, 18 *quiercica*; 147, 13 *naui*; 159, 18 *aut*; 253, 5 *alfeno*; or, still better, those in which the writer of the archetype of *G<sup>2</sup> Mon* has attempted to correct the blunders, as

57, 2 *nummumariae A*      *nummum marinae G<sup>2</sup> Mon*  
 123, 25 *uete A*      *ueterē Mon.*

These are even more significant than passages like 11, 17 and 187, 17, where these manuscripts alone give the right reading.

As to the value of the peculiar readings of *G<sup>2</sup> Mon* (or of *Mon*, where we have no report of *G<sup>2</sup>*), in some cases they unquestionably stand in the line of sound tradition, as in the examples cited above (136, 18; 174, 38; 208, 29), to which may be added 207, 9 *terrae tremor*, where the error of *A* is simply a case of dittography; or they put us on the track of the right reading, as at 34 20, where *casie* (for *casce*) no doubt stood in the common archetype of *A G<sup>2</sup> Mon*, and was "corrected" to *cassii* in *A*. But the great majority of these peculiar readings occur in places where the writer of the archetype of *G<sup>2</sup> Mon* found in the codex before him a corrupt text, — or one that he at least did not understand, — which *A* has preserved. In some cases, as pointed out above, he copied what he found; or he copied it with a slight error, as

50, 28 *praesidenti dein*      (*praesident idem A*)  
 121, 18 *puer insigni nascens*      (*p. nascens insigni A*);

but in most cases he attempted to correct it. The following examples, with the two given above, will suffice to illustrate this:

21, 6 *seruitia preciosiora*      (*s. retiora A*)  
 21, 30 *ad cyathum et uina*      (*ad c. et ui A*)  
 25, 18 *et ab adulescentulo*      (*et ait uero ab a. A*)  
 38, 14 *primas gentes*      (*minos gentes A*)  
 194, 6 *finem dedisse*      (*dedisse A*)  
 240, 33 *palludis*      (*pallulis A*)

These appear to be pure conjectures, of a rather crude sort; the examples given are the best. Their quality will hardly lead us to ascribe to the same author, except perhaps in a few cases like 56, 37, the readings in which *G<sup>2</sup> Mon* are arrayed with other manuscripts

against *A*. Some of these, as 201, 6 portentum, had their origin in glosses; but some, as

- 7, 6 auctore *Mon M<sup>18</sup> etc.* (adiutore *A etc.*)  
 22, 10 postumiam *Mon etc.* (postuminam *AV<sup>4</sup> R<sup>1</sup> M<sup>1</sup>*)  
 34, 8 obuio *Mon etc.* (ouio *AV<sup>47</sup> R<sup>1</sup> M<sup>1</sup>*)  
 178, 23 nouarent *G<sup>2</sup> Mon R<sup>1</sup> etc.* (nauarent *AV<sup>6</sup> M<sup>8</sup>*)  
 199, 25 minois *Mon R<sup>1</sup> etc.* (minonis *A M<sup>8</sup> B<sup>1</sup>*),

must have been derived from some other manuscript tradition, and we have to recognize that the crossing of the lines of tradition,—the process of ‘contamination,’—so conspicuous in the late manuscripts of Suetonius,<sup>1</sup> was already at work as early as the XI. century.

The kinship of *V<sup>4</sup>* with *A* comes to light in a number of peculiar readings which it shares with that manuscript: 22, 29 uasa; 25, 18 et ait uero; 27, 29 conibebat; 32, 26 detineretur; 35, 1 maximo aequintus; 38, 14 minos gentes; 50, 28 praesident idem; 55, 23 uirili toga; 85, 16 quinqnes; 100, 3 imperauit; to which may be added 33, 2 mouere, and 62, 19 ex quiis, as originally written, though in *A* they have been corrected; and 26, 8, where I find *homine* in *V<sup>4</sup> R<sup>1</sup>* only, but in *A*, which with the rest has *omine*, a letter has been erased before the *o*. At 3, 8 I find the correct reading *annum agens* in *AV<sup>45</sup> M<sup>8</sup>* only. Places may also be pointed out where a peculiar error of *V<sup>4</sup>* must have come from the same source as an error peculiar or almost peculiar to *A*, as 40, 30 eū *A* enim *V<sup>4</sup>*; 78, 9 ipse eī *A* ipse et *V<sup>4</sup>*. Cf. also 42, 21 and 80, 21. The number of peculiar readings in *V<sup>4</sup>* is very large, and the greater part of them are due to mistakes in copying. The manuscript teems with blunders, both of commission and omission. Besides having nearly all the lacunae common to *A* and the rest, it has a good many of its own, ranging from single words to whole clauses. The longer passages omitted are: 24, 23 alii Oppium putant; 36, 11 sacrificare uota suscipere; 47, 19 Lollianam et Varianam sed; 51, 20 seruumque praelucentem exanimasset; 53, 5 aut per pacem etiam extiterant; 58, 35 ruinae metu populum retinere; 62, 2 hic conuiuio pleno proclamasset; 82, 28 omina relatum est non si; 88, 19 seruisque ad pilleum frustra uocatis; 102, 11 et ne orentur sedulo cauit; 107, 27 naturalem Drusum neque; 109, 10 alia de causa perculit inter

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Roth, p. xxx.



quos cum plurimorum clade. There are something like a hundred of these lacunae, great and small, in the 102 pages of the codex; and of these not more than a fifth, on the most liberal estimate, can possibly have been deliberate. Of positive errors, there is a conspicuous array of the verbal kind, those, that is, that substitute for the right word or phrase another that resembles it, — a good Latin form, but meaningless in the context. Examples are *rumoris* for *rursus* (4, 6), *ante biduum* for *ante Bibulum* (10, 24), *regi* for *rei* (33, 27), *eadem* for *aede* (46, 35), *uideret* for *ualeret* (53, 28), *adhuc modicum* for *ad hunc modum* (60, 11), *crimina* for *carmina* (63, 19), *aut frequenti* for *auferente* (64, 20), *rerum* for *Rhenum* (95, 2); to say nothing of a host of easy errors, such as *tenere* for *temere*, *poena* for *poema*, *celerrimos* for *celeberrimos*, *pristinum* for *primum*, etc. Errors resulting in barbarous forms, such as *sublio* for *subsellio*, *uirgibus* for *uirginibus*, are, if we leave out of account proper names and corrupt spelling, distinctly exceptional.

Of the peculiar readings of *V*<sup>4</sup> the great majority are evidently verbal errors of the kind described; and the places where we can suppose deliberate emendation are exceedingly few and uncertain. I can point only to two: 46, 10 *rapere adorti*, *Telephus . . . destinarat*, where *adorti* (like *ad extremum*, the other variant) may have been a guess to replace the partly illegible *ad exercitus* of the archetype, leaving *Telephus* the only subject of the final verb; and just before the lacuna at 58, 35, where *construere* (for *consternatum*) may have been a feeble attempt to complete a word the end of which had been lost in the mutilation of the archetype which caused the lacuna in *V*<sup>4</sup> at this point. These examples can have little weight against the overwhelming evidence on the other side, which, while it impairs the authority of the unsupported testimony of *V*<sup>4</sup>, acquits the writer of that manuscript, and to some degree that of its archetype as well, of any disposition to doctor his text. There is, further, no evidence of his having copied glosses into his text. While, therefore, a peculiar reading, like 53, 34 *signatores*, which might have been the result of a verbal error, must stand on its own merits rather than on those of the manuscript, readings which cannot well be ascribed to such errors may be accepted with entire confidence as at least honest tradition and not interpolations. Other examples of the first kind are 26, 17 *cunctantior* and 31, 28

considerantius (for cunctatior, consideratius), which are probably right, but the authority of  $V^4$  is not sufficient to assure us of it. A signal example of the second kind is 12, 1, where  $V^4$  alone, of all known manuscripts, preserves the figures denoting the amount of tribute imposed by Caesar on the Gauls. The character of the manuscript affords good ground for confidence that we have here genuine tradition and not interpolation.

Of the 42 places in my excerpts where  $V^4$  arrays itself with one or more other manuscripts against  $A$ , there are at least twelve in which it is certainly right: 23, 19 proconsule; 32, 26 libris; 38, 16 interuallo; 46, 2 alias; 49, 4 et; 57, 22 grauitate; 58, 11 maiorum; 67, 37 patientiam; 74, 28 tibur; 74, 37 pilam; 80, 34 demissum; 85, 30 quae; and there are some others that deserve consideration, as 5, 27 arbitrum  $V^4$  *Mon* and 61, 35 et ne  $V^{4.5}$   $R^1$   $M^1$   $R^2$ . Of the rest, most are errors; very few look like attempts at emendation: 11, 17 consularis; 71, 4 extra urbe(m); and perhaps 83, 11 missilium. Whether errors or interpolations, they go back, like the correct readings, beyond the immediate archetype of  $V^4$ , and must be ascribed to a manuscript source distinct from that of  $A$ .

The Third Medicean,  $M^3$ , shows in the dual comparison a somewhat closer resemblance to  $V^4$  (57:13) than either of them does to  $A$ . Where  $M^3$  differs from  $A$ , it is accompanied, in a large majority of instances within the limits of this test, by  $M^1$  and  $R^1$ . For these three codices the test yields the following figures:  $M^1$   $M^3$  60:10;  $M^1$   $R^1$  63:7;  $M^3$   $R^1$  67:23; and out of the 67 places where all three occur, the three are in accord in 53. In 37 of these 53 places they agree with  $A$ ; with  $V^4$  in 47. In the whole body of excerpts I find the three arrayed against the rest of their class 18 times, — 3 times with readings peculiar to themselves (38, 14 minis gentis; 127, 18 aerea; 141, 1 omnem urbem), and 15 times with readings which they share with some of the inferior manuscripts. It is clear that we have here to recognize a group — which we may for convenience call the Medicean Group — distinct from the manuscripts hitherto discussed, though closely related to them, particularly to  $V^4$ . When this group is arrayed against  $A$ , it commonly finds an ally in  $V^4$ , while *Mon* (or  $G^2$  *Mon*) usually adheres to  $A$ . It is noteworthy that in a majority of these cases it is  $A$ , and not the Medicean group that has the largest following of inferior manuscripts.

Where the Medicean group is divided, it rarely (as 31, 31; 46, 29) exhibits three different readings. When  $M^8$ , the oldest of the trio, differs from the other two, it differs also, in a few cases, from the rest of its class, either standing alone (as 50, 28 *prae se identidem ferret*; 78, 9 *ipse*; 123, 25 *ne tunc*; 127, 18 *caethra*; 142, 12 *at uero maiore*), or with one or a few of the inferior manuscripts (as 19, 22; 91, 29; 189, 20). In the majority of cases the rest of the class is also divided, a part siding with  $M^8$ , a part with  $M^1 R^1$ . The nature of the divergence of  $M^1 R^1$  from  $M^8$  will be apparent from these facts: out of 16 instances of such divergence,  $A$  sides with  $M^8$  11 times, with  $M^1 R^1$  3 times, with neither twice; out of 14 instances,  $V^4$  sides with  $M^8$  12 times, with  $M^1 R^1$  once, with neither once; on the other hand, out of 15 instances, the principal groups of the inferior manuscripts side with  $M^8$  only twice, with  $M^1 R^1$  10 times, with neither 3 times.

The relation between  $M^8$  and  $M^1$  may be illustrated by the following facts. In the dual test they agree, as we have seen, six times in seven. In a general test, embracing all of the 153 places in which both are represented, they agree in 117 and differ in 36. In 7 of the 36 cases of disagreement the two manuscripts agreed as first written, and in about two thirds the difference is merely a matter of wrong copying. In not more than 12 places can the variance be regarded as significant. In 10 of these 12  $A$  sides with  $M^8$ , in 2 with  $M^1$ . The significance of these facts is apparent. They show that the divergence between  $M^8$  and  $M^1$ , while mainly arising from clerical errors, is due also in considerable measure to the fact that  $M^1$  has been affected to a greater degree than  $M^8$  by influences from a source distinct from that of  $A$ .

In  $R^1$  this alienating process has gone some steps farther, but not far enough, I think, to deprive it of its place in the same class with  $A$ . It certainly forsakes this class for the company of the inferior manuscripts in some very significant passages, as 22, 6, where it gives all three of the quoted verses; cf. also 4, 17; 21, 6; 31, 31; 38, 16; 86, 10; 159, 18 and 19; 238, 11. But this is likewise true of  $A$  itself; and on the other hand  $R^1$ , in quite as many and quite as significant passages, ranges itself with  $A$  and its congeners against all or nearly all the rest. A notable example is 52, 25, where it joins them in preserving the spelling *flamonium*; cf. also 4, 35; 17, 9; 49, 17; 58, 11; 85, 28;

102, 11; 114, 30; 183, 27; 193, 20; 194, 6. These passages, added to the close agreement which has been shown to exist between  $R^1$  and  $M^1$ , must be held to outweigh the occasional intrusion into  $R^1$  of readings which were not in the archetype of  $A$  or of  $V^4$  or of  $M^8$ , but which need not surprise us in a manuscript written at least a century and a half after  $M^1$  and three centuries after  $M^8$ . We should also recall, in judging the relations of  $R^1$ , that it agrees closely with  $M^1 M^8 Mon$  in its division of the work into chapters (p. 39), that it agrees with  $M^8$  in dividing the work into twelve books (*ibid.*), and that it shares with  $V^4 M^8$  the peculiarity of having a Latin version sometimes written over the Greek phrases in the text (p. 38).

The evidence thus far examined appears to show, then, that the seven manuscripts which I have spoken of as a class, are properly so designated; and that within this class we should distinguish two groups, the members of each of which are more closely related to one another than to those of the other group. The first of these, consisting of  $A Mon G^2$ , may be called, after its principal member, the Memmianus group, as I have called the other,  $M^8 M^1 R^1$ , the Medicean group. Between these stands the Vaticanus Lipsii,  $V^4$ , nearer to the Medicean group, but not, I think, of it.

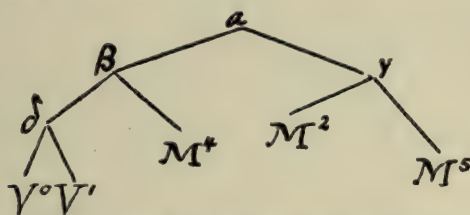
Passing now to the manuscripts that differ from  $A$  oftener than they agree with it, we get a clue, at the outset, in certain disturbances of the text which prove a common origin for two of the Vatican and three of the Florentine codices, all of the XIII. or XIV. century, namely:  $V^0 V^1 M^2 M^4 M^5$ .

(1) In  $V^{01}$  a considerable passage in the *Vespasian* (from 232, 16 salutauerat, to 234, 16 plostra dicenda, inclusive) is omitted. In  $V^0$  there is no sign of the lacuna; in  $V^1$  it is noted on the margin with a reference to the end of Suetonius, where the omitted portion is given, occupying  $102\frac{1}{2}$  column-lines, *i. e.* a little over a page (92 lines). We may suppose the omission due to 'parablepsis,' the words *salutauerat* (232, 16) and *salutauit* (234, 17) standing in the archetype about a page apart.

(2) In all five codices there is a transposition of certain passages in the *Galba*. The passages concerned are:

- (a) 203, 4-203, 35 (e ministris — nobili puero)
- (b) 203, 35-205, 7 (quem exulantem — decimauit etiam)
- (c) 205, 7-208, 13 (Item Germanorum — Ii ob recens).

In  $V^{01}M^4$ ,  $a$  is in its proper place, while  $b$  and  $c$  are transposed, so that the order is  $acb$ . In  $M^{25}$  the disturbance begins at 203, 4, and the order is  $cab$ . In these two manuscripts the disarrangement is noted in the margin and the proper order pointed out; in  $V^{01}M^4$  there is no indication of it. I suspect that in  $V^{01}M^4$  we have the transposition in its original form, and that the modification of it which appears in  $M^{25}$  is another case of 'parablepsis': the copyist's eye strayed from *puero*, which is the last word before  $a$ , to *puero* at the end of that passage. He thus skipped  $a$  and wrote  $c$  first; then, discovering his error, he made the best of it by copying  $a$  next, where it would at least be in its place before  $b$ . I assume that in the codex he was copying from, the transposition was noted in the margin; and there is some evidence of this in a half-erased marginal note in  $M^5$  at the end of  $a$ , where there is no break in the continuity of the text in that manuscript.<sup>1</sup> If my analysis is correct, we get, for the relations of these five manuscripts, the following table, in which  $\alpha$  stands for the codex in which the transposition was originally made;  $\beta$  is a codex copied from  $\alpha$  before the transposition was noted in the latter, or at least copied without the marginal notes;  $\gamma$  is the codex in which the transposition took on its second form;  $\delta$ , the one in which the lacuna in the *Vespasian* first occurred.



The figures yielded by the dual test are such as might be expected from this relationship:

$V^0 V^1$ 51:1	$V^0 M^2$ 48:7	$M^2 M^4$ 38:3
	$V^0 M^4$ 35:5	$M^2 M^5$ 42:5
	$V^0 M^5$ 43:6	$M^4 M^5$ 28:4

<sup>1</sup> The transposition is as old as the XII. century, being found, as Professor Howard informs me, in *Parisinus 6116*. It there appears in the same form as in  $V^{01}M^4$ , confirming my conjecture that this was its earlier form. It is also found in *Paris. 5802* (XIV. cent.) in nearly the same form as in  $M^{25}$ .

The constant agreement here shown between  $V^0$   $V^1$  is still more conspicuous in the peculiar readings which they exhibit in many excerpts not embraced in the dual test, including the following, not printed above :

10, 16 ut se de inferenda Pompeio nece sollicitatum a quibusdam profiteretur productusque pro rostris auctores ex compacto nominaret  
*Roth*

20, 7 uiam munire a mari supero per Appennini dorsum ad Tiberim usque, perfodere Isthmum  
*Roth*

61, 26 Commodius id uisum est, ut qui a loco perferunt litteras interrogari quoque, si quid res exigant, possint  
*Roth*

64, 3 affuit et clientibus, sicut Scutario cuidam, euocato quondam suo, qui postulabatur iniuriarum. Vnum omnino e reorum numero, ac ne eum quidem nisi precibus eripuit  
*Roth*

101, 1 et si quem reorum elabi gratia rumor esset, subitus aderat iudicesque aut e plano aut e quaestoris tribunali legum et religionis . . . admonebat  
*Roth*

145, 16 et cum in Laureolo mimo, in quo actor proripiens se ruina sanguinem uomit, plures secundarum certatim experimentum

ut se de inferenda quidem sibi nece sollicitatum a cicerone profiteretur productusque pro rostris auctorem ipse nominaret  $V^0$ ; so  $V^1$ , with omission of sibi nece, and auctores ipsorum for auctorem ipse

maritimam munire. A mari supero per apeninum dorsum ad tyberinum usque perfodere montes  $V^0$  1

commodior consensus est ut ab illis iisdem (isdem  $V^6$ ) qui ferebant litteras per illa loca litterae possent exire ad noticiam. aliquibus uisum est ut qui a loco eodem perferunt litteras interrogari si quid res exigat possint  $V^0$  1 5

affuit et clientibus sicut sicariis quorundam euocato quodam cliente suo qui postulabatur iniuriarum suis domesticis flagitantibus ac ne eam quidem nisi precibus eripuit  $V^0$

et si quem reorum uidebat elabi gratia amore uel timore subitus aderat iudicesque aut plane aut exquisitori lenique sermone legum et religionis . . . admonebat  $V^0$

et cum etiam laureatus mimus nausea subita motus et stupidus sanguinem uomuit pluresque portentum id esse eius necis dixerunt.

artis darent, cruore scena abundavit. Parabatur et in noctem spectaculum *Roth*

Sic autem cena habundanter (abundanter  $V^1$ ) paratur et in noctem spectaculum  $V^{01}$  (so also  $V^5$ , in which, however, portentum—paratur is not copied, two lines being left blank)

Examples of this kind are pretty frequent. They look, at first sight, like wilful distortions and senseless tampering with the text; and they are no doubt, in the main, attempts of some one to make sense of passages that were to him unintelligible. It is to be said for him, however, that he had a difficult archetype to deal with,—one that was crowded with glosses, interlinear and marginal, which he often copied carelessly or intentionally, and was in places illegible. Thus the curious interpolation at 61, 26 is plainly due to the intrusion of a scholium beginning *sensus est*; 10, 16 *cicerone* is a gloss on *quibusdam*; 101, 1 *amore uel timore* on *gratia*, 145, 16 *stupidus* on *plures secundarum*. In 20, 7, out of *uiam*, with *mari* near by, a careless scribe made *maritimam*, with a necessary stop after *munire* which transformed the road over the Appennines into a tunnel, and the now meaningless *isthmum* had to be changed to *montes*. In 64, 3 misunderstanding of *euocato* led to the insertion of *cliente*; in 145, 16 *laureatus* is an attempted correction of *Laureolus*; and so on. The distortion of proper names is the rule rather than the exception in Suetonian manuscripts. It is to be noted, further, that many of the places under discussion are desperately corrupt in most of the manuscripts.

These corruptions were already in the archetype of  $V^{01}$ ; for it is certain that neither of these manuscripts is a copy of the other. Of the 101 places where they both occur in the excerpts, they agree in all but six. In three of these six, and in some others outside of the excerpts,  $V^1$  agrees with  $M^4$ , while  $V^0$  has a reading peculiar to itself; so that  $V^1$  could not have been copied from  $V^0$ . Nor could  $V^0$  have been copied from  $V^1$ , because in a number of places it has words which are omitted in  $V^1$ . Their differences are largely due to inadvertence. Occasionally they give us a clue to the character of their archetype, as at  
sollertia
 236, 34, where the archetype must have had *modestia et fama*. That this corrupt archetype ( $\delta$  in the table) was copied directly from the

archetype of  $M^4$  ( $\beta$ ) is not to be thought of, unless we suppose that after  $M^4$  was copied,  $\beta$  had become greatly deteriorated and written over with scholia and glosses; otherwise we must assume a codex between  $\beta$  and  $\delta$ .

The corruptions of  $V^{01}$  are offset by some striking merits. Besides numerous instances in which they unite with the rest of their class in maintaining the right reading against  $A$  and its class, they have their fair share of correct readings in the places where their class is divided, as 13, 34 temptante; 24, 5 adolescens; 46, 2 alias; 51, 10 pro ultione; 52, 36 uelut exemplar; 76, 34 diuidit; 85, 30 quae; 147, 13 noui; in some cases standing alone, or with a very few other manuscripts, for the right reading, as 30, 28 permisit  $V^{015} L B^2$ ; 97, 25 sed  $V^{06}$ ; 208, 19 addidit  $V^0$ ; 227, 1 industriae expertae  $V^0$ ; 253, 5 alieno  $V^{0586}$ . To the latter category belong 22, 29 ut naso  $V^{015} V_2^{88}$ ; 60, 12 ab se  $V^{01}$ ; 94, 22 multique  $V^{01}$ ; 126, 8 adiecit  $V^0$ , — readings adopted by Roth, but not known by him to rest on any manuscript authority. As in 22, 29, so in 244, 19 et odium,  $V^{01}$  have preserved the proper name, this time along with  $A$ , while  $A$ 's congeners have gone astray with the inferior manuscripts; at 115, 38 and 199, 25 minois,  $V^0$  (I have not the reading of  $V^1$  here) maintains, with a small and mixed company, the right form against  $A$  itself.

Nevertheless, the numerous corruptions of  $V^{01}$  disqualify them from serving as representatives of their group, and for purposes of comparison we must use the Florentine manuscripts. The close agreement of these three with one another is apparent on the face of the excerpts, as well as from the numerical data given above; to which may be added the fact that within the limits of the dual test the three present identical readings in 28 out of the 31 places in which they all occur. The slight divergence in the line of descent between  $M^{25}$  and  $M^4$  appears to have had little influence on the text. It is perhaps traceable in a few places like

- |                            |                        |
|----------------------------|------------------------|
| 13, 34 temptante $M^{25}$  | tempestate $M^4$       |
| 32, 14 parum $M^2$         | propter parum $M^4$    |
| 42, 16 quidem $M^{25}$     | quoque $M^4$           |
| 45, 21 ex caesare $M^{25}$ | ex caesare patre $M^4$ |

but at least as many others can be pointed out in which  $M^4$  sides with  $M^2$  against  $M^5$  (cf. 15, 27; 20, 30; 24, 5; 25, 18).



Taking  $M^2$ , from which I happen to have the largest number of excerpts, as a basis of comparison, I get the following results from an application of the dual test:

$M^2 A$ 19:41	$M^2 V^6$ 39:20	$M^2 L$ 25:9
$M^2 V^4$ 13:45	$M^2 V^7$ 26:8	$M^2 B^1$ 53:5
$M^2 G^2$ 3:15	$M^2 V^8$ 26:7	$M^2 B^2$ 43:10
$M^2 Mon$ 18:33	$M^2 V^{10}$ 25:9	$M^2 B^3$ 38:11
$M^2 M^1$ 15:39	$M^2 V^{15}$ 26:7	$M^2 B^5$ 39:8
$M^2 M^3$ 8:51	$M^2 V^{85}$ 14:13	
$M^2 R^1$ 23:36	$M^2 V^{86}$ 46:9	
	$M^2 U$ 39:8	
$M^2 V^5$ 21:37	$M^2 O^1$ 32:7	
$M^2 V^{88}$ 7:11	$M^2 O^2$ 34:5	
$M^2 V^{13}$ 14:20	$M^2 R^2$ 33:11	
$M^2 V^{14}$ 16:17		

The indications of this table are that, besides  $A$  and its class, there are four manuscripts,  $V^5$  <sup>13 14 88</sup>, which cannot be classed with  $M^2$ ; but that the remaining sixteen — those in the second and third columns — are to be classed with that manuscript and the group it represents, as against the  $A$  class. The preponderance of agreement with  $M^2$  is very decided except in the case of  $V^{85}$ , which, however, shows a stronger affinity for some others in the list, as  $M^4$  (17:10), and  $B^3$  (18:9), and may be allowed to stand here at least provisionally. Our second class, then, embraces the following twenty-one codices:

$V^0 V^1 V^6 V^7 V^8 V^{10} V^{15} V^{85} V^{86} U O^1 O^2 R^2 M^2 M^4 M^5 L B^1 B^2 B^3 B^5$

Within this class also, as in the first class, we can distinguish two groups. To the five manuscripts of the Florentine group which has been described above, may be added  $B^1 B^2$ , which are found in pretty steady agreement with one another (61:11) and with  $M^2$  (see the table), and show a still closer affinity for  $M^5$  ( $M^5 B^1$  52:1;  $M^5 B^2$  42:6). The Florentine group, then, will include

$V^0 V^1 M^2 M^4 M^5 B^1 B^2$ ,

all manuscripts written before the XV. century. Among the rest, — which are all, except  $V^8$ , of the XV. century, — we find the nucleus of a group in  $V^{86} U O^2$  which are in accord in all of the 45 places where all

three occur. To these must be added  $O^1 B^5$ , which are likewise in constant agreement with one another (40 : 0), and almost so with  $V^{86}$  ( $V^{86} O^1$  45 : 1;  $V^{86} B^5$  49 : 1); also  $V^7$  ( $V^{86} V^7$  28 : 2); and perhaps  $R^2$  ( $V^{86} R^2$  36 : 7), which is found with the rest of this group, against all the other manuscripts, at 4, 17 triumphalemque uirum. This group, then, which we may call the Urbinas group, will likewise contain seven manuscripts :

$V^7 V^{86} U O^1 O^2 R^2 B^5$

Of the remaining manuscripts of the second class,  $V^8$  appears to stand somewhat nearer the Urbinas group,  $V^{15} B^8$  somewhat nearer the Florentine;  $V^6 V^{10} V^{85} L$  cannot on the present evidence be assigned to either. The two groups, in fact, have much in common and, with a good deal of individual variation, are usually found in agreement; but they part company in a large number of places, of which the following may serve as examples :

- |  |                                 |
|--|---------------------------------|
| 4, 17 et triumphalem uirum <i>Flor</i> | triumphalemque uirum <i>Urb</i> |
| 24, 25 caesaris <i>Urb om. Flor</i>    |                                 |
| 27, 29 coniebat <i>Flor</i>            | cohibebat <i>Urb</i>            |
| 31, 31 exta <i>Urb</i>                 | exacta <i>Flor</i>              |
| 33, 25 iulio <i>Urb</i>                | ilio <i>Flor</i>                |
| 36, 18 adinspectantium <i>Flor</i>     | inspectantium <i>Urb</i>        |
| 38, 16 magno interuallo per <i>Urb</i> | magna ui per <i>Flor</i>        |
| 63, 4 grandi iam ornatu <i>Flor</i>    | grandior iam natu <i>Urb</i>    |
| 76, 34 diuidit et <i>Flor</i>          | diuidere <i>Urb</i>             |
| 111, 27 etiam liberis <i>Flor</i>      | etiam uxoribus <i>Urb</i>       |
| 123, 25 hoste <i>Flor</i>              | hoste tunc <i>Urb</i>           |
| 159, 4 aut non <i>Flor</i>             | auete uos <i>Urb</i>            |

Cf. also 12, 18; 40, 30; 52, 36; 58, 11; 122, 31; 163, 28; 187, 27; 238, 11.

There remain to be considered the four Vatican manuscripts,  $V^5 V^{13} V^{14} V^{88}$ , for which our data fail to show any close affinity either for  $A$  or for  $M^2$ . From two of these four,  $V^{13} V^{14}$ , my excerpts do not go beyond the *Julius*, and from  $V^{88}$ , partly owing to the mutilated state of that codex, they are still less numerous; so that for these manuscripts any inferences to which our evidence may seem to point must be accepted with reserve. So far as we may trust it, the evidence

indicates that these three manuscripts, as well as  $V^5$ , are more closely related to the first than to the second class.  $V^{88}$  shares some striking readings with manuscripts of the first class, as 29, 14 praefectura  $V^{88} G^2 Mon$ ; 31, 31 exta quondam  $AV^{488} M^8$ ; 46, 5 integritatem asini  $AV^{88}$ ; 46, 10 ad exercitus  $AV^{88} M^8$ ; and it agrees with  $M^8$  in a distinct majority of all the places where it occurs (21 out of 37); but in many significant passages, — as 38, 14; 49, 17; 52, 4; 52, 25; 56, 35 — it sides with the second class. The other three manuscripts appear to be related to one another ( $V^5 V^{18}$  26:7;  $V^5 V^{14}$  25:6;  $V^{18} V^{14}$  27:5), and they show a considerable preponderance of agreement with members of the Medicean group ( $V^5 M^1$  46:22;  $V^{18} M^8$  24:9;  $V^{14} R^1$  24:8). These figures of the dual test are supplemented by some striking agreements in readings more or less peculiar, as

- 4, 30 dissidere  $V^4 5 6 10 R^1 M^1 8$  diffidere  $V^{18 14}$   
 4, 34 tribunus  $V^5 18$   
 11, 23 aliis . . . additis  $V^{18 14} R^1 M^1 8$  aliis adiectis  $V^5$   
 11, 33 deorum  $V^5 18$   
 25, 18 uero  $V^5 18 14 R^1 M^1 8$   
 26, 8 òmine  $V^{18 14}$

(cf. also 23, 19). We appear to have here a little group, related to the Medicean group, but affected to such a degree by 'contamination' from other sources that it can hardly be recognized as belonging to the first of our two classes, but stands on the border between them.

In the most interesting and — I think — important member of this group,  $V^5$ , the contaminating influence, in part at least, proves to be the same, though not carried to anything like the same extent, as that which has corrupted  $V^0 1$ . This appears clearly in interpolations peculiar to these three manuscripts, such as: 11, 32 succedentibus; 18, 36 denos tantummodo; 31, 26 apuleius; 60, 2 in ludos et scenam; 61, 26 a loco eodem perferunt; 99, 4 audere; 136, 18 scopulos; 174, 38 donum; 178, 23 nauarent praecepit; 178, 24 sine anulo leui; 218, 32 lustrauitque signa. Even some of the grosser corruptions of  $V^0 1$  are shared by  $V^5$ , as those at 61, 26 and 145, 16, given above (p. 50). On the other hand there are convincing indications that the source of  $V^5$ , back of the point where this stream of corruption and other contaminating influences began to come in, was an archetype

akin to those of the Memmianus and Medicean groups. Such indications are found in numerous passages in which the reading of  $V^5$  is shared by manuscripts of the first class only. The following may serve as examples :

- 3, 8 annum agens  $AV^{45} M^3$   
 6, 8 cogitaret  $AV^{45} Mon$   
 18, 4 regione  $AV^{45} M^{13} Mon$   
 19, 36 in dies *om.*  $V^5 M^{13}$   
 32, 26 libris *om.*  $AV^5 M^{13} Mon$   
 49, 17 decimum  $AV^{45} R^1 M^{13} G^2 Mon$   
 52, 4 ut qui  $AV^{45} R^1 M^{13}$   
 53, 30 manifestum  $V^{45} M^3$   
 56, 37 circae  $AV^{45} R^1 M^1 M^3$  (*as first written*)  
 58, 11 puerorum  $AV^{45} R^1 M^3 G^2 Mon$   
 71, 4 extra urbem  $V^{45} R^1 M^{13}$   
 80, 21 in sinum eius signum rei p. quod  $V^5 R^1 M^{13}$   
 141, 1 omnem  $AV^5 R^1 M^{13} Mon$   
 193, 20 delicata  $AV^5 R^1 M^{13} G^2$

In the following,  $V^5$  is found in the same exclusive company, attended by  $V^{83}$  :

- 48, 12 appellat  $AV^{4583} M^3 G^2 Mon$   
 48, 18 urbis  $AV^{4583} M^3 Mon$   
 50, 21 primum  $AV^{583}$

Cf., further, 14, 16 ; 23, 19 ; 24, 2 ; 25, 24 ; 31, 30 ; 40, 30 ; 60, 12 ; 80, 34 ; 121, 18 ; 127, 18. In a large majority of these places the reading supported by  $V^5$  and its allies is certainly wrong ; to the half-dozen places where they are right must be added, in making up the account of  $V^5$ , a number of passages where that codex, alone or with a few of the manuscripts of the second class, supports the right reading against  $A$  and its class. These are :

- 14, 37 regnandi  $V^5^{10} R^2$   
 22, 29 ut naso  $V^0^{15}$   
 30, 28 permisit  $V^0^{15} L B^2$   
 33, 25 iullo  $V^5$   
 164, 6 qui — uescerentur  $V^5$   
 228, 36 idus  $V^5$   
 253, 5 alieno  $V^0^{586}$

Finally we must place to the credit of  $V^5$  its frequent occurrence in the following list of thirty-five readings which are ascribed by Roth to the conjectures of various scholars or, in a few instances, to the text of early editions, but for which I can now cite manuscript authority. All of these readings except two (8, 19 and 25, 17) were adopted by Roth. The sources to which he credited them are given in parentheses :

- 8, 19 iudice (*Lambinus, Ursinus*)  $V^5 6^7 10$   
 11, 1 responderet (*Torrentius*)  $V^{14}$   
 14, 37 regnandi (*Scriverius*)  $V^5 10 R^2$   
 19, 2 iis (*Egnatius*)  $V^8 14 M^5 B^1$   
 19, 9 ii (*Egnatius*)  $V^8 14 M^5 B^1 2$   
 22, 29 ut naso (*Mancinellus*)  $V^0 1^5 V_2^{88}$   
 23, 33 militarique re (*Lipsius*)  $V^{14} U$   
 25, 17 uelit (*Ernesti*)  $B^2$   
 45, 4 repetita italia (*Scheffer*)  $B^2$   
 60, 1 loco (*ed. Basil. 1533*)  $V_2^6$  (*before 1466*)  
 60, 12 ab se (*Beroaldus*)  $V^0 V_2^1$   
 74, 32 aut (*Roth*)  $V^5$   
 89, 3 iis (*Egnatius*)  $V^5$   
 94, 22 multique (*ed. Gryph. 1548*)  $V^0 1$   
 95, 30 ageret (*Edd.*)  $V_{corr}^6$   
 96, 18 ii (*Roth*)  $V^5$   
 98, 2 iis (*Casaubon*)  $V^5$   
 101, 20 ab iis (*Egnatius*)  $V^5$   
 105, 22 iis (*ed. Rom.<sup>2</sup> 1470*)  $V^5$   
 108, 16 exitium (*Beroaldus*)  $V^5$   
 112, 1 et (*Beroaldus*)  $V^5$   
 115, 38 minois (*ed. Rom.<sup>2</sup>*)  $V^0 6^8 86 G^2 Mon$   
 122, 26 ioco (*Beroaldus*)  $B^2$   
 126, 8 adiecit (*Beroaldus*)  $V^0$   
 127, 18 quercea (*Roth*)  $B^2$   
 159, 28 ii (*Stephanus*)  $V^5$   
 166, 32 iis (*Egnatius*)  $V^5$   
 171, 23 and 26 iis (*Egnatius*)  $V^5$   
 172, 13 ioco (*Sabellicus*)  $B_{var}^1$   
 173, 3 at (*Roth*) *Mon*  
 199, 25 minois (*ed. Rom.<sup>2</sup>*)  $V^0 5^6 86 R^1 Mon$

- 207, 9 terrae tremor (*Erasmus*) *Mon*  
 208, 29 aurelia uia (*Torrentius*) *G<sup>2</sup> Mon*  
 247, 12 abductam (*Beroaldus*) *V<sup>86</sup>*

This list will no doubt be extended with the fuller collation of the manuscripts which it is to be hoped we may see in the near future. Meanwhile, in the light of the evidence here adduced, Roth's estimate (p. xxix) of the XV. century manuscripts must be materially revised, and we can no longer say, with him, that in adopting a reading on the sole authority of one or more of these codices, we are merely accepting the happy conjecture of some unknown scholar of the XV. century, who anticipated Beroaldus and others whose names are so plentifully sprinkled through his apparatus criticus. In many cases this may be true. It is certainly not true of the Codex Monacensis; and when we find *V<sup>6</sup>* sharing a number of such readings (*e.g.* 22, 29 ut naso) with *V<sup>0</sup> 1*, whose archetype was written at least as early as the XIII. century, we cannot safely assume that the other good readings of *V<sup>6</sup>* originated in the XV. century. Some of these readings plainly could not have done so. How, for example, could a XV. century scholar have hit on the form *Iullus* (33, 25), which was universally rejected until established in our own time by epigraphical evidence? No one who will take the trouble to examine the readings (p. 56) which *V<sup>6</sup>* shares with *A* and its class will fail to see that many of them, at least,—such as 3, 8 annum agens, and 56, 37 circae, for example—are not of the sort likely to have been arrived at by conjecture, but are derived from manuscript tradition. If this is a right estimate, we certainly cannot dismiss the correct readings of *V<sup>6</sup>* and other late manuscripts, in places where *A* and all its class have gone astray, as mere conjectures, and “of no authority whatever.” Corrections there are in these late manuscripts in abundance, and of these a good many are obviously conjectures, particularly where the text has got into a desperate state; but there are a good many more that are borrowed from some manuscript tradition. This has already been noticed as a feature of the older manuscripts; in the late ones also I am convinced that we have many survivals of genuine tradition from sources distinct from that of *A*, and perhaps from that of any of its class.

## IAMBIC COMPOSITION OF SOPHOCLES

BY ISAAC FLAGG

IN iambic composition, pure and simple, Sophocles is superior to Aeschylus and, generally, to Euripides. It is not the purpose of the present study to establish the fact of this superiority, nor to discuss the nature of it, but to trace briefly the outlines of the art in its highest concrete manifestation, with some indication of guiding principles.

The merits of the iambic trimeter verse as an instrument of dramatic expression are best brought to view by a comparison with the trochaic tetrameter. First, as an ascending rhythm, by virtue of its anacrustic character, the iambic movement is *λεκτικώτερον*, better suited to discourse or dialogue, than the trochaic. The singing effect is less obtrusive, and in continuous composition the anacrusis helps the fusion or overflow of one verse into another by muffling the metrical pause between them. At the same time, the iambic can be readily shifted to a trochaic movement, while the trochaic verse itself is not equally flexible. Again, the trimeter, as *στίχος μονόκωλος*, has, in reality, a longer reach than the tetrameter, which is dicollic; for the analogue of the trochaic monostich is the iambic distich, a double metrical period of six measures, against four in the trochaic verse. Furthermore, precisely because it has no distinct composite structure, the trimeter breaks with facility at any point, though more readily by diaeresis (between the feet, anacrustic scheme) than by caesura. On all accounts, while trochaic composition is comparatively metre-bound, with feeble capacities of pause-melody and harmonious modulation, the iambic trimeter exhibits in this regard a high degree of freedom and power.

For convenience of exposition we may assume rhetorical types of the iambic trimeter of three sorts, *complete*, *partial*, and *linked*. Complete types consist of whole verses; partial types, of parts of a verse; linked types, of a part of one verse and a part or the whole of another. Each sort is illustrated in the following period:

- (A) *O.T.* 1223 ὦ γῆς μέγιστα τῆσδ' αἰὲ τιμώμενοι |  
οἶ' ἔργ' ἀκούσεσθ' | οἶα δ' εἰσόψεσθ' | ὅσον δ'  
ἀρεῖσθε πένθος | εἴπερ ἐγγενῶς ἔτι  
τῶν Λαβδακείων ἐντρέπεσθε δωμάτων.

The complete types are the monostich and the distich. The former is the normal type, the unit of reference or verse-standard, by which the composition is everywhere governed. The latter is metrically double, but the importance of its rhetorical unity is clearly seen in certain combinations.

- (B) *O.C.* 728 ἄνδρες χθονὸς τῆσδ' εὐγενεῖς οἰκήτορες |  
ὄρω τιν' ὑμᾶς ὀμμάτων εἰληφότας  
φόβον νεώρη τῆς ἐμῆς ἐπεισόδου |  
ὄν μήτ' ὀκνεῖτε μήτ' ἀφήτ' ἔπος κακόν.

The distich may be combined with monostichs or with linked and partial types, but a period of two complete distichs seems to have been avoided. By reason of its double and symmetrical nature the complete distich does not admit the closest linking, by elision or by an atonic or proclitic or strongly anticipatory word. Thus, it would be impossible to enunciate (F) 3, 4 as a rhetorical unit.

Partial types consist of any part of a verse, since rhetorical division may concur with any caesura or diaeresis. A distinctive character is sometimes assumed by those formed by the second, less often the third, diaeresis, when a stichomythy is accelerated by dividing each verse of a series uniformly between the two interlocutors: *Aj.* 591 sqq., *El.* 1220 sqq., *O.C.* 652 sqq., *Trach.* 876 sq. The trimeter then becomes truly dicolic. Occasionally, partial types are interjected *extra trimetros*. Their principal function, however, is the one that at present concerns us, to constitute, in connexion with linked types, a varied and flexible periodic structure in continuous composition.

Linked types either include a whole verse or consist of parts of two verses. The former sort begin with the verse or end with it. Thus three verses may form a period of two cola, often symmetrically divided, as (E). Unsymmetrical, (K) 175-177. Sometimes the verse is overlapped at both ends, *Phil.* 263-265. A linked type can never include a distich; such a mass could not be enunciated as a unit, and in apparent cases the sense will be found to require division, as *Trach.* 1051 | Ἐρι-



*νόον*. The closest linking must be preceded by distinct division later than the third diaeresis, (A) 1224, (F) 1, 14, 17. Close linking is helped by a long syllable (and no hiatus) at the end of the verse, see (G); the *syllaba anceps* and hiatus are freely permitted, however, where the connexion in sense is as close as possible. Elision, though sparingly employed, mostly δ' and τ' (ταῦτ', *O. T.* 332), is highly significant, in revealing the intention of the poet and his view of the character of his versification.

Dramatic discourse in poetic form, while subject externally to the limitations of strict metrical law, demands the utmost spiritual freedom within that law. The episodes of a Greek play were likely to present many a situation wherein thought would predominate over feeling, and struggle against the checks and exactions of metre; and, once furnished with a tolerably pliable verse, the tragic poet would be instinctively led to make the most of his instrument, by adapting its movement and the grouping of its masses to the mood and circumstances of the *dramatis personae* with which for the time being he came to identify himself. Attic tragedy was bound to pass beyond the stage of a sublime musical drama with a background of semi-divine majestic shapes, and devote itself more congenially to the idealized presentation of pure human sentiment and reason, worthily embodied in the actions and utterances of strong and earnest characters. In Sophocles, the chief poetic representative of the Periclean age, we find a true and unobscured exemplification of its artistic qualities—a perfect balance of the formal and spiritual, successful avoidance of all extremes, complete and easy mastery of details, a flexible and subtle adjustment. For so fine an art, however, as that of organic expression of thought and feeling in metrical language, no distinct methodical rules can be formulated, no systematic theory propounded. On the positive side it is possible to do little more than to recognize the fitness of its most striking adaptations, and estimate their salient contrasts. But in so doing we are assisted by a negative principle of universal application, by which indeed the creative faculties of the artist himself are largely guided, the principle of avoiding monotony and an excess of formal symmetry. Uniformity implies an absence of personality; and the manifold structural variations of iambic composition spring immediately and naturally from the sympathy of dramatic identification.

In order to achieve a harmony of melodious and ethical effects, the extreme of pause-variation must be avoided as well as that of metrical regularity of type. The normal type of the verse should never be entirely lost sight of, or, more properly, the standard trimeter should recur often enough to be always *heard* pervading the composition, which would otherwise degenerate into rhythmical chaos. On the other hand, it is the prevalence of pause-variation that enables uniformity of measure, by contrast, to assert its true value when demanded by the ethos of the situation. Complete types, when accumulated, especially a series of monostichs, have an enumerative effect, a character of *recitative*.

- (C) *El.* 975 τίς γάρ ποτ' ἀστῶν ἢ ξένων ἡμᾶς ἰδὼν  
 τοιοῖσδ' ἐπαίνους οὐχὶ δεξιόσεται ||  
 ἴδεσθε τῶδε τῷ κασιγιήτῳ φίλοι |  
 ὦ τὸν πατρῶον οἶκον ἐξεσωσάτην |  
 ὦ τοῖσιν ἐχθροῖς εὖ βεβηκόσιν ποτὲ  
 ψυχῆς ἀφειδήσαντε προυστήτην φόνου ||  
 τούτῳ φιλεῖν χρή | τῶδε χρή πάντας σέβειν |  
 τῶδ' ἐν θ' ἑορταῖς ἐν τε πανδήμῳ πόλει  
 τιμᾶν ἅπαντας εἶνεκ' ἀνδρείας χρεῶν.

Partial types formed by the second diaeresis are in keeping with the monotony. The effect is heightened in (C), as often, by the *anaphora*. Electra is an enthusiast, and in a rapt, visionary way she *chants* her future praises. An instructive contrast is afforded by a later utterance of the same heroine differently affected. It will be noted, however, that with all its agitation and irregularity of movement the following passage is not beyond the control of the normal type.

- (D) *El.* 1354 ὦ φίλτατον φῶς | ὦ μόνος σωτήρ δόμων  
 Ἀγαμέμνονος | πῶς ἦλθες || ἦ σὺ κείνος εἶ  
 ὅς τόνδε κάμ' ἔσωσας ἐκ πολλῶν πόνων ||  
 ὦ φίλταται μὲν χεῖρες | ἦδιστον δ' ἔχων  
 ποδῶν ὑπηρέτημα | πῶς οὐτῷ πάλαι  
 ξυῶν μ' ἔλθες οὐδ' ἔφαινες | ἀλλά με  
 λόγους ἀπώλλυς | ἔργ' ἔχων ἦδιστ' ἐμοί ||

χαῖρ' ὦ πάτερ | πατέρα γὰρ εἰσορᾶν δοκῶ |  
 χαῖρ' | ἴσθι δ' ὡς μάλιστά σ' ἀνθρώπων ἐγὼ  
 ἤχθηρα κἀφίλησ' ἐν ἡμέρα μιᾷ.

It may be remarked in connexion with complete types that the iambics of tragedy should always be recited with attention to such pauses only as must be deliberately observed in order to bring the meaning out intelligibly — pauses that can bear the test of being prolonged at will. Of purely metrical values the reader must take no account. These are sure to assert themselves duly without conscious effort, when the pronunciation is true, and to emphasize them in reading is to destroy the harmony of the composition. When the main divisions of the thought and of the metre coincide, they enforce each other; but in so far as they do not fall together, there results a double effect which is characteristic of poetic word-grouping. In the iambic trimeter the obtrusive metrical divisions are the verse-end and the second and third diaereses; and of these, when not coincident with the principal rhetorical divisions, the poet avails himself to mark the minor articulations of the thought, thus producing subtle effects of secondary emphasis. Much of the beauty of poetic form is due to this gradation and interplay of metrical and rhetorical values, and the sympathetic reader will never gratuitously interfere to disturb their just proportions.

Complete types, not accumulated, but either isolated or in brief and tolerably symmetrical combinations, are apt to occur at the opening or the close of a speech or a complex period. The verse-standard is thus duly presented at the beginning, or returned to at the end, where a calm unbroken movement is often strictly appropriate, (F) 7, 8; 19, 20. Especially the complete distich, combined with one monostich or with two, or otherwise, introduces a formal address with dignity or a certain solemnity, as (B), *Aj.* 646-649, *Ant.* 1-3, 450-452. If the opening line is broken by a vocative the effect is different, and tends to the pathetic, *Aj.* 485, *O. T.* 1. An enclosed vocative does not usually break the verse, as an initial (emphatic) vocative does, and has not the same ethos; compare *Aj.* 1 (unbroken) with *Aj.* 14. Remarkable is the beginning of the *Electra*, with the profound suggestiveness of the long initial colon:

- (E) ὦ τοῦ στρατηγήσαντος ἐν Τροίᾳ ποτὲ  
 Ἄγαμέμνονος παῖ|νῦν ἐκεῖν' ἔξεστὶ σοὶ  
 παρόντι λεύσσειν ὦν πρόθυμος ἦσθ' ἀεὶ.

While the movement of complete types is iambic (anacrusic), a succession of broken verses regularly introduces a trochaic movement, since in the iambic trimeter diaeresis is far more common than caesura. Thus, paradoxically, a trochaic flow comes to be characteristic of Greek iambic discourse. This saves the trimeter (the equal in length of the English alexandrine) from a slow and labored effect that would render it unsuited to the uses of ancient tragedy, where the musical and poetic are ever liable, even in iambs, to override the purely dramatic; for with trochaic division the current of the verse is rapid, while the anacrusic break is retarding. The latter also can occur only near the beginning or the end of a line, and hence pertains to unsymmetrical periods. Anacrusic division is in fact, though less common than trochaic, the more strictly dramatic in character. Thus, the first or the second caesura may give a deliberative tone to the beginning of a speech, (K) 1, *Ant.* 998, *O. T.* 216, *Aj.* 1332, *O. C.* 1284. Similar in effect (narrative-argumentative), and comparatively frequent, is the fifth or last caesura, *El.* 558, 563, 566, 582, 587 (cf. the fourth caesura, 560, 577, 579, 593). Except with complete types, where its character is modified by the symmetry, an iambic movement is never maintained to any considerable extent without variation by the trochaic. A rare example of the dramatic ethos of iambic types is the beginning of the *Oedipus at Colonus*. The passage owes a share of its peculiar charm, I think, to the suppressed pathos under the tranquil conversational tone marked by anacrusic and unsymmetrical division.

(F)

ΟΙΔΙΠΟΣ.

- τέκνον τυφλοῦ γέροντος Ἀντιγόνη|τίνας  
 χώρους ἀφίγμεθ' ἢ τίνων ἀνδρῶν πόλιν ||  
 τίς τὸν πλανήτην Οἰδίπουν|καθ' ἡμέραν  
 τὴν νῦν|σπανιστοῖς δέξεται δωρήμασιν |  
 5 σμικρὸν μὲν ἐξαιτοῦντα|τοῦ σμικροῦ δ' ἔτι  
 μείον φέροντα|καὶ τόδ' ἐξαρκοῦν ἐμοί ||  
 στέργειν γὰρ αἱ πάθαι με χῶ χρόνος ξυνῶν  
 μακρὸς διδάσκει καὶ τὸ γενναῖον τρίτον ||

ἀλλ' ὦ τέκνον | θάκησιν εἴ τινα βλέπεις  
 10 ἢ πρὸς βεβήλοισι ἢ πρὸς ἄλσεσιν θεῶν |  
 στῆσόν με κἀφίδρυσον | ὡς πυθώμεθα  
 ὅπου ποτ' ἐσμέν || μανθάνειν γὰρ ἤκομεν  
 ξένοι πρὸς ἀστῶν | ἂν δ' ἀκούσωμεν τελεῖν.

## ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΗ.

πᾶτερ ταλαίπωρ' Οἰδίπους | πύργου μὲν οἶ  
 15 πόλιν στέγουσιν | ὡς ἀπ' ὀμμάτων | πρόσω ||  
 χῶρος δ' ὄδ' ἱρὸς ἄς σάφ' εἰκάσαι | βρῦων  
 δάφνης ἐλάας ἀμπέλου | πυκνόπτεροι δ'  
 εἴσω κατ' αὐτὸν εὐστομοῦσ' ἀηδόνες ||  
 οὗ κῶλα κάμψον τοῦδ' ἐπ' ἀξέστου πέτρου |  
 20 μακρὰν γὰρ ὡς γέροντι προστάλης ὁδόν.

The trochaic flow, ever present where the metre is much broken, varies in character according to the relative proportions of the cola, or commata; that is, according to the scale of modulation on which the pause is shifted. With (D) contrast the following example :

(G) *Ant.* 891 ὦ τύμβος | ὦ νυμφεῖον | ὦ κατασκαφῆς  
 οἴκησις ἀείφρουρος | οἷ πορεύομαι  
 πρὸς τοὺς ἐμαυτῆς | ὦν ἀριθμὸν ἐν νεκροῖς  
 πλείστον δέδεκται Φερσέφασσ' ὀλωλότων ||  
 ὦν λοισθία ἔγὼ καὶ κάκιστα δὴ μακρῶ  
 κάτειμι | πρὶν μοι μοῖραν ἐξήκειν βίου.

The power of this passage is due by no means entirely to its pathos and the solemn vocalization (a key-note struck at the opening of the play), but measurably also to the melodious gradation of the trochaic types. Instead of the excited uneven movement of (D) we have here the cyclic song-like progression of a *crescendo* and *cadenza* — the fall entering with the anacrusis, 895. That the *syllaba anceps* was intentionally avoided here, I cannot doubt.

The long period or system, of complex organic unity, and of more or less compact and not unsymmetrical structure, is evolved under the influence of concentrated feeling in dramatic identification, such as the wrath that issues in invective, the intense interest of the ἄγγελος

or *ἐξάγγελος* in the thrilling tale he has to recite, the zeal and warmth of argumentative disputation or earnest appeal. The following outburst of the choleric Oedipus is succeeded by fourteen lines of loose periodic structure.

- (H) *O. T.* 380 ὦ πλοῦτε καὶ τυραννὶ καὶ τέχνῃ τέχνης  
 ὑπερφέρονσα τῷ πολυζήλω βίῳ |  
 ὅσος παρ' ὑμῖν ὁ φθόνος φυλάσσεται |  
 εἰ τῆσδέ γ' ἀρχῆς εἶνεχ' | ἦν ἐμοὶ πόλις  
 δωρητὸν οὐκ αἰτητὸν εἰσεχειρίσειν |  
 385 ταύτης Κρέων ὁ πιστός | οὐδέ ἀρχῆς φίλος |  
 λάθρα μ' ὑπελθὼν ἐκβαλεῖν ἱμείρεται |  
 ὑφείς μάγον τοιόνδε μηχανορράφον |  
 δόλιον ἀγύρτην | ὅστις ἐν τοῖς κέρδεσιν  
 μόνον δέδορκε | τὴν τέχνην δ' ἔφω τυφλός.

The sweep and balance of the system lend dignity to the caustic temper. The prevalence of complete types here to be noted, and the accompanying reduction of trochaic movement, together with the comparative regularity of the breaks that do occur, distinguish such a period in character from groups like (D) or (G).

Strictly analogous to the modulation and grouping of cola to form a period is the variation exhibited in the massing of the periods themselves. Shorter and longer groups or systems succeed each other according to the natural impulsion of the thought, and a stanza-like uniformity is everywhere avoided — except in the stichomythy and distichomythy, which may be regarded as typifying the virtue of absolute symmetry in the largest complex unit of iambic composition, the episode. In a *ῥῆσις* of considerable length the brief unperiodic sentences are usually the most numerous, though in this regard, as well as in respect to closeness or looseness of texture, everything depends upon the character of the passage as a whole. Long periods, on the other hand, are of far less frequent occurrence than those of intermediate volume. There is room to present but one illustration of complex grouping, the throne speech of Creon in the *Antigone*. The long period, in which the oration culminates, authoritative confirmation of the formidable edict, is here arrived at in a deliberate way, step by step.

- (K) *Ani.* 162 ἄνδρες | τὰ μὲν δὴ πόλεος ἀσφαλῶς θεοί |  
 πολλῶ σάλῳ σείσαντες | ὄρθωσαν πάλιν ||  
 ὑμᾶς δ' ἐγὼ πομποῖσιν ἐκ πάντων δίχα  
 165 ἔστειλ' ἰκέσθαι | τοῦτο μὲν τὰ Λαΐου  
 σέβοντας εἰδὼς εὖ θρόνων αἰεὶ κράτη |  
 τοῦτ' αὖθις | ἦνικ' Οἰδίπους ὄρθου πόλιν  
 κάπεϊ διώλετ' | ἀμφὶ τοὺς κείνων ἔτι  
 παῖδας μένοντας ἐμπέδοις φρονήμασιν ||  
 170 οὔτ' οὖν ἐκείνοι πρὸς διπλῆς μοίρας | μίαν  
 καθ' ἡμέραν ὄλοντο | παῖσαντές τε καὶ  
 πληγέντες αὐτόχειρι σὺν μιάσματι |  
 ἐγὼ κράτη δὴ πάντα καὶ θρόνους ἔχω  
 γένους κατ' ἀγχιστεία τῶν ὀλωλότων ||  
 175 ἀμήχανον δὲ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐκμαθεῖν  
 ψυχὴν τε καὶ φρόνημα καὶ γνώμην | πρὶν ἂν  
 ἀρχαῖς τε καὶ νόμοισιν ἐντριβῆς φανῆ ||  
 ἐμοὶ γάρ | ὅστις πᾶσαν εὐθύνων πόλιν  
 μὴ τῶν ἀρίστων ἄπτεται βουλευμάτων |  
 180 ἀλλ' ἐκ φόβου του γλῶσσαν ἐγκλήσας ἔχει |  
 κάκιστος εἶναι νῦν τε καὶ πάλαι δοκεῖ |  
 καὶ μείζον' ὅστις ἀντὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ πάτρας  
 φίλον νομίζει | τοῦτον οὐδαμοῦ λέγω ||  
 ἐγὼ γάρ | ἴστω Ζεὺς ὁ πάνθ' ὀρῶν αἰεὶ |  
 185 οὔτ' ἂν σιωπήσαιμι | τὴν αἴτην ὀρῶν  
 στείχουσαν ἀστοῖς ἀντὶ τῆς σωτηρίας |  
 οὔτ' ἂν φίλον ποτ' ἄνδρα δυσμενῆ πόλεως  
 θείμην ἐμαντῶ | τοῦτο γιγνώσκων ὅτι  
 ἦδ' ἐστὶν ἢ σώζουσα | καὶ ταύτης ἔπι  
 190 πλείοντες ὀρθῆς τοὺς φίλους ποιούμεθα ||  
 τοιοῖσδ' δ' ἐγὼ νόμοισι τήνδ' αὖξω πόλιν ||  
 καὶ νῦν ἀδελφὰ τῶνδε κηρύξας ἔχω  
 ἀστοῖσι | παίδων τῶν ἀπ' Οἰδίπου πέρι ||  
 Ἐτεοκλέα μὲν | ὅς πόλεως ὑπερμαχῶν  
 195 ὄλωλε τῆσδε | πάντ' ἀριστεύσας δόρει |  
 τάφῳ τε κρῦψαι καὶ τὰ πάντ' ἐφαγνίσαι  
 ἂ τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἔρχεται κάτω νεκροῖς ||

- τὸν δ' αὖ ξύναιμον τοῦδε | Πολυνείκην λέγω |  
 ὅς γῆν πατρώαν καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς ἐγγενεῖς |  
 200 φυγὰς κατελθὼν | ἠθέλησε μὲν πυρὶ  
 πρῆσαι κατάκρας | ἠθέλησε δ' αἵματος  
 κοινού πάσασθαι | τοὺς δὲ δουλώσας ἄγειν |  
 τοῦτον πόλει τῆδ' ἐκκεκήρυκται τάφῳ  
 μήτε κτερίζειν μήτε κωκῦσαί τινα |  
 205 εἶαν δ' ἄθαπτον | καὶ πρὸς οἰωνῶν δέμας  
 καὶ πρὸς κυνῶν ἐδεστὸν αἰκισθέντ' ἰδεῖν ||  
 τοιόνδ' ἐμὸν φρόνημα | κοῦποτ' ἔκ γ' ἐμοῦ  
 τιμὴν προέξουσ' οἱ κακοὶ τῶν ἐνδίκων |  
 ἀλλ' ὅστις εὖνους τῆδε τῆ πόλει | θανῶν  
 210 καὶ ζῶν ὁμοίως ἐξ ἐμοῦ τιμῆσεται.







TZETZES'S NOTES ON THE *AVES* OF ARISTOPHANES  
IN CODEX URBINAS 141

BY JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE

CODEX Urbinas Graecus 141 (U) is a paper MS. of the XIV. Cent. in small quarto (0,252 : 0,170), which contains 191 leaves and bears the following title inscribed on a parchment fly-leaf: σοφοκλέους | τραγωδίαε πέντε, | ἀριστοφάνους κωμωδίαε | τέσσαρες, | Sophoclis tragediæ quin | que Aristophanis co | mediæ quatuo | r.<sup>1</sup>

Fol. 78'-191' contain four plays of Aristophanes, the *Plutus*, *Nubes*, *Ranae* and *Aves*, with prolegomena and hypotheses. Preceding the *Plutus*, the first in order of the four plays, is the statement: Τοῦ σοφωτάτου τζέτζου ἐξήγησις εἰς τὸν ἀριστοφάνην.

The *Aves* begins on fol. 174'', towards the bottom of the page, with two hypotheses (Dübner I, Δύο εἰσὶν . . . πεποιημένων, and II, τῆς τῶν ἀθηναίων . . . περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς).<sup>2</sup> Over the first of these stands the statement: Ὑπόθεσις ὀρνίθων ἀριστοφάνους γραμματικοῦ [sic]. The second hypothesis ends on fol. 175', and is immediately followed by the note πεποιήται τὰ ὀνόματα κτέ. and the list of dramatis personae.<sup>3</sup> This page contains also 18 verses of the text.

<sup>1</sup> *Codices Urbinates Graecos edidit Cosimus Stornajolo*, Romae ex typographeo Vaticano, 1895, p. 267 sqq. A collation of the plays of Aristophanes contained in this MS., made by Zacagni, was used by Küster in his variorum edition (1710). Cf. Praef. p. 2 and 3 f. Von Velsen used the MS. in his constitution of the text of the *Ranae* and *Plutus* (1881). See also Zacher, *Die Handschriften und Classen der Aristophanesscholien* (1888), p. 583 ff. (a reprint from the sixteenth supplementary volume of the *Jahr. f. class. Philologie*, pp. 501-746); Zuretti, *Analecta Aristophanea* (1892), p. 24 and 108 ff.; and Piccolomini, *Nuove Osservazioni sugli Uccelli d' Aristofane*, in the *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*, I (1893), p. 443 ff.

I collated the text and notes of the *Aves* in this MS. in the winter of 1900.

<sup>2</sup> The first hypothesis is rewritten with a few omissions by another hand on fol. 175' sup. This hand appears also in an irrelevant note on fol. 183' sup. (See the facsimile of 183' prefixed to this paper.)

<sup>3</sup> As follows: Τὰ του δράματος πρόσωπα: εὐελπίδης· πεισθέταιρος· θεράπων ἔποπος· τροχίλος ὀνομαζόμενος ἔποψ· ἀηδῶν· χορὸς ὀρνίθων· κῆρυξ· ἱερὸς ποιητῆς· χρησμολόγος· γεωμέτρης· ἐπίσκοπος· ψηφισματοπόλος· ἀγγελος· ἕτερος ἀγγελος· ἴρις· ἕτερος κῆρυξ· πατραλοῖα· κινησι διθυραμβοποιὸς· πένης συκοφάντης· προμηθεὺς· ποσειδῶν τριβαλλὸς· ἡρακλῆς· οἰκέτης πεισθεταίρου·· Ἀριστοφάνους ὀρνίθες.— The

The text of the *Aves* is written, often with inexact division of the verses, in two columns,<sup>1</sup> with the following exceptions: in one column, vv. 493-521 (179', 179''), 545-647 (180'-181'), 676-775 (181''-182''), 853-856 (183'), 1088-1096 (185'); in three columns, 1476-1493 (188'), 1753-1765 (190'). This disposition of the text affects the position of the notes.

The notes are written by the same hand which copied the text. The most of them are interlinear. An interlinear note may extend across the space between columns; it may begin in the left-hand margin; it may be extended into the right-hand margin; it may be interrupted and be connected by means of a signum with its continuation in the margin.<sup>2</sup>

The marginal notes are generally written in the exterior margin (Ext.), a smaller number in the interior margin (Int.), a few on the upper (Sup.) and lower (Inf.) margins.<sup>3</sup> These notes, for convenience, may be called Scholia, but they do not differ in the nature of their content from many of the interlinear notes.

Scholia are also occasionally written across the page between lines of the text (Pag.).

spaces left in the text for the names of the speakers were never filled in. (In the *Plutus*, *Nubes* and *Ranae* the names are entered in minium.) The text, therefore, is left without designation of the speaker except before verse 1 (entered in minium) and in the few instances where the first hand entered the name, in black ink, as he copied the text. I have observed the following instances of this: 96 ἔποψ (ante μῶν κτέ.), 228 ἀηδῶν (ante v.), 448 κῆρυξ (ante v.), 646 οἱ δύο (ante ἀμφω δεχόμεθα), 647 οἱ δύο (ante ἴωμεν), 648 οἱ δύο (ante ἀτὰρ κτέ.), 656 ἄνθρωποι (ante v. in marg.), 1204 Ἴρις (ante v.), 1572 τριβαλὸς (ante ἔξεις ἀτρέμας).

<sup>1</sup> See the facsimile. On this page the arrangement in two columns is disturbed by inexact division of vv. 845-847.

<sup>2</sup> This is indicated in my *Transcript of the Notes* (see below, p. 72 ff.) by such a statement as [int. sig.] placed within the note (cf. the note on 102), which signifies that the interrupted interlinear note is continued on the interior margin and that the connexion of the two parts of the note is indicated by means of a signum. Cf. 109, etc., and the reverse practice as illustrated in the notes on 272, 1681. — The notes on v. 794 and v. 929 are written *under* those verses. In like manner the note ἔχε is written under ἔξεις in 1572.

<sup>3</sup> Some of these notes stand within the exterior or interior margin, especially on pages where the verses of the text are written in single column. I have not indicated the position of these intramarginal notes by a more particular designation than Ext. or Int.

A longer note may stand before or after the verse to which it belongs, and may thus be connected with it by position; or it may be connected with the verse by means of a signum. A connexion effected solely by means of a lemma is rare.<sup>1</sup>

In my *Transcript of the Notes* (p. 72 ff.) the accentuation and spelling of the ms. are retained, but compends, whether words or syllables, are not indicated. The ms. uses the comma and the point. The former is always preserved in the Transcript, the point also where it is a mark of punctuation. The Transcript, in this case, has the high point. Other marks that occur in the ms. are generally ignored in the Transcript.<sup>2</sup>—With these exceptions, the Transcript is intended to be an exact reproduction of the notes in U.

Interlinear notes are indicated in the Transcript by the parenthesis placed after the word explained, thus *διαπραγοίης*) before the note on v. 2. If several words are explained, the first word or two are given followed by points, thus *ὀρθὴν . . .*) before the note on v. 1.

To all other notes the bracket is prefixed, and before this is placed an indication of the position of the note on the page, and generally also of the means by which it is connected with the text.

The relation of the notes in U to those in V and R is indicated by the use of types, or by a symbol placed after the note, as follows:

Notes that are not in V or R are printed in black-faced type.

V or R signifies that the note is found in V or R practically unchanged; but it is generally abridged as it appears in U. Furthermore, the following differences between U and V or R are ignored in this classification as non-significant: blunders in spelling; the omission from U of the article, of unimportant pronouns, and of conjunctions (these omissions are probably due to a desire for brief expression); variations in conjunctions; and slight changes in the order of the words.

<sup>1</sup> See the note on 301. For a subsidiary use of the lemma, see the notes on vv. 873 and 874, where the connexion is effected primarily by means of a signum. In the note on v. 156 the 'catch-words' are at the end of the note; in the note on v. 538, they are embedded within it.

<sup>2</sup> Such as the following: before the note + or ↓. After it : or + or :— or :+ or :—+ or := The commonest collocation is + (note) :— or +

*V* or *R* (italic) signifies that the note is found in *V* or *R*, but that its form has been changed. The change in form ranges from slight but essential disagreements to a complete change in the expression of the idea found in the older mss.

It should be observed that the compiler of the notes in *U* often bases his note unmistakably upon one of a set of notes in the archetype (all written in explanation of the same point) which are preserved also in *V*, whereas *R* has another of the set. In this case the transcript indicates that the note is related to the note in *V*. See the notes on 8, 17, 125, 168, 507, 874, etc.

The note in *U* is often a continuous combination of notes which presumably were separate in the archetype, since they are preserved as separate notes in *V* or *R*. For combinations of two notes, see 102, 189, 276, 447, 463, 465, 530, 534, etc. For a combination of three notes, see 705. Such combinations are indicated in the Transcript, so far as possible, by the insertion within the note of an upright line.

#### TRANSCRIPT OF THE NOTES

##### Fol. 175' (vv. 1-18) :—

- 1 Ὀρθὴν κελεύεις . . .) ὁ τὸν κολοῖον κρατῶν πρὸς τὸν κολοῖον  
 φησὶ *VR*
- 2 διαρραγίης) πρὸς τὴν κορώνην ἦδε) ἡ κορώνη
- 3 πλανύττομεν) πλανώμεθα *VR*
- 4 ἄλλως) μάτην *R* προφορομένω) δεῦρο κάκεισε ἀπο μεταφορᾶς  
 τοῦ στήμονος *VR* ὅ πλείν) πλείον ἀττικῶς *VR*
- 8 ἀποσποδῆσαι) ἀποκροῦσαι ἀφανίσαι *V* 10 ἐντευθενὶ) εἰρωνεία
- 11 οὐδ' ἂν . . .) τοῦτον ὡς ξένον διαβάλλουσι καὶ πλάνον τὰς ὁδοὺς  
 γινώσκειν· οἱ γὰρ ξένοι μᾶλλον ἴσασι τὰς ὁδοὺς *VR*
- 12 σὺ μὲν . . .) παίζων φησὶ τουτέστι τὴν εἰς τὸ οἶμοι ὁδὸν βάδιζε *VR*
- 17 τὸν μὲν . . .) διασύρει τοῦτον ὡς μικρὸν τῷ σώματι *V*

##### Fol. 175" (19-81) :—

- 26 βρύκουσ') παρὰ τὴν βορὰν οἰοῖν βορύκουσα
- 28 ἐς κόρακας) παίζει ἐπεὶ εἰς τὰ ὄρνεα βούλονται ἔλθειν *V*
- 30 ἐν λόγῳ) ἐν τῇ ὑποθέσει
- 31 Ext. ante v.] σάκας ὁ ἀκέστωρ· οὗτος τραγωδίας ποιητῆς· ἐκαλείτο  
 δὲ σάκας διὰ τὸ ξένος εἶναι· σάκες γὰρ ἔθνος θρακικὸν *VR*

35 Ext. ante v.] ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν ὀρνέων· καὶ τὸ ἀμφοῖν ποδοῖν ἐκ τῶν ὀρνέων· ἀμφοῖν πτεροῖν *VR*

37 μεγάλην εἶναι . . .) διασύρει τὸ φιλόδικον καὶ τὴν συκοφαντίαν *VR*

43 Ext. ante v.] ἢ ἵνα θύσωσιν ὅπου μέλλωσιν οἰκῆσαι· ἢ πρὸς αποσόβησιν τῶν ὀρνέων· ἀντὶ ὄπλου μὲν τὸ κανοῦν· ἀντὶ περικεφαλαίας δὲ τὴν χύτραν· τὰς μυρρίνας δὲ πρὸς ἄμυναν *VR*

44 ἀπράγμονα) ἀτάραχον 45 καθιδρυθέντε) κτίσαντες

46 ὁ δὲ στόλος) καὶ ἡ πορεία 52 ὄρνεα) ἀλλ' εἰσὶν δῆλον

59 ποιήσεις τί) δεινὸν κόπτειν) εἰς κόπτειν) ἐν τῷ

63 οὕτω 'στι . . .) πρᾶγμα· οἱ ὀρنيθοθήραι *V* οὐδὲ κάλλιον λέγειν) οὐδὲ λέγειν σε τοῦτο κάλλιον ἐστὶν ὅτι ἐσμὲν ὀρنيθοθήραι *VR*

65 Ext. sig. sup. ὑποδεδιῶς] ἐπλασε τὸ ὄνομα· λιβυκὸν δὲ ἐπεὶ οἱ λίβυες βάρβαροι καὶ δειλοὶ· ἢ ἐπεὶ πολύορις ἢ λιβύη *VR*

66 καὶ μὴν ἔρου . . .) διότι ἀπεπάτησεν ὡς ὄρνεον *VR*

68 Ext. sig. sup. ἐπικεχοδῶς] καὶ τοῦτο ὡς ὄρنيθος ἔπαιξε διὰ τὸ φαίνεσθαι αὐτὸ τὸ σκῶρ *VR*

69 ἀλλὰ σὺ τί θηρίον) δέον εἰπεῖν ὄρνις· πρὸς τὸ τεράστιον δὲ εἶπε θηρίον *VR*

70 Ext. sig. sup. ἡττήθης] ἐπεὶ ὁ ἡττηθεὶς ἀλεκτρυνῶν ἀκολουθεῖ τῷ νενικηκότι *VR*

76 φαληρικὰς) φαληρεὺς λιμὴν τῆς ἀττικῆς *VR*

78 ἔττους) ἀθάρας *VR* τορύνης) τὸ κινητήριον τῆς χύτρας *V*

### Fol. 176' (82-143): —

82 εὐδει . . .) σέφφος σκωληκῶδες ζυῶφιον· μηκῶδες ταῦτα νέμονται τὰ ὄρνεα *VR* 84 σφῶιν) ἡμῶν

85 Ext. sig. sup. κακῶς] πρὸς τὸν θεράποντα τοῦ ἔποπος λέγει εἰσελθόντα καὶ κεχρηότα *VR*

92 ἀνοίγε τὴν ὕλην) τὴν πύλην ἢ δέον εἰπεῖν τὴν θύραν· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐν ὕλαις οἱ ὄρνις *VR* 96 ἤξασιν) παρεγένοντο

100 τοιαῦτα μέντοι . . .) ἐν γὰρ τῷ τηρεῖ σοφοκλήης ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν ἀπωρνωμένον καὶ τὴν πρόκνην *VR*

102 πότερον ὄρνις . . .) ἔπαιξε δέον εἰπεῖν ἄνθρωπος *V* [int. sig.] ἢ τὸ γενικὸν εἰπὼν, εἶτα ἐπήγαγε τὸ εἰδικὸν *V*

104 ἐξερρήκε) παρόσον ἄνθρωπος ἐλήλυθε μὴ ἔχων πτερὰ πλὴν τῆς κεφαλῆς *VR* 108 ὄθεν) ἀφοῦ

109 μῶν ἡλιαστὰ) δικαστήριον ἐν ἀθήναις [ext. sig.] οὕτω δὲ ἐκλήθη διὰ τὸ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ εἶ καὶ *VR* 110 ἀπηλιασταὶ) φιλόδικοι

- 111 ὀλίγον . . .) παρόσον οἱ ἀγροικικοὶ μισόδικοι *VR*  
 113 ξυγγενέσθαι) συνομιλήσαι *R*  
 123 Ext. post. v.] διὰ τὸ τραχὺ ἢ ἀπό τινος βασιλέως κραναοῦ *VR*  
 124 προσφορωτέραν) λυσιτελιστέραν  
 125 ἀριστοκρατεῖσθαι) καὶ ἔχει ἀρίστους δημαγωγούς *V*  
 126 τὸν σκελλίου) υἱὸν· διότι ἐλέγετο ἀριστοκράτης *VR*  
 131 ὅπως) θέλησον 132 ἐστιᾶν) εὐτρεπίζειν  
 135 τάλαιπύρων γε πραγμάτων) τρυφηλῶν καλῶν πραγμάτων  
 139 ὦ στιλβονίδῃ) ὦ λαμπρῆ ἀπὸ βαλανείων κεκαλλωπισμένη *VR*  
 141 οὐ προσηγάγου) πρὸς ἑαυτὸν *VR*  
 142 οὐκ ὠρχιπέδησας) οὐ τῶν ὄρχεων ἤψω *VR*  
 143 ὦ δειλακρίων) κατ' ἄκραν δειλὲ τῶν κακῶν) τρυφηλῶν

**Fol. 176" (144-204) : —**

- 146 ἀνακύψεται) ἀνακύψει  
 147 Sup. sig. sup. ἔωθεν] ἤγουν εἰς κρίσιν δύο ἦσαν νῆες παρὰ τοῖς ἀθηναίοις ὑπηρετίδες· πάραλος καὶ ἡ σαλαμινία· ὣν ἡ σαλαμινία τοὺς ἐρχομένους εἰς κρίσιν ἤγειν ἡ δὲ πάραλος *VR*  
 150 Int. post. v.] ἐξ ἀκοῆς μαθὼν *R* μελάνθιος ὁ τραγικὸς κωμωδεῖται λεπρὸς καὶ κακοπράγμων *V* 153 χρῆ κατοικεῖν) ὑμᾶς  
 156 ἄχαρις) ἀχαρίτωτος Ext. ante v.] συνοίκησιν· ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν εὐφών ἱματίων τῶν ὑπουργούντων εἰς τρίψιν καὶ φόρεσιν πολλοῦ χρόνου· ἐς τὴν τριβὴν *VR*  
 158 ἀφείλες) ἀπέκοψας Ext. sig. sup. κιβδηλίαν] τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἀργυρίου ῥῦπον· διότι δὲ καὶ τὰ νομίσματα κίβδηλα λέγεται· κίβδηλον κυρίως ὅτι ὑπὸ κίδς δεδηλημένον *VR*  
 159 λευκὰ σήσημα) φύλλα ἐρυθρὰ οἷς στεφανοῦνται οἱ νυμφῖοι *VR*  
 162 φεῦ φεῦ) θαυμαστικὸν *VR* 164 ὦ, τι) εἰς  
 166 ὡς) ὅτι 167 τοὺς πετομένους) ἢ περὶ τῶν πετομένων *VR*  
 168 ὁ τελέας . . .) διασύρει τὸν τελέα *V* ταδὶ) ταῦτα  
 169 πετόμενος) ἐρώτησις 171 μωμᾶ) ψέγεις  
 176 περιάγε . . .) ἐνθεν κἀκείθεν ὡς καὶ τὰ ἐν κύκλῳ ἰδεῖν *VR*  
 177 ἀπολαύσομαι) ὠφέληθᾶ  
 179 Ext. sig. sup. πόλος] πόλον οἱ παλαιοὶ, οὐχ ὡς οἱ νεώτεροι σημείον τί καὶ πέρασ ἀλωνος ἀλλὰ *V* τὸ περιέχον ἅπαν *VR*  
 185 Ext. sig. sup. παρνόπων] εὐχείρωτοι οἱ πάρνοπες ἔστι εἶδος ἀκρίδων ἢ κωνώπων *VR* 186, 189 Vid. fol. 177'.  
 193 διαφορήσεται) διαπέμψεται *R* 194 Vid. fol. 177'.



## Fol. 177' (205-258) : —

- 206 ὦ φίλτατ' ἀνθρώπων) γράφεται ὀρνίθων  
 209 σύνομε) σύμβιε 210 λῦσον) ἄσον VR  
 212 ἐμὸν καὶ σὸν) λείπει παῖδα VR  
 214 γέννος ξουθῆς) λεπτήσ ἀπαλῆσ ὑγρᾶσ· πυρᾶσ· ξανθῆσ (χωρεῖ)  
 ὀρμήσει  
 217 ἐλέγοισ) θρήνοισ VR 224 οἶον) καὶ πῶσ θανστικὸν  
 186 Pag. sub v. 230] ἐν τοῖσ πελοπονησιακοῖσ νικίαν πέμψαντες ἀθη-  
 ναῖοι κατὰ πάντων μηλιέων, ἐπει τοσοῦτον ἐπολιόρκησεν αὐτοῦσ, ὥστε  
 λιμῶ διαφθεῖραι διὰ τὸ ἀποστῆναι αὐτῶν πρῶην, ὑποτελῆ οὔσαν V  
 189 Pag. sub schol. antec.] πολέμοιο ἦσαν οἰ βοιωτοῖ τοῖσ ἀθηναῖοισ  
 συμβάλλοντες λακεδαιμονίοισ· δια δέκελειαν μαχόμενοι· ὅτε οὖν θέλουσιν  
 ἀθηναῖοι εἰσ πυθῶ ἀπελθεῖν, δηλοῦσιο βοιωτεῖσ παρακαλοῦντες ὑποχωρεῖν  
 τῆσ ὁδοῦ· V | ἄλλωσ : — τινέσ φασὶ μεταξύ πειθοῦσ καὶ ἀττικῆσ εἶναι τὴν  
 βοιωτίαν· καὶ οὐχ' οἶον τε ἀπελθεῖν ἀθηναῖοισ εἰσ πυθῶ, εἰ μὴ παρέλθωσιο  
 βοιωτίαν· παίζει δὲ μόνον γὰρ τότε διίδον ζητοῦσιν, ὅταν στρατεύμα  
 διάγη· ὅταν δὲ ὀλίγοι καὶ εἰρηνικοῖ, οὐκέτι VR  
 194 Pag. sub schol. antec.] νεφέλη εἶδοσ δικτύου θηρατικοῦ· οὕτω δὲ  
 τὰ προστυχόντα ὤμνον VR  
 237 Ext. post v. 237] μιμούμενοσ τὴν φωνὴν τῶν ὀρνέων προσκαλεῖ-  
 ται αὐτὰ VR  
 240 κοτινοτράγα] τὰ ἐσθίοντα κότινον ἤγουν τὸν κάρπον τῆσ ἀγριε-  
 λαίας V  
 242 τριοτυροτιστοτριβριξῆ) μιμείται ἐκάστου γένουσ ὀρνέου φωνὴν V  
 243 Med. post v. 244] ἐλώδεισ τόπουσ V  
 244 Ext. post v. 245] ζῶον ἐστὶν ὕδασι γινόμενον ὁμοιον τῶ κώνωπι  
 μείζον δὲ τῆ περιοχῆ· κατὰ τὸ μέσον λευκῶ περιεζωσμένον V  
 245 κάπτειθ') ἐσθίετε V 248 πτεροποίκιλοσ) ἔχων V  
 249 Ext. sig. sup. ἀτταγᾶσ] τὰ γὰρ λιμνώδη καὶ λεία χωρία καταβό-  
 σκεται ὁ ἀτταγᾶσ V 252 τὰ νεώτερα) πράγματα V  
 254 ταναοδείρων) τὸ μερικὸν ἐπι πάντων ἔταξεν οὐδὲ γὰρ πάντα  
 ταναοδειρα τὰ ὄρνεα V 255 δριμύσ) συνετο῔ ὄξυσ  
 256 καινὸσ γνώμην) οἶον νεάν γνώμην ἐξηγούμενοσ V

## Fol. 177" (259-328) : —

- 261 κικκαβαῦ) τὰσ γλαύκασ οὕτω φωνεῖν· ἕτεροι δὲ λέγουσιο τὰσ  
 χαλκί ἢ ἕτερα V 265 ἄλλωσ) μάτην

266 Ext. sig. sup. χαραδριὸν] ἐπεὶ αἱ χαραδραὶ τρόπον τινὰ διὰ τῶν  
 ῥευμάτων μελωδίας ποιοῦνται· ἢ ὁ χαραδριὸς ζῶον μεταβαλλόμενον εἰς  
 τὰ προκείμενα· ἐπῶζεν ἐστὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῖς ωοῖς καθῆσθαι V

267 τοροτιγῆ τοροτιγῆ) ἢ ζῶον τινὸς ἢ τοῦ ἔποπος V

270 οὔτος) ὁ ἔποψ V

272 Ext. ante v.] παρὰ τὴν φοίνικος γενικὴν φοινικόεις ἐν ὑπερθέσει  
 καὶ φοινικοῦς V φοινικοῦς) ἐν συναιρεσει πυρρὸς V

275 ἕξεδρον) ἀλλόδαπος Ext. sig. sup. χώραν ἔχων] ἢ ἀρχὴ ἐκ  
 τοῦ σοφοκλέους V

276 τίς ποθ' . . .) ὁ κομπώδης· τοιοῦτοι γὰρ οἱ μάντιες : V | ἄτοπος  
 δὲ διὰ τὸ τερατώδες V

278 εἶτα πῶς . . .) ὡς τῶν μῆδων ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐπὶ καμήλων ὀχουμένων V

281 ἐστὶ φιλοκλέους) ἐκ τοῦ καὶ ἔποπος

286 αἶ τε θήλειαι . . .) διασύρει τὸν καλλιαν ὡς λάγνον

288 κατωφαγᾶς) ὄρνεον ὀρύσσω τὰ σπέρματα V

290 ἀπέβαλε . . .) ῥίψασπις γὰρ ἦν V

292 Ext. sig. ante v.] ἐπεὶ οἱ διαυλοδρομοῦντες εἶχον λόφον ἐπὶ τῆς  
 κεφαλῆς V 299 Vid. fol. 178'.

300 σποργίλος) κουρέα εἶχον τοῦτον 301 Vid. fol. 178'.

306 τῶν κοψίχων) τῶν κοπτόντων διὰ τησρ

316 πρὸς ἐμὲ φίλον ἔχων) ἀπὸ κοινοῦ τὸ παρ

317 Ext. sig. sup. κοινὸν] κοινωφελῆ τουτέστιν ἀληθῆ καὶ σφαλῆναι  
 μὴ δυνάμενον V

318 Ext. sig. sup. λεπτῶ σοφιστὰ] λεπτοὶ εἰς τὸ λογίσασθαι V

319 Ext. sig. sup. ποῦ] διαταράττονται ἀκροότες παρεῖναι ὑποπτεύ-  
 ονσι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὀρنيθοθήρας V

321 Ext. sig. sup. ἦκετον] στέλεχος καὶ ῥίζαν καὶ ὑπόθεσιν μεγάλην  
 πράγματος· ὃ ἐστὶ χρησιμὸν τι εἰσηγούμενος V

Fol. 178' (329-378) :—

338 διαφορηθῆναι) διασπασθῆναι 342 ἐκκοπή) ἐκβληθῆ

299 Pag. sub v. 342] ὁ ἄρσην ἀλκυὼν κειρύλος λέγεται· ἐν δὲ ταῖς  
 συνουσίαις ἀποθησκει· ὁ δὲ σποργίλος κουρέυς ἦν· διαβάλλει δὲ τοῦτον ὡς  
 εὐτελής :— ἀντίγονος τοὺς ἄρρενας τῶν ἀλκυόνων γηράσκοντας, αἱ θήλειαι  
 βαστάζουσι τοῖς πτεροῖς· μήποτε δὲ παρὰ τὸ κείρειν ἐσχημάτισε τὸν  
 σποργίλον· κουρέυς γὰρ ἦν· μνημονεύει δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ πλάτων ἐν σοφι-  
 σταῖς τὸ σποργίλου χωρίον ἔχθιστον τέγος V

301 Pag. sub schol. antec.] τίς γλαῦκα· διότι εἰσὶ πολλαὶ γλαῦκαι εἰς τὰς ἀθήνας· οὐ μόνον γὰρ ζῶα, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὰ νομίσματα ἐντετυπωμένοι· ἔστι δὲ παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν μάτην ἐπισωρευόντων τινὰ τοῖς προσυπάρχουσιν· οἷον εἶ τις ἐν αἰγύπτῳ σῖτον ἀπάγει ἢ ἐν κιλικίᾳ κρόκον V 348 ῥύγχει) στόματι

353 ἐπαγέτω . . .) προηγείσθω ὡς ἐπὶ πολέμου V

355 διαφορηθῶ) διασπασθῶ

358 Ext. sig. sup. γλαυξ] διὰ τὸ ἀττικὸν εἶναι τὸ ζῶον ἀττικοὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ V

361 δξύβαφον) σκευὸς μείζον τριβλίου V

363 Ext. sig. sup. ὑπερακοντίζεις] φρονιμώτατα γὰρ ὁ νικίας καὶ λιμῶ πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ ἀθηναίων μηλίους ἀνείλε V

364 Ext. sig. sup. ἐλελεῦ] ἐπίφθεγμα πολεμικόν· οἱ προσιόντες γὰρ εἰς πόλεμον ἐφώνουν τὸ ἐλελεῦ μετὰ τινος ἐμμελοῦς κινήσεως V

369 φεισόμεθα γάρ τι τῶνδε μᾶλλον ἡμεῖς ἢ λύκων  
 $\alpha \quad \epsilon \quad \gamma \quad \beta \quad \delta'$

373 οἷ γ') οὔτοι

378 αὐτίχ') τὸ αὐτίκα ὡς ἐν παραδείγματι

Fol. 178" (379-452): —

381 Ext. ante v.] τὸ ἐξῆς ἔστι χρήσιμον τὸ ἀκοῦσαι ἡμᾶς αὐτῶν ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἐληλύθασιν V

383 εἷξασιν) εἰόκασιν V Ext. sig. sup. ἀναγ' ἐπὶ σκέλος] ὑπαναχώρει V 387 τῷ τε τρυβλίῳ) σὺν

392 Ext. sig. sup. οὐ φευκτέον) οὔτε φεύγειν οὔτε ἀπαρασκευάστους δεῖον εἶναι ἡμᾶς V

399 Ext. sig. sup. ἐνορνεαῖς] τόπος εἰς ὃν ἐγένετο πόλεμος λακεδαίμονίων καὶ ἀργείων VR 401 κατάθου) ῥίψου

402 παρὰ τὴν ὄργην) παρὰ τὸ ὀμηρικὸν ἀσπίσι κεκλιμένοι VR

403 κἀναπυθῶ) καὶ κατὰ δεύτερον ἐρώτησον

405 ἐπίνοιαν) λογισμὸν 406 ὡ ἐποψ . . .) ὦ στρατιωτικόν

410 τύχη) σύμβαμμα κομίζει) φέρει

414 καὶ ξυνεῖναι τὸ πᾶν) εἰς τὸ πᾶν τῆς ζωῆς VR

416 ἄπιστα . . .) θαυμαστά 417 ὀρᾷ τί) φαίνεται

418 ὅτῳ) καὶ ὅτι 420 ἔχειν) δύνασθαι

421 τίν' ὄλβιον) εὐδαιμονίαν 422 πιστὸν) πιθανὸν ὡς) ὅτι

424 τὸ τῆδε . . .) ἡγουν ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ VR

425 τὸ δεῦρο) νῦν Ext. sig. sup. προβιβᾶ] ἤγουν πείθει καὶ βε-  
βαιοῖ· ἢ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐφαρμόζει συμβιβάζει R

427 ἄφατον . . .) ὡς ἄφατον φημί καὶ φρονῶν ταῦτα λέγει VR

436 Pag. sub v. 424 et seq.] ἱπνὸς ἢ κάμινος καταχρηστικῶς δὲ ἢ  
ἐσχάρα· ἐπιστάτη δὲ θηλυκὸς χαλκοῦς τρίπους χυτρόποδος ἐκτελῶν  
χρείαν· οἱ δὲ πῆλινον ἤφαιστον πρὸς ταῖς ἐστίαῖς ἰδρῦμενον ὡς ἔφορον  
τοῦ πυρὸς· ἔνιοι δὲ ξύλον ἐπίμηκες πεπασσαλωμένον εἰς ὄπερ ἐξαρτῶσι  
τὰ μαγειρικὰ σκεύη VR

429 Ext. sig. sup. πυκνότατον] ἤγουν φρόνησις ἀπὸ κοινοῦ τὸ ἔνε-  
στι VR κιναδος) τὸ

430 κύρμα) ἐπιτυχία τρίμα) ἐμπειρία παιπάλημ') λεπτόν V

431 κέλευέ μοι λέγειν) αὐτῷ λέγειν V 432 κλύων ἄν σύ) ἐγώ

433 ἀνεπτέρωμαι) μετεωρίζομαι VR 436 Vid. supra.

437 τάδε ἐφ' οἷσπερ) ἐκείνα 439 διάθωνται) διαθήκην ποιήσωσιν

444 διατίθεμ') διαθήκην ποιῶ 445 ὄμνμ') εὐχομαι VR

447 Pag. sub v. 446] ταῦτα ὁ ποιητῆς VR|εἰ μὴ πάντας νικήσω  
τέως ἐν ἐνὶ κριτῇ ἤγουν ἔλαττόν τι V

450 Pag. sub schol. antec.] ἔθος ἦν τοὺς ταξιάρχας διὰ κήρυκος  
ἀπαγγέλειν τοῖς στρατιώταις τὰ δεδογμένα VR

446 εἰ δὲ παραβαίην) εἰ μὴ πάντας νικήσω V

449 Ext. sig. sup. ἀνελομένους] ὡς τῶν πολεμίων σπεισαμένων, ὁ  
κῆρυξ εἰρήνην κηρύσσει VR

450 Vid. supra. ἐν τοῖς πινακίοις] προγράμμασιν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις

### Fol. 179' (453-495) :—

454 παρορᾶς] παρεπινοεῖς ἢ εὐρίσκεις R

456 παράλειπουμένην . . .) ἦν ἡμεῖς οὐ νοοῦμεν VR

461 Int. sig. sup. οὐ μὴ πρότερον] πρὸ καταγνώσεως οὐ παρασπονδή-  
σομεν V

462 Ext. sig. sup. προπεφύραται] ἢ μεταφορὰ ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ ἄλευρα  
φυρόντων· ἢ τὰ μάζας ποιούντων V προπεφύραται) ἠτρέπισται VR

463 Pag. sub v. 461 et seq.] παῖζει ὡσπερ ἐπιδειπνοῦ λέγων· καίτοι  
λόγω μέλλων αὐτὴν εὐχεῖν V|τοῖς γὰρ εὐχουμένοις περιεκειντο οἱ  
στέφανοι καταψύχοντες τὸ κρανίον ἀπὸ τῆς οἴνου θερμῆς VR διαμάτ-  
τειν) μαλάσσειν 475 κατορῦξαι) ἀρχῆς τὸ τέλος

465 Pag. sub v. 479] πολλῇ τῇ τροπῇ ἐπέμεινε τῆς εὐωχίας· ὡς ἐπι-  
βοῆς δὲ τοῦτο φησὶν ὡς ἐν λαρίσση μεγάλων βοῶν γινομένων ἔστι δὲ

πόλις θεσπρωτίας· *V* | ἢ λαρινὸν τὸ λιπαρὸν· λέγονται γὰρ βόες λαρινοὶ οἱ λιπαροὶ ἢ μεγάλοι· ἀπὸ λαρινοῦ τινὸς νομέως εὐμεγέθους· νέμονται δὲ τὴν ἤπειρον οὖσαι τῶν γηγρύονου βοῶν ἀπόγονοι *VR*

486 διαβάσκει) διέρχεται *R*

487 τὴν κυρβασίαν) τὴν τιάραν τὸν λόφον *VR* Pag. sig. sup. κυρβασίαν] τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοις ἔθος καὶ ἐπτυγμένην καὶ προβάλλουσαν εἰς τὸ μέτωπον ἔχειν· τοῖς δὲ βασιλεῦσιν ὀρθὴν *V*

489 Ext. sig. sup. ὑπὸ τῆς ῥώμης] κοκκύζειν δὲ ὅταν παρ' ἑαυτῶ μετὰ νίκην τῆς μάχης ἄγῃ *VR*

491 ἀλφिताμοιβοὶ) οἱ ἔμποροι *R* (τορνευτασπιδολυροπηγοὶ) ποιούντες τὰς λύρας καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας

494 Ext. sig. sup. εἰς δεκάτην] ὅτι τὴν δεκάτην εἰστίων ἐπὶ τοῖς γεννηθεῖσι καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ ὀνόματα ἐτίθεντο τοῖς παισὶ *VR*

495 καὶ κάθεινδον) ἤγουν εἰς ἀρχὴν δειπνῶν

Fol. 179" (496–535) :—

496 ἀλιμουναδέε) δῆμος τῆς λεοντίδος φυλῆς *R*

498 Ext. sig. sup. κάγω] ἀφείλετο κυρίως δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν γάλα ἀμελγόντων ἢ κηρίων *R*

501 Ext. sig. sup. προκυλινδεῖσθαι] ἕαρος ἀρχομένου φαίνεται εἰς τὴν ἑλλάδα ἐφ' ᾧ ἠδόμενοι κυλίνδονται *VR*

503 κατεβρόχθισα) κατέπιον *V R* (κατὰ κενὸν . . .) ἀπῆλθε γὰρ εἰς τὸ ὠνήσασθαι χρειώδη τινα

507 Ext. sig. sup. τοῦτ' ἄρ] ἐστὶ παροιμία παρὰ φοίνιξι· κοκκυψωλοὶ πεδίοις δε· ἀντὶ τοῦ κόκκυγος κρίζοντος, τὸ πεδίον θερίζομεν *V*

511 οὐκ ἤδη) οὐκ ἤδη ἀπτικῶς 516 (θυγάτηρ) ἢ ἀθηνᾶ *VR*

521 Ext. sig. sup. λάμπων] ῥαδάμανθης γὰρ δικαιοτάτος ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος πρῶτος ἐκώλυσε μηδένα ἀνθρώπων ὄρκους ποιεῖσθαι κατὰ θεῶν· ἀλλ' ὀμνῆναι κελεῦσαι χῆνα· καὶ κῦνα· καὶ κριὸν· *V* ὁ δὲ λάμπων θύτης ἦν χρησμολόγος καὶ μάντις· ὤμνε δὲ κατὰ χηνὸς ὡς μαντικοῦ *VR*

523 μανᾶς) δούλους *V R*

527 παγίδας ῥάβδους) εἶδος δικτύου ὃ χρίουσιν ἰξὸν *VR*

528 πηκτὰς) εἶδος δικτύου *VR*

530 Ext. sig. sup. βλιμάζοντες] καλλίστρατος ἀντὶ τοῦ ψηλαφᾶν *V* | κυρίως δὲ βλιμάζειν, τὸ τοῦ ὑπογαστρίου καὶ τοῦ στήθους ἄπτεσθαι; δίδυμος δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ κρατοῦντες ἀποτίλλουσι γὰρ καὶ κατεσθίουσι *VR*

533 ἀλλ' ἐπικνῶσι . . .) ἐπιβάλλουσι συντρίφαντες παρὰ τὸ κναίειν τὸ διαφθεῖρειν *VR*

534 Inf. sig. sup. σίλφιον] τὸ σίλφιον ῥίζα ἡδύοσμος πρὸς τὸ ἄρτυμα | ὅπερ ἐν λιβύῃ γίνεται· θεραπεύει δὲ πολλὰ· ἔστι δὲ πολυτίμητον *VR*

535 κατάχυσμ' ἕτερον) ζωμὸν παρὰ τὸ χέεσθαι· γλυκὺ δὲ μέλιτι δεδευμένον *VR*

**Fol. 180' (536-573) :—**

538 Sup. sig. sup. ὥσπερ κενεβρίων] κατὰ ἐναλλαγὴν νεκριμαίων ὡς τῶν θνησιμαίων κρεῶν· ὥσπερ κενεβρίων· ποικιλοτέρας ἀρτύσεως· *VR* | ἢ κενέβρια ἐκάλουν τὰ θνησιμαῖα *V*

539 πολυχαλεπωτάτους) λυπηροὺς χαλέψαι δυναμένους *VR*

540 ὡς) λαν 541 κακὴν) ταλαιπωρίαν

546 ἀναθεῖς γὰρ) ἀνατίθημι *VR*

547 τά τε νεόττια) ἐμὲ καὶ τα τέκνα μου ἀνατίθημί σοι ὥστε διοικεῖν *VR*

549 Ext. post v.] καταβοῶσι τῶν πατέρων ἀπολυσάντων τὴν βασιλείαν *V*

550 Ext. sig. sup. εἶναι] μίαν ὀφείλετε πόλιν ἔχειν | γῆς καὶ οὐρανοῦ *VR*

552 Ext. post v.] καὶ ἡ βαβυλῶν δὲ πλίνθων ὀπτῶν ἐκτίσθη καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ γύψου ἀσφάλτω συνεδέθη· ἡ σεμίραμις δὲ αὐτὴν ἔκτισεν *VR*

555 μὴ φῆ) συγκατατεθῆ συγκατανεύσῃ γνωσιμαχίση) διαλέξεται λογοτριβήση

556 ἱερὸν) μέγαν πρῶδῶν) προλέγειν ἀπειπεῖν) ἀπαγορεύσαι

559 Ext. post v.] ἀλόπα κερκύονος θυγάτηρ· | ἠΰξῃσε δὲ τὴν διαβολὴν διὰ τοῦ πληθυντικοῦ *V*

562 τὸ λοιπὸν) προ τῶν θεῶν *R* 563 προνείμασθαι) παρασχέιν

565 Ext. post v.] φαληρὸς ὄρνεον λιμναῖον εὐπρεπὲς *VR*

566 νήττη) ἐπεὶ ἔνυδρον τὸ ζῶον *VR*

567 Ext. post v.] διὰ τὴν ἀδδηφαγίαν τοῦ ἥρακλέως εἶπε τὸν λίρον

568 Ext. post v.] διὰ τὰς μοιχείας τοῦ λήρον διὸς εἶπε τὸν ὄρχιλον *VR*

569 σέρφον ἐνόρχην) λέγεται καὶ κριὸς ὁ σέρφος *VR*

572 οἱ πετόμεθα) παρήμπτωσι Ext. post v.] πτέρυξ λέγεται τὸ ἔλον· πτερύξ δὲ τὸ ἄκρον

**Fol. 180" (574-605) :—**

575 ἱριν) ἄγγελος τῶν θεῶν 579 ἀνακάψαι) φαγεῖν *R*

580 μετρεῖτω) παρεχέτω *V*

581 οὐκ εθελήσει μὰ δέ") διδόναι πυροὺς 582 καταροῦσι) ἀποτριούσι

- 585 ἀποδῶμαι) πωλήσω  
 590 κνίπες) εἶδος ζωφίων μικρῶν 591 ἀναλέξει) συνάξει  
 594 κερδαλέας) ἐπικερδεῖς κατεροῦσι) ἀκριβῶς  
 595 τῶν ναυκλήρων) ἀπὸ 597 ἔσται) γενήσεται  
 598 γαῦλον) γαῦλος φοινικὸν πλούριον *VR* κτῶμαι) ἀγοράζω  
 601 Ext. ante v. 599] παροιμία· οὐδεὶς με θεωρεῖ πλὴν ὁ περιπτάμενος  
 ὄρνις· ἢ ἄλλως· οὐδεὶς οἶδε τί ὠμίλησα πλὴν γε εἴ τις ὄρνις· ἐλέγετο  
 δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποκρῦφων *VR*  
 602 Ext. ante v.] ἐπεὶ ἐν ὑδρίαῖς ἔκειντο οἱ θησαυροὶ τὰ λεγόμενα  
 παρ' ἡμῖν θησαυράρια *VR* 605 ἀτεχνῶς) ἀληθῶς

## Fol. 181' (606-658) :—

- 606 εἰς γῆρας . . .) ἤγουν εἰς πολυχρονιότητα φθάσωσι *VR*  
 607 ἀποθνήσκειν) τὸν ἄνθρωπον  
 610 Int. ante αἰβοῖ] θαυμαστικὸν ἐπίρρημα ὡς) ἴαν ἡμῖν) ἡμῶν  
 611 πολλῶ) κρείττονες τοῦ διὸς 615 ἀλλ' ὑπὸ θάμνοισ] κλάδοις  
 618 ἔσται . . .) ὅτι εὖρημα θεῶν ἀθηνᾶς γὰρ *V*  
 619 Ext. post v.] λιβυκὸς θεὸς ὁ ἄμμων *VR*  
 627 μεταπίπτων) μεταβαλλόμενος εἰς φιλίαν *VR*  
 628 ἀφείμην) χωρισθεῖην 633 ἴοις) ἔλθοις 634 ξυνωδᾶ) ὅμοια  
 635 τρύψειν) ὡς ἐπὶ εσθήτος *V* 636 τεταξόμεθ') ἀντιπαρα  
 639 Ext. post v.] νικίας· υἱὸς ἀλκιβιάδου *VR* | βραδὺς δὲ ἦν εἰς τὰς  
 διεξόδους διὸ καὶ διαβάλλεται *VR*  
 641 Ext. sig. sup. εἰς νεοττίαν] παρακελεύεται αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν καλιὰν  
 αὐτοῦ *VR* 642 παρόντα φρύγανα) ἐκ παραλλήλου *VR*  
 645 θρήθηεν) δημὸς τῆς οἰνηίδος *VR*  
 648 τὸ δεῖνα) λόγιον Ext. sig. sup. ἐπανάκρουσαι] ἐπαναλαβόντα  
 τὸν λόγον· ἐπανάκαμψαι εἰς τουπίσω· *VR* ἢ μεταφορᾶ, ἀπὸ τῶν τὰς  
 ἡνίας ἀνακρουομένων· ἐπανάκρουσις δὲ ἐστὶ κυρίως τὸ ἐπισχεῖν τὴν ἐπερχο-  
 μένην ναῦν μεθ' ὄρμηγς εἰς τὸν ὄρμον ἵνα μὴ προσελθοῦσα θραυσθῇ *VR*  
 ἢ ἡξ  
 652 τὴν ἀλώπεχ' 653 φλαύρος) φιλικῶς ῥαδίως

## Fol. 181" (659-703) :—

- 660 παίσωμεν . . .) συγχορεύσωμεν αὐτῇ *VR*  
 661 ᾧ) ἔποψ τοῦτο) εἰς 663 αὐτοῦ) τοπικὸν  
 667 ὡς καλὸν . . .) ἐταιρίδιον πρόσεισι κεκαλλωπισμένον *VR*

- 673 ἀπολέψαντα) πίσαντα V 677 φιλάτῃ) εὐμορφωτάτῃ R  
 680 ἦλθες ὡφθης) ταῦτα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν λέγει ὁ ἀριστοφάνης ὅτι τῷ ἕαρι  
 ἐν ᾧσφι τελούσι τὰ διονύσια VR  
 682 Ext. ante v. 686] ἠχοῦσα λαλούσα κυρίως δὲ τὸ τὴν κιθάραν  
 κρούειν VR 685 ἄγε δὴ . . .) παράβασις  
 687 ταλαοὶ) καρτερικοὶ 692 τὸ λοιπὸν) μετα ταῦτα  
 694 γῆ) οὐ \* 696 περιτελλομέναις) περιερχομέναις  
 697 εἰκὼς . . .) εἰκὼς ταῖς τοῦ ἀνέμου ὠκέαις συστροφαῖς VR  
 717 Ext. ante v. 698] μαντευσάμενοι γὰρ πρῶτον ἐκ τῶν ὀρνέων,  
 οὕτως ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα χωρεῖτε VR  
 699 ἐνεόττευσε) ἐγέννησε 703 ἔρωτος) λείπει υἱὸς V

**Fol. 182' (704-747): —**

- 705 Ext. sig. sup. πολλοὺς] διότι δεξιὰ φαίνονται πρὸς ἔρωτας· |  
 ἀποταξαμένους | τοῖς ἔρασταῖς μετὰ νεότητος· ἢ ποτὲ τῶν καιρῶν VR  
 707 περσικὸν ὄρνιν) ἀλεκτρυόνα VR  
 712 Ext. sig. sup. εἶτα δ' ὀρέστη] ὀρέστης μανίαν ὑποκρινόμενος ἐν  
 τῷ σκότει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀπέδυνεν VR  
 713 Ext. sig. sup. ἵκτινος] ἐν τῇ ἐλλάδι ἕαρος φαίνεται ἵκτινος ὅτε  
 κουρεύεται τὰ θρέμματα VR  
 715 καὶ ληδάριον τι) θέριστρον· ἢ εὐτελὲς ἱμάτιον VR  
 717 Vid. fol. 181". 720 ὄρνιθα) οἰωνὸν προφήτην VR  
 721 Ext. sig. sup. ξύμβολον] τὰ πρῶτα ξυναντήματα ἐκάλουν σημεῖα :  
 V | ἐπεὶ πολλάκις εἰώθαμεν τινὰς τῶν θεραπόντων κακόποδας λέγειν· καὶ  
 καλλοιωνίστους VR Pag. sub v. 722] λέγεται γὰρ τι τοιοῦτον ὡς  
 συμβολικῶς ἐρωτώμενός τις περὶ ἀρρώστου, εἶδεν ὄνον ἐκ πτώματος  
 ἀναστάντα ἀκήκοε δὲ ἑτέρου λέγοντος· βλέπε πῶς ὄνος ὢν ἀνέστη· ὁ  
 δὲ, ἔφη· ὁ νοσῶν ἀναστήσεται VR 724 ἔξετε χρῆσθαι) δυνηθείητε  
 729 Ext. post v.] νεφεληγερέτης γάρ V  
 732 πλουθυγείαν . . .) ἐκ τούτου ἔμφασιν εὐδαιμονίας ἐμφαίνει VR  
 733 γέλωτα) χαρὰν  
 734 Ext. sig. sup. γάλα] παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν λιάν εὐδαιμονούντων VR  
 738 μούσα . . .) ὠδὴ ἤτοι στροφὴ ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ VR  
 744 ξουθῆς) λεπτῆς  
 745 Ext. sig. sup. πανί] ἐπεὶ νόμος ὁ θεὸς καὶ ὄρειος καὶ τῶν ὀρνέων  
 δὲ ἐν ὄρεσιν αἱ διατριβαὶ VR  
 746 σεμνᾶτε) τῇ βία R χορεύματ') λείπει ἀναφαίνω



## Fol. 182" (748-796) : —

749 Ext. ante v.] φρύνιχος τραγωδὸς ποιητῆς VR | ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμῶν ποιημάτων VR

753 εἰ μετ' . . .) ἐπίρρημα . . . 754 διαπλέκειν) διάγειν

759 Pag. sub v.] πλήκτρον ὄπλον ἀμυντήριον ἢ μεταφορὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλεκτρονίων· κάκεινοι γὰρ ἔχουσι πλήκτρα ἐν οἷς μάχονται VR

761 Ext. sig. sup. ἀτταγᾶς] ὄρνις κατὰστικτος ποικίλοις πτεροῖς

763 Ext. ante v.] διαβάλλονται ὡς φρύγες καὶ δειλοί

765 φυσάτω) καὶ δευξάτω Ext. ante v.] πάππος ὄρνειον τι πρὸς τὸ ὄνομα οὖν παίζει· ὅτι εἰ ἀναβὰς τίς πρὸς ἡμᾶς γεννήσει πάππους ἔξει ἀποδεικνύει φράτορας ὃ ἔστιν συγγενεῖς VR

766 ὁ πισίον) υἱὸς VR 768 ἐκπερδικίσαι) πονηρεῦσασθαι

769 τοιάνδε . . .) ἀνωδῆ

774 ἔβρον) θράκης ποταμὸς ἐν ποταμίῳ γὰρ τὰ ὄρνεα V

781 ἀνακτας) τοὺς θεοὺς ἔνθεν καὶ ἀνάκτορα τὰ ἱερά VR

783 ἐπωλόλυξαν) εὐφήμησαν VR 785 οὐδὲν . . .) ἀντεπίρρημα

787 τῶν τραγωδιῶν) ὡς μακρῶν ὄντων τούτων VR

789 ἐφ' ἡμᾶς) εἰς τὸ θέατρον 790 χεζητιῶν) χεσᾶς γὰρ ἐλέγετο V

791 ἐξίδισεν) ἐξετίλησεν ἀπεπάτησεν VR

794 Sub v.) τόπος ἀνειμένος τοῖς βουλευταῖς· καὶ ὁ τοῖς ἐφήβοις ἐφηβικός VR 796 βινῆσας) ἡγουν μίγεις συνουσιᾶσας

## Fol. 183' (795-858) : —

796 βινῆσας) συνουσιᾶσας et supra βινῶ, συνουσιᾶζω

798 πυτιναῖα . . .) τῆς πιτύνης ἔχων κρεμάμενα ἱματάρια τῷ τραχίλῳ | ἢ δὲ πιτύνη πλέγμα ἔστι VR 799 ἡρέθη) προεκρίθη

803 Ext. sig. sup. ὠκυπτεροῖς] τῶν πτερῶν τὰ μὲν καλεῖται πτίλα· τὰ δὲ, πτερὰ, τὰ δὲ ὠκύπτερα VR

805 χηνὶ . . .) εὐτελῶς γεγραμμένῳ χηνὶ VR

808 τὰδ' οὐχ' . . .) ἡγουν ὁ χῆν καὶ ὁ κοφίχος

810 Ext. post v.] παράδοξον ὃ οὐκ ὠνόμασται ποτὲ | τοῖς ὄρνεσι VR

816 χαμεύνη) τῇ εὐτελεῖ κειρίαν ἔχων) εἶπω τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα VR

822 θεαγόνους) ἐκ πενίας πλούσιος ἐγεγόνει VR

823 ἄπαντα) εἰσὶ καὶ λῶστον . . .) πιστεύειν αὐτὸ ἢ εἰς τὸ VR

824 τὸ φλέγρας πεδίον) ἔστι πεδίον τῆς θράκης VR

825 καθυπερηκόντισαν) δέον εἰπεῖν κατεπολέμησαν VR

826 λιπαρὸν) λαμπρὸν

- 827 πολιοῦχος) φύλαξ τῷ ξανοῦμεν) ὡς οἱ ἀθηναῖοι  
 828 πολιάδα) φυλάκτριαν  
 831 κλεισθένης) οὗτος ὡς γυναικώδης κωμωδεῖται VR  
 832 καθέξει) φυλάξει Ext. post v.] εἰς τὰς ἀθήνας τείχος πελαργικὸν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει VR  
 835 ὦ νεοττὲ . . .) παίζει πρὸς τινα παῖδα νεοττὸν καλούμενον V  
 836 Ext. sig. sup. οἰκεῖν] καὶ τοῦτο παίζει ἐπεὶ τραχὺ τὸ πελαργικὸν καὶ πετρῶδες V  
 839 Int. ante v.] κυρίως δὲ ὀργάσαι τὸ πισσῶσαι VR  
 839 ἀποδὺς) ἐκδυθεὶς ὀργασον) μάλαξον V  
 842 Ext. post v.] οἱ τοὺς φύλακας γὰρ περισκοποῦντες, κώδωνας ἐφόρον VR  
 844 Ext. sig. sup. ἕτερον] ἐπεὶ μεταξὺ γῆς καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἐστὶν ὁ ἀήρ VR  
 846 οἴμωζε) ἀντι τοῦ κοπία οἶ) καὶ ὄπου  
 849 ἱερέα . . .) πομπεύσοντα τὴν ἠσθυσίαν R  
 850 αἰρεσθε) ἐπαίρετε 851 ὁμορορθῶ) συγκατανεύσω  
 852 συμπαραinéσας ἔχω) συναινῶ συγκατατιθεῖς  
 853 Ext. sig. sup. προσόδια] οὕτω γὰρ ἔλεγον τὰς προσαγομένας τοῖς θεοῖς πομπὰς VR  
 855 προσέτι) σὺν  
 857 πυθιάς βοὰ) ἤγουν αὐλητῆς ἠῦλον γὰρ ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις VR  
 858 συναδέτω . . .) ὡς αὐτομάτως ἐπιόντος αὐτοῦ ταῖς εὐωχίαις, παίζει αὐτὸν VR

Fol. 183" (859-930):—

- 861 Sup. sig. ante v.] ἔοικεν ὁ αὐλητῆς διεσκευάσθαι εἰς κόρακα· φορβίον δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ περικείμενον τῷ στόματι τοῦ αὐλητοῦ δέρμα ἵνα μὴ σχισθῇ τὸ χεῖλος αὐτοῦ VR  
 869 Ext. sig. sup. ὦ σουνιέρακε] ἐπεὶ περὶ ορνίθων ὁ λόγος ἀντὶ τοῦ σουνιέρατε· φαίνεται δὲ εἶναι ποσειδῶνος τὸ ἐπίθετον παρὰ τὸ ἐν τῷ σουνίῳ ἄκρω τῆς ἀττικῆς τὰς εὐχὰς δέχεσθαι· VR | πελαργικὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ πελασγικῆ R  
 873 ἀκολανθῖς) ἐπώνυμον τῆς ἀρτέμιδος V  
 873 Ext. sig. sup. ἀκολανθῖς] κολανθῖς: εἶδος ὀρνέου λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἡ κύων παρὰ τὸ αἰκάλλειν ἴσως τοὺς γνωρίμους ἵλακτεῖν δὲ τοὺς ξένους VR  
 874 Sup. sig. sup. καὶ φρυγίλω] καὶ φρυγίλω:— παίζει πρὸς τὸ ὄνομα· ἐπεὶ οἱ φρύγες τὸν σαβάζιον τιμῶσιν· ἐστὶν δὲ ὁ διόνυσος· τὸ γὰρ εὐάζειν σεβάζειν λέγουσι οἱ βάρβαροι V

875 Sup. sig. sup. καὶ στρουθῶ] στρουθοκαμήλω· ἔπαιζε διὰ τὸ μέ-  
γθος τῆ ῥέα ταύτην εἰκάσας V

877 Ext. sig. sup. κυβέλη] κυβέλην φασὶ τὴν ῥέυν διὰ τὰ κύβηλα  
ῥρη· ὀρεία δὲ ἡ θεὸς: — τὸ δὲ μήτηρ κλεοκρίτου, διαβάλλει αὐτὸν ὡς  
στρουθοπαιδα VR

879 Ext. sig. sup. αὐτοῖσι] διασύρει τοὺς ἀθηναίους· οἱ γὰρ ἀθηναῖοι,  
ἤρχοντο ἑαυτοῖς τὲ καὶ τοῖς χίοις· VR ὅταν ἐποίουν εὐχὰς ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς  
διδόναί ἀγαθὰ καὶ ἐκείνοις καὶ αὐτοῖς V

882 πελεκάντι) πελεκᾶν πελεκᾶνος κοινῶς· πελεκᾶν πελεκᾶντος ἀττι-  
κὸν πελεκας πελεκᾶ δωρικὸν VR 892 οἴχοιθ') πορευθεῖη

894 τουτονὶ) τὸ ἱερεῖον 896 δεῖ με) χρεῖα ὑπάρχει

897 χέρνιβι) τίτι 899 ἓνα τινὰ) ἀλλὰ

902 γένειον . . .) ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερείων τῶν μὴ ἐχόντων σάρκας ἀπὸ παροι-  
μίας ὡς εἰ ἔλεγε τρίχας καὶ κέρατα VR

908 ἰεῖς) πέμπων 909 ὄτρηρός) ταχὺς

911 κώμην ἔχεις) τῶν γὰρ ἐλευθέρων ἦν τὸ κομᾶν VR

915 ὄτρηρόν) τετρυπημένον ληδάριον) ἱμάτιον VR

918 Ext. ante v.] τὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἔχοντα VR| ἢ ἀντὶ τοῦ  
παιᾶνας· κατὰ τεχνα ποικίλα ἀλλὰ μινους V

923 θέμην) ἔθηκα [ext. sig.] ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ γὰρ ἔθνον καὶ ἐτίθουν καὶ  
τὰ ὀνόματα τοῖς παισίν VR 924 φάτις) φήμη

925 οἶαπερ) ὅποια ἵππων) τίνων ἄμαρυνὰ) ἢ ἄμαρυνὰ)  
κίνησις

929 Sub verb. κεφαλῇ] τῇ κεφαλῇ ἐπινεύουσιν οἱ βασιλεῖς VR

930 δόμεν) καὶ δὸς Int. post v.] διασύρει τὸν πίνδαρον VR

Fol. 184' (931-995): —

932 ἀποφευξοῦμεθα) φεύγω φεύξω ἀττικὸν· φευγοῦμαι δὲ δωρικὸν

933 σπολάδα) διφθέραν VR ἔχεις) φορεῖς

940 ἡμῶν) ἀφ' ἀπαλλαχθήσεται) ἐλευθερωθήσεται

942 ἀλάται) πλανᾶται

943 οὐ πέταται) οὐ κέκτηται ἐξ οὐ καὶ πολυπάμμων: κέκτηται

951 τρομερὰν κρυερὰν) διὰ τὸ ἀσθηρικόν· διότι ἐν τῷ ᾄδῃ τὸ πλά-  
σμα τῆς οἰκοδομῆς VR 953 ἀλαλάν) μουσικῆς

957 πεπύσθαι) μαθεῖν 958 σὺ) ὦ ἱερεῦ VR

959 εὐφήμι' ἔστω) πηγὴ εὐχῆ

962 ὡς) ὅτι ἄντικρυς λέγων) αἰνιγματωδῶς λέγων

- 966 ἀλλ' οὐδὲν . . .) λείπει ἐμποδίζει νῦν  
 968 ἐν ταυτῷ . . .) μιμείται τὸ ἀσυνάρτητον τῶν χρησμῶν *VR*  
 969 τί οὖν προσήκει) μετουσία ὑπάρχει 971 πανδώρα) τῆ  
 973 δόμεν) παράσχομεν 975 σπλάγχων) κρεάτων  
 978 Ext. sig. sup. αἰετὸς] οὐχ' ἀπλῶς τοῦτο ἀλλ' ὅτι χρησμός ἦν  
 τοῖς ἀθηναίοις δεδομένος τοσοῦτον ἀξιεθῆσθαι ὅσον αἰετὸς τῶν ἄλλων  
 ὄρνέων ἐν ταῖς νεφέλαις προὔχει *VR*  
 984 σπλαγχνεῖν) σπλάγχων μεταλαβεῖν *VR*  
 987 Ext. sig. sup. καὶ φεῖδου] μήτε φησὶν ἐὰν αὐτὸς ἢ ὁ λάμπων  
 φεῖδου αὐτοῦ ἐὰν λέγῃ ὅτι καὶ ὡς αἰετὸς γενήσῃ *VR*  
 988 λάμπων) χρησμολόγος *VR* διοπέιθης) καὶ οὗτος χρησμολό-  
 γος *V* 991 ἐτέροσε) ἀλλαχόθι 992 ἦκω) ἦλθον  
 993 δράσων) μέλλων πράξει 994 ὁ κόθορνος) ἡ ἐπίνοια

**Fol. 184" (996-1063) :—**

- 996 διελεῖν) μερίσαι  
 997 Sup. sine sig.] ἄριστος γεωμέτρης ὁ μέτων *VR*  
 999 κανὸν ἀέρος) δῶν ἐξισοῦσι 1000 τὴν ἰδέαν) κατὰ  
 1001 κατα πιγεία) κατὰ φούρνω  
 1005 ὁ κύκλος . . .) παίζει ἀδύνατον τὸν κύκλον γενέσθαι τετράγω-  
 νων *R* κἂν μέσω) καὶ ἐν τῷ μέσω κύκλω  
 1009 Ext. sig. sup. ἀνθρωπος θαλῆς] διαβεβωημένος γεωμέτρης· εἰς  
 τῶν ἑπτὰ φιλοσόφων· *VR* θαλῆς θαλοῦ· καὶ θάλῆς θάλῆτος *V*  
 1010 μέτων) ὦ 1011 ὑπαποκίνει) ὑπαναχώρει *VR*  
 1013 ξηνηλατοῦνται) διώκονται οἱ ξένοι  
 1014 συχναῖ) πυκναὶ μῶν στασιάζετε) εἰς ἄλλους μάχεσθε, *R*  
 1015 ὁμοθυμαδόν) ὁμοῦ  
 1016 σποδεῖν) τύπτειν *R* δοκεῖ) τοῖς πολίταις  
 1018 φθάνεις ἂν) φθάσης αὐταῖ) αἱ πληγαὶ ἅμα δὲ τύπτει  
 αὐτὸν *R* 1021 ποῦ πρόξενοι) προδεχόμενοι τοὺς ξένους *VR*  
 1022 κυάμω λαχῶν) κληρῶν εὐρῶν 1025 τί βούλει) κατατί  
 1028 Ext. sig. sup. φαρνάκη] στρατηγὸς περσῶν ὁ φαρνάκης· ἀλα-  
 ζονικὸς οὖν σκώπτεται κοινωνίαν ἔχειν μετ' ἐκείνου *VR* | παίζει πρὸς τὸ  
 ρηθὲν *R* 1029 ἄπιθι λαβῶν) ταῦτα φησὶ *R*  
 1032 οὐκ ἀποσοβήσεις) πόρρω ὑπάγεις 1033 οὐ δεινὰ) ἐστὶ  
 1035 ἐὰν δ' ὁ . . .) ἦλθεν ὁ ψηφισματοπώλης *V* ἀθηναῖον ἀδικῆ)  
 τί μέλλει ἐκεῖ ἵνα γίν 1042 ὀλοφύξιοι) ἔθνος

- 1043 οἰσί(περ) ἐκείνοις τοῖς μέτροις 1046 ὑβρεως) ἔνεκεν  
 1052 γράφω) κατηγορῶ μυρίας) εἰς  
 1053 διασκεδῶ) διασκοπίσω 1058 ἤδη μοι) ὡδὴ ἦτοι στροφή

## Fol. 185' (1064-1130) :—

- 1065 ἐκ κάλυκος αὐξανόμενον) καταχρηστικῶς πᾶν βλάστημα *VR*  
 1067 οἶ) ἐκείνους 1069 δάκεθ') θηρία  
 1072 Int. ante v.] ἐπίρρημα *V* ἐπαναγορεύεται) κηρυκεύεται  
 1073 ὑμῶν) ἀφ' τὸν μήλιον) τὸν ἄθεον  
 1074 τίς τινα) συγγενῆ τούτων· ἀδελφὸν ἐξ ἀδελφου *VR*  
 1076 ἀνειπεῖν ταῦτα χ' ἡμεῖς) δεύτερον σχέσιν δηλοῖ  
 1077 Ext. sig. sup. φιλοκράτην] τρία γὰρ αὐτοὺς λυπεῖ ὅτι θηρεῖται  
 ὅτι πωλεῖ· ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ ὄβολοῦ ὡς εὐτελίζων αὐτοὺς *VR*  
 1081 Ext. sig. sup. κοψίχοις] οἱ κόψιχοι γὰρ ὡς ὠτοκοῦντες κεντοῦσι  
 τὰ ὠὰ· οἱ οὖν ὀρνιθοθηραὶ πτερὰ αὐτοῖς ἐμβάλλουσι πρὸς τὸ ἀμβλύναί  
 τὰ ῥάμφη τῇ μαλακότητι τῶν πτερῶν *VR* ἐχχεῖ τὰ πτερὰ) ἐμβάλ-  
 λει ἐμφαντικὸν πλῆθους τὸ ἐγγεῖ *VR* 1083 παλεύειν) κινεῖσθαι  
 1099 Ext. sig. sup. παρθένια] διὰ τὸ ἐπιμελῶς τὰς παρθένους τὰ  
 μύρτα ἐσθίειν *VR*  
 1100 χαρίτων τὲ . . .) τὰ κεχαριτωμένα ἄνθη *VR*  
 1104 ὥστε κρείττω . . .) τοῦ πάριδος ἃ ἔλαβε παρὰ ἀφροδίτης *VR*  
 1106 Ext. sig. sup. γλαῦκες] ἀντὶ τοῦ νομίσματα· ἡ γὰρ γλαυξ  
 ὄρνειον ἐστὶν ἀθηναῖς· ὅπερ πάνυ τιμῶντες ἀθηναῖοι διὰ τὴν θεὸν, ἐν τοῖς  
 τετραδράγμοις ἐνεχάραττον *VR*  
 1107 ἐν τε τοῖς βαλαντίοις) αἰνίττεται τὸ φιλάργυρον τῶν ἀθηναίων *VR*  
 1108 κάκλέψουσι) γεννήσουσι κέρματα) νομίσματα  
 1109 Ext. sig. sup. ἱεροῖς] διὰ τὰ ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς ἀετώματα· τὰ εἰς  
 τὰς στέγας γὰρ ξύλα πτερὰ καὶ ἀετοὺς καλοῦσι *VR*  
 1111 ἀρχίδιον) ἀρχὴν  
 1112 ὄξυν . . .) διὰ τὸ ἀρπακτικὸν ἦγον ἀρπαγὴν ἀξίαν *VR*  
 1113 Ext. sig. sup. ἦν δέ που] κυρίως τῶν ὀρνίθων ὁ οἰσοφάγος  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ συναθροίζειν ἐκεῖ τὴν τροφήν *VR* πρηγορεῶνας) ἦγον  
 πλείστας τροφὰς 1114 μνηίσκους) περικεφαλαίας  
 1115 ἀνδριάντες) οἱ ὡς) ὅτι ὑμῶν) ἀφ' μήνην) περικεφα-  
 λαίαν 1118 τὰ μὲν ἱερὰ . . .) τὰ ἐν τοῖς θύμασι σύμβολα *R*  
 1119 ἀλλ' ὡς) πῶς 1120 ὄτου) ἀφ' οὐ  
 1121 ἀλλ' οὐτοσί . . .) οὐ δοκεῖ μοι καλὸν· σύντομον· ὄξυν· τινὲς  
 δὲ ἄλφιον ἀπὸ τοῦ παραρέοντος *V* 1123 οὐτοσί) ἐγὼ

1124 ἐξωκοδόμηταί σοι) λίαν ἐκτίσθη

1126 Ext. post v.] ἐκ τούτου πιστοῦνται τὸ ἀνυπόστατον τοῦ τείχους· ἐπειδὴ καπνοὶ ἦσαν καὶ κομπασταὶ· κὶ μόνον ὑπόσχεσις *VR*

1129 παρελασαίτην) διοδευσαίτην

1137 Ext. post 1130] διὰ γὰρ τὸ ἐν ὕψει πέτεσθαι καὶ τῇ εἰς εὐθὺ ὀρμῇ τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ κάτω θείαν ἐμποδίζεσθαι λίθους βαστάζουσιν· ὅπως κάμνουσαι πτήσει ρίπτοιεν· καὶ αἰσθοντο πότερον ἐπὶ γῆς ἢ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης φέρονται· καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ θαλάττης τέμνουσι τὴν ὁδὸν· εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναπαύονται *VR*

Fol. 185" (1131-1198):—

1131 ὦ πόσει τοῦ μάκρους) εἰκότως τὸν ποσειδῶνα ὄμνυσι διὰ τὸ μήκος τῆς θαλάσσης

1134 Ext. sig. sup. πλινθοφορος] ἐκωμωδοῦντο γὰρ οἱ αἰγύπτιοι ὡς πλινθοφόροι *VR* 1137 Vid. fol. 185'.

1138 ἐτίκιζον) ἴσαζον

1140 ἐφόρουν) ἔφερον

1142 ἐρωδιοὶ) ἔπαιζε δια τὸ παράγεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἔρας *VR*

1145 οἱ χῆγες . . .) διὰ τὸ πλατύποδας τῶν ἄλλων μᾶλλον εἶναι αὐτοὺς *VR* ταῖς ἄμαις) τοῖς πτίοις

1146 Ext. sig. sup. ἐς τὰς λεκάνας] λεκάνη κοινὸν· παρὰ τὸ λᾶ ἐπιτατικὸν μόριον καὶ τοῦ καίνω: τὸ δὲ ἀπτικὸν λεχάνη *VR*

1149 τὸν ὑπαγωγέα) ὑπαγωγεὺς σιδηροῦν τι πτυίδιον *V*

1150 κατόπιν) καὶ κάτωθεν

1159 καὶ βεβαλάνωται) κεκλειδῶται *VR*

1160 ἐφοδεύεται) διοδεύεται *VR* κωδωνοφορεῖται) ἢ τῶν φυλάκων φρουρὰ δοκιμάζεται *VR*

1161 Ext. sig. sup. φρυκτωρία] παρὰ τὸ φρυκτὸς καὶ τὸ ὠρεύειν· ὁ δῆλον τὸ φυλάττειν *V* 1163 δρᾶ) πρᾶττει *VR*

1169 ἐσθεῖ) τρέχει *VR* Int. sig. sup. πυρρίχην] ἔνοπλον πολεμικὸν τί ἐνόπλιος γὰρ ὄρχησις ἢ πυρρίχη *VR*

1173 τὸν ἀέρα) δέον εἰπεῖν ἐς τὴν πόλιν *VR*

1174 ἡμεροσκόπους) τοὺς ἐν ἡμέρα φρουροῦντας *VR*

1177 περιπόλους) ζητητὰς *VR* 1178 κατ') εἰς

1188 αἴρεται) κινεῖται 1195 ταύτη) οὕτως περῶν) διερχόμενος

Fol. 186' (1199-1262):—

1199 αὐτῇ σὺ) ὦ Ἴρι *V*

1200 ἐπίσχος) κωλύθητι

1203 πλοῖον) πλοῖον μὲν καθὸ ἐπτέρωται *VR* Vid. infra.

1204 πάραλος ἢ σαλαμινία) πρὸς τὸ ταχέαι Ext. post v.] αὐται  
 ἱεραὶ τριήρεις δημοσίαι ἐπὶ τὰς τῆς πόλεως χρείας πεμπόμεναι καὶ ταχυ-  
 ναυτοῦσαι VR

1214 ὑγαίνεις μὲν) καὶ οὐ μαίνη τοιαῦτα ἐρωτῶν VR

1203 Ext. sig. sup. ὀρνίθαρχος v. 1215] περικεφαλαία VR | διὰ τὸ  
 ἐν τῷ δρόμῳ αὐτῆς κεκολπῶσθαι τὸν χιτῶνα V

1218 τοῦ χάους) τοῦ ἀέρος διὰ τὸ παχύσθαι εἰς ἄπλωμα R χρῆ  
 πέτεσθαι: — 1220 τῆδε) ἐνταῦθα

1221 ἄρα γ' οἶσθα . . .) ὡς τοῦ ἀέρος ποικίλας ἱρίδας ποιούντος VR

1223 ἀξίας ἐτύγχανες) τιμωρίας R 1225 πεισόμεσθ') ποιήσομεν

1227 ἀκολαστανεῖτε) ἀκόλαστα καὶ ἄτακτα πράξετε VR

1228 τῶν κρειπτόνων) ἤγουν ἡμῶν VR

1229 ναυστολεῖς) πορεύεσθαι 1233 κνισσᾶν) καπνίζειν

1238 κίνει) παρασάλευε 1241 περιπτυχᾶς) ἀσφαλίσαι

1242 Ext. post v.] διότι κατηθαλώθησαν οἱ λικύμιοι

1245 μορμολύττεσθαι) ἐκφοβεῖν VR

1246 πέρα) τοῦ δέοντος VR

1247 δόμους ἀμφίον) ἤγουν τὰς ἀθήνας

1248 πυρφόροις αἰετοῖς) κεραυνοφόρον γὰρ τὸ ζῶον VR

1250 παρδαλὰς) ἔπαιξε πρὸς τὴν πτέρωσιν αὐτῶν R ἐνημμένους)

**ἐνδεδυμένους**

1256 γύομαι τριέμβολον) πολλακίς συνουσιασθεῖσαν VR

1258 Ext. post v.] ἐπιρρήματα τινα ἀνέπλασεν εἰς τὸ κακέμφατον  
 V | παρὰ τὸ εὐρέως σοι μιγήσομαι καὶ τὸ πατάξαι, ὅθεν καὶ χαμαιτύπαι  
 αἱ πόρραι VR

1259 ἦν μὴ σε παύση τῆς ὕβρεως οὐμὸς πατήρ) οὐ ζῶ ἐγώ

1262 ἀποκεκλήκαμεν) ἀπηγορεύσαμεν VR

**Fol. 186" (1263-1335): —**

α ε δ' γ' θ β η  
 1264 μηδέ τιν' ἱερόθυτον ἀνὰ δάπεδον ἔτι τῆδε, βροτῶν θεοῖσι

ς' ζ VR

πέμπειν καπνόν

1267 ἀνὰ δάπεδον) διέρχεσθαι

1268 πέμπειν) ὥστε

1269 δεινόν) νομίζω

ὁ ηξ ὁ

ος VR

1269 τὸν κήρυκα τὸν παρὰ τοὺς βροτοὺς οἰχόμενον εἰ μηδέποτε

1270 οἰχόμενον) ἀπελθόντα νοστήσει) ἐπανα

1272 κατακέλευσον) εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι σιγῆν VR

1276 τί) εἰς

- 1281 ἐλακωνομάνουν) ἤλαζονεύοντο ὡς περ οἱ λάκωνες  
 1282 ἐκόμων) ἐπαίροντο  
 1283 σκυτάλι' ἐφόρου) ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐλακωνίζον· λακωνικὸν τὸ τῆς  
 σκυτάλης V | ῥάβδους VR  
 1284 ὀρνιθομανοῦσιν) τῆς τῶν ὀρνίθων ἐρωσί πολιτείας  
 1288 κατῆραν) ἦλθον 1289 ἀπενέμοντ') ἐμέριζον  
 1290 περιφανῶς) μεγάλως  
 1294 ὀφθαλμὸν οὐκ ἔχων) μονόφθαλμος καὶ ἄρπαξ VR  
 1296 ἴβις . . .) ὄρνειον πλεονάζον ἐν αἰγύπτῳ μακροσκελὲς VR  
 1298 εἶκεν) ἔοικεν 1299 ὑπὸ στυφοκόμπου) ὑπὸ τῆς ἀλαζονείας  
 1303 πτεροῦ τι . . .) ἦδον αὐτὸ ἐν ποιήματι VR  
 1305 πλήν) πλὴν 1308 ἐστάναι) ἴστασθαι  
 1309 ἰὼν) ἔλθων τὰς ἀρρίχους) ἡ ἀρρίχη V  
 1311 μανῆς) δοῦλος 1313 πολυάνορα) ἄνθρωπον  
 1316 ἐμᾶς πόλεως) τοὺς ἀνθρώπους VR  
 1317 θᾶπτον . . .) πτερὰ δῆλον πρὸς τὸν δοῦλον V  
 1319 ματοικεῖν) ὥστε κατοικεῖν μετέρχεσθαι  
 1323 βλακικῶς) ῥαθύμως 1331 διάθεσ) τάξον  
 1335 σον σχήσομαι) ἀνέξομαι ὑπομείνω VR

## Fol. 187' (1336-1404) :—

- 1337 γενοίμαν) εἶθε 1338 ποταθείην) πετασθείην  
 1339 γλαυκᾶς . . .) καταπληκτικῆς 1342 αἰβοῖ) θαυμαστικὸν  
 1343 ἐρῶ) ἐπιθυμῶ 1345 τῶν νόμῶν) διατριβῶν  
 1347 νομίζεται) νομοσπόμενον ἐστὶ τοῖς 1350 πεπλήγη) πλήττη VR  
 1354 κύρβεισιν) κύρβιες χαλκαὶ σανίδες [ext. sig.] ἐν αἰς ἔγραφον  
 τοὺς νόμους VR ἀπὸ τοῦ κεκορυφῶσθαι εἰς ὕψος· ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν κορυβάν-  
 των ἐκείνων γὰρ εὖρεμα V 1360 οὐδέν γ') πείση κακὸν VR  
 1361 ὄρφανὸν) μὴ ἔχοντα πατέρα VR  
 1368 Ext. sig. sup. ἐπειδὴ] συμβουλεύει τοῖς νέοις στρατεῦσθαι καὶ  
 μὴ μάτην ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου τρέφεσθαι VR | ἐπεὶ συνεχεῖς ἐγίνοντο στρα-  
 τιαὶ ἐπὶ θράκης τοῖς ἀθηναίοις VR  
 1375 τουτὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα) διότι εἶπε πέτομαι καὶ πτερύγεσσι R  
 1376 ἀφόβω φρενὶ) ἀσυνάντητον τὸ κῶλον πρὸς διαβολὴν VR  
 1378 Int. ante v.] ἡ γὰρ φιλύρα χλωρὸν χλωρὸν δὲ καὶ οὗτος VR  
 1378 φιλύριον) χλωρὸν VR  
 1385 νιφοβόλους) ἠψηλὰς ἀναβολὰς) λέξεις



1387 Ext. sig. sup. ἡ τέχνη] οἶον ὕλη ἐστὶ τῶν ποιημάτων ἡμῶν ἢ τῶν νεφελῶν σύστασις *VR*

1392 ἅπαντα γὰρ . . .) ἅπαντα γὰρ τὰ περι τοῦ ἀέρος διεξέρχομαι· ὁ νοῦς ἐλάχιστος ὡς ἡ παροιμία καὶ τῶν διθυράμβων νοῦν ἔχεις ἐλάττονα *VR*

1395 Ext. sig. sup. ἄλα] παρακελεύεται αὐτῷ παύσασθαι τοῦ ἄδειν ὡς οἱ ἐρέσσοντες *VR*

1398 τοτὲ μὲν . . .) τοῦτο λέγων ἄμα παίων αὐτῷ *VR*

1402 πτεροδόνητος) πτεροῖς πληχθεὶς *R*

1403 κυκλιοδιδάσκαλον) ἤγουν τὸν διθυραμβοποιὸν *VR*

1404 φυλαῖς . . .) ἐκάστη γὰρ φυλὴ ἔτρεφε διθυραμβοποιὸν *VR*

**Fol. 187" (1405-1467) :—**

1406 λεωτροφίδη) διθυραμβοποιὸς κοῦφος *VR*

1407 κεκροπίδα) τοῦ

1410 Ext. ante v.] συκοφάντης ἔρχεται πενόμενος καὶ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πενίαν ἄδων· ἐκ δὲ πρώτων λόγων συκοφαντεῖ τοὺς ὄρνιθας ὡς ἐναντίον ἔχόντων τὸ σχῆμα τῆς φύσεως· εἶη δ'αὖν εἰς τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ πρεσβύτου ἀφορῶν *VR*

1411 ἔχοντες πτεροποιίκιλα) πτερὰ 1413 ἐξεργήγορεν) ἐκινήθη

1416 ἐς θουμάτιον . . .) εἶδος ὠδῆς παροίνου

1417 δέισθαι . . .) ἐπεὶ αἱ χελιδόνες τὸ ἔαρ φέρουσαι

1421 μῶν εὐθὺν . . .) διότι χλαῖναι γίνονται ἐκεῖ διαφέρουσαι *R*

1425 καλούμενος) καλῶν αὐτοὺς

1426 ὑπαὶ) μετὰ *VR* ὑπαὶ πτερύγων . . .) σοφώτερον φησὶ τὸ μετὰ πτερύγων καλεῖν *VR*

1427 ἴν') ὅπως

1429 Ext. sig. sup. ἀνθ') ἀντὶ τοῦ λίθου· ἐπεὶ αἱ γέρανοι ἐν τῷ στόματι ψήφους ἔχουσιν ἢ πολλάκις στηρίγματος ἕνεκα, περιφέρουσι λίθους πρὸς τὸ μὴ περιφέρεσθαι ἀνέμοις *VR* ἔρματος) στηρίγματος *VR*

1431 νεανίας) ἤγουν νεωστὶ

1442 δεινῶς) ἐπιτηδείως ὁ διτρέφης) πιτινοπλόκος ὢν ὁ διτρέφης γέγονε φύλαρχος *VR*

1444 ὁ δέ τις) ἄλλος τις *R* τὸν αὐτοῦ) ὑποκριτὴν

1450 τρέψαι) κλίνας 1453 ἀλλὰ πτέρου με) ἐν δυνάμει

1454 ἱέρακος . . .) ἐπεὶ ἀρπακτικὰ τὰ ζῶα *R*

1455 ἐγκεκληκῶς . . .) ἐγκλημα κατ' αὐτῶν γραψάμενος βραδυτήτος

- 1459 πλεί) πλείσει 1460 πάντ' ἔχει) ἔγνωκας R  
 1461 βέμβικος . . .) στρόμβις ἦν οἱ παῖδες μαστίζοντες ποιούσι  
 περιστρέφουσαι VR οὐδέν) κατ  
 1463 Ext. sig. sup. κάλλιστα] λέγεται τις κερκυραῖα μαστιξὶ παρὰ τὸ  
 στασιάζειν συνεχῶς καὶ πεπόλασε παρ' αὐτοῖς ἢ μαστιξί· ὥστε διπλαῖς  
 χρῆσθαι μεγάλαις καὶ ἐλεφαντοκόπαις VR κάλλιστα . . .) εἰπὼν  
 τοῦτο τύπτει αὐτὸν R

## Fol. 188' (1468–1535) :—

- 1474 ἔκτοπόν τι) ἔξω τόπου καρδίας) τῆς πόλεως VR  
 1477 ἄλλως δὲ . . .) μέγας καὶ δειλὸς  
 1479 συκοφαντεῖ) τότε γὰρ ἐγένοντο αἱ δίκαι VR  
 1484 ἐρημία) ἤγουν ἐν τῇ σκοτια VR 1488 ἦν) ἐστίν  
 1489 ξυντυγχάνειν) συνομιλεῖν  
 1493 τὰπεδέξια) τὰ δεξιὰ τῆς φύσεως ὀφ VR  
 1494 ὅπως μὴ . . .) φοβοῦμαι 1498 πηνίκ') ἤγουν ποία ὥρα VR  
 1502 ἀπαιθριάζει) σκορπίζει VR 1513 ὡς ἀκούοντος) ἐμοῦ  
 1519 Ext. post v.] νηστείας εἶχον οἱ θεοὶ ὀπηνίκα ἀπεκτάνθη ὁ ἀλιρρῶ-  
 θιος υἱὸς ποσιδῶνος παρὰ τοῦ ἄρεος 1523 τὰμπόρι) σιτοδοχεῖα  
 1527 ὄθεν) ἀφοῦ ἐξηκεστίδης) δέον εἰπεῖν ἀπόλλων VR  
 1532 πρέσβεις) ἀποκρισιάρ 1534 σπένδησθ') φιλοῦσθε

## Fol. 188" (1536–1604) :—

- 1538 ταμμεύει) φυλάσσει 1540 τὰ νεώρια) τοὺς λιμένας  
 1541 τὸν κωλακρέτην) τὸν ταμίαν τῶν πολιτικῶν χρημάτων  
 1544 φράσαιμι) συμβουλευσαίμι  
 1546 ἀπανθρακίζομεν) τὸ πῦρ ἔχομεν 1547 οἶσθα) γινώσκεις  
 1552 διφροφόρει . . .) φέρου ἐπάνω εἰς τὸν δίφρον  
 1553 τοῖς σκιάποσιν) ἀφανίσι τόποις  
 1554 ἄλουτος) καὶ μὴ λουόμενος  
 1559 κάμηλον . . .) ἀντὶ καμήλου ἄμνον VR 1562 αὐτῷ) σὺν  
 1563 τὸ λαῖμα) ἢ τὸν λαίμον ἢ τὸ αἷμα R  
 1564 Ext. sig. sup. νυκτερίς] διαβάλλει αὐτὸν ὡς αὐτοκλήτως παρὰ  
 βάλλοντα εἰς τὰ δειπνα Ext. ante v.] ἐπεὶ οὔτε ἢ νυκτερίς ἡμέρας,  
 οὔτε οἱ φιλόσοφοι· δεδουκότες γὰρ φιλοσοφοῦσιν R  
 1566 ὀρᾶν) ὥστε ἢ πρεσβεύομεν) ὅπου πρέσβεις ἐρχόμεθα  
 1567 οὔτος) ὃ τριβαλλὲ VR

- 1569 Ext. sig. sup. λεσποδίας] ὅτι σαπρὰν εἶχε τὴν κνήμην ὁ λεσπο-  
 δίας καὶ μέχρι τῶν κάτω περιβάλλετο *R*
- 1570 Ext. sig. sup. ποῖ προβιβᾶς] διασύρει τοὺς ἀθηναίους ὅτι βαρ-  
 βάρους μετὰ ἀξιοπίστων εἰς δουλείας ἔπεμπον *VR*
- 1571 τουτονί γ') τὸν βάρβαρον 1572 Sub verb. ἔχεις] ἔχε
- 1573 πάντων) ἀπὸ
- 1577 ἡρήμεσθα) ἐχειροτονήθημεν προαιρήθημεν *R*
- 1579 σίλφιον) εἰς τὴν κυρήνην γίνεται 1580 πυρπόλει) ἀναπτε
- 1582 ἐπικνῶ : . .) ἐπίβαλλε εἰς τὰς χύτρας *R*
- 1583 τοῦ) τίνος 1586 ἐπικνᾶς) ἐπικόπτεις
- 1593 Ext. sig. sup. τέλμασιν] φρέασιν κυρίως δὲ τὸ σπηλιῶδες καὶ  
 μὴ ἔχον ὕδωρ *VR* 1595 αὐτοκράτορες) ἀποκρισιάριοι
- 1601 ἀποδοῦναι) πρέπει 1602 πρέσβεις) ἀποκρισιαρῖους
- 1603 ἀπόχρη) ἱκανὰ εἰσὶν ψηφίζομαι) διὰ τὸ ἀριστον λέγει ταῦ-  
 τα *VR* 1604 ἡλίθιος) ἀνόητος γάστρις) λαίμαργος

Fol. 189' (1605-1670) : —

- 1611 τὸν κόρακα . . .) ὑφ' ἐνὸς τοὺς πάντας δίας *VR*
- 1613 τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν θέν) τυπ
- 1614 ταῦτα γέ τοι . . .) γελοῖως καθ' ἑαυτοῦ ὄμνουσι *VR*
- 1615 μαβαισατρεῦ) συγκατατίθεμαι *VR*
- 1616 ἐπαινεῖ) συγκατατίθεται
- 1619 εὐξάμενος) ὑποσχεθεὶς διασοφιζῆται) ἀπατᾶ
- 1620 μαινετοὶ θεοὶ) ἀνεξίκακοι ἐπίμονοι καὶ βάβαιοι *VR* μισι-  
 τίαν) διὰ μισιτίαν) ἀπληστίαν *VR*
- 1622 διαριθμῶν) φηφισμάτων 1627 ἐρο) ἐρη
- 1628 ὁ τριβαλλὸς) ὦ *VR* οἰμώζειν) καλῶς λέγειν
- 1631 δοκεῖ) ἀρέσκει 1635 διαλλαγῶν) σπονδῶν
- 1636 ἀπίωμεν) ἄσ 1639 μιᾶς) τῆς βασιλείας
- 1640 διαλλαττόμ) εἰρηνεύομεν
- 1641 ὦ ἰζύρ') ταλαίπωρε ἐξαπατῶμενος) ὅτι 1646 οἶον) πῶς
- 1648 διαβάλλεταιί σ') ἐξαπατᾶ *VR* πόνηρε) ἄθλιε
- 1649 ἀκαρῆ) ἐν βραχεῖ 1652 ὦν γε ξένης) ἀπὸ
- 1653 ἐπικληρον) κληρονόμον *VR* 1654 ἀδελφῶν) δέον εἰπεῖν *VR*
- 1656 νόθῳξ ἀποθνήσκων) ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐξῆν τοῖς νόθοις κληρομεῖν δίδον-  
 ται *VR* 1657 ἐπαίρει) ἡψοῖ
- 1658 ἀνθέξεταί σου) ἀντιποιηθῆ

- 1661 ἀγκιστεύαν) μετουσίαν τῆς οὐσίας VR  
 1666 μετείνειν) μετουσίαν Ext. post v.) διὰ γὰρ τοῦ ἐγγραφῆναι  
 εἰς τὰς φατρίας, σύμβολον εἶχε τῆς εὐγενείας VR

**Fol. 189" (1671-1737) :—**

- 1671 αἰκίαν) μάλιστα ἤγουν εἰς τὸ τύψαι τινὰ VR  
 1677 πᾶν τὸ πρᾶγμα) πᾶσα ὑπόθεσις κρέματα  
 1678 καλάνι κοραυνᾶ) καλὴν κόρην VR μέγала βασιλιναῦ) με-  
 γάλην βασιλίτισσαν VR  
 1681 εἰ μὴ βαδίζειν) ἀναχωρεῖν VR Ext. ante v.] ἤγουν δυσφρά-  
 στως λέγει· καὶ αἰσχίλος τὸ βαρβαρίζειν VR ὥσπερ αἱ χελιδονες)  
 χελιδονίζεω φησι VR  
 1682 οὐκοῦν) τὸ λοιπὸν ταῖς χελιδόσι) ταῖς εἰς τὴν νεφελοκοκκυ-  
 γίαν VR  
 1683 διαλλάττεσθε) εἰρηνεύετε ξυμβαίνετε) συμβιβάζεσθε  
 1684 σφῶν) ὑμῖν  
 1688 κατεκόπησαν) ἐσφάγησαν οὐτοῦ) οἱ ὄρνιθες R  
 1690 ἴτε) ἐπέθετε 1691 τενθείαν) λαίμαργίαν  
 1692 οὐκ εἴ . . .) πορευθεῖς  
 1693 Pag. sig. sup. γαμικὴν] καὶ συκοφαντεῖν αὐτοὺς περὶ τὰ δικα-  
 στήρια· VR τὰ ἐξῆς ταῦτά ἐστιν τὰ ἀνωτέρω ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις νῦν φησὶν·  
 παίζει δὲ διασύρων τῶν ἀθηναίων συκοφάντας· παρὰ τὸ φαίνειν VR  
 1699 συκάζουσί τε) συκάζειν τὸ σύκα ἐκλέγειν καὶ συκοφαντεῖν VR  
 1704 Pag. sig. sup. πανταχοῦ] βούλεται λέγειν ὅτι ἐξεβλήθη ἐκ τῶν  
 σπλάγχων δια τοὺς ῥήτορας ἢ γλώττα· ἐπεὶ ταύτη τοὺς ἄλλους κακο-  
 ποιούσι πρῶην γὰρ μετὰ τῶν σπλάγχων ἔτεμον τὴν γλώτταν VR  
 1705 χωρὶς τέμνεται) καὶ κεχωρισμένως  
 1706 Pag. sig. sup. ὦ πάντ' ] εἴη ἂν οὗτος ὁ ἄγγελος, θεράπων συνανα-  
 βεβηκῶς πεισθεταίρω ὦ μείζω λόγου) ἂ μὴ δὲ λόγῳ ἰσχυεῖ φράσαι R  
 1709 οἶος) λαμπρὸς 1710 ἰδεῖν) εἰς τὸ χρυσαυγεί) αὐτὸν  
 1713 Ext. sig. sup. ἔχων] εἰώθασι τῷ κεραυνῷ ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους  
 περὰ προσφύειν R  
 1715 ἀνωνόμαστος) πολλή VR ἐς βάθος κύκλου) εἰς τὸ ὕψος  
 τοῦ οὐρανοῦ R  
 1717 αὔραι) πνέουσαι VR Ext. ante v.] διαψαίρειν τὸ ἡσυχῆ  
 κινεῖσθαι καὶ ψοφεῖν VR διαψαίρουσι) κινουσι VR

- 1720 ἀναγε) ὕμναι VR Int. post v.] ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐριπίδου· ἀνεχε  
 παρέχε φῶς φέρε V 1732 ἡλιβάτων) ὑψηλῶν  
 1733 Ext. ante v.] καλῶς τὸ ἐπιθαλάμῳ γέγραπται VR  
 1734 Ext. ante v.] συνήγαγον συνεμ VR  
 1735 ἐν τοιῶδ' ὕμνεαίῳ) ὕμνω βασιλικῶ VR  
 1737 Inf. sig. sup. ἔρωσ] ἔρωσ φησὶ παράνυμφος ἦν τοῦ διὸς καὶ τῆς  
 ἱρας· πάροχοι γὰρ ἐλέγοντο οἱ παράνυμφοι παρὰ τὸ παροχεῖσθαι τοῖς  
 νυμφιδίοις· ἐπ' ὀχήματος γὰρ τὰς νύμφας ἦγον VR

Fol. 190' (1738-1765) :—

- 1738 εὐθυνε) διακυβέρνα Ext. sig. sup. παλιντόνους] τὰς πάλιν καὶ  
 εἰς τοῦπίσω τεινομένας ἤδετο τοῦτάν τοῖς γάμοις R  
 1744 λόγων) χάριν αὐτοῦ) τοπικόν  
 1745 κλήσατε) ὑμνήσατε VR  
 1747 δεινόν . . .) καταπληκτικόν· τὸν διάπυρον καὶ λευκόν  
 1749 ἄμβροτον) ἄφθαρτον  
 1751 ὄδε) ἢ ὁ ζεὺς ἢ ὁ πεισθέταιρος λαβὼν τὴν βασιλείαν VR  
 1752 διὰ σὲ . . .) τὸν κεραυνὸν 1753 πάρεδρον) συγκάθεδρον  
 1759 ὄρεξον) δὸς ὦ μάκαιρα) ὦ βασιλλ VR  
 1760 χέρα . . .) οἱ γὰρ ὄρνιθες πτεροῖς ἀντὶ χειρῶν ἐχρῶντο V  
 1761 λαβοῦσα) ἀψαμένη 1762 κουφιῶ) βαστάζω VR  
 1764 Pag. sig. sup. τήνελα] τὸ τήνελα μίμησις ἐστὶ φωνῆς ποιᾶς  
 μουσικῆς· ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ ἀλαλαῖ· ἔστι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐφυμνίου οὐ εἶπεν  
 ἀρχίλοχος εἰς τὸν ἥρακλέα μετὰ τὸν ἄθλον αὐγείου· τήνελα καλλίνικε  
 χαῖρε ἀναξ ἥρακλεις αὐτός τε καὶ ἰόλαος· αἰχμηταὶ δύο· δοκεῖ δὲ πρῶ-  
 τος ἀρχίλοχος νικήσας ἐν πάρῳ τὸν δῆμητρος ὕμνον ἑαυτῷ τοῦτον  
 ἐπιπεφωνηκέναι VR

There are eight hundred and twenty-seven notes in the Transcript designated as separate notes by means either of black-faced types or of symbols.<sup>1</sup>

I Three hundred and ninety-three of these are not in V or R so far as I have discovered. These are printed in black-faced types.

<sup>1</sup> Three of the scholars named in the first note on p. 69 have briefly expressed their opinion about these notes. See Zacher, *Handschriften und Classen*, p. 603; Zuretti, *Analecta*, p. 147; Piccolomini, *Nuove Osservazione*, p. 447. Zuretti transcribes four of the notes on p. 161 f. of his *Analecta*.

One half of them are brief interlinear definitions, generally mere synonyms of 'hard' words in the poet's text, e. g. 30, 44, 45 (sic), 46, 96, 110 (sic), 124, 132, 135, 143 *τρυφηλῶν*, 156, 166, 168 *ταῦτα*, 171, 177, 209, 214 (five synonyms), 224, 255, etc. Such brief interlinear notes occur also in V and R, but there they are not so frequent, and fewer of them are trivial in character.

The etymological notes in this category are few, e. g. 26, 143, cf. 943. Some notes in this section relate to the 'action,' e. g. 2, 575, 1706; others designate metrical divisions, e. g. 685, 753, 769, etc.

About one eighth of the 393 are grammatical, e. g. 146, 418, 511, 572 (but the text in U reads *πετόμεθα*), 930 (sic), 932, 1298, 1583; 610, 663, 1744; 369, 1264; 164, 387 (sic), 595, 1000, 1046 (cf. 1744), 1562 (sic), 1710; 153, 432, 437, 607, 652 (prolepsis, cf. 1269), 746, 1010, 1513; 131, 316, 823, 1018, 1259, 1268, 1337, 1459, 1494, 1566, 1601.

About one fourth are exegetical. Some of these interpret the meaning, others give information on biography, natural history, or antiquities, e. g. 503, 567, 581, 611, 1005, 1042, 1131, 1242, 1281, 1342, 1416, 1453; 286, 763, 1073, 1564; 299, 761; 601, 827, 1519, 1541.

Although these notes are not found in V or R, some of them may be abridgments of Old Scholia, since Tzetzes had at his command a fuller ancient commentary than that in either V or R. See III below.

The following among late and unusual words that occur in these notes, but are not found in V or R, are especially worthy of remark: 156 *ἀχαρίτως*, 555 *λογοτριβήση*, 582 *ἀροτριῶσι*, 828 *φυλάκτριαν*, 1241 *ἀσφαλίσαις* (meaning), 1532, 1595, 1602 *ἀποκρισιάριος*. Add 602 *θησαυράρια*, 1021 *προδεχόμενοι*.

II There are 87 cases in which U agrees<sup>1</sup> with both V and R (marked VR in the Transcript).

In about one third of these cases the note in U is identical, or practically identical, with the note in V and R, e. g. 539, 707, 745, 803, 844, 929, 1169, 1248, 1745. In the remainder it is shorter, and is either a complete part of the note, e. g. 100, 521, 547, 648, 697, 911, 1221, 1442, — or it is a word or a few words extracted from the note, e. g. 141, 503, 766, 1159, 1406, 1620, 1678, 1720. The two cases are about equally divided.

<sup>1</sup> The agreement is not always absolute. See the last paragraph on p. 71.

III Similar to the foregoing are the cases in which the note in U agrees with that in V, but is not found in R (marked V), and those in which it agrees with the note in R, but is not found in V (marked R). There are 37 cases of the first sort, 20 of the second.

These notes prove that *Tzetzes's copy of the archetype had fuller notes than those in either V or R*. This important fact is confirmed below.

IV The instances in which a note in U is found in V in a changed form, but is not in R (marked *V*) number 62; those in which it is found in R in a changed form, but is not in V (marked *R*), 23.

V There are 27 cases in which the note in U is found also in V and R, but while in agreement with one is in disagreement with the other. The instances where U agrees with V but differs from R (marked *V R*) number 17; those in which it agrees with R but differs from V (marked *VR*), 10.

Half the cases of disagreement result from the omission *from V* or *from R* of parts of a note that is found in U. The most of these omissions occur in R. They confirm the conclusion reached in III, that *Tzetzes's* edition of Aristophanes was better provided with Old Scholia than either V or R. U has a fuller note sometimes than that in V, sometimes than that in R, but since it agrees with either V or R in all these cases, the additions (i. e. the omissions in V or R) must be from the body of the Old Scholia.

VI There are, finally, 178 instances in which notes in U are found both in V and in R, but in changed form (marked *VR*).

Here also the conclusion reached in III is confirmed, since parts of notes in U that belong to this category are found in V but are omitted in R, or are found in R but are omitted in V.

In both the last categories the disagreements, besides those resulting from omissions in the two older MSS., are differences in form, in word, or in phrase.

These two categories, therefore, are of intrinsic importance, since they furnish the test as to whether U is in closer agreement with V or with R.

The last three categories (IV—VI) illustrate *Tzetzes's* mode of procedure in dealing with the Old Scholia otherwise than by simple omission.

In the following discussion of the questions proposed in the last two paragraphs, I assume, as I have previously assumed in this paper, that

Tzetzes 'composed' the notes on the *Aves* found in U. No scholar, I believe, denies this. Furthermore, that there was an archetype, very probably made at Byzantium, from which all existing Old Scholia on Aristophanes are derived. An inspection of any page of the notes on the *Aves* in U shows that Tzetzes in writing them must have had before him a manuscript based on the archetype, and it has previously been shown that this manuscript had fuller notes than those in either V or R. See III above.

Are the note in U in closer agreement with those in V or with those in R?

I have observed the following cases of agreement and disagreement between U and the older MSS. Mere omissions *from V* and *from R* of part of a note found in U are ignored.

U *inclines towards* V:<sup>1</sup>

31	σάκες γὰρ]	σάκαι δὲ <sup>2</sup>	65 <sup>3</sup>	85	τοῦ ἔπος	U	ἔπο	V	(ἔποψ
G sic)	τοῦτο το	ἔπος	R	104	ἐλήλυθε	U	ἐξεληλυθε	V	ἐξεληλύθει
139	βαλανείων]	βαλανείου	158	κίβδηλα	λέγεται]	κίβδηλεύεται	159	οἷς	στεφανοῦνται]
	ἐν οἷς	στέφονται	176	ὡς]	ὥστε	185	οἱ	πάρνο-	πες]
	οἱ ὄρνεις	οἱ παρνοποι	189	παίζει	δὲ . . .	ζητοῦσιν]	ἢ	οὐτως . . .	αἰτοῦσιν
	189	ὀλίγοι καὶ εἰρηνικοὶ]	καθ' ἓνα	καὶ	εἰρηνικως	436	ἐπι-	στάτη	δὲ
	θηλυκὸς]	ἐπιστάτης	δὲ	463	περικειντο]	παρέκειντο	465	νομέως	U
	ῥωμews	V	βοσκοῦ	R	501	αρχομένου]	ἐρχομένου	534	ἄρτυμα]
	ἄλφιστα	680	ἔαρι]	ἔαρ	680	τελοῦσι]	τελοῦνται	787	μα-
	κρῶν]	μικρῶν	831	κωμωδεῖται]	διεβάλλετο	882	δωρικὸν]	δωρικως	902
	ἀπὸ	παροιμίας]	παροιμῶδες	984	μεταλαβεῖν]	ἐπιθυμεί	1009	διαβεβωημένος]	περιβόητος
	1227	πράξητε]	πράξεται	1258	παρὰ	τὸ]	ἀντι	του	1368
	συνεχεῖς]	συνεχῶς	1410	δᾶν]	δ' οὖν	1614			

<sup>1</sup> The reading placed before the bracket is that in UV, the reading following it is that in R, unless a more exact designation is given.

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted to Mr. Rutherford for permission to use the transcript of the Scholia in the Codex Ravennas published in his *Scholia Aristophanica* (1896).

<sup>3</sup> The discrepancy in the notes on 65, where the readings are: λιβυκὸν δὲ ἐπεὶ οἱ λιβυεὶς βάρβαροι καὶ δεῖλοι· ἢ ἐπεὶ πολύορνις ἢ λιβύη UV, ὡς ἐν λιβύη πολλῶν καὶ ἐκτραπέλων θνητῶν ὀρνέων R, is not here recorded since the note in R was probably an alternative note, which happens not to occur in V. Compare the cases cited in the second paragraph on page 72.



καθ' ἑαυτοῦ] καθεαυτὸν 1666 τῆς εὐγενείας] την εὐγένειαν 1704  
 ἔτεμον] ἔτεμον 1737 παρὰ τὸ παροχεῖσθαι] παρα οχεῖσθαι 1764  
 μετὰ τὸν ἄθλον] μεγίστων ἄθλων 1764 αἰχμηταὶ U αἰχμητὰ V  
 αἰχμητῆς R 1764 ἑαυτῶ] ἑαυτοῦ

U *inclines towards* R:<sup>1</sup>

12 τὴν εἰς τὸ οἴμοι] εἰς τὴν οἴμοι 66 ἀπεπάτησεν U ἀποπατη-  
 σάντων R ἐναφεικῶς V 156 πολλοῦ χρόνου] πολλῶν χρόνων 185  
 κωνώπων] κώνωπες 462 ἠντρέπισται U εντρέπισται R ηντρεπίζεται V  
 465 οἱ λιπαροὶ] ὡς λιπαροὶ 501 κυλίνδονται] κυλινδοῦνται 527  
 ἰξὸν] ἰξῶ 535 παρὰ τὸ χέεσθαι (χεύεσθαι R). γλυκὺ δὲ μέλιτι δε-  
 δευμένον]. παραχεύεσθαι γλυκεῖ δὲ μέλιτι δεδευμένος 879 ἠύχοντο  
 ἑαυτοῖς τὲ καὶ τοῖς χίοις U ἠύχοντο κοινῇ ἐπι των θυσιῶν ἑαυτοῖς τε  
 καὶ χίοις R εὔχοντο κοινῇ ἐπι τῶν θυσιῶν ἑαυτῶν τὲ καὶ χίων V  
 1113 ἀπὸ τοῦ συναθροίζειν] ἐκ τοῦ προαθροίζειν 1204 ταχυθνατου-  
 σαι] ταχυθνατουῖσαι 1360 πείση] πείσεις 1395 αὐτῶ] αὐτὸν  
 1566 κληρονομεῖν] συγκληρονομεῖν 1764 δύο] δύο

It appears from this evidence that the notes in U are in closer agreement with those in V than with those in R. The ratio established by these instances is that of about two to one.

A different and less important question is whether the notes found in U occur in great number in V or in R. The ratio in III above is 37 in V to 20 in R; in IV it is 62 to 23. This preponderance of V over R is explained by the fact that the notes in V are more numerous than those in R, and that there is a gap of three unannotated folios in R, namely 56'', 57', 57''.

What was Tzetzes's mode of procedure in dealing with the notes which he found in his copy of the archetype?

He generally omitted them outright; furthermore, he usually omitted the greater part of those that he selected; but sometimes he found a brief note that was ready to his hand. His procedure in making omissions has been indicated above in II (p. 96), and perhaps does not need further illustration.

This method was followed in *all* the notes recorded in the Transcript

<sup>1</sup> The reading placed before the bracket is that in UR, the reading following it is that in V, unless a more exact designation is given.

which show relationship with the notes in V and R. His purpose is reasonably obvious; he was making an edition of this play 'with brief notes.' But he secured brevity also by compression, and he did this with intelligence and skill, although occasionally he got befogged. In the following examples he substitutes a short sentence, or a phrase, or even a single word for a longer sentence which he found in his copy of the archetype:

290 *ρύσασπις γὰρ ἦν*] *ὡς ρύσασπιν δὲ διαβάλλει τὸν κλεώνυμον* V  
 446 *ταῦτα ὁ ποιητῆς*] *ἐπειδὴ περὶ νίκης εὐχεται ποιεῖ αὐτὸν ὁ ποιητῆς εὐφημοῦντα ἔσται ταῦταγι* VR 877 *διαβάλλει αὐτὸν*] *παρ ὑπονοίαν ἐπήγαγεν βουλομένους αὐτὸν διαβαλεῖν* VR 1011 *ὑπαναχώρει*] *ὡς φίλος σοι συμβουλεύω υπαναχωρῆσαι ἐνθεν* VR 1021 *προδεχόμενοι τοὺς ξένους*] *προξένους ἐκαλοῦν τοὺς τεταγμένους εἰς τὸ ὑποδέχασθαι τοὺς ξένους τοὺς ἐξ ἄλλων πόλεων ἦκοντας* VR 1294 *μονόφθαλμος καὶ ἄρπαξ*] *ὅτι ἄρπαξ καὶ ἀναιδῆς· ὅτι δε [καὶ add. R] μονόφθαλμος οὗτος εἴρηται (προεῖρηται R)* VR 1479 *τότε γὰρ ἐγένοντο αἱ δίκαι*] *τῷ γὰρ μουνουχίῳ μὴνι τοῦ ἀέρος (ἄρος R) γυμνάζονται αἱ πρὸς τοὺς ξένους δίκαι* VR 1648 *ἐξαπατᾷ*] *ὅτι τὸ διαβαλλονται (διαβάλλεται R) χρῶνται ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐξαπατᾶν* VR 1682 *ταῖς εἰς τὴν νεφελοκοκκυγίαν*] *διὸ καὶ ἐποίσει οὐκοῦν παραδοῦναι ταῖς χελιδόσιν λέγει ἐπεί καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς αὐτὰς βαδίζει εἰς νεφελοκοκκυγίαν* VR 1738 *ἦδετο τοῦτᾶν τοῖς γάμοις*] *εἴρηται περὶ τούτου ἐν τοῖς μενανδρείοις, οὐ ἐν τοῖς γάμοις ἦδετο R*

A neat device is employed in abridging a note that calls attention to a word used in address, e. g. 1567 *ὦ τριβαλλὲ τοῦτο λέγει τῷ βαρβάρῳ τῷ συμπαρόντι αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν πρεσβείαν ὁ ποσειδῶν* VR Cf. 958, 1199, 1759. A similar contrivance is used to indicate the order of words, compare 369 and 1264 with 381. In 652 and 1269 the editor takes a like short cut in enuntiating the doctrine of prolepsis.

There is evidence on each page of these notes that they are not mere literal excerpts from the Old Scholia. Compare the following instances of the substitution, which is in most instances deliberate, of one word for another:

43 *ἄμυναν*] *τὸ ἀποσοβεῖν* VR 68 *διὰ*] *παρὰ* VR Cf. other shifts of the preposition in 276, 462, 877, 1354 *ἀπὸ* (bis), 1463 *παρὰ τὸ*, 1611. 69 *ὄρνις*] *ὄρνεον* VR 69 *τεράστιον*] *τεραστικὸν* VR

147 ἐρχομένους] ἐγκαλουμένους VR 158 ἀργυρίον] ἀργύρου VR  
 168 διασύρει] διαβάλλει V (The word διασύρω occurs often in these  
 notes; cf. 17, 37, 268, 879, 930, 1570, all original.) 179 ἄλωνος]  
 αξονος V 194 θηρατικῷ] θηρευτικῷ VR 237 προσκαλεῖται]  
 καλεῖ VR 299 χωρίον] κουρείον V 301 προσυπάρχουσιν] πρού-  
 παρχουσιν V For similar instances, cf. 486, 579, 1021, 1169, 1429  
 περιφέρεσθαι, 1717 κινεῖσθαι and κινουῖσι. 399 τόπος] πόλις VR  
 399 πόλεμος] μάχη VR 427 λέγει] ἐρεῖ<sup>1</sup> VR 433 μετεωρίζο-  
 μαι] μετεώρημαι V μετηώρημαι R 489 ἄγη] ἄση VR 530 κρα-  
 τοῦντες] κακοῦντες VR 549 ἀπολυσάντων] ἀπολεσάντων V 552  
 ἐκτίσθη] οἰκοδομηθῆναι VR 598 φοινικὸν πλοιάριον] φοινικικὸν σκά-  
 φος VR 601 ἀποκρύφω] ἀγνώστων VR 606 φθάσῃ] προκύ-  
 ψουσι V προκόψουσιν R 627 μεταβαλλόμενος] μεταπίπτων V πίπτων  
 R 639 διεξόδους] ἐξόδους VR 641 καλιὰν] νοσσιὰν V νοσιὰν R  
 712 ὑποκρινόμενος] προσποιούμενος VR 717 ὄρνεων] ὄρνεομάντεων  
 VR 721 κακόποδας] καλλόπαδας VR 749 τραγωδὸς ποιητῆς]  
 τραγωδοποιός V τραγωδίας ποιητῆς R 781 τὰ ἱερά] τὸν ἱερέα VR  
 842 τοὺς φύλακας] τὰς φυλακὰς VR 842 ἐφόρου] εἶχον VR  
 874 σεβάξειν λέγουσι] καβάξειν φησι V 1014 ἄλλους] ἀλλήλους R  
 1028 ἀλαζονικὸς σκώπτεται] ἀλαζονικῶς σκῆπτεται VR 1029 φησὶ]  
 λεγει R 1065 βλάστημα] ἀκρόδρυα VR 1074 συγγενῇ] προση-  
 κόντων VR 1112 ἀξίαν (sic)] ὀξείαν VR 1113 οἰσοφάγος]  
 προλόβους VR 1134 πλινθοφόροι] ἀχθοφόροι VR 1137 τέ-  
 μνουσι] ἀνούσι VR 1317 δοῦλον] μανῆν V 1376 ἀσυνάντητον]  
 ἀσυνάρμοστον VR 1410 πρεσβύτου] πρεσβυτέρου VR 1493  
 φύσεως] ὄψεως VR 1564 δεδυκότες] καταδεδοκότες R 1611 δίας]  
 δηλοῖ VR 1678 βασιλίσσαν] βασιλείαν VR 1713 ἐξ ἑκατέρου]  
 ἐξανωτέρου R 1737 νυμφιδίους] νυμφίους VR

These are simple but essential changes. In other instances the  
 rewriting is more comprehensive. In extreme cases it results in a  
 complete or nearly complete re-phrasing of the original note, as in the  
 following examples:

4 ἀπο μεταφορᾶς του στήμονος] προφορεῖσθαι γὰρ λεγεται τὸ παρα-  
 φέρειν τὸν στήμονα τοῖς διαζομένοις VR 17 διασύρει τοῦτον ὡς  
 μικρὸν τῷ σώματι] ἄδηλον εἰ ἀσωπόδωρον λέγει· ὃς κωμωδεῖται ἐπι

<sup>1</sup> See Mr. Rutherford's instructive note on ἐρεῖ, I, p. 452.

σμκρότητι σώματος ἦν δὲ καὶ ὁ θαρραλεΐδης μικρὸς V 37 διασύρει τὸ φιλόδικον καὶ τὴν συκοφαντίαν] εἰς το φιλόδικον τῶν ἀθηναίων ὅτι συκοφαντούμενοι οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπέτινον χρήματα VR 70 ἐπεὶ ὁ ἤττηθεις ἀλεκτρυνῶν ἀκολουθεῖ τῷ νενικηκότι] φυσικὸν (εστὶ add. R) τοῦ (καὶ add. R) ἐν ταῖς συμβολαῖς τῶν ἀλεκτρυνόνων τοὺς ἤττηθέντας ἐπεσθαι τοῖς νενικηκόσι VR IIII παρόσον οἱ ἀγροικικοὶ μισόδικοι] τοῦτο λεγεί ὅτι οἱ ἄγροικοὶ μόνοι εἰσὶ οἱ μὴ φιλοδικασταὶ VR 125 καὶ ἔχει (i. e. ἔχειν) ἀρίστους δημαγωγούς] ἀρίστους κεκριμένους θέλεις ἔχειν ἄρχοντας τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς πόλεως. 126 διότι ἐλέγετο ἀριστοκράτης] παρὰ τὸ ὄνομα πεπαιχεν ἐπεὶ ἀριστοκράτης σκελίου υἱὸς ἦν VR 267 ἢ ζῶου τινὸς ἢ τοῦ ἔποπος] οἶμαι καὶ παντα τοῦ ἔποπος ποικιλομένου οἱ δὲ ὀρνέου περιπταμένου V 399 τόπος εἰς ὃν ἐγένετο πόλεμος λακεδαμονίων καὶ ἀργείων] ἔστιν δὲ τῆς ἀργείας πόλις . . . ἴσως δὲ ὅτι ἐν ὀρνέαις μάχη ἐγένετο κτέ. 568 διὰ τὰς μοιχείας τοῦ λήρου (dele λήρου) διὸς εἶπε τὸν ὀρχίλον] ἐπλάσατο τὸ ὄνομα (τοῦ add. R) ὄρνιθος ἐπεὶ κατωφερῆς ὁ ζεὺς καὶ μοιχεὺς (μοιχὸς R) δια τουτο ὀρχίλον παρεῖληχεν δια τους ὄρχεις VR 619 λιβυκὸς θεὸς ὁ ἄμμων] ἐνταῦθα (ἐνθα τὰ R) μαντεία εἰσὶν . . . ἐν δὲ λίβυσι τὰ τοῦ ἄμμωνος VR 639 βραδὺς δὲ ἦν εἰς τὰς διεξόδους διὸ καὶ διαβάλλεται] ὅτι βραδὺς ἦν περὶ τὰς ἐξόδους καὶ ὡς οἱ διαβάλλοντες οὐχὶ προνοητικὸς ἦν ἀλλ' ἀμελητής VR 721 τὰ πρῶτα ξυναντήματα ἐκάλουν σημεῖα] καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα ξυμβόλους ἐποίουν τὰ πρῶτα συναντῶντα V 835 παίζει πρὸς τινα παῖδα νεοττὸν καλούμενον] ἴσως δὲ τις ἦν καλὸς παῖς νεοττὸς τοῦνομα πρὸς ὃν παίζει V (Tzetzes boldly rejects the doubt.) III42 ἔπαιζε δια τὸ παράγεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἔρας] παρὰ τὴν ἔραν πέπαιχεν· ἐπεὶ ὁ πῆλος ἐκ τῆς ἔρας τουτεστι τῆς γῆς VR 1272 εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι σιγῆν] οἶον εἰς σιωπῆν κήρυξον VR 1376 ἀσυνάντητον τὸ κῶλον πρὸς διαβολὴν] ἐπίτηδες ἀδιανοητεύεται θέλων διαβάλλειν τὰ κινήσιου ποιήματα ὡς ἀδιανόητα ἀσυνάρμοστον τὸ κῶλον τοῦτο προσέρριπται VR 1421 διότι χλαῖναι γίνονται ἐκεῖ διαφέρουσαι] οἱ δὲ, ὅτι χλαῖναι διάφοροι ἐν πελλήνῃ ἐγίνοντο R 1570 διασύρει τοὺς ἀθηναίους ὅτι βαρβάρους μετὰ ἀξιοπίστων εἰς δουλείας (sic) ἔπεμπον] ἐμίξεν ὡς ἐπιθηναίων ἐπεὶ ἰσοτιμίας οὔσης συμβαίνει δημῶδεις ἅμα τοῖς ἀξιοπίστοις ἀποστέλλεσθαι ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν ὁ βάρβαρος εἰς μηδὲν χρήσιμον συμποσειδῶνι καὶ ἠρακλεῖ ἀπεστάλη VR

Although Tzetzes shows disposition to brief statement, he does not hesitate to amplify when occasion seems to him to demand it. His

original contributions are not confined to the notes printed in the Transcript in black-faced types. Compare the following incomplete list of instances in which the words here quoted are not in either V or R :

92 τὴν πύλην 147 ἤγουν εἰς κρίσιν 159 ἐρυθρὰ 321 καὶ ὑπόθεσιν μεγάλην 381 ἡμᾶς αὐτῶν 392 δέον et ἡμᾶς 429 ἤγουν φρόνησις (This is an attempt to interpret the obscure, if not blundering, old scholium that follows; note the lemma.) 602 τὰ λεγόμενα παρ' ἡμῖν θησαυράρια 682 ἠχοῦσα 738 ὠδὴ ἦτοι στροφή 798 ἔχων (Here incorporated from the text.) 858 παίζει αὐτὸν 875 τῇ ῥέα ταύτην εἰκάσας 923 ἔθηκα et ἔθνον 1112 διὰ τὸ ἀπρακτικὸν 1146 μόριον 1335 ὑπομείνω 1375 καὶ πτερύγεσσι 1454 τὰ ζῶα 1577 προαιρήθημεν 1704 πρόην γὰρ

In the following instances parts of two notes that presumably were separate in the archetype are combined in one: 102, 189, 276, 447, 463, 465, 530, 534, 538, 550, 559, 639, 721, 749, 798, 810, 869, 918, 1028, 1203, 1258, 1368. In 705, parts of three notes are united in one. The parts are often combined with skill, but in some instances the workmanship is bad. On 447, 463, 550, 721, 749, 810, 1028, 1203, 1258, 1368, two notes on different parts of the text are run together without due warning. On 539 a note (ἠῤῥησε κτέ.) which in V is an explanation of ἀλκμήνας is transferred without impropriety to ἀλόπας.

The parts of a single continuous note are rearranged, in the rewriting, in the notes on 266, 301, 648, 1693, 1704. The note on 301 is noteworthy. The warning of the Old Scholiast is ignored, and Demon's note, against which it is directed, is put first. The change in order is polemical. The warning inserted in the note on 1693, τὰ ἐξῆς ταῦτά ἐστιν τὰ ἀνωτέρω, shows that the change in order in this note resulted from oversight and is not due to Tzetzes.

A brief style has its pitfalls. In the note on 109 Tzetzes is committed to the statement that ἡλιαστὰ signifies 'a court-house in Athens.' The note in VR reads: δικασταὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου δικαστηρίου τῆς ἡλιαίας. The surprising statement is made in the note on 266 that ἐπώζω means 'to sit on eggs.' V more credibly affirms: ἐπώζειν ἐστι τὸ ἐπι τοῖς ὠοῖς καθεζόμενα τὰ ὄρνεα κράζειν. There are other startling revelations, which are not to be defended on the plea of brief expression. The note on 82 both adds a word to the language, unobjec-

tionable in form, and records a new fact in the natural history of the gnat; but this philological novelty, hitherto unremarked, is probably due to the librarius. This gnat, however, will not down, and in the note on 569 seems to claim identity with the ram. Again, by the fatal change of a single word in the note on 951 Peithetaerus's airy town is whisked from the clouds and consigned to the infernal regions. Other instructive disclosures will reward research. For changes that vitiate the sense or leave the grammatical construction suspended, see the notes on 186, 272, 299, 521, 538, 879, 1014, 1368. For misinterpretations, see the notes on 84, 110, 387, 962, 966, 973, 1163, 1622. For notes in which the thought is incomplete from insufficient form, see 92, 147, 248, 275, 317, 566, 794, 823, 1029, 1654.

In general, however, the workmanship is good. The evidence already adduced shows that Tzetzes's object was well-defined. He was writing a brief commentary on the *Aves* based on the Old Scholia with additions 'by the editor.' He aims first of all to interpret the poet's language. He is interested in facts of ancient life, in political history, and in biography; but he shows indifference to literary history. He did not simply excerpt his notes from his copy of the archetype, but often rewrote them, making changes that show intention and sound judgment. In the following instances, e.g., he deliberately altered the grammatical construction.

102 ἐπήγαγε] ἐπαγαγων V 319 ὑποπτεύουσι γὰρ] ὑποπτεύοντες V  
 424 ἤγουν ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ] τὸν ουρανον καὶ τὴν γῆν λεγει R  
 552 καὶ ἡ βαβυλῶν δὲ πλίνθων ὀπτῶν ἐκτίσθη κτέ.] φησι (φασι R)  
 γάρ τὴν βαβυλῶνα ἀπὸ ὀπτῶν πλίνθων οἰκοδομηθῆναι κτέ. V R Cf. 765.  
 732 ἐμφαίνει] ἐμφαίνων V R 1256 πολλάκις συνουσιασθείσαν] πολ-  
 λάκις ἐμβαλεῖν δυνάμενον V R (This brings συνουσιασθείσαν into con-  
 struction with the subject of θαυμάζειν.) 1410 ἐναντίον] ἐναντίως  
 V R 1615 συγκατατίθεμαι] συγκατατίθεται V R 1706 λόγῳ] λό-  
 γος R πνέουσαι] πνέουσι V R

He changed tenses: present to past, as in 147, 292, 1035, 1354, 1404, 1479, 1569, 1737 (bis); perfect to pluperfect, as in 822; perfect to aorist, as 299, 568. The Alexandrian commentators phrased their notes sometimes in the present, sometimes in the past. Do these instances of a re-phrasing of their presents by pasts show that, com-

sciously or unconsciously, Tzetzes felt himself to be far removed in time from the poet he was interpreting? Other changes occur: of form, as in 461, 765, 978; again of tense, as in 189 (bis), 465, 1028, 1106, 1463; of mood, as in 301, 425.<sup>1</sup>

Many notes are of superior quality or manifest a personal judgment. To quote typical examples, τὰ ἱερὰ in 781, τετρυπημένον in 915, παρὰ τὸ φρυκτὸς in 1161, and ἀγείον in 1764, are interpretations superior to those found in the older MSS. and doubtless correctly report a better tradition. The note on 968 confirms Dindorf's conjecture. In 43 there is a definite alternation of explanations that is only implied in VR. In 363 the amplification in expression makes the thought clearer. In the note on 361 the editor shows at least that he has the courage of his convictions. The same authoritative tone is found in the note on 835, where the doubt expressed in VR is rejected. The same positiveness leads to a statement about Theagenes in 822 that it would be difficult to establish. Finally, the note on 1284 is a clever imitation of the note to be found in VR on 1281, which reads: τῆς τῶν λακῶνων ἥρων πολιτείας. Cf. the note on 1455, which applies to the explanation of the processes employed in the first suit, the learning recorded by VR on 1459 in regard to the second.

It is now apparent that the notes on the *Aves* found in U depart from the traditional text preserved in V and R. They differ also from the text preserved in the other MSS. of the *Aves*, and hold a position, in the history of the ancient commentary on this play, that is unique. In order to illustrate this important point, I give in what follows the notes found in U<sup>2</sup> on fol. 183' (see the facsimile of this page, prefixed to this article) and the variants in V, R, Γ, Es, and the Princeps.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Mr. Rutherford's note on 426, I, p. 452.

<sup>2</sup> The text of the notes in U is here printed in black-faced types.

<sup>3</sup> In quoting, I give the spelling, accentuation, and punctuation of the first manuscript named, in each case, V taking precedence.

## TEXT OF THE NOTES IN U ON 795-858, WITH VARIANTS

796<sup>1</sup> βινήσας) et sup. συνουσιάσας βινῶ, συνουσιάσῳ<sup>2</sup>

Om. MSS. Pr.

798 πυτιναῖα μόνον ἔχων πτερὰ) τῆς πυτίνης ἔχων κρεμάμενα ἱματάρια τῷ τραχήλῳ | ἢ δὲ πυτίνη πλέγμα ἐστὶ

τὰ παρὰ (περὶ Pr.) τραχήλῳ (τῷ τραχήλῳ R Γ M Es Pr.) τῆς πυτίνης κρεμάμενα αἵμαντάρια (αἵμαντήρια R) ἐκατέρωθεν πτερα καλεῖσθαι MSS. Pr.

ὄρνειον μικρὸν ἢ πυτίνη δὲ πλεγμα ἐστὶν V Γ Es Om. M Pr. ὄρνειον μικρὸν ἢ πυτίνη R

799 ἡρέθη) προεκρίθη

Om. V R M Es Pr.

803 Ext. sig. sup. ὠκυπτέροις] τῶν πτερῶν τὰ μὲν καλεῖται πτῖλα· τὰ δὲ, πτερὰ, τὰ δὲ ὠκύπτερα

ἐπὶ τῶν πτερῶν κτέ. M.

805 χηνὶ . . .) εὐτελῶς γεγραμμένῳ χηνὶ

χηνὶ om. M

808 τὰδ' οὐχ' . . .) ἤγουν ὁ χὴν καὶ ὁ κοψίχος

Om. MSS. Pr.

810 Ext. post v.] παράδοξον ὁ οὐκ ὠνόμασται ποτὲ | τοῖς ὄρνισι

816 χαμεύνη) τῇ εὐτελεῖ

Om. V R M ἢ δὲ χαμεύνη εὐτελής ἐστὶν Γ Es Pr.

816 κειρίαν ἔχων) εἶπω τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα

οὐδ' ἂν τὴν χαμεύνην ὀνομάσαιμι σπάρτην MSS. Pr.

822 θεαγένους) ἐκ πενίας πλούσιος ἐγεγόνει

προεῖρηται (προεῖρηκεν Pr.) ὅτι πένης οὗτος· ἔλεγε δὲ ἑαυτὸν (αὐτὸν M Pr.) πλούσιον MSS. Pr.

823 ἅπαντα) εἰσι

Om. MSS. Pr.

823 καὶ λῶστον . . .) πιστεύειν αὐτὸ ἢ εἰς το

βέλτιον φησι πιστεύειν τὰ χρήματα (τὰ χρήματα πιστεύειν Γ) τούτων ἐν νεφελοκοκκυγία ἀποκείσθαι ἢ εἰς τὸ φλέγρας πεδῖον MSS. Pr.

<sup>1</sup> Verses 795, 796 occur, with notes, both at the bottom of fol. 182'' and at the top of fol. 183'.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 69, note 2.



- 824 τὸ φλέγρας πεδίον) ἔστι πεδίον τῆς θράκης  
 Om. M ἔστι δὲ τῆς θρα V . . . τῆς θράκης πεδίον R ἔστι δὲ  
 (τῆς add. Es Pr.) θράκης πεδίον Γ Es Pr.
- 825 καθυπερηκόντισαν) δέον εἰπεῖν κατεπολέμησαν  
 εἰπεῖν om. V Γ M Es Pr.
- 826 λιπαρόν) λαμπρόν  
 Om. MSS. Pr.
- 827 πολιοῦχος) φύλαξ  
 Om. MSS. Pr.
- 827 τῶ ξανοῦμεν) ὡς οἱ ἀθηναῖοι  
 Om. MSS. Pr.
- 828 πολιάδα) φυλάκτριαν  
 Om. MSS. Pr.
- 831 κλεισθένης) οὔτος ὡς γυναικώδης κωμωδεῖται  
 Om. Es Pr. ὡς γυναικώδης οὔτος κωμωδεῖται VM οὔτος διεβάλ-  
 λετο ὡς γυναικώδης R
- 832 καθέξει) φυλάξει  
 Om. MSS. Pr.
- 832 Ext. post v.] εἰς τὰς ἀθήνας τείχος πελαργικὸν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει  
 ἀθήνησι τὸ πελαργικὸν τείχος (ἦν add. M) ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει (ἐν τῇ  
 ἀκροπόλει om. R) MSS. Pr.
- 835 ὦ νεοττὲ . . .) παίζει πρὸς τινὰ παῖδα νεοττὸν καλούμενον  
 Om. R M ἴσως δὲ τις (τισι Γ Es Pr.) ἦν (om. Γ Es Pr.) καλὸς  
 παῖς νεοττὸς τοῦνομα πρὸς ὃν παίζει V Γ Es Pr.
- 836 Ext. sig. sup. οἰκείν] καὶ τοῦτο παίζει ἐπεὶ τραχὺ τὸ πελαργικὸν καὶ  
 πετρῶδες  
 Om. R. τὸ γὰρ (γὰρ om. Γ Es Pr.) πελαργικὸν καὶ αὐτὸ τραχὺ (τὸ  
 γὰρ . . . τραχὺ om. M) ἀλλὰ δια τι ἐπιτήδειος ἐπὶ πετρῶν οικεῖν (ἐπὶ  
 πετρῶν οικεῖν post ἐστὶ M) εἴπερ ἀλεκτρυῶν ἐστὶ κτέ. V Γ M Es Pr.
- 839 Int. ante v.] κυρίως δὲ ὀργάσαι τὸ πισσῶσαι  
 δὲ ὀργάσαι τὸ om. V R Γ Es Pr. δὲ ὀργάσαι om. M
- 839 ἀποδὺς) ἐκδυθεῖς  
 Om. MSS. Pr.
- 839 ὄργασον) μάλαξον  
 Om. R
- 842 Ext. post v.] οἱ τοὺς φύλακας γὰρ περισκοποῦντες, κώδωνας ἐφόρου  
 οἱ περίπολοι οἱ (οἱ om. R Es Pr.) τὰς φυλακὰς περισκοποῦντες ἐρχό-

μενοι ἐπι τοὺς φύλακας κώδωνας εἶχον και τοῦτον (τουτ R τούτοις M διὰ τοῦτον Γ corr. Es Pr.) ἐψόφουν MSS. Pr.

844 Ext. sig. sup. ἕτερον] ἐπεὶ μεταξύ γῆς και οὐρανοῦ ἐστὶν ὁ ἀήρ ἐστὶν om. Γ M Es Pr.

846 οἴμωζε) ἀντι τοῦ κοπία

Om. MSS. Pr.

846 οἶ) και ὄπου

Om. V R M Es Pr. και om. Γ

849 ἱερέα . . .) πομπεύσοντα τὴν ἠσθυσίαν

Om. V M Pr. τὴν ἠσθυσίαν om. R Γ Es

850 αἵρεσθε) ἐπαίρετε

Om. MSS. Pr.

851 ὁμορροθῶ) συγκατανεύσω

Om. MSS. Pr.

852 συμπαραινέσας ἔχω) συναινῶ συγκατατιθεῖς

Om. MSS. Pr.

853 Ext. sig. sup. προσόδια] οὕτω γὰρ ἔλεγον τὰς προσαγομένας τοῖς θεοῖς πομπὰς

οὕτω δὲ (δὲ om. R M) ἔλεγον τὰς προαγομένας τοῖς θεοῖς πομπὰς (θυσίας Γ corr. Es Pr.) MSS. Pr.

855 προσέτι) σὺν

Om. MSS. Pr.

857 πυθιάς βοὰ) ἤγουν ἀλητῆς ἠῦλον γὰρ ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις

Om. M. χοαὶ (βοᾶ ὁ R) ἀλητῆς εἴρηται δὲ και (? ᾗς G pro δὲ και habet ὅτι R ὅτι και Γ Es Pr.) ἐπι ταῖς θυσίαις ἠῦλον V R Γ Es Pr.

858 συναδέτω . . .) ὡς αὐτομάτως ἐπιόντος αὐτοῦ ταῖς εὐωχίαις, παίζει αὐτὸν

παίζει αὐτὸν om. MSS. Pr.

It appears from the investigation set forth in this paper that *the notes in U on the Aves must be used with great caution in restoring the text of the Old Scholia on this play.*

## THE ORIGIN OF SUBJUNCTIVE AND OPTATIVE CONDITIONS IN GREEK AND LATIN

BY WM. GARDNER HALE

THE Subjunctive and Optative Conditions in Greek, and the Subjunctive Conditions in Latin, do not immediately betray their origins. There is, outside of themselves, no one recognized kind of modal use to which they can successfully be referred. An illustration of the difficulty may be taken from Schmalz, who in the *Stolz-Schmalz Lat. Gramm.*<sup>3</sup>, § 205, Anm. 2, assigns the Latin Subjunctive of Condition to the Optative Subjunctive, citing in illustration *Cic. Off.* 3, 75, *dares hanc vim Crasso: in foro, mihi crede, saltaret*. This explanation would find it hard to reckon with the fact that the negative of the Condition is *non*, not *ne*. Further, I should not regard the feeling of this particular example as that of a wish, nor as easily derivable from that of a wish. This latter feeling exists clearly in the example from *Ov. Her.* 10, 77, given below (p. 119). The palpable difference between the two examples suggests that so simple an origin as the one given by Schmalz is probably not sufficient.

This explanation doubtless goes back, historically, to Lange's well-known theory that the Greek Optative Condition arose in a true Optative of Wish.<sup>1</sup> But the same general objection holds against Lange's view. It is unlikely that the true Optative alone should lead the way to a usage in which the feeling of wish is so seldom traceable, or even reasonably conceivable, as in the Greek Optative Condition.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the treatment, though at that time a suggestive and illuminating one, is faulty in method, in that it pays no attention to the parallel construction of the Subjunctive. Elements of importance are pretty sure to be overlooked where but one phenomenon out of a pair, or group, of apparently similar phenomena is treated.

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<sup>1</sup> *Abhandl. d. K. S. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch.* XVI, published in 1873.

<sup>2</sup> Goodwin's criticism of Lange's view on this score seems entirely just. See *Moods and Tenses*, Appendix, pp. 377 seq.

Greenough, *Lat. Gramm.*, revised and enlarged ed., p. 320, regards "all the uses of the Subjunctive with protasis" as arising from the conception of "a mild command." Beside the difficulty presented by the fact that the negative of the Latin Condition is *non*, not *ne*, the same general objection holds against Greenough's view as against Lange's; though, if I were obliged to choose between the two, I should prefer Greenough's starting-point of an original mild command to Lange's of an original wish. Greenough's theory, too, pays no attention to the phenomena in Greek. If one sets out with a conviction that comparative study is not a whit less important in Syntax than in Formenlehre,<sup>1</sup> then, in weighing an hypothesis that mild command is the original feeling of the Latin Subjunctive Condition, one would find reason to pause before the phenomenon of the regular presence of *ἄν* in Attic Greek in the Subjunctive Condition, and the occasional presence of *ἄν* or *κε* in the Optative Condition in Homeric Greek. Certainly, the Subjunctive with these particles, as we find it in independent use in Homer, does not express a command. And certainly, too, the use of the Optative with *ἄν* in which it may be said to express a mild command (Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, § 237) has every appearance of being a secondary and late construction.

Delbrück, *Synt. Forsch.* I, p. 175 seq., treats the Subjunctive of the More Vivid Future Condition in Greek<sup>2</sup> as that of "der futurischen Erwartung," or, as I like better to call it (see p. 113 below), the Anticipatory (or Prospective) Subjunctive, — a meaning derived, in his scheme, from the original one of Will.<sup>3</sup> This is an attractive explanation, since the idea of futurity is always, of necessity, a *part* of the idea of the construction. But, once again, the actual history of the clause is probably not so simple as this; for such an origin would, on the one

<sup>1</sup> An obvious truth, the neglect of which by all but a few workers in the present generation will seem inexplicable to the coming one.

<sup>2</sup> As I have elsewhere said, the terms "more vivid future condition" and "less vivid future condition" are now in such general use that one easily forgets that they are of comparatively recent origin, and that we owe them to Goodwin.

<sup>3</sup> I do not understand, as several have done, that Delbrück has abandoned his earlier view that the Subjunctive originally expressed Will and the Optative Wish, but only that, while still leaning to this view as more promising than its rival, he feels not wholly satisfied with his explanation of the ways in which the passage to the later meanings of the two moods took place.

hand, not account for the frequent Homeric Subjunctive Condition without  $\alpha\upsilon$  or  $\kappa\epsilon$ , and, on the other, would demand a negative  $\omicron\upsilon$ , not a negative  $\mu\eta$ . Other objections will appear below.

The Optative Condition is founded, in Delbrück's conception, upon one of the derived "weakened" uses of the mood. But this theory would not, of itself alone, account for the use of  $\mu\eta$  in the Optative Condition, nor for the fact that, while  $\alpha\upsilon$  or  $\kappa\epsilon$  is almost universally found in independent "weakened" Optatives, these particles are found comparatively rarely in Optative Conditions.

Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses, Appendix*, derives the Subjunctive Condition in Greek from the "simple future meaning" of the mood (which, as is well known, he regards as the original meaning), and the Optative Condition from the corresponding original force of the Optative. To meet this view in detail would require a long discussion of the vexed question of the original meanings of the Subjunctive and Optative, and an exposition of the reasons why I find myself of the opposite opinion from Goodwin. It must suffice here to say that the objections expressed above to Delbrück's treatment as not explaining the use or non-use of  $\alpha\upsilon$  or  $\kappa\epsilon$  apply equally to Goodwin's view. So also does the argument from the negative. If, as Goodwin says (p. 373), "we cannot derive  $\omicron\kappa$   $\dot{\iota}\delta\omega\mu\alpha\iota$ , *I shall not see*, from  $\mu\eta$   $\dot{\iota}\delta\omega\mu\alpha\iota$ , *let me not see*," no more, certainly, could we derive  $\epsilon\grave{\alpha}\nu$   $\mu\eta$   $\dot{\iota}\delta\omega\mu\alpha\iota$ , *if I shall not see*, from an original  $\omicron\kappa$   $\dot{\iota}\delta\omega\mu\alpha\iota$ .

Probably on account of the difficulty of finding a force of the Latin Subjunctive, or forces of the Greek Subjunctive and Optative, which should yield a wholly satisfactory starting-point (the significant difficulties presented by the negatives and the use or non-use of  $\alpha\upsilon$  or  $\kappa\epsilon$  have apparently not forced themselves upon the attention), a solution is sometimes attempted through the assumption of the conditional force as a distinct one, existing *per se*. Thus Lattmann, *De Coniunctivo Latino*, assumes a "fictive" use of the Latin Subjunctive, the origin of which he finds in the "old Optative."<sup>1</sup> But I do not understand how one

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<sup>1</sup> Lattmann's general scheme for the forces of the Latin Subjunctive is easily accessible in Schmalz, *op. cit.* § 204, where it is given alongside of my own (for which see pp. 113, 114 below). It is as follows:

- |                      |                 |                           |
|----------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Alter Konjunktiv: | a) Potentialis, | $\delta$ ) Iussivus.      |
| 2. Alter Optativ:    | a) Fictivus,    | $\delta$ ) Conditionalis. |

who bears in mind the other languages of the Indo-European family can be willing to start upon a theory that would oblige him to set up *two* fictive moods for Sanskrit, Greek, etc., namely a fictive Subjunctive and a fictive Optative. Nor do I see how, in the light of Sanskrit, Greek, and the rest, Lattman can derive the Potential force in Latin from the "old Subjunctive," when in these other languages it is expressed, not by Subjunctive, but by Optative forms.

I have thus far purposely postponed speaking of Brugmann's view. Brugmann, in the first edition of his *Griech. Gramm.* (1885), § 166, says: "Dass die Bedingungssätze mit  $\epsilon\iota$ ,  $\alpha\iota$ , zum grossen Teil auf Wunschsätzen beruhen, ist sicher (Lange). Aber nicht zu beweisen und mir nicht wahrscheinlich ist, dass die  $\epsilon\iota$ -Sätze mit dem Potentialis (z. B. E 273  $\epsilon\iota$  τούτω κε λάβοιμεν) erst durch eine Umdeutung des Wunschoptativs zu ihrem pot. Sinn gekommen waren. Über den Gebrauch des Potentialis in diesen Nebensätzen wird sich nicht eher etwas definitives aussagen lassen, als bis die Herkunft und ursprüngliche Funktion von  $\alpha\iota$  und  $\epsilon\iota$  zugleich klar gestellt sind." This statement indirectly suggests a double origin for the Optative Condition, though the question is not taken up in detail. It stands unchanged in the second edition (1890). In the third edition (1900) the explicit statement is made that, while the Optative Condition rests in large part upon the Optative of Wish, the Potential Optative was also a factor. To the extent to which Brugmann's theory has gone, mine nearly corresponds; and it may well have been his indirect suggestion in 1885 that started me upon my speculations. But my theory goes further, and, if I do not misjudge it, accounts for the Subjunctive Condition in Greek (in Brugmann, as in Delbrück, merely "der futurische Konjunktiv"), the Subjunctive Condition in Latin, the behavior of  $\alpha\iota\nu$  and of the negatives in the Greek Optative and Subjunctive Conditions, and the presence of  $\mu\eta$  in the Indicative Condition,—subjects upon which, with the exception of what seems an insufficient treatment of  $\alpha\iota\nu$  in the Optative Condition, Brugmann does not touch. I venture, then, to think that the larger part of the problem, both for Latin and for Greek, remains to be solved.

In my *Anticipatory Subjunctive in Greek and Latin*,<sup>1</sup> pp. 7 and 8,

<sup>1</sup> In the *University of Chicago Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. I, 1895; published also as a preprint in 1894.

I gave a statement of the general scheme of classification which I had employed in my Syllabus and my teaching at Cornell and in Chicago, and to which I believed that all workers in the syntax of the Greek or Latin finite verb must ultimately come. I there said: "The larger part of the treatment of the syntax of the two moods in Greek and Latin would fall under the following heads,<sup>1</sup> each constituting the title of a chapter in the treatment:

1. The Volitive Subjunctive.
2. The Anticipatory Subjunctive.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The nomenclature used in the first five members of the table perhaps no longer needs explanation, since it has been made familiar, even in the schools, through the writings of my successor at Cornell, Professor Bennett (who in his *Grammar*, 1895, in effect adopted the general scheme of division which I had used in my teaching and my Syllabus at Cornell, and who has since been followed in part by Professor Harkness, *Complete Latin Grammar*, 1898), and also through various papers by Professor Elmer of Cornell. The term Optative was already in universal use, but with too broad a meaning, including (without differentiation on the part of grammarians) the ideas both of Possibility and of Ideal Certainty. Professor Bennett accepted the obvious distinction which I had made, though devising, in place of my term Subjunctive of Ideal Certainty, the term Subjunctive of Contingent Futurity (a term which to my mind is defective, in that it applies as well to Conclusions in the Future or Future Perfect Indicative as to Subjunctive Conclusions). The conception involved in the phrase Anticipatory Subjunctive was likewise adopted by Professor Bennett, in his statements of usage with *antequam* and *priusquam*, *dum*, *donec*, and *quoad* ("take the Subjunctive to denote an act as anticipated;" § 292), though he does not give it the place that it should have in a general exhibit of families (his general divisions for the independent uses being the Volitive Subjunctive, the Optative Subjunctive, and the Potential Subjunctive; while for the dependent uses he has no scheme). The term Volitive was, by consent readily given, adopted by him throughout, and, later, was employed also by Harkness. This term, which was intended to express more conveniently the idea of Delbrück's "Subjunctive of the Will," did not exist in English (S. Reinach, *Manuel de Philologie Classique*, had used or coined a corresponding French word, but only in the narrower sense of "jussive," covering merely commands or prohibitions), and was founded on no existing Latin word, but seemed to me more attractive than Brugmann's "voluntativ," devised for the same purpose. It had the approval of my colleague, the Professor of Comparative Philology at Cornell, Professor (now President) B. I. Wheeler, and has since been adopted by Delbrück himself, and is used by Brugmann as an alternative for his own word "voluntativ."

<sup>2</sup> The recognition of the existence of an occasional use of the Greek Subjunctive in a sense approaching that of the Future Indicative goes back as far as Gottfried

3. The (true) Optative.
4. The Potential Optative.
5. The Optative of Ideal Certainty.

To these five chapters would be added others upon :

6. Constructions resulting from a fusion of similar uses of differing modal origin ; and
7. Constructions resulting from the influence of a set or sets of modal uses upon some other modal use."

The Optative Conclusion in Greek, and the Subjunctive Conclusion in Latin (of Optative origin), are, of course, merely statements of an

Hermann, who, in his *De Particula ἄν* (1831; previously printed in *Diar. Class.* LXVIII–LXXII, 1826, 1827), p. 79, entitles a section "De coniunctivo pro futuro," and correctly explains the force of independent examples like π 437: οὐκ ἔσθ' οὗτος ἀνὴρ οὐδ' ἔσσεται οὐδὲ γένηται, and Z 459: καὶ ποτέ τις εἴπησι. Hermann, however, has no clear grasp of the meaning and importance of the phenomenon, and consequently completely fails in the interpretation of dependent clauses containing such Subjunctives. Space is lacking here for the description of details. Hermann is at fault, too, in conceiving the fundamental force of the Subjunctive to have been that of dependence, even where no dependence is apparent to the eye, as in *λω*, *shall I go*, which he takes to stand for ἀμφισβητῶ εἰ *λω*. The Volitive power of the Subjunctive seems to have escaped him, though this was obvious enough in prohibitions, and was in effect recognized in the description of them in the school grammars. The syntactical treatment of the verb was not much further advanced than this when Delbrück, in his *Conjunktiv u. Optativ im Sanskr. u. Griech.*, *Synt. Forsch.*, I, 1871, created a new conception and method. He recognized that all the uses of the Greek and Sanskrit Subjunctive, whether independent or dependent, and in whatsoever person, could with probability be brought under the two heads of the Subjunctive of Will and the Subjunctive of Futurity, and that one of these forces was probably ultimately derived from the other; and he treated *all* the constructions of the Subjunctive from this point of view, in an orderly sequence. His treatment of the details of the Optative, under the two heads (only) of the true Optative and the Potential Optative, corresponded. Thus he presented the phenomena, for the first time, as constituting a living organism, in place of a mass of unrelated particulars. This work clearly established the science of comparative syntax, and determined, once and for all (to my mind), its general method and the general frame-work of the treatment of the moods, for all languages of the Indo-European family. Yet for thirty years, — in spite, too, of Brugmann's support of its main features, — it has remained almost without influence upon the school grammars, of whatever nationality.



Ideal Certainty, i. e. of something which, under imagined or imaginable circumstances, *would* happen, *would have* happened, etc. Upon this, under whatever terminology, all of course agree.

The Greek Subjunctive Condition or Assumption (as I like better to call it in addressing an audience not wedded to a terminology)<sup>1</sup> is due, in my conception, to a fusion of the Volitive Subjunctive and the Anticipatory Subjunctive,<sup>2</sup> and the Greek Optative Assumption to a fusion of the true Optative and the Potential Optative; while the Latin Subjunctive Assumption is due to a fusion of all four mood-classes.

Latin obscures its mental processes through the loss of the distinct mood-forms for the Subjunctive and the Optative. Greek, happily, keeps the distinction, and, moreover, through the use of the convenient little label  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  or  $\kappa\epsilon$ , subdivides the Subjunctive mood into what are practically two moods, and the Optative mood into what are practically two moods. The presence of  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  or  $\kappa\epsilon$  in a given Subjunctive con-

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<sup>1</sup> The word Assumption goes more directly to the heart of the matter. What one does in expressing a condition is precisely to *assume* something. Moreover, the verb "assume" can be conveniently used as a corresponding term, while the verb "condition" cannot. Thus one may say, for the Indicative Condition, "Assumption of Fact," "assuming so and so to be the fact," etc. The phrase "Condition of Fact" would be faulty, while the phrase "conditioning so and so to be the fact" would be impossible.

<sup>2</sup> Since I had obtained my first conception of the two main divisions of the Subjunctive proper from Delbrück's *Conjunktiv u. Optativ im Sanskrit u. Griechischen* (though this contained no word upon Latin), I could not, at first reading, detect anything but a remarkable generosity in the sentence in his *Vergleich. Synt.*, II, p. 368 (1897), "Ich beschränke mich also auf das Griechische (vgl. *S. F. I.*, 107 ff., Goodwin 97 ff.), wobei ich bemerke, dass ich jetzt mit Hale (vgl. namentlich W. G. Hale, *The Anticipatory Subjunctive in Greek and Latin*, . . .) den volitiven und prospektiven Konj. unterscheide." I had been supposing, on the contrary, that I, with Delbrück, now distinguished the Volitive and the Prospective Subjunctive. But upon rereading his earlier treatment in connection with my present subject, and the criticisms of his views in my *Anticipatory Subjunctive* and my *Origin and Later History of the Clause of Purpose in Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit*, *Proceedings of the American Philological Society*, XXXIII (1892), I find, — and this is doubtless what he meant, — that he has carried the distinction less stringently through the whole range of Subjunctive constructions, with a resulting loss at a number of points. The key to the difficulties in the present problem, for example, lies, to my thinking, precisely in keeping in mind the possible presence, at any point, of *both* factors.

struction is a sure sign of the mental attitude of anticipation, expectancy, or something of the kind,—or at least of the influence upon the construction in question of some other construction which was, or had been, Anticipatory in meaning. The absence of  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  or  $\kappa\epsilon$ , on the other hand, proves nothing in any individual case, since the bare Subjunctive is frequently used with clear Anticipatory force. Where, however, large numbers of examples of a certain type are found without  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  or  $\kappa\epsilon$ , the conclusion is morally sure that the Volitive idea has been at least a factor in the origin of the construction. Similarly, the presence of  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  or  $\kappa\epsilon$  with a given Optative is a sure sign that it is not a true Optative, but expresses the Potential feeling, or that of Ideal Certainty, —or at least that it has come under the influence of a construction expressing one of these two ideas. On the other hand, the absence of  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  or  $\kappa\epsilon$  is not sure proof that the construction in question is of true Optative meaning.<sup>1</sup> Where, however, an Optative construction of a given type appears in large quantity without  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  or  $\kappa\epsilon$ , it is clear that the true Optative feeling has been at least a factor in the rise of the construction.

In Homeric Greek the Subjunctive Assumption is found both with and without  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  or  $\kappa\epsilon$ . So far as I know, statistics have not yet been furnished by any one with regard to the two uses. In the press of other work I have not yet found time to make them. It is clear, however, that there are so many cases of the Subjunctive without either of these particles, that a Volitive factor must be accepted as certain.

The paratactic Volitive Assumption would, in its earliest use, be the expression of something which the speaker actually wanted (willed) to bring about. Secondarily, however, it would easily gain the force of a pure command of the *fancy*, a *postulate* of the imagination.<sup>2</sup> This is the force, by the way, of the example *dares*, etc. (see p. 109 above),

<sup>1</sup> See, e. g., Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, §§ 240–242; Gerth-Kühner, *Ausführl. Gramm. d. Griech. Sprache*, II, § 395, and my ‘Extended’ and ‘Remote’ *Deliberatives in Greek*, *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, XXIV (1893), p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> This force is still more clearly seen in the General Assumption in Greek, or in the so-called Comparative Clause, the original feeling of which Delbrück (*Synt. Forsch.*, I, p. 44) thus characterizes: “Für alle diese Gleichnisse aber ist das charakteristisch, dass der Hörer aufgefordert wird, dem Bilde einen Zug kraft seiner Phantasie beizulegen.”

used by Schmalz, and called by him Optative. In point of fact, the nature of the Optative seems to me to make the development of such a meaning difficult and improbable. Further, in Greek, where the differentiation of form is clear, I find no Optatives that seem to have it. Wherever a paratactic Optative expresses an Assumption, the feeling is that of a true wish, not of a colorless supposition (see also p. 122 below).

Against the theory that the Volitive Subjunctive is a factor, no objection can be brought upon the score that the independent Volitive is not found in Greek in positive sentences, except in perhaps three, or possibly four, examples. It is clear, from the general state of things in the Indo-European family of languages, that the independent Volitive had a free use in the parent speech. Moreover, the very large use which Greek itself makes of the Volitive in dependent sentences is evidence of a free employment of it in independent sentences at an earlier period of the language. And again, the complete reasonableness and naturalness of a Volitive type of Assumption is vouched for by the actual use of the Greek *Imperative* in Assumptions, a mood which, so to speak, out-volitives the Volitive itself. The two factors of the Subjunctive Assumption may therefore be represented, one as it were by proxy, the other in person, in the following paratactic examples.

#### FACTORS OF THE GREEK SUBJUNCTIVE ASSUMPTION

##### (I. *Imperative type, essentially like the lost Volitive type* :

Soph. *Antig.* 1168 :

Πλούτει τε γὰρ κατ' οἶκον, εἰ βούλει, μέγα  
καὶ ζῆ τυράννον σχῆμ' ἔχων· εἰ δ' ἀπῆ  
τούτων τὸ χαίρειν, τᾶλλ' ἐγὼ καπνοῦ σκιᾶς  
οὐκ ἂν πριαίμην ἀνδρὶ πρὸς τὴν ἡδονήν,

'be rich, if you will, within your house and live in tyrant's state: yet if happiness be lacking to all this, I would not give the shadow of smoke for all the rest, compared with pleasure.')

##### II. *Anticipatory type* :

I, 701: ἀλλ' ἦ τοι κείνον μὲν ἐάσομεν, ἢ κεν ἴησιν ἢ κε μένη,  
'yet will we suffer him, he shall go or he shall stay' (= whether he shall go or whether he shall stay).

The two factors of the Greek Optative Assumption can likewise be exhibited in paratactic form, as follows :

FACTORS OF THE GREEK OPTATIVE ASSUMPTION

I. *True Optative type :*

δ 345 : τοῖος ἔων μνηστήρσιν ὁμλήσειεν Ὀδυσσεύς·

πάντες κ' ὠκύμοροί τε γενοίατο πικρόγαμοί τε,

'would that Odysseus, with such strength as then he had, might meet the suitors ! then would they have short shrift, and bitter wedlock.'

II. *Potential type :*

X 252 : νῦν αὐτέ με θυμὸς ἀνήκεν

στήμεναι ἀντία σείο· ἔλοιμί κεν ἢ κεν ἀλοίην,

'now on the contrary my heart bids me stand against you : I may slay, or I may be slain' (= whether I slay, or be slain).

Σ 306 : οὐ μιν ἐγὼ γε

φεύξομαι ἐκ πολέμοιο δυσηχέος, ἀλλὰ μάλ' ἄντην

στήσομαι, ἢ κε φέρησι μέγα κράτος, ἢ κε φεροίμην,

'I at least will not flee from him out of dread-roaring war, but will stand full against him : he shall win great victory, or I may win it for myself' (= whether he shall . . . , or I may . . .).

Another Potential example helps to show how easily the interrogative form, as well as the declarative, would lend itself to the expression of a paratactic Assumption.

Γ 52 : οὐκ ἂν δὴ μείνειας ἀρρήφιλον Μενέλαον ;

γνοίης χ', οἷον φωτὸς ἔχεις θαλερὴν παράκοιτιν,

'could you not await Menelaus, dear to Ares? You would learn what sort of man he is whose lovely wife you possess' (= you might await him : in that case you would learn).

FACTORS OF THE LATIN SUBJUNCTIVE ASSUMPTION

Of the four factors of the Latin Subjunctive Assumption, two may be illustrated by actual paratactic examples, as follows :

I. *Volitive :*

Verr. 2, 10, 56 : *veniat nunc, experiatur : tecto recipiet nemo*, 'let him come and try it : nobody will admit him to his house.'

II. *Optative* :

Ov. *Her.* 10, 77 :

*me quoque, qua fratrem, mactasses, improbe, clava!  
essel, quam dederas, morte soluta fides,*

‘would that you had killed me, wretch, with the same club with which you killed my brother! The promise you gave me before would then have been dissolved by death.’

Of the Anticipatory type, no example remains. The independent use of the Anticipatory Subjunctive had disappeared from Latin before the rise of the literature, just as, though still surviving in the times of the Homeric poems, it had disappeared in Greek before the times of the Attic literature. When it existed in Latin, it must have been capable of being used in a paratactic Assumption, just as we find it to have been in Homeric Greek. The lost type may be illustrated by an example manufactured upon the model of the first one given above.

III. \**Anticipatory* :

*veniat nunc, experiatur : tecto recipiet nemo*, ‘he will come (so I anticipate) : in that case no one will receive him.’

Of the paratactic Potential type, I know no example to which a possible objection could not be brought. The independent use of the Potential survives in Latin in a few types only.<sup>1</sup> One of these, however, namely the Subjunctive with *forsitan*, though undoubtedly of dependent origin, probably was felt by the Romans of literary times as independent ; for after the sentence *fors sit*<sup>2</sup> *an*, ‘there might be a

<sup>1</sup> Professor Elmer, *Cornell Studies in Classical Philology*, VI, has endeavored to prove that an independent Potential does not exist in Latin. Answers have been made by Professor Bennett, in Vol. IX of the same *Studies*, and by the present writer in the paper *Is there still a Latin Potential?* in *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, XXXI (1900).

<sup>2</sup> The *sit* of this phrase was itself Potential (just as *fuat* is in *fors fuat an*), and the Subjunctive of the dependent clause was likewise Potential. The paratactic stage of the construction may be illustrated by “he may come: there may be a chance.” Mr. Elmer’s interpretation of such Subjunctives as expressing Ideal Certainty, — or, in the phrase which he prefers, Contingent Futurity, — forces the meaning, which is not *he would come : there would be a chance*.

Whatever one thinks, then, of the question of the dependence of the Subjunctives in clauses like the one above from Ovid, the sum total of *forsitan* plus such a Subjunctive is necessarily Potential.

chance whether,' had been compressed into a single word *forsitan*, this word must soon have been felt to be a mere adverb. The type may then be illustrated by the following :

IV. *Potential* :

Ov. *Her.* 7, 131 :

*forsitan et gravidam Didon, scelerate, relinquo : accedat fati  
matris miserabilis infans,*

'perhaps, too, base man, Dido may be left with child : (in that case) the hapless infant would share its mother's fate.'

The four types may more conveniently be exhibited by the use of the same verb-form in all. Asterisks, as above, indicate constructions no longer possible in Classical Latin.

Volitive : *veniat : recipiet nemo*, 'let him come : (in that case) no one will receive him.'

\*Anticipatory : *veniat : recipiet nemo*, 'he will come : (in that case) no one will receive him.'

Optative : *veniat : recipiat nemo*, 'I wish he might come : (in that case) no one would receive him.'

\*Potential : *veniat : recipiat nemo*, 'he may come : (in that case) no one would receive him.'

It remains to consider the fate of  $\alpha\nu$  or  $\kappa\epsilon$  in the Greek Assumptions, and the behavior of the negatives in the Assumptions in both languages.

Where two types exist side by side, with slight differentiation of outward form, it might well be a matter of chance which type, in the ultimate levelling, should triumph. It would not be surprising if  $\alpha\nu$  or  $\kappa\epsilon$  had been banished from the Subjunctive Assumption ; and, similarly, it would not have been surprising if  $\alpha\nu$  or  $\kappa\epsilon$  had become a fixed requirement of the Optative Assumption. The chances, however, are perhaps not quite evenly balanced in the latter case. The fact that the conclusion for the Optative regularly has  $\alpha\nu$  would seem enough to turn the scales in favor of the disappearance of  $\alpha\nu$  in the Assumption ; for in this way a clear and helpful difference is set up between the Assumption and the Conclusion. In the case of the Subjunctive Assumption with accompanying Indicative Conclusion, on the other hand, there

is no such state of affairs, and no such need of differentiation. It is not impossible, however, that the mere desire to differentiate this Assumption to the largest possible extent from its companion the Optative Assumption helped toward the spread of  $\alpha\nu$  throughout the whole of the fused construction. Another influence, too, may have been at work. In a large number of relative clauses the feeling is a true and unimpaired one of Anticipation, so that  $\alpha\nu$  was properly and necessarily present. Now there is, at the same time, a certain element of uncertainty in the future, which would give to the clauses in general the feeling of a more or less visible Assumption. The regular presence of  $\alpha\nu$  in such clauses may well have made it seem natural to use this particle in *all* Assumptions.

The negative for the Volitive Assumption must have been  $\mu\eta$ , and the negative for the Anticipatory Assumption must have been  $\omicron\upsilon$ . Similarly, the negative for the true Optative Assumption must have been  $\mu\eta$ , and the negative for the Potential Assumption must have been  $\omicron\upsilon$ . In each kind, then, there was, before the fusion, a contradiction of the negatives. A levelling to a uniform usage in the fused types was extremely probable, and we are not, therefore, surprised at the state of things which we find in Attic Greek. Neither should we have had reason to be surprised if precisely the opposite had taken place, and the negative for both types of the Assumption had been  $\omicron\upsilon$ . Indeed, the facts in Latin correspond exactly to this alternative possibility. For Latin, the negative for the Volitive and true Optative ideas was *ne*, for the Anticipatory and Potential ideas, *non*. In function, *non* corresponds to  $\omicron\upsilon$ . The state of things in Latin is thus precisely the opposite of the state of things in Greek. As regards the use of the negative in *Indicative* Assumptions, the two languages are again in direct contrast. The proper negative for the Indicative, which is the mood of Actuality, is  $\omicron\upsilon$  in Greek, and *non* in Latin. In Greek, through the influence of the Subjunctive and Optative Assumptions, after  $\mu\eta$  had been established as the negative for both, together with the influence of the General Assumption, which, as a command of the imagination, required  $\mu\eta$ , this negative came to be used in Indicative Assumptions as well, — i. e. in all Assumptions whatever. In Latin, on the other hand, the triumph of *non* in the fused Subjunctive type left the proper *non* of the Indicative Assumption undisturbed.

These considerations seem to offer a rational explanation of the existing usages with regard to mood, mood-particle, and negatives, in Assumptions in the two languages.

One question, however, still remains, and is not easy to answer: How far advanced was the fusion of the factors of the two constructions in Greek in the time of the Homeric poems? Was, for example, the type of the Optative construction without  $\alpha\upsilon$  or  $\kappa\epsilon$  still truly Optative in feeling, while the type with  $\alpha\upsilon$  or  $\kappa\epsilon$  was still truly Potential? I incline to think that, in point of meaning, the fusion had already gone beyond this stage, though, in point of form, there were still left the two original styles, either of which could be used. This conclusion is indicated partly by natural probability, in view of the advanced state of the language in Homeric times, and partly by the fact that, while the Volitive could easily yield a purely imaginative force, the true Optative seems by nature not adapted to do so (see above, p. 116 seq.), and in fact is found not to be employed at all, in the cases where its presence could be clearly detected. There is, for example, no Optative construction in Greek (after primary tenses) corresponding to the Subjunctive General Assumption in the Present, or to the Subjunctive Comparative Clause, in both of which the volitive-imaginative force of the Subjunctive is sure. I doubt much, therefore, that any true Optative feeling remained in the Homeric Optative Assumption without  $\alpha\upsilon$  or  $\kappa\epsilon$ . And, if this is the case, it probably is also the case that no true Potential feeling remained in the Homeric Optative Assumption *with*  $\alpha\upsilon$  or  $\kappa\epsilon$ .

In conclusion, I should like to add that, while the falling together of two or more case-constructions has been recognized, here and there, as a probable fact, far too little importance, in my opinion, has been attached to the part which this possibility of development has actually played in the development of language. I find many places, in the constructions alike of the moods and of the cases, where an easy key to what is otherwise a hopeless riddle seems to be presented by the hypothesis of fusion.

The conditions and the results of fusion (which have not yet, so far as I have noticed, been quite clearly stated in print) can be briefly described as follows:



*The conditions:* Two or more constructions of different (though of course frequently of secondary) origin must, in order to admit of fusion, (1) have substantially the same form, and (2) have a certain meaning in common.

*The results:* The fused construction resulting will have this common meaning, while the meanings belonging solely to one or another of the factors will, by the very fact of their difference and their mutual exclusiveness, be wholly lost.

Thus, in Latin, a construction expressing the Volitive idea plus that of Assumption, a construction expressing the Anticipatory idea plus that of Assumption, a construction expressing the Optative idea plus that of Assumption, and a construction expressing the Potential idea plus that of Assumption, will naturally, since they are all of the same form, and since they have a common meaning, become fused into a single construction, conveying that common meaning (namely Assumption), *and nothing else*. Or, to state the matter abstractly, constructions meaning  $a + x$ ,  $b + x$ ,  $c + x$ , etc., and having the same form, will naturally fuse into a construction meaning  $x$  alone.



UNPUBLISHED SCHOLIA FROM THE VATICANUS (C)  
OF TERENCE

BY MINTON WARREN

THE Harvard Library has had in its possession since 1893 a series of photographs of thirty-two pages of the Vaticanus 3868 of Terence, containing the end of the Hecyra and all of the Phormio. The miniatures before the separate scenes of the Phormio were published in 1894 by Professors Greenough and Morgan in connection with the text and an English translation of the play. I made a collation of the original ms. in Rome in 1897, but I did not have time then to copy the Scholia. The selection of Scholia given below is accordingly based upon an examination of the photographs. I have not included the Scholia already published by Schlee in his *Scholia Terentiana*, Leipzig, 1893, pp. 127-140, under the title of *Commentarius antiquior*, but in some cases I have taken occasion to correct his statements so as to show more clearly what is actually found in C. Whether the Scholia here added are found also in the other MSS. cited by Schlee, and whether they might also be attributed to Schlee's *Commentarius antiquior* I cannot state. For convenience of reference to Schlee and Donatus, I have cited the verses by Acts and Scenes. An asterisk after a verse-number indicates that Schlee gives something different, basing his reading doubtless upon other manuscripts. Where no difference is noted it may be assumed that the Scholia given by Schlee are found in the same form in C, except in those cases where he expressly attributes them to other manuscripts. The Scholia are often preceded by *s.* = *scilicet*, and *i.* or *i.* = *idest*, sometimes by *pro*.

Page 76 gives the heading of the Phormio and the Didascalia at the bottom of the page. Above is the end of the Hecyra, including the whole of Act V, Scene IV, without the Scene Heading which was on the previous page. The brief description of the scene at the top of the page, differing slightly in text from that given by Schlee, is as follows:

Parmenonem alloquitur Pamphilus de his quae mandaverat ei Bacchis.

*Hecyra*, V, 4

1 Over *Parmeno ó* to indicate that it is a vocative of address. This *ó* is also found over *Pamphile* 15 and 22, *Parmeno* 35 and 39, and is frequent throughout the *Phormio*. Similarly in 16 in *o Bacchis, o mea Bacchis*, the Scholiast has put an accent over both *o*'s. In 4 *sodes* has over it *ó*. This is wanting over *sodes* in 1, but is found over *sodes* in *Phorm.* I, 2, 53, V, 1, 14, and V, 8, 28. It shows that the Scholiast regarded *sodes* as a vocative = *socie*. Compare Schlee, p. 158, *Commentarius antiquior* to *Ad.* IV, 5, 9, *sodes*] *socie*. ut quidam volunt, *sodes* comicum verbum est habens sensum blandientis. The correct explanation is given by Donatus, *And.* I, 1, 58. Nevertheless, Froehde, *K. Z.* XII, 158, attempts to connect *sodes* with *sodalis*.

2\* no Schol. over *conicias*. 3 *visum est*] scil. mihi quod vera diceret. 4 *dum*] adhuc. 6 *factum*] scil. est. 12\* *ab orco*] ab inferno. *in lucem*] no Schol. 17\* *volupe*] omninosum (sic) et bono augurio. 18 *adeo*] certe. 25 *dic*] pro *dicis*. 26 *muttito*] muta esto. *itidem*] similiter. 27 *par*] dignum. 29 *qui*] quomodo. *qui* is frequently thus explained in the *Phorm.* *dabo*] *dicam*. 31 *fidem habuisse*] *credidisse*. 33 *ex te*] per te. *quod feci boni*] quod nunciavi. 35 *quo pacto*] quacumque lege. 38 *Parmenonem*] .i. me. *usus*] opus.

PHORMIO

*Didascalía*

*modos fecit*] modulavit, cf. *Didascalía* to *Eunuchus* (C G) as given by Umpfenbach. The Schol. given by Schlee is not found in C.

*Argumentum*

4\* *unice*] singulariter. 6 *moritur*] ipsa mater. *sola*] scil. remanet. 8 *cum amaret*] filius *Demiphonis*. *parasiti*] *Phormionis*. 9 *pater*] eius *Demipho* scil. *Antiphonis*. *fremere*\*] fremebant, indignabantur. *minas*] no Schol. in C. 10 *parasito*] *Phormioni*. 12 *uxorem*] filiam patris.

*Prologus*

1\* *vetus*] maledicus. 2 *studio*] componendi. 4 *antehac*] .i. hactenus. 5\* *tenui*] vili compositione. 7 *fugere*] fugientem. On margin

in front of the figure of the Prologus, Haec in quorundam fabulis continentur. 8 *orare*] persecutorem. 9 and 10 On the margin behind the figure of the Prologus, quomodo ipse in populo celebris non propter se sed propter suum recitatorem extiterit. 10 *actoris*] recitatoris sui. 13\* *laccessisset*] provocasset novum. 16 *in medio*] cf. Schlee. This Schol. is on the margin. C has *adituperentur* for *an v.* 18\* *ad famem*] *ad otium carminis.* *ab studio*] no Schol. *reicere*] no Schol. 24 *animum advertite*] *animadvertite*, cf. Eugraphius and *And.* Prol. 8. 30 *adeste*] *pro adestote.* 32 *grex*] *multitudo populi.* *loco*] a. 34\* *bonitas*] no Schol.

I, 1

In description of Scene C has *nunc*, Schlee *tunc*.

4 *id*] *pauillum.* *confeci*] *conflavi.* 7 *comparatum*] *collatum.* 10\* *defrudans genium*] no Schol. 12 *partum*] *scil. sit.* 15 *initia-bunt*] *initia pueri faciunt ubi consecrabunt illum diis.*

I, 2

1 *rufus*] ·i· *dicite quia ad illum ivi.* Notice use of *quia.* *praesto*\*] no Schol. 4 *habeo gratiam*] no Schol. 6\* *siquis quid*] ·i· *aliquid.* 9\* *sis*] *iocose.* 11 *verere*] *ris.* This correction of the 2d per. s. is frequent and shows that the form in *-re* had become obsolete, cf. *Neue Formenlehre*<sup>3</sup> III, p. 201 ff. *quid*] ·i· *in verbis.* 12\* *dico*] ·i· *auscultabo.* 14 *gnatum*] *scil. nosti?* 18\* *pellexit*] *suasit, deiecit.* *modo*] *tantummodo.* 19 *erat res*] *ut tanta promitteret.* *supererat*] *super habundabat illi.* 22 *provinciam*] *providentiam.* 23 *usus*] *per usum,* cf. var. lect. E G. 25\* *adversari*] *contradicere illis.* 26\* *scapulas*] cf. Schlee. *flagellant C.* 29 *scisti*] *bene scisti rem tuam providere.* 33\* *inpurissimo*] no Schol. 34 *daretur*] *meretricibus.* *curarant*] *dimiserant.* 35\* *oculos pascere*] *voluptatibus et ludis delectari illorum puerorum.* 37\* *operam dabamus*] *consentiebamus.* 38\* *exadvorsum*] no Schol. 39\* *tonstrina*] *locus ipse.* 42 *mirarier*] *coepimus.* 51 *commorat*] *pro commoverat,* cf. D<sup>2</sup> and Donatus and Eugraphius. 53\* *duc*] *pro ducedo.* 54 *diceres*] *eam pulchram esse et admirareris.* 60\* *satis scita*] *satis formosa est puella.* 61 *scin quam*] *scil. coepit amare,* cf. Donatus. *evadat*] ·i· *quo tendat res.* 62 *recta*] *pro recte.* 63\* *copiam*] no Schol. 65\* *bonis prognatam*] *parentibus (later hand) progenitam.* 66\* *lege*] *legē me (sic) cf. F var. lect.* 67 *nescire*] *pro*

*nesciebat*, cf. Donatus. The historical infinitive at this time had gone out of use, and the Scholiast in the Phormio frequently explains it by the imperfect, sometimes by the ellipsis of *coepi*, cf. Scholia on Argum. 8 and I, 2, 42. On the disappearance of the historical infinitive in late Latin see Wölfflin, *Archiv*, X, 186. 69 *non*] *nonne*. 75\* *orbac*] *puellae*. 77\* *scribam*] *eam*. *dicam*] *scil. etiam illud*. 81 *quod*] *quale*. 82\* *refelles*] *contradices*. *scilicet*] *te legibus*. 83 *quid mea*] *quid a (sic) te amplius pertinet*. 85 *ventum*] *scil. ad iudicium*. 89 *viri*] *fortis*. *officium*] *scil. ut aequum animum habeat*. 90 *mih*\*] no Schol. 92 *precor*] *scil. cum defuerit*. 93 *occidito*] *si volueris*. 94 *pedagogus*] *Phedria qui minabatur a te*, and on the right margin, *Pedagogus non solum qui minat sed etiam qui minatur sub custodia*. 96 *meram*] *puram*. 98\* *quo adexpectatis*] *quo usque*, cf. P. 100\* *ad portitores*] *ad custodes portus*. 102 *nemon*] *an nemo ex vobis alloquitur pueros*. *cape, da*] *scil. hoc argentum*.

## I, 3

1 *redisse*] *scil. contigit*. 3\* *incogitans*] *valde cogitans*. *par*] *dignum*. 7 *aegre*] *pati*. 8 *cura*] *timor et sollicitudo patris*. *angeret*\*] no Schol. 9 *consuetudinem*] *scil. habitandi cum illa*. 12 *certo*] *i. pro certo*, cf. E var. lect. *haec*] *amore plena*. 13 *ut*] *utinam*. 14 *depescisci*] *depasci, devastari*. *conicito*] no Schol. 18\* *qui*] no Schol. *istaec*] *i. metu patris*. 19 *cum eo lenone*] *cum tali tam duro cuius amicam amo*. *quo cum*] *cum quo*. 20 *nostri*] *incepti*. 21 *videre*] *ris*, see above on I, 2, 11, *verere*. 22 *de integro*] *ex toto*. 24\* *eius sit*] no Schol.

## I, 4

1 *nullus es*] *i. nihil vales*. *celer*] *velox*. 2 *inparatum*] *ad excusandum*. \**inpendent*] *imminent*. In the line interpolated after v. 4, *pessum dabunt*] *praecipitabunt*. 6\* no Schol. 7 *ad hanc rem*] *ad consilium reperiendum*. 10\* *mih*] no Schol. 12 *essem ultus*\*] no Schol. 13\* *convassassem*] *rapuissem*. 17 *es*] *pro esto*. 18 *satis pro imperio*] *satis faciam imperio tuo*. 19 *cedo*] *dic*. *expedi*\*] *manifesta*. 23 *Phantum*] *ó, above which is written nomen suae uxoris*. 24\* *expendenda*] no Schol. 25\* *advigilare*] no Schol. 26 *non sum apud me*] *prae timore*. *atqui*\*] no Schol. 28 *inmutarier*] *quin tristis sim*. 31\* *quin*] *imo*. *abeo*] *eo ad senem*. 32\* *adsimulabo*] *laetum me sic*.

34 *verbum*] scil. *serva*. 36 *coactum*] i. *dices te coactum lege ut illam acciperes*. 38 *adesse*] in praesentia illius. *quid agis\**] no Schol. 45 *aufer*] metum. *oportet*] agere pro fratre. 46 *meministin*] reducit ei ad memoriam quod olim cum patre egerat. *oratio*] locutio cum patre. 50 *callidiores*] scil. *ratione*.

II, 1

1 *iniussu meo*] sine iussione mea. For *iniussu* no late examples are given in the dictionaries. *Iussio* is post-classical and is found in glosses and inscriptions, see Olcott, *Studies in the Word-formation of the Latin Inscriptions*, p. 18. 2 *meum imperium*] meam potestatem, scil. *timuit*. 2 *mitto*] om (*mitto*). *simultatem*] iram, with D E. 5\* *GET*] *secum cura*] *ironicos*. 7 *scientem*] on the margin i. *intelligibiles annos habentem et scientem quod sine imperio patris non debuerat illam ducere*. *tacitum*] i. *non respondentem*. 10\* *inritatus*] no Schol. 12\* This verse is added in C at bottom of page and *aerumnam* has no gloss. 13\* *cogites*] no Schol. 15 *communiam*] omnibus hominibus, cf. Donatus. 25 *advenire*] scil. *gaudeo*, cf. Donatus. 26 *ex sententia*] *ex voto*. 29 *GET*] *secum*. *o artificem*] *laudat illum*. 30 *non suscenseam*] *non praeiudicem*. *gestio\**] no Schol. 36\* *in noxia*] no Schol. 37 *est*] scil. *absens*, cf. A var. lect. *tradunt operas mutuas*] *adiutoria mutua sibi impendunt in malum* (so Schlee), for *adiutorium* compare *Archiv*, X, 422 and Leeper, *Am. Jour. Phil.* XX, 171. 38 *GET*] *secum facta*] *astutias*. *depinxit*] *expressit*. 41 *ex qua re*] *propter quam culpam*. *rei*] i. *substantiae tuae*. *temperans*] *praeparans*. 46 and 47\* neither *diviti* nor *pauperi* has Schol. 48 *GET*] *secum*. 51\* *functus*] no Schol. 55 *hunc*] scil. *iuvenem talia dicentem*. 62\* *orare*] *loqui*. 68 *inopem*] *mulierem*. 69 *ratio*] scil. *defuit nobis*. 72\* *credere*] no Schol. 76 *istum volo*] *qui hoc suasit filio*. 78 *faxo*] *faciam*. 80 *Pamphilam*] *suam ibit*. 81 *salutatam*] *ibo*.

II, 2

The description of Scene given by Schlee ends with *loqui* in C.

1\* *admodum*] no Schol. 3\* *ad te*] i. *ad me*. *Phormio*] *ad me*. 4 *hoc*] *periculum*. *exedendum\**] no Schol. 5\* *si rogabit*] *interrogabit nos quid erit*. 9\* *derivem*] no Schol. 11\* *in nervum*] *in stuporem*. 12 *visa*] i. *videnda*. *via*] *eamus ergo ad illum*. 13\* *deverberasse*]

mea caliditate. 17 *qui nihil*] .i. ego qui pauper sum non incurram. 18 *illis fructus*] quibus tenditur rete. *opera*\*] labor. *ludatur*] quia non comeduntur. *aliis*] diversis hominibus. 19\* *abripsi*] abstrahi, abradi in margin C. 20\* *damnatum*] ad. 22 *beneficium*] victum, cf. Donatus. *reddere*] scil. mihi vel alicui nocenti. 23 *satis pro merito*] secundum quod dignum est. 25 *asymbolium*] ad convivium. 26\* *ille*] dives quilibet. 27\* *ringitur*] animo constringitur. 29\* *quid istuc?*] no Schol. 31\* *praesentem*] no Schol. 33 *postilla*] no Schol.

## II, 3

4\* *iam ego*] no Schol. *agitato*] no Schol. *pro deum*\*] exclamatio. 6\* no Schol. 10 *quia egens*] fecte loquebatur. 13 *accusatum*] ad causandum. 20 *quem*] qualem. *virum*] scil. dico. 21\* *videas te*, etc.] Scienter loquitur ita ut dominus suus audiret. C also has *scienter* with D G M. 25 *pergin*] perseveras. 26 *carcere*] scil. dignus es. 27\* *bonorum*] convitium in Phormionem. *contortor*] conturbator. 28\* no Schol. 33 *istum*] de quo audio. 35 *proinde*] ita, cf. Donatus. 39 PHO *perii*] secum. 40 *olim*] ad me. dum in via essemus. *subice*] insinua. 41 *temptatum*] ad temptandum venis. 42\* *Stilpho*] no Schol. *quid mea*] quid ad me pertinet Stilpho. 45 *horum*] verborum. 46 *talentum*] pro talentorum. *rem*\*] no Schol. *decem*] scil. nesses illum et memoriam eius. 47 *primus*] de prima progenie. 50 *itidem*] similiter. *face*] dic. 52 *expedivi*] perfecti. 54\* no Schol. 59 *hic*] in hac civitate. 61 *quam te audiam*] qui hortaris ad magistratus ire. 62 *ut*] quasi. 64 *suavis*] ironicos. 65 *quod ius*] quod lex publica poscit id est iustum iudicium. 66 *ubi*] postquam. 67\* *amittere*] no Schol. 71 *quidem*] lex praecipit. 75 *damnatus*] si aliquis est damnatus. 78\* *aut*] certe. 81 PHO] secum Getae dixit. 90 *abducere*] a domo mea. 91 *secus*] aliter. 92 *grandem*] colaphum. 93 *me*] scil. repetietis.

## II, 4

1 *adficit*] excrutiat (later hand). 5 *vise*] vide. 6 *eo*] pergo. *videtis*] o iudices. 9 *in rem tuam*] in tuam utilitatem. 12 *impetrabis*] apud iudices. 19 not as given by Schlee, *negant*] scil. famuli. 20 *redisse*] scil. Antiphonem. *frater*] scil. meus Chremes. 22 *quo ad*] quousque. 23 GET] secum.



III, 1

2 *abisse*] scil. debueras. 3 *animadversuros*] prosecutores. 4 *ut*] cumque. *consuleres*] provideres. 7\* *incusamus*] no Schol. 8 *defecimus*] scil. quam si adesses ego et Phormio. 10\* *subolet*] aliquid dolet mecum factum, cf. D E G var. lect. 11 *eniti*] laborare. *fecit novi*] quod alii non fecissent. 12 *strenuum*] fortem. *hominem*] se ipsum. 14 *ehēu*] no Schol. 16 *dum*] quousque. *quid*] scil. expectat. 20\* *palaestra*] i. contentione quam habuit cum p?? (several letters illegible).

III, 2

In the description C omits *triduum* — *argento*.

4 *maneas*] expectes. 5\* no Schol. 6\* *suat capiti*] insuat, idest ne aliquis fallaciam machinet. 7\* *hariolare*] -ris. *sin*] an si. 10 *experire*] probare. 11 *tu amicus* (*tu* after *amicus* added by C<sup>2</sup>)] scil. loco fratris eris. 14\* *incogitantem*] valde cogitantem. 16 *miseritum*] scil. a me Phaedriae. *veris*] verbis Dorionis. *uterque*] Antipho et Phaedria dum sibi condolent. 17\* no Schol. 20 *usus*] opus, cf. Donatus. 22 *a me amittam*] scil. a me uxorem. 24 *confecit*] peccavit ex hoc. 25\* *quid*] no Schol. 26 *emptam suo*] iterum vendere. Schol. given by Schlee not in C. 27 *illo*] cui vendidit. 29 *ne opertus sies*] ne expectes. 30\* *obtunde*] ebeta. *exoret*] ut te. 32 *verba*] no Schol. 33 *distrahi*] separari. *poterin*] an poteris. 34 *neque ego*] scil. curo de hoc. *tu*] curare debes. *duint*] dent. 35 *adversum*] no Schol. 37 *melioribus*] potentioribus ut illam ament. 38\* *commemini*] no Schol. 41\* *stercilinum*] convitium in Dorium (sic) antique pro sterquilinum. 42\* *sic sum*] talis sum. 45 *ac*] quam. 46 *ut ut*] utcumque. 48\* *potior*] apud me.

III, 3

Description omitted by C.

3 *promissum*] mihi argentum quod possem dare. 5 *experiamur*] i. ut non probemus. 8 *sapienti*] alicui. 10 *non triumpho*] no Schol. 11 *ni*] i. nisi. 12\* *Antipho*] no Schol. 13 *suscenset*] reprehendet (sic). 14\* *ne instigemus*] no Schol. 17 *contemplamini*] respectum solatii praebete. *facturus*] si duxerit. *cedo*] dic. 18 *quoquo*] ad quaslibet. 19\* *pedetemptim*] convertit se ad Getam. 20 *opis*] auxili.

*si quidquid*] scil. possum, faciam. 21 *faxit*] faciat Phaedria. 22 *salvus*] no Schol. *metuo*] a sene. 26\* *lepidum*] iucundissimum. *aufer te*] recede. 28\* *audacissime*] ó Geta. 32 *aeque*] ut istud. 33 *qua via*] qua ratione.

## IV, 1

3 *esse*] apud Athenas morari. 4 *non manebat*] non expectabat. 6 *ad me*] huc Athenas. 7 *commorabare*] -ris. 8 *unde*] processit ille morbus. *qui?*] scil. fuit morbus. 12 CHR] deest audivi. *me*, etc.] i. facit ut dubius sim consilii. 13 *hanc*] quam abeo de alia uxore. 15 *aeque*] sicut. 16 *sciebam*] scil. ideo dixi tibi. *ille*] quilibet. *ad finem*] propinquum. *volet*] in accipiendo filiam. 18\* *spreverit*] denudando meum facinus. *scito*] scientia. 23\* *defetiscar*] deficiam. 24 *effecero*] donec filio meo illam tradam.

## IV, 2

3 *feret*] diceret. 10\* *ulterior*] posterior qui post illum graditur. 12 *pro uno*] scil. sene. 13 *duplici spe utier*] scil. spem habere ambos senes decipi a me. 14 *petam*] scil. argentum a Demiphone. 15 *hospitem*] Chremetem modo advenientem.

## IV, 3

4 *Chremes*] scil. salve. 6 *advenienti*] noviter. Only a few instances of *noviter* are given in the Dictionaries. 7 CHR.] convertit se ad Demiphonem. 9 *commodum*] pro incommodum. 12 *remedium*] invenies. 13 *istam*] scil. phidicinam habeat in providentia. 16 *inter vos*] inter dominum meum et te. 20 *ut praecipitem*, etc.] ut a se illum reicerent. 21 ANT] secum. 24 *ea*] tam magna. 25 *pone*] scil. de (= deponere). *esse*] scil. opinionem. *victum*] scil. ab aliquo. 28 *soli sumus*] ego et tu Phormio. *eo*] pergo. 30\* *facessat*] removeat. 31 ANT] secum. *sunt propitii*\*] scil. qui talia loquitur. 36 ANT] secum. 38 *quantum*] scil. tantum postulat. 39\* *talentum magnum*] scil. postulare. *pudet*] scil. aliquem. 42 *petat*] scil. a parentibus quod mihi vult dare tantum ut educam. 49\* *opus erat*] scil. alia divitiis abundans. Below *opus erat* and above *debeo etiam*, etc., 51] i. si necesse erat mihi talem ducere quae mihi causa dotis afferret unde debitam meam (sic) persolverem, cf. Schlee. 56 *debet*] scil. dabunt ei

animam hominis. 57 *sunt*] oppositae fenori. 59 *ne clama*] ne recuses. 60 *tum*] adverbium est ordinis. *pluscula*] maiuscula. 61 *sumptu*] expensa. 63 *proinde*] ita ut scripsisti xxx. 64\* no Schol. 66 *illam*] filiam meam quam spero advenisse. 68 *mea causa*] propter meam filiam. *amittere*] i. minas persolvere. 69 *quantum*] verba Phormionis. 72\* *illis repudium*] qui ei aliam promittunt. 75 *Lemni*] apud Lemnum. 76 *sumam*] accipiam ab uxore.

IV, 4

Description of Scene omitted in C.

1\* *emunxi*] ypallage, id est emunxi argentum a senibus. 2 *iussus sum*] scil. a te quantum defero. 3 *verbero*] pro verberabo te. 4 *opera tua*] quae egisti modo cum patre meo. 5\* *ad restim*] i. ad impedimentum meum. 7\* *exemplis*] no Schol. *em*] no Schol. *velis*] ó quicumque es. 8 *recte*] yronice. 9 *utibile*] pro utile. *hoc ulcus*] hanc rationem. 10 *iniecta*] inmissa a te. 11 *extrudi*] separari a me. 15\* *in nervum*] in stuporem. 16 *quin male, etc.*] Hoc dicebat propter Antiphonem qui diversa oppinabatur et eligere posse argumentabatur. 17\* *excerpis*] vitas contemnis. 21 *paululum*] argenti Dorio lenoni. 22 *dabunt*] in opus nuptiale. 24 *quot*] multae. *postilla,\* etc.*] hoc dicet senibus, cogitasse tum posteaquam consensi ducere hanc. On the margin, Istis senibus haec verba superius dicta reddet Phormio, ut deludat tempus. 26 *decidit, etc.*] haec sunt quae mihi malum omen minantur. 27 *cecinit* and *interdixit*] no Schol. 28 *novi*] novelli. For novellus taking the place of novus in vulgar Latin, see *Archiv*, I, 11 and III, 27. 30 *vide*] respice, cf. Donatus.

IV, 5

1\* *duit*] det, id est ne verbis suis me decipiat quod est verba dare. 2\* *temere*] no Schol. 3\* *ut cautus*] admirantis, id est, quantum. 4 *admatura*] accelera, cf. Eugraphius. *libido*] voluptas accipiendi Phanium (sic) adhuc manet in Phormione. 5 *forsitan, etc.*] i. non accipiet Phanium. 7\* *hanc*] puellam Antiphonis atque persuadeat ut mulier ne exorrescat Phormionem. 8 *ne suscenseat*] ne praeiudicet. 10 *egressos*] transgressos. 11 *magni*] i. multum pertinet ad me. 12\* *non sat*] no Schol. *si non, etc.*] i. si non hoc ipsum cunctis prae-dices. 15 *rogabo*] Nausistratam ut conveniet illam. *cogito*] ignoro.

## V, 1

5 *nam quae*] no Schol. *a fratre*] hoc est a domo fratris mei, cf. Donatus. 6 *ut facerem*] ut traderem nuptu. *infirmas*] non est stabiles. 9 *quid agam*] interruptio. 10 *adeon*] an adeo illam. 14 *a foribus*] domus fratris. *istorsum*] in istam partem. \**sodes*] o, cf. note on Hec. V, 4, 1. 16 *est*] scil. ratio quare ita me vocabam. *metuis fores*] qui dixerat, auferte a foribus domus. 18 *eo*] ideo. *perperam\**] leviter. *dixi*] appellavi. 19\* *effutiretis*] diffamaretis. *aliqua*] aliquando. 29\* *conposito*] figmento. *habere posset*, etc.] ut non dotaret eam sicut alienigenam. 30\* *temere*] no Schol. 31\* *offendi*] repperi. 32 *quicum*] cum quo. *collocatam*] coniunctam. 37 *homines*] te adiuro.

## V, 2

## Description of Scene omitted in C.

1\* *nostrapie*] ex nostra ipsa. *expediat*] conveniat. 3 *ita*] scil. verum est. *fugias*] ne. *ne praeter casam\**] ne excedes mentem tuam. 4 *iniuriam*] scil. qui nobis nolentibus filio meo dedit uxorem. \**ultra*] no Schol. 6 *qui recta*] qui rectitudinem convertunt in pravitatem ut remunerentur. 7\* *gesserimus*] no Schol. 8 *modo ut*] scil. hoc sufficit (later hand). 13 GET] secum. 14 *provisum*] providendum est. *in praesentia*] in praesenti, in evidente. 15\* *in eodem luto*] in eadem dubitatione. *vorsuram solves*] eversionem istius consilii solves sive sustinebis. 16 *in diem*] per dies. *abiit*] crescit.

## V, 3

1 *ut placetur*] ut placatos nos reddat. 3 *pariter*] similiter. *opera*] scil. studio tuo. *ac*] sicut. *re*] i. ipsa re. 4 *pol minus*] note on margin, i. minus tibi possum servire propter culpam viri mei. 5 *parta*] parata. 8 *multo*] scil. hoc sumebat. *talenta*] reportabat. 11 *defetiget*] superet. 14\* *ei*] no Schol. *paene*] prope me. *plus quam*] plus quam vellem. 16 *transegi*] peregi. *abduci*] abstrahi Antiphone. *qui*] quare. 17 *quid istuc*] quid ad nos pertinet. *magni*] i. multum ad nos pertinet. 19\* *redi*] no Schol. 20 *in cognatam*] tuam Phanium eiciendo. 23 *narres*] scil. non intellegam. *pergis*] perseveras. 25 *fidem*] testor. 30 *Nausistrata*] ad domum tuam. 33 *operuit*] clausit post se Nausistrata.

V, 4

1 ANT] secum. *ut ut*] utcumque. *obtigisse\**] no Schol. 2\* *scitum*] salubre. *animo*] scil. tuo. 4 *expedivit*] no. Schol. 6 *si hoc celetur*] scil. quod Phanium habere desidero. 7 *ostenta*] no Schol.

V, 5

4\* *sumam*] in meum otium capiam. 5\* *sed Phormio*] ad superiora pertinet. 6 *absumere*] i. cor. 9 *potaturus*] convivaturus.

V, 6

1 *Fors Fortuna*] felix eventus. *commoditatibus\**] no Schol. 4\* *onero*] no Schol. 13 *quantum*] quantum pertinet ad illos, qui vivunt. 14 *diligere*] -ris. 15 *qui*] quo modo. 16\* *delibutum*] no Schol. *enicas*] crucias me. 19 *recta*] recte. *domum*] scil. ad. 22 *Mida*] no Schol. 23 *pone*] retro. 27 *gradu*] egressu. 28 *animam*] anhelitum. 31 *arbitrare*] -ris. *mirificissimum*] scil. gaudium. 34 *utin*] an uti.

V, 7

3\* *curam adimere*] qua dabo ei has triginta minas. 6 *qui*] quo modo. 7\* *gestus*] no Schol. 9 *inde*] de illo angiportus (sic). 10 *ad-simularam ire*] quasi ad mercatum issem unde revertar.

V, 8

1 DEM] secum. 2 *quando*] quia. 6 *ut quod*] scil. cogitavi dicam illi. 8 *veremini*] timetis. 12 *liberalis*] honesta. 14 *uxorem*] scil. mihi date Phanium quam habet Antipho. 15\* *post habui*] praeposui (sic). *par*] dignum. 20 *viduam*] priore viro privatam. *ferme\**] .i. prope. 23 *illam*] qua propter illam dimisi. 25\* *tum autem*] no Schol. 26 *inque*] loquere. 29\* *rescribi*] reddi. 30 *quodne*] scil. argentum nonne. *perscripsi*] i. reddidi. 35\* *repudium*] no Schol. *alteri*] mulieri. 36 *remiserim*] no Schol. 37 *magnificentia*] qua nos magnificas. 39\* *adeo*] no Schol. *inritor*] deludor. 40\* *periculum*] probationem. 42 *cedo*] redde. 44\* *si pergitis*] si perseveratis in duritia. 45 *indotatis*] dotem meam aufertis. 46 *patrocinari*] no Schol. 47 *soleo*] on margin, scil. patrocinari non solum indotatis sed et dotatis. 52 *o tun*] an tu. *ut*] quemadmodum. 53 *missum*] liberum ab

argento. 55 *malum*] exclamatio. 57 *nolo, volo*] sic dicitis mihi. 58 *ratum*] firmum. 61\* PHO.] secum. *scrupulum*] istis. 62 *hicine*] scil. est. 65 *elatum*] denudatum. 69 *inpuratum*] mendacem. 71\* *adfectant*] no Schol. 72 *ut*] pro ne. *es*] pro esto. 73 *hoc*] scil. de. *fretus*] scil. sis securus. 74 *e medio*] \* scil. hominum. *excessit*] Schol. on margin, In hoc facilius placabitur tibi tua uxor, quia illa alia, unde hanc filiam habes, e medio excessit nec habebit te in suspicionem. 76\* *instigasti*] dum coepisti repetere talentum. 81 *incensam*] iratam. 82 *si extillaveris*] si fleveris (later hand). 83 *malum*] exclamatio. 84 *audacia*] quis audivit. 85 *deportarier*] deportabitur. 86 *in solas terras*] non solum inhabitabiles sed in desertas. 88 *in ius huc*] ad ius. 91 *lege agito*] .i. dic iniuriam. 93 *os opprime*] scil. illius. 96 *vel*] i. etiam.

## V, 9

3 *hicine*] hoc vis. 5\* *friget*] scil. timore. 14 *tibi quidem*] scil. non est opus. 16 *duint*] dent. 21 *qui*] quo modo. *ad uxores*] cum de uxore coepi sermocinari. *tum*] quomodo. 22 *cum hoc ipso*] cum meo marito. 23\* *itiones crebrae*] itinera chrebra (sic). 24 *Lemni*] apud Lemnum. 26 *verba fiunt*] i. non te audiet. 27 *neglegentia*] .i. ut te neglegeret (later hand). 29 *post illam*] postea. 30\* *in re hac*, etc.] unde suspicio tibi poterat esse. *scrupulus*] .i. iniuria. 31 *ut*] quemadmodum. 32 *defungier*] cessare. 34 *si*] si quidem. 35 *aetas*] senilis. 36 *non fore*] istum amplius peccaturum. 38 *sic dabo*] talia dicendo de illo. 39 *atque*] sicut. *infortunio*] no Schol. 40 *satis est mihi*] de illo sumpsisse. 41 *usque*] semper. 42 *meo merito*] scil. aliam uxorem mihi superinductam esse. 43 *qualis*] quam fidelis. *omnia*] honesta. 44 *minime*] i. nequissime omnium. 52 *tu*] iam senex. 58 *Phormio*] vocor. 60 *ecastor*] per deum Castorem. 66 *faxo*] faciam.

## STUDIES IN SOPHOCLES

BY JOHN HENRY WRIGHT

### I

#### ON CERTAIN EUPHONIC ELLIPSES, MAINLY WORD-ELISIONS

THE English expression, "The queen's garden," is equivalent only to "*the* garden of *the* queen" with a slight emphasis either on "garden" or on "queen," and since it cannot mean "the garden of a queen," nor "*a* garden of the queen," it is clear that its "*the*" does duty for two "the's." "The the-queen's garden" was felt to be cacophonous in modern English and one of the "the's" has been allowed to lapse: sometimes the lost "the" is the first "the," as when the emphasis is on "queen" ("the-queen's garden"); sometimes the second "the," as when the words mean "the queen's-garden." Similarly in the phrase, "For conscience' sake," the sibilant ending of "conscience" does duty both as part of the stem of the word and as genitive suffix. Though the formal sign of the genitive is omitted (*'s*), the ear and mind alike do not miss it. And in such a sentence as "Advise me as to whom to write," the words "*as to whom*" seem to mean, especially in colloquial and unconscious English, "as to to whom," though of course in more premeditated style the "whom" might be taken directly with "write." Furthermore, the juxtaposition of two or more "*that's*" in an English sentence is felt to be offensive and is avoided in various ways — by a different order of words; by a substitution for one of the "that's" of a word of the same meaning ("which" or "who"); and sometimes by what amounts to an actual suppression of one of the "that's," — thus, "I know that<sup>1</sup> that house is old" becomes "I know that house is old."

<sup>1</sup> That in English one may string together in a sentence a considerable number of *that's* without making the sense entirely obscure may be seen in this expression, awkward though it is: "He said *that that that that that that that* referred to was not *that that that that that that that that* man meant referred to" (= "he said that the 'that' that this 'that' referred to was not the 'that' that the 'that' referred to which that man meant").

These four expressions, in which an ellipsis has taken place, are typical. The reason for the ellipsis appears to be mainly euphonic. In each of these cases the voice finds irksome and unpleasant and the mind finds unnecessary for intelligibility the iteration of the two words or syllables of identical sound. In each case, though the phrase has been abbreviated by the omission of a syllable or of a word, the meaning of the phrase is exactly what it would have been had the ellipsis not taken place. Furthermore, it is to be noted that the omitted elements are, from the point of view of their weight in the sentence, always light and unemphatic. When, however, the word, if repeated, would receive both times a strong rhetorical stress, and when after its first occurrence fall the end of one rhetorical colon and the beginning of another, no objection is felt to the repetition; indeed such an iteration is an effective 'figure of speech' — σχῆμα λέξεως — one of those that were much admired by ancient writers on rhetoric.<sup>1</sup>

Does the phenomenon appear in Greek?

Isocrates is reported by Maximus Planudes to have taught the avoidance, in the composition of continuous prose, of the repetition, within a single colon, of the sounds in the last syllable of a word in the opening syllable of the word next following: δεῖ δὲ τῇ μὲν λέξει τὰ φωνήεντα μὴ συνεπίπτειν, χωλὸν γὰρ τὸ τοιόνδε, μηδὲ τελευτᾶν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς συλλαβῆς, οἷον "εἰπούσα σαφῆ," "ἡλίκα καλά," "ἔνθα θαλῆς"· καὶ τοὺς συνδέσμους τοὺς αὐτοὺς μὴ σύνεγγυς τιθέναι κτέ.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This figure had various names: it was called ἀναστροφή (by Tiberius), ἐπαναστροφή (by Hermogenes), and ἀναδίπλωσις or ἐπαναδίπλωσις (by Alexander), — the latter term, however, generally being used in the sense of mere repetition (παλλογία), as in a *Corydon*, *Corydon*, Virg. *Ecl.* 2, 69. Cf. Volkmann, *Rhetorik d. Griechen u. Römer*, pp. 471, 466, and Rehdantz-Blass, *Ind.* p. 6, who cite the authorities and give many illustrations from Greek and Latin writers. Noteworthy examples are Soph. *Phil.* 1035, κακῶς δλοισθ'· ὀλεῖσθ' ἠδικηκότες | τὸν ἄνδρα τόνδε, θεοῖσιν εἰ δίκης μέλει, as also Dem. *Cor.* 13, οὐ γὰρ δήπου Κτησιφῶντα μὲν δύναται διώκειν δι' ἐμέ, ἐμέ δ' . . . αὐτὸν οὐκ ἂν ἐγράψατο, and Ovid, *Met.* 6, 376, *quamvis sint sub aqua, sub aqua maledicere temptant.*

<sup>2</sup> Max. Planudes, *Comm. ad Hermog. de Formis Oratoriis (ιδέαι)* in *Rhet. Graec.* ed. Walz, V, p. 469. More examples are given by Eustathius (*ad Hom.* B 776 sqq., p. 337, 41): Σαμία μία ναῦς, Πύρροος θῆος, and τὸ Δημοσθενικόν . . . Ἀμφίπολις πόλις. Cf. Lobeck, *Paralip.* p. 55. In fact, however, Isocrates allowed himself certain exceptions, as did writers who in the main followed his usage: e. g. γένοιτο τό



Though Isocrates here confines his criticism to like sounds in immediate juxtaposition, equally objectionable sometimes was felt to be the repetition of like sounds in close, though not immediate, propinquity.

Just as Isocrates and the Isocrateans avoided hiatus not only by the elision of the final syllable but also now and then by a somewhat abnormal order of words, so the accidental juxtaposition or proximity of like-sounding syllables or words was evidently guarded against in a variety of ways, — either by a different order of words, by elision, by the actual fusion of the two elements when possible (as in crasis), or as in our English examples, by the actual suppression of one of the objectionable elements, when this could be done without risking the intelligibility of the sentence.

Isocrates well knew and impressively set forth the essential differences between the style and diction of prose and of poetry;<sup>1</sup> but his improvements in the art of composing prose — his maxims for artistic prose — were suggested in large measure by what he saw to be characteristic of the best poetry; and it is reasonable to believe that the maxim recorded by Planudes had this origin. But whether Isocrates observed the phenomenon or not in the poets, or whether or not he made this observation the basis of his doctrine, the poets occasionally do guard against bringing into immediate or only slightly interrupted sequence two similar sound-groups. They do this not only by adopting a peculiar order of words, by elision and by crasis (including aphaeresis), but also by the omission of one member of the group (by what we may call 'word-elision').<sup>2</sup> The recognition of the latter phenomenon — the complete omission or suppression of an element — in its true nature is highly important for the correct understanding of certain interesting passages in the poets. The passages where this appears, quite as much

Dem. 1, 1; καὶ καιρῶν Dem. 2, 2; ἐνιαυτοῦ τούτου Dem. 3, 5, etc. Cf. Rehdantz-Blass, *Ind.* p. 4. For some other examples from Sophocles see p. 140, n. 2.

<sup>1</sup> Isoc. 9, 8-11; 15, 45-50. Other passages are collected and discussed by Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa*, I, pp. 52, 53, 117.

<sup>2</sup> A fifth method of avoiding the objectionable sequence was that of using a different word or ending from what would otherwise have been normal. A pretty example of this occurs in the recently discovered lyric fragment (of Alcman?) from Oxyrhynchus, which has just come into the possession of Harvard University (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, No. VIII, — Vol. I, pl. ii [top], pp. 13, 14). Here we read ἦνθομεν ἐς, where we should have expected ἦνθομες ἐς.

as those that exhibit crasis or elision, *meant to their writers and were intended to mean to the reader exactly what they would have meant had the omission not taken place.* It is to the consideration of a few passages of this nature from Sophocles<sup>1</sup> that I now invite the reader's attention—passages that have not been sought for but that have forced themselves upon me as I have read the poet. Their number could doubtless be much increased were one to search diligently.<sup>2</sup>

We will begin with four passages from the *Antigone* where there can hardly be a doubt as to the real nature of the ellipsis. Each passage may serve to illustrate a type. We shall then proceed to give further examples, classified as far as may be under different heads.

*Ant.* 316 οὐκ οἶσθα καὶ νῦν ὡς ἀνιαρῶς λέγεις;

This is equivalent to οἶσθα ὡς καὶ νῦν ὡς ἀνιαρῶς λέγεις, the καὶ νῦν ὡς of the text being by hyperbaton for ὡς καὶ νῦν. Cf. *Aj.* 590, *El.* 949, *Tr.* 265. ὡς ἀνιαρῶς is better taken as in ὡσαύτως,<sup>3</sup> ὡς ἄλλως

<sup>1</sup> In July, 1899, I read a short paper on this subject before the American Philological Association ('Certain Euphonic Ellipses in Sophocles's *Antigone*,' *Proceedings* for 1899, p. xxiv); but my examples were drawn only from the *Antigone* and the paper was published in a brief abstract. The present discussion treats the subject from new points of view and furnishes more examples than were adduced in 1899.—The Dindorf-Mekler text (1885) is followed, with Nauck (*T. G. F.*<sup>2</sup>) for the Fragments.

<sup>2</sup> Sophocles does not always avoid the duplication of the same sound in two words in immediate sequence. These cases occur, however, for the most part where there is a pause in the sense between the two words, or where a special emphasis falls upon one of the words. Examples are: *Phil.* 107, ἐγὼ λέγω (cf. *El.* 338, 1048; *Ant.* 461). *Ant.* 183 f., λέγω. | ἐγὼ γάρ. *Phil.* 758 f., ἤκει γὰρ αὐτὴ διὰ χρόνου πλάνοις ἴσως | ὡς ἐξεπλήσθη. *Phil.* 1338 ff., ὅς λέγει σαφῶς | ὡς δεῖ γενέσθαι ταῦτα· καὶ πρὸς τοῖσδ' ἔτι | ὡς ἔστ' ἀνάγκη. *Aj.* 1311 f., ἡ τῆς σῆς ὑπερ | γυναικὸς ἡ σοῦ σοῦ θ' ὀμαίμονος λέγω. *O. C.* 631, τίς δῆτ' ἂν ἀνδρὸς εὐμένειαν ἐκβάλοι | τοιοῦδ'; *Ant.* 1156, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὁποῖον στάντ' ἂν ἀνθρώπου βλον (here there is an especial emphasis on στάντα). *O. C.* 745, ὁρῶν σε τὸν δύστηνον διντα μὲν ξένον. *O. C.* 947 f., τοιοῦτον αὐτοῖς Ἄρεος εὐβουλον πάγον | ἐγὼ συνήδη χθόνιον δνθ' (here the predicate of διντα is not χθόνιον but τοιοῦτον . . . εὐβουλον). *Ant.* 455, θνητὸν δνθ' (where there is special emphasis on the two words; in *Tr.* 473, the οἶσαν is left to be heard in φρονοῦσαν, there being no special emphasis on it—see p. 145). *Phil.* 1219 ff., εἰ μὴ πέλας | Ὀδυσσεῖα στείχοντα τὸν τ' Ἀχιλλέως | γόνον πρὸς ἡμᾶς δεῦρ' ἴοντ' ἐλεύσομεν.

<sup>3</sup> That ὡσαύτως is a petrified ablative of manner of τὸ αὐτὸ appears in these words of Plato, *Prot.* 332 c, καὶ εἴ τι δὴ ὡσαύτως πράττεται, ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πράττεται, καὶ εἴ τι ἐναντίως, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐναντίου;

and *ὡς ἐτέρως* (F. D. Allen, *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* VIII, 1877, pp. 38-40) than as exclamatory.

*Ant.* 557 *καλῶς σὺ μὲν τοῖς, τοῖς δ' ἐγὼ δόκουν φρονεῖν.*

Since here both *σὺ* and *ἐγὼ* on the one hand and *τοῖς* and *τοῖς* on the other are contrasted, instead of using *μὲν* with the first word in each of the two pairs and *δέ* with the second word, the poet makes one *μὲν* and one *δέ* do all the work, — the verse being equivalent to

*καλῶς σὺ μὲν τοῖς μὲν, τοῖς δ' ἐγὼ δ' ἐδόκουν φρονεῖν,*

which of course is even less normal in Greek than is my sentence of "that's" in English (p. 137).

*Ant.* 904 *καίτοι σ' ἐγὼ τίμησα τοῖς φρονοῦσιν εὔ.*

Here *εὔ* of course primarily modifies *ἐτίμησα* — for its position compare *O. C.* 642, *Aj.* 95, — but it also has its effect on *φρονοῦσιν*.<sup>1</sup> Though cases of *φρονεῖν* in the sense of *εὔ φρονεῖν* 'wise' occur in Sophocles, the poet is much more fond of the longer expression *εὔ φρονεῖν* and *φρονεῖν εὔ* (cf. *O. T.* 552, *O. C.* 1635, etc.; in *Ant.* 1031 — *εὔ σοι φρονήσας εὔ λέγω* — *εὔ* is repeated) whether in the sense of 'kindly minded' or 'wise.' Hence the subtle juxtaposition here seems to require us to take *εὔ* with *φρονεῖν* as well as with *ἐτίμησα*. We should, therefore, punctuate as above and not *καίτοι σ' ἐγὼ τίμησα, τοῖς φρονοῦσιν, εὔ*. The verse thus means 'And yet in honoring thee I did right in the eyes of those whose thoughts are right.'

*Ant.* 9 f. . . . ἦ σε λανθάνει

*πρὸς τοὺς φίλους στείχοντα τῶν ἐχθρῶν κακά;*

As Jebb remarks, it is rare that *τῶν ἐχθρῶν* should have the article while *κακά* appears to have none. If, however, we understand *στείχοντα τῶν ἐχθρῶν κακά* to have been meant as an abbreviated *στείχοντα τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν κακά* — the final syllable of *στείχοντα* doing double duty, both as participial ending and as neuter plural of the article — all difficulty vanishes; cf. *τά γε κείνων κακά Phil.* 422 f.; *τάγγενή . . . | . . . κακά* (= *τὰ ἐγγενῶν κακά*) *O. T.* 1430 f. The passage means 'Or is it all unknown of thee that toward our loved one approach the ills that are meet for foes?' The plural *τοὺς φίλους* is Gildersleeve's 'plural of reserve' (*Syntax of Classical Greek*, p. 27).

<sup>1</sup> The Schol. Vet. *ad loc.* would connect *εὔ* only with *φρονοῦσιν*.

In the first example adduced above (*Ant.* 316) attention was called to an ellipsis of *ὡς*. The examples now to follow are similar, and with them are grouped a few where *ὡς* has been assumed to be used in place of *ὥστε*.

*Tr.* 626 ἐπίσταμαί τε καὶ φράσω σεσωσμένα.

Here the last two words are equivalent to φράσω *ὡς* σεσωσμένα, answering ἐξεπίστασαι | τά γ' ἐν δόμοισιν *ὡς* ἔχοντα τυγχάνει of vv. 624 f.

*Ant.* 705 μὴ νυν ἐν ἦθος μούνον ἐν σαυτῷ φόρει,  
*ὡς* φῆς σύ, κούδεν ἄλλο, τοῦτ' ὀρθῶς ἔχει.

Here *ὡς* probably introduces both φῆς and the clause τοῦτ' ὀρθῶς ἔχει. This explanation enables us to retain the ἔχει of L (*ἔχειν* A, Dind.).

*Tr.* 783 ἅπας δ' ἀνηυφήμησεν οἰμωγῇ λεώς,  
τοῦ μὲν νοσοῦντος, τοῦ δὲ διαπεπραγμένου.

The final syllable of λεώς carries also *ὡς*. 'The people lifted up a cry seeing that one was frenzied and the other slain' (Jebb).

*Tr.* 265 λέγων χεροῖν μὲν *ὡς* ἄφυκτ' ἔχων βέλη  
τῶν ὧν τέκνων λείποιτο πρὸς τόξου κρίσιν.

This is equivalent to λέγων μὲν *ὡς* χεροῖν *ὡς* ἄφυκτα ἔχων βέλη, 'Saying first how with all his vaunted unerring arrows (*ὡς* ἄφυκτα ἔχων βέλη) in his hands he was left behind in the trial of archery.'

*Phil.* 361 ἐλθὼν Ἀτρείδας πρὸς φίλους, *ὡς* εἰκὸς ἦν.

Campbell has already suggested that the *ὡς* needed with φίλους is avoided because of the *ὡς* following (*Introd. Essay, etc.*, p. 73): — ἐλθὼν πρὸς Ἀτρείδας *ὡς* πρὸς φίλους, *ὡς* εἰκὸς ἦν.

*O. C.* 1025 γνῶθι *ὡς* ἔχων ἔχει.

Is this not 'Know that even as *thou thinkest* thou art master thou are mastered' (= γνῶθι *ὡς*, *ὡς* ἔχων, ἔχει or γνῶθι *ὡς* ἔχων ἐγόμενος, cf. *Aj.* 807)?

*O. C.* 562–565<sup>1</sup> ὅς οἶδα καὶτὸς *ὡς* ἐπαιδεύθην ξένος,  
ὥσπερ σύ, χῶς τις πλείστ' ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ ξένης  
ἤθλησα κινδυνεύματ' ἐν τῷμῳ κάρῃ·  
ὥστε ξένον γ' ἂν οὐδέν' ὄνθ', ὥσπερ σὺ νῦν, | κτέ.

<sup>1</sup> My attention has been kindly called to this passage by Professor J. E. Harry of the University of Cincinnati.

The *ὡς* in v. 563 (*χῶς τις*) certainly does double duty: for as *ὡς ἐπαιδείθην ξένος* has just been heard the ear would naturally receive the *ὡς* in the next verse in similar fashion, i. e. the first interpretation the mind would give would be 'that' or 'how that,' but *τις πλείστ' ἀνὴρ* following close upon it, the *ὡς* would be retained in the consciousness, and no repetition of the word would be felt necessary. The frequent recurrence of *ὡς* in these verses made easy the ellipsis. It may be remarked that the manuscripts give in v. 562, *ὡς οἶδα γ' αὐτὸς*, which Dindorf emended to *ὄς*, avoiding thus "the extreme awkwardness of *ὡς*, as 'since,' followed by *ὡς*, 'that'" (Jebb).

*Tr.* 174 f. *καὶ τῶνδε ναμέρτεια συμβαίνει χρόνου  
τοῦ νῦν παρόντος, ὡς [ψ̄ Dind.] τελεσθῆναι χρεῶν.*

*Ant.* 291 f. . . οὐδ' ὑπὸ ζυγῷ  
λόφον δικαίως εἶχον, ὡς στέργειν ἐμέ.

These two passages should be considered together. There are a few examples in Sophocles where *ὡς* has the same force as *ὥστε* c. ind. or c. inf. of result — once c. ind. (*Tr.* 590) and six times c. inf. (*Aj.* 923, *Ant.* 303, *O. T.* 84 and *Tr.* 1125 [*ὡς κλύειν*], *Phil.* 1395, and [*Philoc.*] *Adesp. Frag.* 1091<sup>1</sup>); but those of *ὥστε* in this use are overwhelmingly more numerous (not less than 28 c. mod. fin., and 45 c. infin.). Hence where a *ὥστε* may be heard or felt in a given passage it should ordinarily be recognized, unless other considerations forbid.<sup>2</sup> In the passages at the head of this paragraph we should understand *ὡς τελεσθῆναι χρεῶν* and *ὡς στέργειν* to be nothing more than *ὥστε τελεσθῆναι* and *ὥστε στέργειν*. Aesch. *Pers.* 510 f. *ἤκουσιν ἐκφυγόντες . . . | . . . ὡς στένειν (= ὥστε στένειν)* may be taken in the same way; cf. *Phil.* 340 *ὥστε . . . στένω*.

<sup>1</sup> If this be Sophoclean (Dind. *Frag.* 832), as Hermann would make it. Nauck denies it to Sophocles (*T. G. F.*<sup>2</sup> p. 841).

<sup>2</sup> Euripides, it may be remarked, has but one instance of *ὡς = ὥστε* (*Cycl.* 657). One must consider the color of the passage, and perhaps the date of the play, in deciding whether a real though mutilated *ὥστε* is present. In a large number of the passages cited from Aeschylus, Herodotus and Xenophon where *ὡς = ὥστε* (Goodwin, *M. T.* 608) it is noteworthy that *ὡς* is immediately followed by a τ- sound. Euphonic considerations may well have led Herodotus and Xenophon to select the shorter form.

In the examples following we pass over to a second class of apparent ellipsis, that of certain forms of the article.

*Ant.* 453-455 οὐδὲ σθένειν τοσοῦτον ψόμην τὰ σὰ  
κηρύγμαθ' ὥστ' ἄγραπτα κάσφαλῇ θεῶν  
νόμιμα δύνασθαι θνητὸν ὄνθ' ὑπερδραμεῖν.

In this famous passage, as it is ordinarily understood, we miss the article with νόμιμα (τὰ ἄγραπτα . . . νόμιμα contrasted with τὰ σὰ κηρύγματα). No one has seriously proposed to obtain it by dividing thus: ὡς τᾶγραπτα. But the difficulty disappears if we take ὥστ' ἄγραπτα to mean ὥστε τᾶγραπτα.

*Ant.* 447 ἦδησθα κηρυχθέντα μὴ πράσσειν τάδε;

This is equivalent to ἦδησθα τὰ κηρυχθέντα — μὴ πράσσειν τάδε. The final syllable of ἦδησθα, of course pronounced σταί, suggests the article, the meaning being 'Didst thou not know *my* proclamation — not to do these things?' Antigone's echo of Creon's words and thoughts in v. 450 (οὐ . . . Ζεὺς ἦν ὁ κηρύξας τάδε) and in v. 453 (τὰ σὰ κηρύγματα, 'those proclamations of thine') shows that she at least so understood it. Hence we are not forced to take κηρυχθέντα as impersonal, as some of the editors have done; and of course it would be very harsh to understand the passage as ἦδησθα τάδε κηρυχθέντα μὴ πράσσειν as some would. It is highly characteristic of Sophocles to make a complete statement in the first part of a verse, using the concluding part to expand or emphasize it, often with an exegetic infinitive at the very end as here: cf. *El.* 543, 797, *O. C.* 50, *Aj.* 825, *Phil.* 81, etc. (see Jebb's indexes). Where, as in *El.* 543, he makes the first half of the verse contain the complete statement he is Homeric (Seymour, 'On the Homeric Caesura,' *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, III, esp. pp. 113 ff.). — Of course we are not at liberty to appeal, in support of our interpretation, to the manuscript reading of this verse ἦδης τὰ κηρυχθέντα (L ἦδεις). Cobet, whom recent editors have followed, was certainly right in reading ἦδησθα.

Here too belongs *Ant.* 9 f. mentioned on p. 141.

Three or four examples now follow where forms of the participle of εἰμί are suggested and their absence is accounted for by similarly sounding syllables in adjacent words.

*Phil.* 75 ὥστ' εἶ με τόξων ἐγκρατὴς αἰσθήσεται.

The omission of *ων* as here, where the adjective *ἐγκρατής* marks a condition, is unusual (the editors compare *Ant.* 1327); if, however, we understand *τόξων ἐγκρατής* to suggest *τόξων ὦν ἐγκρατής* the expression becomes normal.

*Tr.* 473 . . . ἐπεὶ σε μανθάνω  
 θνητὴν φρονούσαν θνητὰ κοῦκ ἀγνώμονα.

These words mean 'I note that mortal as thou art, thou hast a mortal's thoughts and not such as are inconsiderate.' Here, since *θνητὴν* expresses a condition, an *οὔσαν* is needed; it is felt in the final syllable of *φρονούσαν*, a syllable that thus does double duty. The editors cite on this passage Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* 10, 7, 8 *χρῆ* . . . ἀνθρώπινα φρονεῖν ἀνθρώπων ὄντα . . . θνητὰ τὸν θνητόν. Cf. also Soph. *Frag.* 197 *πῶς οὔν μάχωμαι θνητὸς ὦν θεία τύχη*;

*El.* 61 οὐδὲν ῥῆμα σὺν κέρδει κακόν.

Perhaps the sound of the final syllable of *κακόν* makes easy the omission of *ον* which is normal with *σὺν κέρδει* in the conditional sense which the phrase here has.

*Ib.* 899 ὡς δ' ἐν γαλήνῃ πάντ' ἐδερκόμεν τόπον.

Similarly here the *όντα* missing immediately after *ἐν γαλήνῃ* is perhaps accounted for by the mental anticipation of the like sound in *πάντ'*.

Professor Gildersleeve (*Syntax*, pp. 180 f.; cf. *Am. Journ. Philol.* XII, p. 387) mentions euphony as among the various causes that may account for the omission of *αν* with the optative ('pure optative as potential') where it is normally to be expected, and calls attention to the fact that occasionally in the neighborhood of such optatives is to be heard the sound of *αν*. He cites, in particular, Aesch. *Cho.* 595 *ὑπέρολμον ἀνδρὸς φρόνημα τίς λέγοι*; and Soph. *Ant.* 604 f. *τεάν, Ζεῦ, δύνασιν τίς ἀνδρῶν ὑπερβασία κατὰσχοι*; Among his other illustrations of the pure optative as potential are additional examples of sentences without *αν* in which the sound is heard near at hand: e. g., Din. 1, 66 (*πατρῶαν ἐστίαν*), *ib.* 2, 3 (*πονηρίαν*); Lycurg. 144 (*τίς ἀναμνησθεῖς . . . σώσειε*); etc.—but he would probably be slow to explain all these cases in the same way.

I have, of course, no additional examples to offer from Sophocles where the potential optative without *ἄν* is to be explained as above on euphonic grounds. But there are other cases of the omission of the sound (either *ἄν*, or the syllables *ἀνα-*) apparently for euphonic reasons which may be here adduced.

*Aj.* 760 f. . . . ὅστις ἀνθρώπου φύσιν  
βλαστῶν ἔπειτα μὴ κατ' ἀνθρωπον φρονῆ.

This is equivalent to ὅστις ἄν ἀνθρώπου φύσιν . . . φρονῆ.

*Phil.* 764 f. . . . ἕως ἀνῆ | τὸ πῆμα.

*Tr.* 148 f. ἕως τις ἀντὶ παρθένου γυνῆ | κληθῆ.

These passages may be considered together. There are only two other passages in Sophocles (*O. C.* 77, *Aj.* 555) where *ἕως* c. subj. is unaccompanied by *ἄν* either expressed or, as in our examples, suggested; *ἄν* is actually present in four other passages (*Ph.* 1000, *O. T.* 834, *O. C.* 114, *Frag.* 1019, 5). Here, then, — in *Phil.* 764 and *Tr.* 148, — we may assume that an *ἄν* was felt to be present, though not independently expressed.

It is well known that *πρὶν* c. subj. oftener omits the normal *ἄν* both in prose and poetry than the other particles of like usage. Jebb tells us that Sophocles affords some 14 instances of *πρὶν ἄν* with subjunctive, and 8 of simple *πρὶν* with subjunctive — *Phil.* 917; *Ant.* 619 lyr.; *Tr.* 608, 946; *Aj.* 742 [?], 965; *Frag.* 588, 2; *ib.* 601 (note on *Phil.* 917). The omission of *ἄν* is here made easy by the nasal sound in *πρὶν*.

*Tr.* 388 εἶ νιν πρὸς βίαν κρίνειν θέλοισ.

*ib.* 314 τί δ' ἄν με καὶ κρίνοισ;

Though Sophocles does not actually use the compound *ἀνακρίνω* in the sense of 'question,' it is noteworthy that in two of the cases where *κρίνω* clearly has this sense — just mentioned — there is an *αν-* near at hand.

In *O. C.* 252 lyr. L. reads οὐ γὰρ ἴδοις ἀναθρώων βροτῶν, while Par. A and the other manuscripts have οὐ γὰρ ἴδοις ἄν ἀθρώων. As Sophocles nowhere else actually uses *ἀναθρέιν*, preferring the simple form (*Ant.*



1077, 1216, 1220; *O. T.* 1305; *O. C.* 1032), as well as for other reasons, editors have adopted ἴδοις ἄν ἀθρῶν. But the word ἀναθρῶν was known to Sophocles's contemporaries (*Thuc.* 4, 86; *Eur. Hec.* 808), especially in the sense here needed of 'diligent research,' and it must have been known to Sophocles himself: it is therefore probable that ἴδοις ἄν ἀναθρῶν is here meant, though we are not obliged to follow Campbell in actually writing it.

*Aj.* 1236 ποίου κέκραγας ἀνδρὸς ᾧδ' ὑπέρφρονα;

The genitive alone as here is unusual, though not without example — e.g. *El.* 317 τοῦ κασιγνήτου τί φής; (but in *El.* 554 f. we have τοῦ τεθνηκότος θ' ὑπερ|λέξιαιμ' ἄν). In similar sentences Sophocles more commonly uses with the genitive the preposition ὑπέρ, generally post-positive, as in these passages: *O. T.* 1444 οὕτως ἄρ' ἀνδρὸς ἀθλείου|πέυσεσθ' ὑπερ; *ib.* 989 ποίας δὲ καὶ γυναικὸς ἐκφοβείσθ' ὑπερ, and in *O. C.* 33, 243 lyr., *Tr.* 708 (L), etc. Hence in *Aj.* 1236, quoted above, ὑπέρ- in ὑπέρφρονα does duty for ὑπερ as well as for ὑπέρ- in composition (= ποίου κέκραγας ἀνδρὸς ὑπερ ᾧδ' ὑπέρφρονα;).

*Aj.* 1310-1312 ἐπεὶ καλὸν μοι τοῦδ' ὑπερπονουμένῳ  
θαεῖν προδήλως μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς σῆς ὑπὲρ  
γυναικὸς ἢ σοῦ σοῦ θ' ὁμαίμονος λέγω.

In these verses we have both constructions combined. In τοῦδ' ὑπερπονουμένῳ we have the suggestion of τοῦδ' ὑπερ ὑπερπονουμένῳ, the ὑπερ of which is actually repeated in the next verse. We can hardly take ὑπερπονουμένῳ merely in the sense of 'toil for' (= τοῦδε ὑπερπονουμένῳ); the compound means 'toil overmuch.' Sophocles is extremely fond of compounds of ὑπέρ in this adverbial sense of 'excessively,' while compounds in which ὑπερ- has only the prepositional sense of 'for' are rarer.—We may compare *O. C.* 344 f. σφῶ δ' ἀντ' ἐκείνων τὰμὰ δυστήνου κακὰ|ὑπερπονεῖτον (on which see p. 168).

*Ant.* 82 οἶμοι ταλαίνης, ὡς ὑπερδέδοικα σοῦ.

Here we have the equivalent of ὡς ὑπερδέδοικα σοῦ ὑπερ, 'How great is my fear for thee!'

As an additional example of euphonic omission of a preposition might be adduced :

*Tr.* 564 f. . . ἤνικ' ἦν<sup>1</sup> μέσῳ πόρῳ  
ψαυεί<sup>2</sup> ματαίαις χερσίν.

The absence of the preposition *ἐν*, especially in such a phrase as *μέσῳ πόρῳ*, was felt, not only by the mediaeval scribe of Par. A who reads *ἐν* for *ἦν*, but by Cobet who splits HN into *ἦ ν*. Of course Sophoclean instances of the pure local dative are numerous, but inasmuch as the poet, whenever he has occasion to use *μέσος*, singular or plural, in the dative, invariably introduces it with a preposition, and except once (*πρὸς μέσῃ* . . . | *ἀγόρῃ*, *Tr.* 371 f.) always with *ἐν* (*Aj.* 324; *El.* 1364; *O. C.* 583; *Phil.* 630; *Tr.* 803, 918), we must expect here—in *Tr.* 564—an *ἐν* either expressed, as in Cobet's pointing, or suggested in the sound of the word preceding *μέσῳ*. The reader may well have heard *ἦν ἐν μέσῳ* in *ἦν μέσῳ*, if the whole phrase were not pronounced *ἦμ μέσῳ*.—Perhaps similarly in *El.* 313 *νῦν δ' ἀγροῖσι τυγχάνει*, an *ἐν* might have been heard in *νῦν* = *νῦν ἐν* (cf. *ἐν οἴκοις ἦ ν ἀγροῖς*, *O. T.* 112); and *ἐς τὸν Ἀβαῖσι ναόν* (*O. T.* 900 lyr.) may have been heard as *τὸν ἐν Ἀβαῖσι ναόν*. It is to be remembered that *ἐν* is a proclitic and that the vocal element (*ἐ*) is weak; hence the frequent disappearance of this in aphaeresis.

*Tr.* 1 λόγος μὲν ἐστ' ἀρχαῖος ἀνθρώπων φανείς.

This is reading of L, but *ἀνθρώποις* stands for *ἀνθρώπων* in Cramer's

<sup>1</sup> L and most other manuscripts have *ἦν*, A has *ἐν*. Cobet conjectured *ἦ ν*. The form *ἦν* is usually understood as of the third person, and, since the first person is of course to be preferred here, *ἦ* which is the usual form of the first person in the earlier stages of Old Attic has been substituted and editors have read *ἦ μέσῳ*. But *ἦν* is a good first person form in the later Old Attic, and may well have been used by Sophocles in the *Trachiniae*, which is one of the latest of his plays, as it was certainly used, for example, in *Eur. Alc.* 655 (B.C. 438) and elsewhere; cf. Blass-Kühner, *Ausf. Griech. Gramm.* II, p. 222.

<sup>2</sup> Should we not read here *ἤνικ' ἦν μέσῳ πόρῳ* | *ψαυεν ματαίαις χερσίν*? 'He was *fain* to touch me with wanton hands.' Such at least was the understanding—and reading?—of the Schol. Vet., who takes the passage to mean that Nessus was thwarted in his design by Heracles, though he incorrectly infers this from *ματαίαις*.

*Anc. Oxon.* IV, 328, 21, a reading which is supported by Solon *Frag.* 13, 71 πλούτου δ' οὐδὲν τέρμα πεφασμένον ἀνδράσι κείται. If, then, we read

λόγος ΜΕΝΕΣΤΑΡΧΑΙΟΣ ἀνθρώποις φανείς,

— 'A saying there is of old among men put forth' — we shall have ἀρχαῖος looking in both directions, back toward λόγος and forward toward φανείς, meaning in the first case — where we should read μὲν ἔστ' — 'A saying there is of old, among men put forth'; in the second case, 'A saying there is, of old among men put forth' (reading μὲν ἔστ').

Δή = ἦδη

It is a generally accepted doctrine that in cases of aphaeresis (*elisis inverso*, e. g. Ἰολὴ καλεῖτο) and of synizesis (μὴ εἶδέναι) the disappearing vowel of the second syllable does not wholly vanish, but is felt and heard, though much slurred, in pronunciation.<sup>1</sup> If we were to assume that it wholly disappears the words thus decapitated would in some cases lose their identity, and the total expression either would become unintelligible or would convey a meaning different from that intended.<sup>2</sup>

Now this fact, that the second vowel in aphaeresis and synizesis is not wholly lost, may serve by analogy to explain a certain peculiar use of the particle δή, though here we actually have neither aphaeresis nor synizesis. The particle may in certain circumstances be used in the sense of ἦδη, but the reverse is not true. In Sophocles at least it is noteworthy that in all clear cases — with hardly more than two or three exceptions — of δή in the sense of ἦδη, the particle is preceded by a long vowel or diphthong.<sup>3</sup> This fact lends support to the theory that

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Blass-Kühner, *Ausf. Griech. Gramm.* I, pp. 240, 230.

<sup>2</sup> As examples of this — a different meaning — (through aphaeresis) compare *Soph. Tr.* 560, μισθοῦ πόρενε, in which the verb would be turned from an imperfect into an imperative; and (through synizesis) *Ar. Eq.* 340, ἐγὼ οὐ παρήσω, which would become an affirmative instead of a negative sentence.

<sup>3</sup> Of course I must not be understood as meaning that when δή is preceded by a long vowel or diphthong it is always equivalent to ἦδη. There are numerous cases where δή thus preceded has the use that is normal with it after short vowels and consonants; though καὶ δή, for example, almost invariably means or shades off only

δή 'already' was — for Sophocles — an abbreviated ἤδη, a ghost of ἤδη, whose initial vowel sound was muffled and merged in the long vowel of the preceding word.

The cases in Sophocles are: *Tr.* 1145 φρονῶ δή (cf. *Tr.* 50 κατεύδον ἤδη), *O. T.* 968 κεύθει κάτω δὴ γῆς, *Ant.* 939 ἴγμαι δὴ κοῦκέτι μέλλω, *El.* 1436 καὶ δὴ βέβηκα, *Tr.* 345 καὶ δὴ βεβᾶσι, *Fragm.* 305 καὶ δὴ τι καὶ παρῆκα, *Fragm.* 333 καὶ δὴ φάρει τῶδ' ὡς ἐμῶ καλύπτομαι, *Aj.* 544 καὶ δὴ κομίζει, *O. C.* 173 ἴγμαι ψαύω καὶ δὴ, *Phil.* 818 καὶ δὴ μεθίημι, *O. C.* 31 καὶ δὴ μὲν οὖν παρόντα, *Aj.* 49 καὶ δὴ 'πὶ δισσαῖς ἦν στρατηγίσις πύλαις. In the following examples the sense of the particle shades off from that of ἤδη until in the last one it has passed into that only of pure δή:<sup>1</sup> *Ant.* 173 ἐγὼ κράτη δὴ . . . ἔχω, *El.* 317 καὶ δὴ σ' ἐρωτῶ, *El.* 558 (repeated in *El.* 892 and *Ant.* 245) καὶ δὴ λέγω σοί, and finally *El.* 1464 καὶ δὴ τελεῖται. (*Fragm.* 465 is uncertain.) The numerical preponderance of καὶ δὴ in these examples is of course striking. Furthermore δὴ = ἤδη appears to be used also in *O. T.* 66 ἀλλ' ἵστε πολλὰ μὲν με δακρῦσαντα δὴ, *Tr.* 460 ἀνὴρ εἰς πλείστας Ἡρακλῆς ἔγχευε δὴ, *Phil.* 241 οἶσθα δὴ τὸ πᾶν, *Phil.* 1065 στείχοντα δὴ (cf. *Tr.* 624 στείχοις ἂν ἤδη) — in all four of which a short vowel precedes δὴ.<sup>2</sup> If I may trust my collections there is no case of δὴ in the sense of ἤδη in Sophocles where a consonant precedes.

Of course we are not at liberty to change into ἤδη the reading of δὴ in the passages from Sophocles adduced above, where δὴ = ἤδη, assuming synizesis; not to mention the tradition of the text,<sup>3</sup> the four examples cited last forbid it, since at least two of these lines, if so treated, would yield metrical monstrosities.

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slightly from ἤδη, once at least in καὶ δὴ the δὴ is pure (*El.* 1464), and there are numerous other cases of pure δὴ after long vowels, as well as after short vowels and consonants.

<sup>1</sup> In this sense we often have καὶ μὴν. This in the mouth of one speaker occasionally answers or is answered by καὶ δὴ in that of another.

<sup>2</sup> In *Ant.* 726 (διδασκόμεσθα δὴ) the verb is angrily emphasized — 'schooled eh!' — and δὴ has its normal force, as also in *O. C.* 23 (ἔχεις διδάξαι δὴ).

<sup>3</sup> But L at *Phil.* 241 actually reads οἶσθ' ἤδη τὸ πᾶν.

## II

ΕΠΙΣΤΥΛΛΟΙΦΗ IN SOPHOCLES<sup>1</sup>

## Τὸ εἶδος Σοφοκλείου

NORMALLY, of course, a metrical period, a μέτρον—in the case of the iambic trimeter the verse (ἰαμβος, στίχος) — must close with a complete word — τελεία λέξις.<sup>2</sup> But exceptions are admitted by the metrical writers, not only by Hephaestion, but also by his Scholiast. The former, while objecting to deviations from the rule — ὅθεν ἐπίληπτά ἐστι τὰ τοιαῦτα — adduces as exceptions verses from Simonides, from Nicomachus, and from Eupolis.<sup>3</sup> The latter,<sup>4</sup> who appears to be drawing from the abundant collections of Heliodorus, expressly says that in many cases words were split between lines, and he gives one example each from Callimachus,<sup>5</sup> from Menander's Πλόκιον,<sup>6</sup> and from Sophocles,<sup>7</sup> adding concerning the latter that the practice of splitting words

<sup>1</sup> Under this heading, by a slight extension of its meaning, are grouped several topics which have to do for the most part with phenomena that are connected with the close and beginning of consecutive iambic trimeters. In the first of these topics our rubric is used in its narrower sense.

<sup>2</sup> Πᾶν μέτρον εἰς τελείαν περατοῦται λέξιν, Hephaest., p. 16 Westph. Leutsch (*Philol.* XI, pp. 751 ff.) has shown that this doctrine, with its exceptions and examples, goes back to Heliodorus.

<sup>3</sup> Simonides, *Fragm.* 131 (Bergk, *P.L.G.*<sup>4</sup> III, p. 477), ἦνικ' Ἀριστο-|γείτων, Nicomachus (Bergk, *P.L.G.*<sup>4</sup> II, p. 316), ἀν' Ἑλλάδα πάσαν Ἀπολλό-|δωρος, Eupolis (Βαπτᾶι, Kock, *C.A.F.* I, *Fragm.* 73), προ-|βούλευμα βαστάζουσι τῆς πό-|λεως μέγα. Hephaestion accounts for the splitting of the proper names as due to τὴν ὀνομάτων ἀνάγκην, and says that comic poets made the division with humorous intent (ἐνια δὲ καὶ παίζουσιν οἱ κωμικοὶ, ὡς Εὐπολις Βάπται). An additional example of the division of a proper name occurs in a very late inscription in Rome, ζωάγρια Νικο-|μήδης, *C.I.G.* 5974; cf. Kaibel, *Epigr. ex Lap.*, No. 805 a, p. 531.

<sup>4</sup> *Schol. ad* Hephaest., p. 143 Westph.: εὐρέθησαν πολλὰ μέτρα εἰς μέρη λέξεως ἀπαρτίζοντα, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλλου μέρους τῆς λέξεως ἀρχόμενα· καὶ φέρεται μὲν ὁ τεχνικός [Hephaestion] τινα παραδείγματα. εἰσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ, οἷον παρὰ Καλλιμάχου, κτέ.

<sup>5</sup> Callimachus, *Epigr.* 42 Sch., ἦμισυ δ' οὐκ οἶδ' | εἶτ' Ἔπος.

<sup>6</sup> Menander, *Fragm.* 412 (Kock, *C.A.F.* III, p. 120). The verse that has come down is mutilated and does not illustrate the phenomenon.

<sup>7</sup> Soph. *O. T.* 332, τί ταῦτ' | ἄλλως.

between lines was so characteristic of Sophocles as to have received the name of τὸ εἶδος Σοφόκλειον.<sup>1</sup> The Scholiast also remarks, concerning the division of the word Ζῆνα as Ζῆ-|ν' (Ζῆν'|αὐτοῦ, Hom. © 206, etc.) that Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchus and their school attached the ν to the next following verse, herein ἀκριβέστερον ἐξετάσαντες. Now if we write Callimachus's οἶδ' εἴτ' Ἔρος as οἶδ'|εἴτ' Ἔρος, and Sophocles's ταῦτ' ἄλλως as ταῦτ'|ἄλλως, we do not have in such cases verses that *both end and begin with parts of words*. The doctrine of Aristophanes and Aristarchus then — if we also take into account their practice<sup>2</sup> of dividing Ζῆν' into Ζῆ-|ν' — would require

<sup>1</sup> He adds, after giving the example, ὥστε καλεῖσθαι τὸ εἶδος Σοφόκλειον, καὶ ἐπισυναλοιφή, διὰ τὸ ἐπισυνάπτεσθαι τὸ σύμφωνον τῷ ἐξῆς ἰάμβω, ἦτοι τῷ στίχῳ.

Clearchus reports (*ap. Athen.* 10, 453 *e*) that Sophocles was led to make this innovation on observing the phenomenon in Callias's alphabetical tragedy (cf. *Athen.* 7, 276 *a*); but there are chronological difficulties in the way of this explanation (Welcker, *Kl. Schriften*, I, pp. 371 ff.). Most examples in our received text — *O. T.* 332 τὶ ταῦτ'|ἄλλως, *O. C.* 1164 μολόντ'|αἰτεῖν, *O. T.* 29 μέλας δ'|Ἄιδης, 785 ὁμῶς δ'|ἔκνιζε, 1224 ὅσον δ'|ἀρείσθε, *El.* 1017 καλῶς δ'|ἦδη, *O. C.* 17 πυκνόπτεροι δ'|ἔσω, *O. T.* 1184 ξὺν οἷς τ'|οὐ χρῆν — have been discussed by Hermann (*Opusc.* 1, pp. 143 f.). Cf. also Blass-Kühner, *Ausf. Gramm.* I, p. 231. *Ant.* 1031 μανθάνειν δ'|ἦδιστον εἶ λέγοντος and *O. T.* 791 γένος δ'|ἀτλητον escaped Hermann. Perhaps to this list should be added *O. T.* 523 where M. Schmidt proposes τάχ' ἂν <δ'>|ὀργῆ βιασθέν. — The phenomenon is found also in Aristoph. *Aves* 1716, and *Eccles.* 351; the first example is in a parody of some tragic passage. — In Euripides, *Iph. Taur.* 961 (936) ἐς δίκην τ'|ἔστην should not be cited; here τε is clearly due to interpolation.

Leutsch (*l. c.* pp. 756 ff.) has attempted to show that Sophocles, in imitation of Archilochus (Plut. *de Mus.* 28), has given these passages a lyric treatment according to which the στίχοι became κῶλα, between which the apostrophe was allowable.

Sophocles of course does not always elide where he might have done it; cf. *Ant.* 1096 ἀντιστάντα δὲ|ἀτῆ πατάξει θυμὸν and the passages cited below (pp. 161 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> This is also attested by *Schol. Ven.* Hom. Ω 331 οὕτως τὴν συναλοιφὴν διεῖλεν Ἀριστάρχος, Ζῆ-ν', ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ στίχου τὸ ν θεί. Cf. Eustath. *ad Hom.* Ξ 265, p. 984, 2.

This practice of Aristarchus influenced the Latin poets, who were led to write *versus hypermetri*: e. g. Virg. *Georg.* 1, 295 *aut dulcis musti Volcano decoquit umorem|et foliis*, etc.; Lucret. 5, 849 (the only example in this poet) *multa videmus enim rebus concurrere debere|ut propagando possint producere saecula*. On the other hand Virgil's (*Georg.* 2, 344) *si non tanta quies iret frigusque caloremque|inter et exciperet caeli indulgentia terras* (cf. *Georg.* 3, 242; *ib.* 3, 377, etc.), and Catullus's

us to write all these and like cases οἶ-|δ' εἴτ' Ἔρος, ταῦ-|τ' ἄλλως, πυκνόπτεροι|δ' ἔσω (O. C. 117), ξὺν οἷς|τ' οὐ χροῆν (O. T. 1184), ἐλθεῖν μολόν-|τ' αἰτεῖν (O. C. 1164) etc., the consonant being joined with the following line<sup>1</sup> (ἐπισυναλοφῆ διὰ τὸ ἐπισυνάπτεσθαι τὸ σύμφωνον τῷ ἐξῆς ἰάμβω ἦτοι στίχῳ). This practice must have been followed by Aristophanes of Byzantium in his great edition of Sophocles — the division as regularly given in L and other manuscripts is a survival from this edition — and was perpetuated as a matter of course, for, while the manuscripts have it, the Old Scholia do not note it.

All these considerations seem to demonstrate that to the Greek ear the division of a word between two verses, though unusual in tragedy, was not essentially impossible or offensive, in fact was a noteworthy characteristic of Sophocles. It seems hardly probable that in the original text were found only the nine or ten examples known to us; so small a number could hardly have made a characteristic.

Now if fusion of verses across split words is allowable — where we of to-day usually indicate elision — we should not hesitate to accept as allowable the much less thorough going fusion that takes place when the final word in a verse, ending in a long vowel, retains its integrity though it may cause the opening word of the next syllable to part with an initial vowel through aphaeresis (*elision inversa*). The recognition of such a splitting of words may enable us to emend and — let us hope — to restore the text of Sophocles here and there. And a wider recognition of the legitimacy of aphaeresis at the opening of the verse may justify us in examining anew an important subject in which the acceptance or denial of such aphaeresis plays an important rôle — the use of unaugmented forms in iambic trimeters. This topic we will now take up.

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(115, 2) *paludesque | usque ad Hyperboreas*, of which the first verse closes in each case with the enclitic *que* seem to be modelled after verses like Sophocles's ξὺν οἷς τ' | οὐ χροῆν (O. T. 1184). Cf. Leutsch, *l. c.*, p. 762.

<sup>1</sup> All the verses in Sophocles, which are cited in detail on p. 152, note 1, are actually so divided in L and in other manuscripts, the consonants τ and δ regularly opening the second line. The same is true of the early printed editions of Sophocles. Brunck (1786) appears to be the first to write elision at the end of the lines, and some editors since Brunck, though not consistently, have followed the older usage.

## ON UNAUGMENTED FORMS OF THE VERB IN IAMBIC TRIMETERS

The question of the omission or retention of the syllabic augment in the iambic trimeters of tragedy was long ago discussed by Elmsley (*Eur. Bacch.* 1132 n.), who argued for its universal retention or restoration, and by Seidler and Reisig, and by Hermann (*Eur. Bacch.* praef. [1828]), who advocated its rejection within certain limits. Hermann's authority has long dominated opinion in this matter and perhaps justly. Basing his arguments partly on the epic character of the passages — Messengers' speeches, as Seidler had pointed out — in which many examples of apparently omitted augment occur, and partly on the metrical nature of the opening part of a verse, which may vary according to the emphasis of the initial word, Hermann lays down certain laws according to which unaugmented forms are to be preferred, especially in Messengers' speeches, both at the beginning of a verse and elsewhere in the verse. Perhaps it may be thrashing over well thrashed straw to consider this subject anew. Still, though it may be profitless and wearisome to restate and criticise the opinions and explanations to which the facts have given rise that underly the problem, it can never be out of place to review the facts themselves, especially if some important aspects of them have not received notice, and if they should force upon us a different explanation of the phenomena from the one traditionally held since Hermann's day.

These facts are that in the iambic trimeters of the received text of the tragic poets, in practically every example — the apparent exceptions are considered below — the verb of which the augment is supposed to be omitted follows a word which ends in a vowel, usually a long vowel, a condition of things in which the absence of the augment may be accounted for on the assumption of aphaeresis, whether actual or virtual. In the greater number of cases the apparently unaugmented forms occur in the middle or toward the end of the verse; a few times at the beginning (see Table).<sup>1</sup> When these occur in the verse and are not in Messengers' speeches (*Tr.* 381 Ἴολῆ καλείτο) or are of a frequently recurring type (*Ant.* 546 μὴ θίγες, 557 ἐγὼ δόκουν), scholars are almost unanimous in accepting aphaeresis; but when they occur at

<sup>1</sup> See foot-note on the opposite page.



the beginning of the verse, aphaeresis is usually denied, for here, as Gerth<sup>2</sup> has asserted, elision (*elisiō inversa*) or crasis should not be assumed, “quippe quae sive elisiō sive crasis inter duos versus prorsus sit inaudita.” But Gerth and the other scholars who agree with him overlook the bearing, on this question, of the fact that the habit of elision between verses was a Sophoclean trait (εἶδος Σοφοκλείων). Within the

<sup>1</sup> TABLE OF POSSIBLY UNAUGMENTED FORMS IN THE IAMBIC TRIMETERS OF AESCHYLUS AND SOPHOCLES

This list includes all cases where the form begins a line, but not all the cases, which are very numerous (as after μή, ἐγώ, etc.), where the form comes within a line.

AT BEGINNING		WITHIN THE LINE			
Aesch. <i>Pers.</i> 458		Aesch. <i>Pers.</i> 310		<i>In Messengers' Speeches</i>	
506		313†			
Soph. <i>El.</i> 715	<i>O. C.</i> 1606	490			
716	1607	Soph. <i>Tr.</i> 905			
<i>O. T.</i> 1245	1624†	<i>O. C.</i> 1602			
<i>Tr.</i> 904		1608			
915					
		Aesch. <i>Sept.</i> 607			<i>Not in Messengers' Speeches</i>
		Soph. <i>Aj.</i> 308	<i>Ant.</i> 546		
		739	457		
		962	<i>O. T.</i> 432		
		<i>O. C.</i> 360			
		<i>Tr.</i> 381	<i>Phil.</i> 360		
		772	369		
		etc.	etc.		

NOTE.—In all these examples the form follows a vowel in the preceding word (the vowel is short in Aesch. *Pers.* 458, 506 only—on these passages see p. 158; elsewhere it is long), except in the passages marked †: Aesch. *Pers.* 313 οἶδε ναὸς ἐκ μῆας πέσον, and Soph. *O. C.* 1624 τινὸς|θῶύξεν. (In Soph. *O. C.* 1230 f. we may read, with Elmsley, ἐγοᾶτο for γοᾶτο,—παιδουργίαν|ἐγοᾶτο δ' εὐνάς, and similarly in Aesch. *Pers.* 376 ἐτροπούτο for τροπούτο.) The only real exceptions, then, are *O. C.* 1624, which Porson would get rid of by reading τινὸς|θεῶν ἐθῶύξε, and *Pers.* 313, where he defends οἶδε ναὸς ἔπεσον ἐκ μῆας. Hermann cites two passages from Euripides (*Bacch.* 767, 1084) but the former he rejects himself; the latter is obdurate.—As καθέξτεο is correct for the tragic poets, *O. C.* 1596 and *Tr.* 917 are ruled out.

<sup>2</sup> Curtius, *Studien*, I, 2, p. 261.

verse we do not hesitate to write ἐγὼ 'παθον (*Phil.* 1012) and the like; why should we stumble at ἄνω | 'φορεῖτ' (*El.* 715) and the like when the words, closely connected in sense, fall in different lines, especially as elision between lines was a characteristic of Sophocles? For there is no essential difference, as cases of elision, between τί ταῦτ' | ἄλλως and ἄνω | 'φορεῖτ': in fact the definition of the Scholiast on Hephaestion of ἐπισυναλοιφή well fits our second example. Aphaeresis is unavoidable across such strong punctuation as λέγω· 'πὶ τοῦτον (*Phil.* 591); why should it be denied between verses where the end of one and the beginning of the next run on together? Are we not therefore justified in following Elmsley's guidance, and in seeing in all our Sophoclean examples (for *O. C.* 1624, see p. 155) not unaugmented forms at all, but cases, for the most part, of aphaeresis, to be written as such not only within such lines as are not in Messengers' speeches, but everywhere in the verse and in all parts of the dialogue passages?

In making this assumption we are not doing violence to the earliest tradition of the Sophoclean text. In Sophocles's text, as he wrote it, — if we may judge from the analogy of contemporary metrical inscriptions<sup>1</sup> — neither elision nor aphaeresis, though of course observed in pronunciation, would have been indicated by any special sign; thus verbal forms with aphaeresis of the augment would have had the appearance of unaugmented forms, and when texts were furnished with diacritical signs as they were in the Alexandrine age, an overlearned and subtle editor, reading such forms as imitations of Homeric usage might easily omit to provide them in some cases with the signs with which he would normally indicate aphaeresis, and in this condition they would be transmitted through the ages by copyist after copyist. In this way a tradition would be established of unaugmented forms in iambic trimeters that might well in turn by analogy engender such additional forms as would have been wholly impossible in the original text of the author. On this theory are to be explained the two really anomalous cases from Aeschylus and Sophocles that are enumerated on p. 155.

<sup>1</sup> Allen, *Papers of the American School at Athens*, IV, pp. 147 ff., gives many examples where elision, though required, is not indicated by the omission of the vowel (*scriptio plena*), and other examples where the vowel is dropped. Of aphaeresis the inscriptions furnish us but one clear case, a late inscription; Allen, *l. c.* p. 157. Of course the special sign for elision, the coronis, was not in use until long after Sophocles's time.

ON WORDS AND WORD-GROUPS SPLIT BETWEEN TWO IAMBIC  
TRIMETERS

We have just been considering a number of cases where elision between two verses — either elision proper or *elisis inversa* (or aphaeresis) — shows the intimate connexion of the closing words of one verse and the initial words of the next, a connexion often much closer than between words within a verse. This connexion appears not only in the cases in which we write elision, but also in countless other cases where elision has not taken place, e. g., *Ant.* 453  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\omicron}\mu\eta\nu\ \tau\grave{\alpha}\ \sigma\grave{\alpha}\ |\ \kappa\eta\rho\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ , 1226  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\omega\ |\ \chi\omega\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota$ , 538  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\ |\ \omicron\upsilon\tau'\ \acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\lambda\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ ,<sup>1</sup> *El.* 988  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\ \gamma\iota\gamma\nu\omicron\sigma\kappa\omicron\upsilon\sigma'$   $\omicron\tau\iota\ |\ \zeta\eta\nu\ \alpha\iota\sigma\chi\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \alpha\iota\sigma\chi\rho\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ , *Aj.* 342  $\eta\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha\epsilon\iota\ |\ \lambda\epsilon\eta\lambda\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota\ \chi\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\nu$ , *Tr.* 557  $\omicron\ \pi\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\tau'\ \omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\alpha\sigma\upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\nu\ \pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\ |\ \text{N}\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu\ \phi\theta\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \phi\omicron\nu\acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota\lambda\acute{\omicron}\mu\eta\nu$ , *O. C.* 1130 f.  $\omicron\rho\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omicron\nu$ ,  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ |\ \psi\alpha\acute{\nu}\omega$  (cf. *El.* 1309).

Recognizing, then, in view of the facts just adduced and those set forth on pp. 151 ff., that it is Sophoclean to split a word, and to divide, between two lines, closely connected word-groups, let us examine a few passages where our text as it stands is not wholly satisfactory.

*O. C.* 858 ff. XO.  $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\ \sigma'\ \acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\eta}\sigma\omega$ ,  $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu\delta\epsilon\ \gamma'\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ .

KP.  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\zeta\omicron\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\ \acute{\rho}\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\iota\omicron\nu\ \pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\epsilon\iota\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha$

$\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\phi\acute{\alpha}\psi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \omicron\upsilon\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\nu\ \mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\alpha\iota\nu$ .

Though *θήσεις* may be defended, Nauck suggests *τείσεις*. In the angry retort of Creon we may look, as is usual, for the repetition of the most emphatic word used by the chorus: we get it if we read —

$\kappa\alpha\iota\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\zeta\omicron\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\ \acute{\rho}\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\iota\omicron\nu\ \pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\epsilon\iota\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\chi'\ \acute{\alpha}\text{-}$   
 $\phi\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ .<sup>2</sup>

*O. C.* 1605 f.  $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\kappa\ \eta\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\tau'\ \omicron\upsilon\delta\delta'\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\phi\acute{\iota}\epsilon\iota\omicron$ ,  
 $\kappa\tau\acute{\upsilon}\pi\eta\sigma\epsilon\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \text{Z}\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\varsigma\ \chi\theta\acute{\omicron}\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$ .

<sup>1</sup> The weight of the final syllable of *ἐπει* and of the opening syllable of *οὔτε*, both being long, prevents their fusion. I have not noticed any case where two verses run together in sense as closely as here in which either one or both of the concurrent vowels were not long; but see p. 161. This makes the hiatus easier.

<sup>2</sup> Should we here write *τάχ' ἀπ-|ήσεις*, accepting a sort of elision of the final syllable of *ἀπό*? Preferable is *τάχ' ἀ-|φήσεις*; it accounts better for the traditional text.

Shall we read ὦν ἐφίετ', ἐ-|κτύπησε? We thus part with the unaugmented form κτύπησε, and get a meaning in which the two verses are fused closer together: 'No part of his desire was unheeded *when suddenly thunder* was heard.'

*Tr.* 759 f. . . . ὡς σὺ προὔξεφίεσο,  
ταυροκτονεῖ.

The context here seems to require an imperfect. We obtain it if we read ὡς σὺ προὔξεφίεσ', ἐ-|ταυροκτόνει.

*Tr.* 564. See the second footnote on p. 154.

Aesch. *Pers.* 468 f. . . . ἀμφὶ δὲ  
κυκλοῦντο.

*Ib.* 506 f. . . . θερμαίνων φλογί·  
πίπτον δ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι.

Perhaps ἀμφὶ δὲ|ἐκυκλοῦντο or δ' ἐ-|κυκλοῦντο, and φλογί· ἔ-|πιπτον. It is a question whether in the latter case the final vowel of φλογί should be elided (φλόγ' ἔ-|πιπτον): cf. *Pers.* 850 (? παίδ'), and Soph. *Tr.* 675 (ἀργήτ'). Perhaps, as Allen has remarked of like inscriptional and Homeric examples (*Papers of Am. School at Athens*, IV, p. 157; cf. Smyth, *Greek Melic Poets*, p. 289), we have here to do with the *consonantisation* of the final vowel. If so, iota consonant should be written.

*Tr.* 171 f. ὡς τὴν παλαιὰν φηγὸν αὐδήσαι ποτε  
Δωδῶνι δισσωὶν ἐκ πελειάδων ἔφη.

With names of places used in a locative sense, Sophocles in his trimeters invariably<sup>1</sup>—if we leave out of consideration for the moment this passage and v. 1152—employs ἐν or ἐπί with the dative.<sup>2</sup> *Tr.* 172 and 1152 are therefore open to suspicion. In the former, the pure dative of place, Δωδῶνι, is defended by a reference to *Fragm.* 417—Δωδῶνι ναίων Ζεὺς ὁ ναίος βροτῶν, and by τὸν Ἀβαῖσι ναόν (*O. T.* 900, in a lyric passage; on it see above p. 148). But Δωδῶνι . . . βροτῶν is a fragment snatched from its context, and it may well have been preceded by a line ending with ἐν or ἐπί (cf. *O. C.* 495 cited

<sup>1</sup> In *O. T.* 616, ταῖς Θηβαῖσι is a dative of interest not a locative.

<sup>2</sup> Fairbanks, 'The Dative Case in Sophocles,' *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.*, XVII, 1886, p. 99.

below). In *Fragm.* 423, however, we have καὶ τὸν ἐν Δωδῶνι παῦσον δαίμον' εὐλογούμενον. We get an excellent iambic trimeter if we divide it thus :

καὶ τὸν ἐν  
 Δωδῶνι παῦσον [πᾶσι Nauck] δαίμον' εὐλογούμενον.

For the position of ἐν compare *O. C.* 495 λείπομαι γὰρ ἐν|τῷ μὴ δύνασθαι.

We are, therefore, justified in proposing to read *Tr.* 171 f. :

ὡς τὴν παλαιὰν φηγὸν αὐδῆσαι ποτ' ἐν  
 Δωδῶνι δισσω̄ν ἐκ πελειάδων ἔφη.

*Tr.* 1151 f. ἀλλ' οὔτε μήτηρ ἐνθάδ', ἀλλ' ἐπακτία  
 Τίρυνθι συμβέβηκεν ὥστ' ἔχειν ἔδραν.

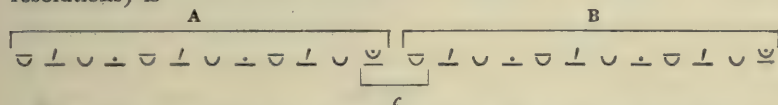
Τίρυνθι can not be taken with συμβέβηκεν. The irregularity of a dative of place without ἐν is removed if we read :

ἀλλ' ἐπακτία ἴν  
 Τίρυνθι συμβέβηκεν ὥστ' ἔχειν ἔδραν.

'Nay, thy mother is not here; as it chances, she hath her abode at Tiryns by the sea' (Jebb). For the position of ἐν compare *O. T.* 1203 lyr. ταῖς μεγάλαισιν ἐν Θηβαῖσι, and *Tr.* 421 ποίοις ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν;

#### ON THE COMMISSURAE OF CERTAIN IAMBIC TRIMETERS

The scheme of two consecutive iambic trimeters of tragedy (omitting resolutions) is



At *c*, the *commissura* of the two verses, there must be in effect not less than three morae or their equivalent in the quantity of the sounds or in the pause that a break in the sense might occasion; otherwise the verses running too closely together will lose their iambic movement. Whenever there is a pause in the sense at the end of verse A this pause furnishes the equivalent of one or more morae if these are needed (as when verse A ends in a short vowel) and verse B may then begin with a short or long vowel indifferently. When, however, *there is no pause in the sense between the verses*, and the close of verse A and

the beginning of verse B run on in a consecutive clause (as in τὰ σὰ | κηρύγματα, etc.) new conditions arise. If, in a couplet of this character, verse A ends in a short vowel + consonant, or if verse B begins with a consonant + short vowel, the consonant in either case will serve sufficiently to keep the verses apart, as it were, and to preserve the integrity of the iambic movement. Similarly, if verse A ends with a long vowel (or diphthong) while verse B opens with a short one, or *vice versa*, or if the closing and opening vowels are both of them long, since in all these cases there are at least three morae in  $\epsilon$ , the voice delays long enough over  $\epsilon$  not to break the flow of the movement. If, however, verse A and verse B were to end and begin respectively with a short vowel,  $\epsilon$  would contain but two morae, the verses thus becoming

$\cup \quad / \quad \cup \quad \cdot \quad \cup \quad / \quad \cup \quad \cdot \quad \cup \quad / \quad \cup \quad \cup \quad \cup \quad / \quad \cup \quad \cdot \quad \cup \quad / \quad \cup \quad \cdot \quad \cup \quad / \quad \cup \quad \cdot \quad \cup \quad / \quad \cup \quad \cdot$   
└───┘  
 $\epsilon$

a form in which the couplet would be likely to lose its iambic character. We must have accordingly in  $\epsilon$  either  $\cdot \cup$ ,  $\cup -$ , or  $\cup \cup$  (in the last the two short vowels in verse B being taken with the following long vowel and giving us an anapaestic opening). Hence — if this theory is correct — we ought never to find in Sophocles's verse, when there is no break or pause in sense between two consecutive trimeters, a verse ending in a short vowel followed by a verse beginning with a short vowel. An examination of the Sophoclean trimeters proves that the phenomena support the theory, countless examples being available, and we may lay down the law for Sophocles in these terms: *When, in two consecutive iambic trimeters which end and begin respectively with a vowel, there is no break in sense at the commissura, one at least of the vowels must be a long vowel or diphthong; for the initial long vowel of the second verse two short syllables may be substituted (anapaestic opening).*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For Aeschylus this law has a modification: *two short vowels are allowed, the one before and the other after the commissura, if the first word of the second verse is a complete iamb.* The pause inevitable after this word makes up, as it were, for the neglected pause between the verses, and the flow of the rhythm is rescued.

There is but one clear example of this modification in Sophocles (*Aj.* 846  $\chi\theta\theta\upsilon\alpha$  |  $\tau\theta\eta\varsigma$ ) while there are several in Aeschylus (see p. 163 and note 2); it would seem, therefore, that the younger poet treated his verse more strictly.

The recognition of this law enables us, I think, to establish in various passages the correct interpretation, and in a few other passages to determine the text. The reader must bear in mind that we are dealing here only with passages in which the sense is not broken, or at first glance appears not to be broken, at the close of the first of two consecutive trimeters.

Our law justifies us in recognizing in many such passages a slight pause in the sense which otherwise might not be supposed to exist; this pause may mark emphasis or contrast, or may introduce appositives or the like.

*Aj.* 678 f. ἐπίσταμαι γὰρ ἀρτίως ὅτι | ὃ τ' ἐχθρὸς . . . ἐχθαρτέος.

Unless we ascribe to the final syllable of ὅτι a peculiar nature by which it might fall under the category of long vowels (hiatus being apparently admissible after τί— but cf. Jebb on *Phil.* 100), we may see in ὅτι here something of a pronominal character: = 'this,' with a slight emphasis, after which a pause would occur, not our English enclitic 'that.' Cf. *Ant.* 276 πάρειμι δ' ἄκων οὐχ ἐκοῦσιν, οἷδ' ὅτι. The verse would thus mean 'For I am newly made aware of this— our enemy is to be hated, etc.,' not 'I am newly made aware that our enemy, etc.' Cf. *Ant.* 61 f., \*98<sup>1</sup> f.

*El.* \*461 f. . . σοί θ' ὑπούργησον τάδε | ἐμοί τ' ἀρωγά.

Here a pause is felt after τάδε, the next lines furnishing the appositives of τάδε. Cf. *O. T.* 401, *Phil.* 305.

*Phil.* 438 f. . . κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτό γε | ἀναξίου μὲν φωτὸς ἐξερή-  
σομαι.

In this passage τοῦτό γε is similarly marked off from the following words. Likewise in *El.* 1377 f. αὐτοῖν κλύε | ἐμοῦ τε, is ἐμοῦ opposed to αὐτοῖν.

*Aj.* \*1398 f. . . σὺ δὲ | ἀνὴρ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐσθλὸς ὢν ἐπίστασο.

ἀνὴρ is predicate of ὢν, σὺ δὲ and καθ' ἡμᾶς being contrasted; hence there is naturally a slight pause after σὺ δὲ. Cf. *Aj.* 684 f., and *O. T.* 1264 f.

<sup>1</sup> The asterisk (\*) means that in the passages indicated by it the second of the verses begins with a word which forms a complete iamb (e.g. ἰσθ' ὅτι | δῖους). See pp. 160 and n., 163 and n.

*O. C.* \*656 f. . . . οἶδ' ἐγὼ σε μὴ τινα | ἐνθένδ' ἀπάξοντ' ἄνδρα.

An emphasis rests on *μὴ τινα* as also on *ἐνθένδ'*, — hence a pause: 'I know that *no one* — *from this place* shall take thee.'

*O. C.* 917 f. καὶ μοι πόλιν κέανδρον ἢ δούλην τινα | ἔδοξας εἶναι.

The first verse (917) is the object of *ἔδοξας*, and therefore set off from it by a slight pause: 'My city void of men and of servile sort — thou seemst to think.' A similar explanation accounts for *El.* 603 f.

In *O. T.* 1229 f. the second verse is an added expansion of the first (*κακά, | ἐκόντα κοῦκ ἄκοντα*).

*Phil.* \*605 f. ὄνομα δ' ὠνομάζετο | Ἑλενος.

This means 'A name he bore — Helenus.'

*O. T.* \*707 f. — Here the first verse consists of the participial phrase and its modifiers, and in it *σὺν* and *σεαυτὸν* are contrasted with *ἐμοῦ*. Thus a pause precedes *ἐμοῦ*.

In *O. T.* 1400 f. we must phrase thus: αἱ τοῦμόν αἶμα — τῶν ἐμῶν χερῶν ἄπο — | ἐπίετε πατρός.

If we point off *O. C.* 344 f. σφῶ δ' ἀντ' ἐκείνων — τὰμὰ δυστήνον κακὰ — | ὑπερπονείτον, by which we indicate the connexion of *ὑπερπονείτον* with *σφῶ δ' ἀντ' ἐκείνων* as well as with what follows, we see that *ὑπερπονείτον* is held in suspense; hence it is preceded by a slight pause: 'The two maidens in place of my sons toil for me, bearing my sorrows' (*κακὰ* cogn. acc.).

*O. C.* 451 f. οὐδέ σφιν ἀρχῆς τῆσδε Καδμείας ποτέ | ὄνησις ἦξει.

Here *ποτέ* is joined with *οὐδέ*: 'And unto them from their sway shall *never* — blessing come.'

*O. C.* \*111 f. στήσόν με κάξιδρυσον, ὡς πυθώμεθα | ὅπου ποτ' ἐσμίν.

'That we may learn — where we are,' not 'That we may learn where we are.' With this compare the opening verses of Aesch. *Sept.* (1 f.) *χρῆ λέγειν τὰ καίρια | ὅστις φυλάσσει*, where in fact Verrall, for other reasons, places a period after *καίρια*.

*O. T.* 794 ff. κάγὼ 'πακούσας ταῦτα τὴν Κορινθίαν | ἄστροις τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκμετρούμενος χθόνα | ἔφευγον ἔνθα μὴ ποτ' ὀψοίμην.



This may be explained like *O. T.* 707 above, the participial clause closing with *χθόνα*, and *ἔφευγον* being taken absolutely: 'Henceforth measuring from afar (*ἐκμετρούμενος*) by stars the region of Corinth, I went my way into exile, to some place where I should not see, etc.' (Jebb, note *ad loc.*).

No other doubtful passage remains in Sophocles<sup>1</sup> excepting *Aj.\** 846 f. *πατρίαν τὴν ἐμὴν ὅταν χθόνα | ἴδῃς, κτέ.* To see here a revival of the Homeric freedom of hiatus before forms like *ἴδῃς* would be hazardous. But it will be observed that *ἴδῃς*, the first word of v. 847, is a complete iamb, and is naturally followed by a pause. As already remarked in the note on p. 160, the pause which is here inevitable makes up, as it were, for the neglected pause between the verses. (We have similar introductory iambs in the passages marked with an asterisk above [\*.]) Since Aeschylus has several examples<sup>2</sup> of the same character as *Aj.* 846 f., it is more satisfactory to explain the solitary Sophoclean example on a theory that will also account for the Aeschylean examples.

In the enunciation of the law it was stated that an anapaestic opening, with initial vowel, is allowable after a short vowel in the preceding verse. Cases of this are :

*O. T.* 26 f.      *τόκοισί τε | ἀγόνοις γυναικῶν.*

*Tr.* 380 f.      *ποτὲ | Ἰόλη ἑκαλείτο.*

One may compare from Aeschylus, *P. V.* 848 f. *ἔμφρονα | ἐπαφῶν, Sept.* 267 *ἔπειτα σὺ | ὀλολυγμόν, Pers.* 506 f. *ἀμφὶ δὲ | ἐκυκλοῦντο* (Elmsley; but see p. 158), *Agam.* 308 *ἀφίκετο | Ἀραχναῖον αἶπος.*

*O. T.* 671 f.    *τὸ γὰρ σόν, οὐ τὸ τοῦδ', ἐποικτίρω στόμα | ἐλεινόν.*

<sup>1</sup> In Aeschylus we may explain nearly every verse, with the exception of a certain group (see the next note), on the assumption of a pause, due to emphasis, contrast or the like: *Sept.* 1 f., 603 f., 641 f., 660 f.; *Agam.* 28 f., 25 f., 1275 f.; *Eum.* 76 f. In *P. V.* 216 f. *τοτέ* is to be taken with *παρεστώτων*, not with *ἐφαίνετο*. In *Agam.* 918 f. *ἐμέ | ἄβρυνε*, and perhaps in *Eum.* 133 f. *χθόνα | ἀνήμερον*, which alone remain, the opening *a* of the second verse may well have been understood as long.

<sup>2</sup> The passages in Aeschylus of the same character as *Aj.* 846 f. — *χθόνα | ἴδῃς* — are *P. V.* 263 f., 381 f., 493 f.; *Pers.* 316 f.; *Supp.* 611 f., 934 f.; *Cho.* 877 f.; *Eum.* 76 f., 97 f.

Here we must write :

τὸ γὰρ σόν, οὐ τὸ τοῦδ', ἐποικτίρω στόμα  
ἐλεινόν.

This is the reading of the manuscripts, but Porson emended it to ἐλεινόν, and editors have usually followed him. ἐλεινόν is required by the metre in *Phil.* 1130, but ἐλεινόν appears to occur in Attic prose; cf. Plato, *Rep.* 10, 606 b.

In *Phil.* 1285 f. — comparing v. 1357 παιδὶ τῷ Λαερτίου — we are tempted to write ὁ Λαερτίου. But the quantity of Λα- is against this. We must, therefore, assume a slight pause after δέ — indeed δέ with ἔπειτα is emphatic and may well have been followed by a pause — and write :

. . . Ἀτρεΐδαι μὲν μάλιστ', ἔπειτα δὲ  
ὁ Λαρτίου παῖς καὶ σύ. ΝΕ. μὴ 'πεύξῃ πέρα·  
δέχου δὲ χεῖρὸς ἐξ ἐμῆς βέλη τάδε.

## PLATO AS A PLAYWRIGHT

BY LOUIS DYER

SINCE 1872, when I was welcomed by Professor Goodwin into the charmed circle of the Socrates portrayed in Plato's earlier and middle period of authorship, — the circle of the Platonic and of the Platonizing Socrates as I now venture to put it, — I have been pre-occupied with the exhibition in these unparalleled dramatizations of what may be called Plato's skill as a playwright. Jowett, although he has truly said<sup>1</sup> that "we lose the better half of Plato when we regard his Dialogues merely as literary compositions," has constantly<sup>2</sup> drawn attention to "resemblances to the Greek drama" which "may be noted in all the Dialogues of Plato;" Lewis Nettleship was never tired of illustrating the part played by dramatic intention and effectiveness in the arguments of Plato's *Republic*,<sup>3</sup> and much that is illuminating in Pater's *Plato and Platonism* applies specifically to our author's dramatic craftsmanship.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, so long as there was no widely recognized scheme of the order in which Plato wrote his Dialogues, it was out of the question to attempt any connected account of the part played in the unfolding of his philosophic mind by Plato's dramatic genius.

Such a scheme has now appeared, and that fact must excuse the following attempt to distinguish a growth and a decay in Plato's art as a playwright<sup>5</sup> and to mark out three stages in the evolution of the

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<sup>1</sup> *Introduction to the Phaedrus*, p. 409.

<sup>2</sup> See especially his *Introduction to the Phaedo*, *ad fin.*

<sup>3</sup> *Lectures and Remains*, II, *passim*; see especially pp. 6-11.

<sup>4</sup> pp. 6 and 66-88.

<sup>5</sup> A full generation since, Professor Lewis Campbell grouped the *Sophist*, the *Statesman*, and the *Philebus* with the *Timaeus*, the *Critias*, and the *Laws*, immemorably recognized as Plato's latest works. This gave a well-defined third period of authorship. The first period has always been supposed to include the *Apology*, the *Euthyphro*, the *Crito*, the *Charmides*, and two or three other short Dialogues termed Socratic *par excellence*. It has been reserved for Mr. W. Lutoslawski, chiefly by marshalling compactly in his pages scattered work already done by several scholars

philosophic Dialogue as he used it. Others who are recognized authorities in metaphysics may accept Mr. Lutoslawski's chronology on philosophical grounds,<sup>1</sup> but my reasons for welcoming it and adopting it are more superficial. I find it easy to accept because the evidence offered in its support is not of a metaphysical kind, and I feel that it is lawful to follow Mr. Lutoslawski's lead even if one has not the wit to frame any connected opinions about the deep questions of Plato's philosophy.

Our philosopher has many and subtle devices for dramatizing his logic. Thus, at least, we are prone to put it, forcing upon Plato our own point of view, and forgetting that the experience of a long life spent in hard thinking was required before Plato dreamed of undramatized logic, of any form of argument that could be effective without a compelling personality represented in the very act of using it. Full of the power lent him by the life and teaching of Socrates, Plato in writing of the Platonic Socrates, seems to have thought with Homer that words like arrows could be winged things when aimed by the right man, but not otherwise. Disenchanted later on in the midst of his most mature achievements, masterpieces of the fully developed dramatic Dialogue where the protagonist is the Platonizing Socrates, Plato reflected bitterly that words, — to whatsoever speaker they might be dramatically assigned, became inert and helpless things as soon as they were written down. *Litera scripta manet*, the written word remains, — "to be bandied about promiscuously, understood or misunderstood, and, if maltreated, it has no parent to keep it from harm."<sup>2</sup> This disenchantment of Plato's was so genuine that he abandoned authorship and confined himself presumably to oral teaching for twelve years more or less. But he ended by thinking better of it and produced two more Dialogues, the *Theaetetus* and the *Parmenides*. In these works he still practised his perfected

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on Platonic chronology, to complete the first or Socratic group with the *Protagoras*, the *Euthydemus*, the *Meno*, and the *Gorgias*, and to establish a middle group of the *Cratylus*, the *Symposium*, the *Phaedo*, the *Republic*, the *Phaedrus*, the *Theaetetus*, and the *Parmenides*. See his recent work on Plato's *Logic*, 1897 (Longmans).

<sup>1</sup> If I understood the lectures on Plato given in 1897 by the Master of Balliol, he accepted Mr. Lutoslawski's chronology as offering the right basis for following the growth of Plato's philosophy. I should also venture to surmise that Mr. Henry Jackson would be of like mind.

<sup>2</sup> *Phaedrus*, 275 E.

dramatic craft, before carrying out in practice a self-denying ordinance which exiled from his latest works the dramatic figure of Socrates. Thus at the last our author abandoned his dramatic philosophizing, and wrote Dialogues which were in reality philosophical treatises more or less of the kind still in vogue. For this reason Plato's last six works, the *Sophist*, the *Statesman*, the *Philebus*, the *Timaeus*, the *Critias*, and the *Laws* may here be left out of account. We might, in fact, say that Plato, like Raphael, had his third or Roman manner which was continued by other hands when he was no more, and which was as radically different from his two earlier manners as were Raphael's Peruginesque and Florentine works from his later ones.

In several of his Dialogues we find that the opening has peculiar dramatic interest, and this may serve as a reminder that, in dramatic works more than those of any arts except Poetry, Oratory, and Music, Aristotle's doctrine holds true that everything depends upon the beginning,<sup>1</sup> inasmuch as many things that exercise our minds can be cleared up then and there. What then shall we say of the dramatic interest of the first work written by Plato, the *Apology*, which portrays Socrates as Plato saw him pleading not so much for his life, as for his life-work, losing his case, and leaving the court condemned to death? Most of the things that exercise our minds when we read the earliest group of Plato's writings are cleared up in the *Apology*. It was this unforgettable drama which made of Plato the dramatist of philosophy. Like Xenophon and others among the disciples of Socrates, Plato was stung into authorship. Indignation made him determined to record the most unspeakably important events within the range of his experience. Doubtless what others may have written gave him an additional incentive, forced him to portray Socrates as he knew him, — the Platonic Socrates. Plato's mind in this regard is quite simply expressed when St. Luke says to Theophilus, "Inasmuch as many have taken in hand to draw up a narrative concerning these matters which have been fulfilled among us . . . it seemed good to me also, having traced the course of all things accurately from the first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus."

<sup>1</sup> *Eth. Nicomach.* 1098 b, 7: δοκεῖ γὰρ πλεῖον ἢ ἡμῶν παντὸς εἶναι ἢ ἀρχή, καὶ πολλὰ συμφανῆ γίνεσθαι δι' αὐτῆς τῶν ζητούμενων.

In the *Apology* then we may safely seek the main outlines of the Platonic Socrates, with the confident expectation of finding there the right clue to the main drift and dramatic import of the other works of Plato's first period. We find dialogues in the *Apology*; (1) narrated conversations (20 E) and (2) dramatic dialogues (24 D, E, and 27 B, C). These are Plato's Socratic Dialogues in embryo, which serve to illustrate, in just the manner of the short dialogues next produced by Plato, the prefatory account of Socratic diction and argument put into Socrates' own mouth at the beginning of the *Apology*.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the best indication that the *Euthyphro*, the *Crito*, the *Charmides*, the *Laches*, and the *Lysis* must be classed with the *Apology* is to be found by abstracting from the *Apology* a general outline such as can be filled in by details supplied in the shorter dialogues. Socrates represents himself (1) as so rooted in Athens that he can only do his work by identifying himself with the Athenian community. This function, however, excludes him from public official duty since it is that of a father or an elder brother; it also requires him to have no private or family concerns, and he accordingly entrusts the education of his sons to the good men of Athens.<sup>2</sup>

(2) This discharge of his function made him obnoxious. People would not stand cross-examination, and yet to cross-examine<sup>3</sup> was a duty laid upon him by Apollo; he was a heaven-sent gad-fly, sent to sting the body politic, and he had guidance from above in what he did as well as in what he left undone.

(3) He never took pay, never made special favourites or bore a grudge against anyone; but, as his commission required, he gave what he had to every chance comer, taking no thought but talking in a casual and unstudied manner.

(4) His care for the right education of the young was the root of all his thoughts and actions, the great positive element underlying superficial doubts and hesitations, — the splendid quality which made him

<sup>1</sup> 17 D, E, and 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Apology ad fin.*

<sup>3</sup> Appropriately enough the Greek inscription of Jowett's memorial tablet in Balliol College Chapel is from the *Apology*, 38 A: ὁ δὲ ἀνεξέταστος βίος οὐ βιωτὸς ἀνθρώπων.

stand out head and shoulders above all his contemporaries small and great, foolish and wise.

With some such general map of the realm occupied by Socrates, which every reader can abstract for himself from the *Apology*, the whole drift of the shorter dialogues above enumerated becomes easy to understand. All the above leading points are woven into the *Euthyphro*. In the *Crito* the first of them is brought into prominence. The first two are especially emphasized, along with the last, in the *Charmides*, where the heaven-sent charm of Socrates is dramatically wrought out, along with his unstudied naturalness and good nature,— the third point abstracted above from the *Apology*. The like is true of the *Laches*, where, however, the disconcerting effect of Socratic discourse upon grave and reverend seniors is especially marked, while in the *Lysis* is shown the Master's subtle sympathy with the very young. Thus we realize that Plato's five earliest works might have been planned in order to convey a definitely intended portrait of Socrates at his work among all classes in Athens. The mistake would be to suppose that Plato means Socrates to lay down a special doctrine or to be always logical or even free from occasional subterfuges and tortuous twists in argument. It is not the doctrine of Socrates,— for Socrates had no doctrine in our strict sense of the word,— it is the man Socrates whom Plato portrays from the life, as Philosophy made flesh and walking among the sons of men.

Having finished these *genre*-pictures, where Socrates is put upon the stage along with average types of contemporary Athenians, old and young, Plato next undertook to put on a larger stage one of the most striking dramatic interludes of the *Apology*,<sup>1</sup> where he discusses the oracle given to Chaerephon at Delphi to the effect that Socrates was the wisest of men. Accordingly we now come upon a group of Dialogues, still belonging to Plato's first manner and still aimed at portraying the Platonic Socrates, but portraying him no longer as the only principal figure. Having in the shorter Socratic Dialogues flashed innumerable side lights upon the leading phases of his great personage, Plato now trusts us to give him due attention when he is treading the boards with men of great intellectual mark. In the *Protagoras*, the *Meno*, the

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<sup>1</sup> 21 and 22.

*Euthydemus*, and the *Gorgias*, Socrates' quality is tried by a new and more searching test. Plato's plots grow more complicated, and the varied play and practice of his *mises-en-scène* are more subtle. The portrait of the *Apology* may be likened to a first sketch in Black and White; in the short dialogues we have *genre-scenes* of finished colouring, and we note successive efforts in dramatic construction which are Plato's constant attempts to frame his pictures, to achieve a harmonious setting for the portrait of his Master. Now in the last among his dialogues of portrayal, his practised hand essays a series of Historical paintings.

Indeed, as we read the *Protagoras*, the first of these *oeuvres de longue haleine*, we look back almost with a smile to the *Lysis*, where conversation no sooner began to run smoothly than the boys' Nurses intervened and took them home to bed.<sup>1</sup> It was easy to discuss courage with rough and ready soldiers like Laches, whose intellectual joints were always a trifle stiff, and with such typical "heavy fathers" as Lysimachus and Melesias, and it required no more than his prentice hand to enable Socrates to lay down the law about temperance, justice and friendship in the boy-assemblies of Athenian palaestras; nor could the unfathomable superficiality of Euthyphro serve for anything but a foil to the Platonic Socrates. But matters grow more serious when we see that Plato, having commenced Playwright in these shorter works, brings Socrates before us trying conclusions with Protagoras and Gorgias, rising superior to the practised tricks of Euthydemus and Dionysodorus, and calmly braving the implacable animosity of Anytus, Anytus whom he holds ultimately responsible for the adverse verdict that condemned him.<sup>2</sup> In these scenes Plato shows himself a master of the playwright's art.

The dramatic elaboration resorted to in getting under way the main action of the *Protagoras* is something new. The nearest approach to it has been in the *Lysis*, where Plato lingers over the preliminary scenes, and betrays for the moment a certain preoccupation with dramatic

<sup>1</sup> 223 A.

<sup>2</sup> *Apology*, 36 A: This passage in the *Apology*, without the light thrown upon it by the *Meno* (90-94), seems curiously pointless, — little more, indeed, than a piece of Socratic mystification. See also *Apology*, 29 D and 30 B, where Anytus is singled out as the really dangerous and determined accuser, and contrast the almost affectionate account of Meletus with which the *Euthyphro* opens.



intricacies for their own sake. The fruits of this we gather in the *Protagoras*, where this practised dramatic craftsmanship is brought to its bearings. The new dramatic device most obvious and, from an artistic point of view, least important in the *Protagoras* is its wholly detached prologue. This, however, results in a narrative form for the main dialogue, where Plato, like a skilled engineer, lays his first parallel at a distance from the fort he intends to storm, introducing Socrates as in the *Lysis* long before he brings him to where the other main characters are.

This narrative form was especially convenient for what Plato had momentarily in hand, since it made easy the numerous asides that call attention to the diverting gyrations of the smaller fry whom we see hanging on the lips of Protagoras, Prodicus, and Hippias, and was a means of bringing out by parenthetical comment the various humours and fads of the great men themselves. Apart from this question of dramatic convenience, Plato's new invention of a completely detached prologue has no technical importance. He made the most of this invention for dramatic purposes in his subsequent period of authorship when he was portraying the Platonizing Socrates of his second manner. Perhaps, though, a certain and minor dramatic value attaches to Plato's first use, in the *Protagoras*, of the wholly detached prologue, for we may regard it as a dramatized title-page useful as giving due notice that our author's stage is no longer to be monopolized by Socrates. Thus we note that Plato takes a leaf out of Euripides' book in order to announce, in what we may call a Euripidean prologue, that he is in the act of completing his portrait of Socrates by bringing him on a stage where he will at least technically be subordinated to Protagoras, who outranks him in years and reputation.

Corresponding to the enlargement of Plato's stage, we have now, underlying his prevailing mood of Socratic portraiture, the threads of a new and profound philosophy that carries us beyond the horizon of Socrates. These threads are inextricably woven into the narrated conversations so that we cannot attribute a monopoly of truth to any of the conversing personages. Here is a beginning of what soon forces the Platonic Socrates from Plato's stage and brings on in his place the Platonizing Socrates. But apart from this it concerns us here to note the graces and the delicacies of dramatic resourcefulness lavished by

Plato in order to preserve the dignity of Protagoras, the man of importance, while at the same time he reveals in the young Socrates a mind of far greater flexibility, and a heart of deeper resolve, — the promise in fact of a far better man than the eminent Protagoras. Socrates becomes, in the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the *Protagoras*, almost a man of the world, but with a difference quite sufficient to remind us that Apollo called him wise.

For all that, even Shakespeare has hardly outdone the subtlety of humorous characterization shown by Plato in the *Protagoras*, where our author betrays a Shakesperian quality also in the more farcical by-play that centres around Hippias and Prodicus. Doubtless, Plato felt in his day the truth conveyed in the French saying: *rira bien qui rit le dernier*, and was spurred on by popular Aristophanesque caricatures of Socrates until he brought the laughs to side with his master. In spite of its good fun, however, the *Protagoras* leaves us with a serious impression of Socrates. He was in earnest, we feel, about serious matters, and thus we are prepared for the roaring farce of the *Euthydemus*, and enabled to get from beneath it sobering glimpses of a curiously consistent and almost dogmatizing Socrates. At all events the Platonic Socrates in this dialogue shows that he is master of the field in spite of the buffoonery of his antagonists in argument and of his genuine enjoyment of their gasconades.

On the score of dramatic consistency Plato makes with his *Euthydemus* a step in advance. The detached prologue here consists of a Dialogue with Crito. This is cut short by a narrative of Socrates' encounters with Dionysodorus and Euthydemus, which are interrupted in the middle by further talk between Socrates and his friend, who also round out the whole by a short conversation at the end. Thus Plato brings to completion the notion of a Dialogue within a Dialogue, which had plainly been working in his mind since he wrote the *Charmides* and the *Lysis*. The full dramatic possibilities of this elaborate form were not, however, realized by him until he wrought them out in the *Phaedo* which is, dramatically speaking, his masterpiece.

The *Gorgias* is far less complex than the *Euthydemus* and the *Protagoras*, though it comes after them. It has a prologue, which, however, is not wholly detached. It has the same function, as a sort of title-page, performed by the Prologue of the *Protagoras*, but, not being detached,

it does not cumber our author with the narrative form for his main discourse. It is a sort of flourish of trumpets to introduce that Prince of Persuasion, Gorgias of Leontini. Here are no satirical asides, and our author "saves the face" of the illustrious Gorgias by keeping him for the most part out of the fray, which grows rather warm between the Platonic Socrates and Polus, figuring as the "understudy" of Gorgias. Simplicity, clearness of purpose, and directness are the notes of this remarkable work, the dramatic form of which is therefore less complex than that of its predecessors. These characteristics are not allowed, however, to interfere with a half reasoned and half mystical amplification by Socrates of the almost sentimental idealism of the closing pages in the *Apology*. What was put there for the popular understanding is here more philosophically interpreted. In this interpretation, as also here and there in the *Protagoras* and the *Euthydemus*, Socrates has grown so much surer of his ground than he was in the *Apology* as to lose now and again the "know-nothing" note of the Platonic Socrates. He is suffering before our eyes a change into the Platonizing Socrates of the works which immediately follow.

Before turning to those works, and to Plato's second period of authorship, we must consider the *Meno*, which came chronologically between the *Protagoras* and the *Euthydemus*, but was passed over that we might treat together Plato's three historical pictures of Socrates and typical sophists of his day. The *Meno*, too, contains premonitions of the Platonizing Socrates in the short passage (81 C-86) dealing with the transmigration of souls and explaining our power to learn as a faculty for remembering. The episodic character of this discussion may mean that Plato had not yet thought the question out. Indeed, this topic is more appropriate to the Platonizing Socrates who deals with it in the *Phaedo* and the *Phaedrus*. Meanwhile the Platonic Socrates pursues an argument in the *Meno* which he had left unfinished at the end of the *Protagoras* written immediately before. Aside from all this is the dramatic scene with Meno at the outset. The celebrated Thessalian Condottiere pays a tribute to the wide renown of Socrates when he protests that he will not report in Thessaly that Socrates does not know what virtue is. Not Athens, but all Greece had its eyes upon Socrates, but so has the implacable Anytus whose short colloquy with Socrates in the *Meno* (90 B-D) is one of the most inimitable

achievements of Plato as a playwright. 'I perceive, Socrates, you have a ready knack of taking people's characters away. Now, let me offer you a piece of good advice. Look out! In no city is it much trouble to take away from any man something more than his character. But here in Athens it is a matter of nothing at all. And you are just the man, to be perfectly aware of the fact. No need to tell you!'

In the Dialogues of Plato's second manner Socrates once more takes the lead as in the earlier and shorter Socratic Dialogues; but, partly on that account, he must be recognized as a Platonizing Socrates. The Dialogues in question are the *Cratylus*, the *Symposium*, the *Phaedo*, the *Republic*, the *Phaedrus*, the *Theaetetus*, and the *Parmenides*. Skilful characterization of Socrates, dramatically conceived and often wrought out with a far more practised sureness of hand than is shewn in his first period, meets us at every turn in the *Symposium*, the *Phaedo*, the *Republic*, and the *Theaetetus*, not to speak of the *Cratylus*. But the process — if a technical term may be slightly misused, — is more or less new. Plato seems to have grown fonder of what are called "Snapshots," instantaneous glimpses such as that of Socrates in a brown study,<sup>1</sup> Socrates at the moment when his irons have been removed,<sup>2</sup> or "sitting here in a curved posture,"<sup>3</sup> Socrates with Polemarchus' servant plucking his cloak from behind,<sup>4</sup> or Socrates seen in profile, having a snub nose and prominent eyes.<sup>5</sup> The figure and the genius of Socrates flash out upon us in detached traits, postures, and the like, that are all the more effective because of the serried arguments in the midst of which they shine like so many familiar landmarks in strange realms of thought, regions unvisited by Socrates in the flesh. And yet the Platonizing Socrates is most at home in just these regions; he knows all Plato's own views and is often his pupil's mouthpiece, — he is in fact a far more fictitious being than the Platonic Socrates, from whom he differs in the degree in which purely philosophical pre-occupations have begun to encroach in Plato's mind upon the unrestricted play of his skill as a dramatist.

If we duly heed the only indications which Plato ever gives of the chronology of his works, dramatic ones like those given in the Prologue

<sup>1</sup> *Symposium*, 175 A.

<sup>2</sup> *Phaedo*, 60 B.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 98 D.

<sup>4</sup> *Republic*, 327 B.

<sup>5</sup> *Theaetetus*, 209 C.

to the *Protagoras* and the opening scene of the *Gorgias*, or the pointed remark in the Prologue of the *Phaedo*<sup>1</sup> that Plato was absent on account of illness, we may confirm the view<sup>2</sup> that a new series of works is inaugurated by the *Cratylus*. There is, to begin with, neither prologue nor introductory scene in this Dialogue, but at the very outset the Platonizing Socrates is swept bodily into a discussion on the meaning and use of words in progress between Hermogenes and Cratylus.<sup>3</sup> Socrates is thus at the very start carried off his own ground into a discussion under the dispensation<sup>4</sup> of Cratylus. Astonishment is freely expressed by Socrates himself as well as by his interlocutors at the bold and confident way in which he gives an account of the development of language and at his reckless etymologies. 'You talk like one possessed,' says Hermogenes, and Socrates allows that Euthyphro has been lecturing him since day-break. He must have his fling to-day and, if necessary, he will go to a Priest to-morrow and be cleansed of the taint of possession.<sup>5</sup> This entirely new mood, a most non-Socratic one, is made all the more conspicuous by the gullibility of Hermogenes.<sup>6</sup> Cratylus, like Gorgias in the last of the Dialogues of portraiture, is long kept in the background, but for a very different dramatic purpose, as we perceive when he comes forward and pointedly approves of all that Socrates has said, 'not of himself, but under inspiration from some Muse or as the mouthpiece of Euthyphro.'<sup>7</sup> After an *ex cathedra* pronouncement, in which he elaborates the Heraclitan doctrine of flux, Cratylus postpones the further enlightenment of Socrates to some future occasion. Socrates holds him to this promise, urging that he is young and may go far.<sup>8</sup> The Dialogue then closes with Socrates and Hermogenes escorting Cratylus off the stage. The closing exhortation<sup>9</sup> of Cratylus, which ends with a request that Socrates should give his best attention to the doctrine of

<sup>1</sup> 59 B.

<sup>2</sup> See note 5 on p. 165, and note 1 on p. 166.

<sup>3</sup> The same sort of opening is used also in the *Philebus*.

<sup>4</sup> 428 B, μεμλεηκέ τέ μοι περι αὐτῶν καὶ ὥσως ἂν σε ποιησαμένη μαθητήν.

<sup>5</sup> 396 D, E. See also 428 D; *Phaedrus*, 235 C, and *Philebus*, 20 B and 25 B, C.

<sup>6</sup> See Jowett's *Introduction*, pp. 261 f.

<sup>7</sup> 428 D.

<sup>8</sup> 440 D: ἔτι γὰρ νέος εἶ καὶ ἡλικίαν ἔχεις.

<sup>9</sup> 440 E: ἀλλὰ καὶ σὺ πειρῶ ἔτι ἐννοεῖν ταῦτα ἤδη.

Heraclitus, drives home the impression, conveyed with cumulative insistency by all preceding dramatic turns and devices, that Socrates has been introduced into a different world from that in which he actually lived, — into the world of Plato and Aristotle.

The *Cratylus* gives, then, a preliminary sketch of Plato's second manner, and its dramatic construction emphasizes the un-Socratic note which characterizes the Platonizing Socrates. Thus it is marked out as the first in a series of works designed to carry Plato's thought beyond the range of his master Socrates, and in particular to find the bearings of Platonic thought with reference to the rival philosophies of Heraclitus<sup>1</sup> and the Eleatics. First after the *Cratylus* comes the *Symposium*, where Plato's skill as a playwright shows all its resources. Here the latent possibilities of the detached Prologue used in the *Protagoras* and the *Euthydemus* are developed with a new and striking result, noticeable in all the remaining Dialogues of Plato's second manner,<sup>2</sup> excepting only the *Phaedrus* and the *Republic*, — a work of such dimensions that its dramatic economy requires a special and lengthy discussion.<sup>3</sup> This new use of an old device emphasizes the detachment of the Prologue by insisting<sup>4</sup> upon a long lapse of time between it and the main Dialogue of which it is the dramatic frame, so to speak. In the *Phaedo* the detachment of the Prologue is made additionally complete, because it is separated from the main body of the Dialogue not only by a long lapse of years, but also by the distance from Athens to Phlius. The calm which Socrates requires<sup>5</sup> in order to meet death is rendered absolutely unearthly by the setting of the prologue, a dialogue which takes place in the Alpine fastnesses of Peloponnesian Phlius. An analogous effect is quite as perfectly achieved, rather more smoothly indeed, in the two other works of Plato's second period, the *Republic* and the *Phaedrus*, where a change of scene is brought about, as in the *Gorgias*, and the *Lysis*, without a break. Here again Plato's second period shews an advance in

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<sup>1</sup> For reflections strikingly appropriate on the threshold of Plato's second period of authorship, see Pater's *Plato and Platonism*, p. 2, *Init.*

<sup>2</sup> The *Phaedo*, the *Theaetetus*, and the *Parmenides*.

<sup>3</sup> I need hardly say that there is no room in this article for such a discussion.

<sup>4</sup> *Phaedo*, 57 A, B; *Symposium*, 172 C; *Theaetetus*, 142 C, D; *Parmenides*, 126 B, C.

<sup>5</sup> *Phaedo*, 116 B and 117 D, E.

dramatic workmanship. In the *Republic*, a conversation begun in the brilliant bustle of a notable religious festival is continued in the sequestered calm of the house of Cephalus; in the *Phaedrus* Socrates and Phaedrus retire from the frequented road, conversing by the way, to the noon-day silence and shade of a plane-tree by the Ilissus. All this, on Aristotle's principle cited above,<sup>1</sup> must serve to point a contrast in the dramatic economy required by the Platonizing Socrates and that which best suited the Platonic Socrates. For, where the latter is concerned, we notice a change of scene from comparative silence to more bustling and distracting surroundings, *e. g.*: in the openings of the *Charmides*, the *Lysis*, the *Protagoras*, the *Euthydemus*, and the *Gorgias*. Plainly the Platonic Socrates, as is implied at the beginning of the *Apology*,<sup>2</sup> was most himself amid the everyday distractions of busy Athens from which Plato is at such pains to sequester the Platonizing Socrates.

The disenchantment of Plato, alluded to already,<sup>3</sup> came after he had written the *Republic* and the *Phaedrus*, in the first of which, — the longest of his *narrated* Dialogues, — he declares<sup>4</sup> that a *man who keeps himself in hand*, ὁ μέτριος ἀνὴρ, will be chary of repeating another's words as his own, will pick and choose and only omit "said he" and "he answered" when he approves of what is said. After this rejection of dramatic Dialogue on the ground that narrative is superior, we are scarcely prepared for the fact that Plato never again produced a Dialogue in strictly and consistently narrative form. That the *Phaedrus* was not a narrative, although written directly after the *Republic*, merely shews that Plato the playwright understood his business and refused to be bound by the letter of a puritanical self-denying ordinance passed by Plato the Moralist. Certainly the incongruity of attempting to throw the *Phaedrus* into a narrative form is self-evident. But it is one thing for Plato to disregard the letter of his own theory in order the more strictly to observe its Spirit,<sup>5</sup> as he does in the *Phaedrus*, and quite

<sup>1</sup> See p. 167 *supra*, note.

<sup>2</sup> 17 C.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 166.

<sup>4</sup> 392 D—396 C.

<sup>5</sup> The *Phaedrus* simply carries Plato's objection (of the *Republic*) to promiscuous dramatizing logically to its outcome, which rejects all forms of writing, — everything but the living speech.

another for him to indicate, as he does unmistakably both in the *Theaetetus*<sup>1</sup> and the *Parmenides*,<sup>2</sup> that the whole question as to narration or its absence is a matter of no great moment one way or the other.

Twelve years more or less of complete literary inactivity, during which Plato made his second journey to Syracuse, intervened between the production of the *Phaedrus*, in which literary production as such is ridiculed,<sup>3</sup> and the writing of the *Theaetetus*.<sup>4</sup> During this time Plato seems to have altered many views and to have reformed others; in particular his interest in dramatic workmanship seems to have been unconsciously undermined. For, after resuming authorship, he only produced two works of dramatic interest, — the *Theaetetus* and the *Parmenides*. In the *Theaetetus* at the close of a detached Prologue which normally requires to be followed by a narrative, Plato most undramatically drops the curtain and comes forward to explain<sup>5</sup> that he is going to leave out “and I said,” “he agreed,” “he disagreed” and the like, in order to avoid repetitions. The *Parmenides* begins with a detached Prologue, followed by a narrated Dialogue; but suddenly, without any such warning as he gave in the *Theaetetus*,<sup>6</sup> he completely abandons the use of “said I,” “answered he,” and the like. What is more, as far as may be, he expunges along with them the pronouns of the first and second persons singular together with all forms implying them, their place being filled by the first person plural. Here we have the strange spectacle of the playwright’s consummate skill subtly contriving its own defeat, for Plato uses the practised resources of his art no longer to characterize contrasted speakers,

<sup>1</sup> 143 C.

<sup>2</sup> 173 D-end.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 166.

<sup>4</sup> I at least am convinced of this by considerations such as those of Mr. Lutslawski’s chapter on “The Reform of Plato’s Logic,” *Plato’s Logic*, pp. 363-415. On Plato’s visits to Sicily, see Freeman’s *Sicily*, vol. IV.

<sup>5</sup> 143 C.

<sup>6</sup> It has been remarked that the personal forms of verbs of saying so common in other narrative dialogues give place to narrative Infinitives in the *Parmenides*, a narration narrated. In the short passage immediately preceding the sudden lapse of narration, pp. 136 E and 137 A,  $\xi\phi\eta$  is used once,  $\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\iota$  four times, and  $\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$  once. By massing these marks of the narrative at the point where he deliberately proposes to begin to ignore it, Plato seeks to hide his hand, so to speak. In fact, he succeeds in most cases, since few readers ever discover that the major part of *Parmenides* formally violates the requirements of a narrative dialogue.



but strains every nerve to blend into one two thinkers and talkers who personify little more than the play of successive phases of thought. Such is his determination to break down the barriers of personality throughout this long and arduous discussion<sup>1</sup> that he revives the obsolescent forms of the Dual and makes frequent use of them. Nothing of the dramatic play of incident and innuendo familiar to us in his earlier writings now remains, — nothing but the ebb and flow of affirmation and denial around “that which is” and “that which is not.” “Being” and “Not Being,” — which must serve our turn as Protagonist and Deuteronist in this most metaphysical of Miracle-plays, — must be declared from the playwright’s point of view, to lack personal effectiveness and reality. Metaphysically viewed no doubt these chilling abstractions are above all reproach and deserve all respect, and yet we do not consciously wish to meet them again when the Dialogue is ended.

Plato has entered thus into a region where personal characterization appears to stand between him and the truth. For a moment he dreams of a transformation of the Dialogue into a sort of disembodied conversation between souls decorporealized, upsoaring and, like Dante and Beatrice, united by “*La concreata e perpetua sete Del deiforme regno.*”<sup>2</sup> Such a conversation Plato puts before us in the *Parmenides* having described it in the *Theaetetus*, where the Platonizing Socrates hesitatingly says: “I speak of what I scarcely understand; but the soul when thinking appears to me to be just talking — asking questions of herself and answering them, affirming and denying.”<sup>3</sup> Such is the final term in the evolution of Plato as a playwright. The gulf between this conception of philosophic argument and that of the *Republic* and the *Phaedrus* is wide, wider still the difference between “Being” pitted against “Not Being” in the *Parmenides*, and Socrates using in his defense just the same sort of talk the Athenians heard him using every day in the market-place.<sup>4</sup> The *Parmenides* in fact is Plato’s last dramatic experiment, and his stage is empty at the

<sup>1</sup> *Parmenides*, 137 D–166 C.

<sup>2</sup> *Paradiso*, II, 19.

<sup>3</sup> Jowett’s translation of *Theaetetus*, 189 E and 190 A.

<sup>4</sup> *Apology*, 17 C.

close. Empty it henceforward remained. Although he afterwards wrote Dialogues, such as the *Philebus*, they were Dialogues only in name. Perhaps his prophetic vision revealed to him at the last that there was no permanent function for the dramatic form as a vehicle of philosophic thought,—none apart from the unique personality of Socrates, beyond whose ken even he, the most devoted of disciples, was carried far, long before his work was done.

## LUCIANEA

BY FRANCIS G. ALLINSON

SOME suggestions in the way of emendation or interpretation of perplexing passages in Lucian are here offered, with all due diffidence, in the hope that where these may not commend themselves to students of the Classics, they may call forth other modifications yielding a satisfactory text for future editors.

Chabert's recent treatise (*L'Atticisme de Lucien*, par Samuel Chabert, Paris, 1897) has reinforced the contention that Lucian was openly desirous of recalling to his readers the Classic authors, not only by direct quotation but also by allusive reminiscence in vocabulary and thought. Other things being equal, therefore, it would seem advisable to prefer a reading which implies such a 'collusion' with antiquity.

While some new emendations are proposed, it is the chief purpose of this paper to plead for a closer adherence to existing ms. readings and to attempt to show that possible interpretations of the existing text have been ignored by some of the best known editors. The following passages are taken up, for the sake of convenience, in the order in which they occur in the text. The references to Sommerbrodt, unless otherwise specified, are to his critical edition (1886-1899).

*Somnium* § 2. Sommerbrodt prefers, on the authority of Ψ, the middle *διδάσκου* used in the active sense. The Teubner text, it would seem, is entirely right in retaining *δίδασκε* not only by virtue of overwhelming ms. authority, but chiefly because there is here undeniably a reminiscence of Ar. *Clouds*, 877, *ἀμέλει, δίδασκε* . . . Lucian, careful Atticist that he habitually is, would hardly have committed a solecism, with the Aristophanes passage and the correct form clearly in mind.

*Somnium* § 9. τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολλοῦ δημοῦ εἰς, αἰὲ τὸν προῦχοντα ὑποπτήσων. Sbd. reads: . . . εἰς αἰὲ τὸν προῦχοντα. . . . Fritzsche transposes and reads εἰς, τὸν αἰὲ πρ.; this — supported, as it is, by the omission altogether of the article in seven of the best mss. — is tempting: cf. also Plato, *Ap.* 37, C. δουλεύοντα τῇ αἰὲ καθισταμένη ἀρχῇ,

'the ever shifting government.' Sbd't., *Ausgew. Schrift., ad loc.*, cites many passages where *εἰς ἀεί* is used in the sense 'für alle Zeiten, d. i. dein ganzes Leben lang.' But the meaning desired, if not required, is: 'On each and every occasion crouching down to, etc.' Moreover, the reminiscence of Aesch. *Prom.* 958 (937) *θῶπτε τὸν κρατοῦντ' ἀεί*, and 981 (960) *ὑποπτήσων τε τοὺς νέους θεούς* is naturally suggested. Paley, indeed, and Wecklein (see examples *l. c.*) construe as if written *τὸν ἀεί κρατοῦντα* with the sense obtained by Fritzsche's actual transposition of the article. But to retain the Teub. text reading and construe *ἀεί*, standing for emphasis at the head of the clause, with both *ὑποπτήσων* and *θεραπέων*, is no more forced than Dem. *De Corona* (263) *λαγὼ βίον ἕξης δεδιῶς καὶ τρέμων καὶ ἀεί πληγήσεσθαι προσδοκῶν*, which Lucian probably had in mind; cf. *λαγὼ βίον ζῶν* in the next clause of the Demosthenes passage. Finally, there is a possible rhetorical balance discernible in *ἐργάτης . . . εἰς, ὑποπτήσων . . . θεραπεύων, ζῶν . . . ἄν*; this, of course, would be destroyed by Sbd't.'s reading, so far as the first clause is concerned.

*Somnium* § 16. *ἐδείκνυεν αὐτῷ ἐκείνην τὴν ἐσθήτα κάμέ.* Read *ἐκείνη* for *ἐκείνην*. The accusative case brings a certain confusion into the thought and probably crept in from *τὴν αὐτὴν ἐσθήτα ἐκείνην*, three lines above. Here it is not, 'that old raiment' just mentioned, but his new garb. It must be admitted, however, that the use of *ἐκείνος* in Lucian is not always as consistent as could be desired. Fritzsche, it is to be noted, omits, with Bekker, the first *ἐκείνην*.

*Somnium* § 17. Teub. reads *καίεσθαι ἢ πατρῶα οἰκία* and Sbd't. modifies Dindorf's reading to *πυρκαϊὰ εἶναι ἐν τῇ πατρῶα οἰκία*. The MSS. vary, but the longest reading is that of Ψ, *καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ πατρῶα οἰκία*—and four others of the best MSS. give the same with the omission only of *τά*. Could we not, therefore, keep the reading of Ψ, adding, perhaps, *εἶναι* only? This would make good sense, and a mere allusion to the familiar passage in Xen. *Anab.* 3, without mentioning the fire, would be clear enough. Sbd't.'s *πυρκαϊὰ*, indeed, equally with *καίεσθαι* of the Teubner text, retains the *καί* of the MSS. with the additional advantage of retaining *ἐν* and dat., but both changes are violent. The MS. reading might be retained absolutely without change by construing *ὡς ἐδόκει* parenthetically, but the omission of *εἶναι* between ΑΥΤΩΙ and ΚΑΙ is not hard to account for.

*Judicium Vocalium* § 5. πασῶν δὲ ἐσχάτην ἐνόμισαν ἔχειν μοῖραν ἔνια τῶν πάντων, οἷς οὐδὲ φωνὴ πρόσεστι.

Teub. text has ἐννέα for ἔνια. This is without ms. support, but is almost too tempting a suggestion to be rejected. It could not be assumed that Lucian would have made the strict limitation to six 'unvoiced' stops as Aristotle (*Poet.* 20) instances the 'voiced' stops γ and δ as ἄφωνα. This, however, is purely a negative argument and ἔνια has the right of way, 'quamquam,' as Sbd. *Adn. Crit.* p. xxii, says, 'vitium in ea latere videtur!' Could it be ἐννέα τινὰ for ἔνια τῶν? Be that as it may, in the next two lines some alteration is necessary. After πρόσεστι the text is: . . . πρόσεστι καθ' αὐτά . . . μὲν οὖν (τὰ ΨΩ) φωνήεντα φυλάσσειν ἔοικε τοὺς νόμους τούτους. Sbd. reads . . . πρόσεστι καθ' ἕκαστα μὲν οὖν φωνήεντα. . . . The Teubner (and Dindorf) text infers another τά from αὐτά before the μὲν and reads . . . πρόσεστι καθ' αὐτά. τὰ μὲν οὖν φωνήεντα. . . .

I would suggest changing μὲν to ὑμῖν and reading the sentence in accordance with the context, as a direct address, i. e. . . . πρόσεστι καθ' αὐτά. ὑμῖν οὖν, [ὦ]φωνήεντα, φυλάσσειν. . . . The ὦ is not essential but may lurk under the second τά in the two mss. This would give in both sentences a much improved sense over that suggested by Sommerbrodt, i. e. in the first sentence: 'Those which are voiceless *per se*.' This agrees with the language of Aristotle's definition (*l. c.*) of the ἄφωνον as: τὸ μετὰ προσβολῆς, κατ' αὐτὸ μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἔχον φωνήν. Sbd.'s emendation of καθ' αὐτά into ἕκαστα would lop off part of the technical definition. In the second sentence the sense would be: 'It is befitting for you, Vowels, to guard these laws.' The direct address is almost required to keep up the general color of the speech; it would be distinctly weaker to drop into the third person here. An epanalepsis of the words used above, καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν, ὦ δικασταί, by ὑμῖν οὖν, (ὦ)φωνήεντα, is effective and thus sums up and disposes of this part of the argument. As to the dative with ἔοικε and inf., even if the example cited by L. & S. from Xen. *Anab.* 6, 5, 17 (not 6, 13), τὸ μὲν ἀπιέναι ἀπὸ πολεμίων οὐδενὶ καλῶ ἔοικε, is to be otherwise explained (see Vollbrecht *ad loc.*) yet the passage in Plato *Legg.* 879. C. — ἔοικε δὲ νέῳ παντὶ ὑπὸ γέροντος πληγέντι ραθύμως ὄργην ὑποφέρειν — will sufficiently justify the construction.

*Charon* § 12. Instead of the common reading χρυσοποιῶν, which is retained even by Sommerbrodt, and which is at least forced if not pointless, read from two MSS. (A & Urb.) χρυσοποιῶν. χρυσοποιία, to be sure, in its late (Byz.) use, means ‘alchemy’ (so, too, λιθοποιείω and λιθοποιός in Luc., etc., mean ‘petrify,’ etc.), but Lucian, quite innocent of the future history of alchemy, may have been experimenting with the compound just as he uses (*Gallus*, § 6) χρυσολογέω contemptuously: ‘stop your goldologizing,’ instead of in the (later) accepted meaning, ‘to gather gold.’ So τραπεζοποιός, τραπεζοποιέω, meaning ‘to set out a table with meats,’ not ‘making tables,’ may illustrate the tentative character of many compounds. The sense obtained by the proposed reading is that obviously demanded, i. e. ‘the god cares but little for your gold-smithery,’ rather than . . . ‘for your gold-smiths.’

*Charon* § 16. Is not Sommerbrodt’s emendation of κείσεται to πεσείται over-ingenious? If we are to be as literal as the Irishman’s ‘It was n’t the fall but the stopping that hurt,’ ἀβοφητὶ κείσεται, ‘he will lie there without a sound,’ makes nonsense taken without the following explanatory clause; while ἀβοφητὶ πεσείται, ‘his fall will be noiseless,’ is just the sense required and certainly seems like an ingenious emendation. But taking the passage as a whole, it seems possible to defend the common reading and translate: ‘Even if he fall he’ll lie there making (i. e. having made) never a sound, his fall scarcely heard even by those next him.’

*Charon* § 22. Sommerbrodt retains ἔπασχον in deference to the united authority of the MSS., although he had accepted previously (*Ausgew. Schrift.*, 1872) the common reading ἔπασχες. Certainly this is a case where very weighty reasons would be demanded for altering the text. Yet I could not feel content to edit ἔπασχον here. It would seem probable that the scribes were misled by the conventional notion of Charon as νεκροστόλος, just as on § 24 νεκροστολῶν is wrongly translated by L. & S. (s. v.) ‘ferry the dead,’ being referred on general principles to Charon instead of to Hermes. So, too, on *Dial. Deor.* 24, 1, L. & S. (s. v.) wrongly refer νεκροπομπός to Charon although it clearly refers to Hermes as also in *Cataplus* 1, where it is used by Charon himself of Hermes. The whole expression in our passage seems to point unmistakably to Hermes — ἐπεὶ τοι . . . ὦ Ἑρμῆ . . . — and only two lines above κατάγοντι is used of Hermes, and ἀνελθεῖν

unmistakably refers to the ascent into the upper world. Κατάγειν, however, and ἀνάγειν could be applied to the ferrying back and forth and perhaps would not seem less appropriate, though less exact, than (*Dial. Deor.* 10, 12) καταπεπλεύκαμεν and its pendant (*Catapl.* 1) ἀναπεπλευκέναι, were it not for the context. The addition of *πιομένους* seems to point specifically to Hermes as he would conduct the souls all the way up to their libation 'licks.' Charon's boat reaches only to the hither bank. Even here, however, it could be urged that Charon was bringing them across again (ἀνάγειν) with a view to their going up to drink their milk and honey. For ἀνάγω used technically, as here of Hermes, cf. *Dial. Mort.* 23, ἀναγαγὼν τοῦτον (i. e. Protesilaus) ἀνθις ποίησον νυμφίον, and *Philops.* 13, δαίμονας ἀνάγων καὶ νεκροὺς ἐώλους ἀνακαλῶν.

*Charon* § 24. The concluding words of the *Charon* in the MSS. are : οἰά ἐστι τὰ τῶν κακοδαίμωνων ἀπθρώπων πράγματα. βασιλείς, πλίνθοι χρυσαῖ, ἑκατόμβαι, μάχαι. Χάρωνος δὲ οὐδὲ εἰς λόγος.

Teubner [*βασιλείς . . . to . . . μάχαι*]. Sommerbrodt [*πράγματα . . . μάχαι*] and infers *περὶ* from the abbreviated form of *πράγματα*, thus reading, after the [ ], *περὶ Χάρωνος δ' οὐδεὶς λόγος*.

It seems practically certain that the text should be retained intact with perhaps the substitution of ἘΠΙΤΥΜΒΙΟΙ for ἘΚΑΤΟΜΒΑΙ and accept the reading οὐδεὶς (Urb.) for οὐδὲ εἰς. Indeed, it is difficult to see why editors should have been willing to mutilate the climax of the whole dialogue. The words in brackets, except ἑκατόμβαι, form a swift résumé of the dialogue, and are necessary as a contrast to the closing clause, — it is an analysis, namely, of the affairs of mortals : 'Kings, golden ingots, etc., but never a word about Charon!' As Sommerbrodt edits, where is the point of the contrast? The ingenious transformation of *πράγματα* into *περὶ* is at first sight alluring. The Aristophanes passage, *Ranae* 87, *περὶ ἐμοῦ δ' οὐδεὶς λόγος*, of course, suggested Lucian's closing words, but this quotation, like many others, settled, perhaps, inexactly in Lucian's memory. At any rate, the omission of *περὶ* seems to have commended itself to him when using the phrase ; cf. *Catapl.* § 14. εἰπέ μοι, ὦ Κλωθοῖ, ἐμοῦ δὲ οὐδεὶς ὑμῖν λόγος ; and again *Fugit.* § 28, ὁ Κάνθαρος φιλοσοφεῖ, φησίν, ἡμῶν δὲ οὐδεὶς λόγος. This point, then, — and it is the only one that is alluring in Sbd't's reading, — may be considered as eliminated. Fritzsche,

perceiving that the words form an integral part of the thought, reads : . . . πράγματα, βασιλέως πλίνθοι χρυσαῖ ἑκατόμβαι Χάρωνος δὲ οὐδεὶς λόγος. Since ἑκατόμβαι, as such, have not been discussed in the dialogue, Fritzsche attempts to explain the word as an equivalent of ἀναθήματα. He cites Hdt. 4, 179 (apparently ignoring the idiom of ἄλλος in the sense of 'besides') and Hdt. 1, 90, where his argument that ἀναθήματα might be used as a general term including ἑκατόμβαι, certainly does not prove the converse of the proposition. '*Hemsterhusius*,' he adds, '*voce ἑκατόμβαι, pro qua Solanus τύμβοι expectarat, vel maxime offensus est.*' Taking the suggestion of 'τύμβοι' I propose ἐπιτύμβιοι (sc. χοαί) in place of ἑκατόμβαι. The changes in the letters would be insignificant, and the substitution of the more familiar word would be a change easily imagined. With this substitution we should then have a consistent summary of the main content of the previous dialogue including, by means of ἐπιτύμβιοι, §§ 22, 23, which contain the allusions of prime professional interest to Charon; μάχαι should come next, as it does, in order to refer to the affair between the Argives and Spartans (§ 24). Fritzsche's omission of μάχαι is the more remarkable, as he retains, in some form, the rest of the words. The dialogue — one of the most perfectly constructed of Lucian's works — would thus be carried out in careful detail and conclude appropriately to its matter and its manner: 'Lord, what fools these mortals be! Kings, golden ingots, funeral libations, battles — but never a word of Charon!'

*Vitarum Auctio* § 14. Buyer: τί γὰρ ὁ αἰὼν ἐστι; Heraclitus: παῖς παίζων, πεσσεύων, διαφερόμενος (suprascr. συμφερόμενος Ψ.). Sommerbrodt emends the last word to συνεκφερόμενος and translates 'Ein Kind das scherzt, spielt, und mit den andern zu Grabe getragen wird.' It does not seem likely that Lucian has so much in mind the closing by death of the child's brief hour of play as some idea more characteristic of Heraclitus, e. g. that human life is the plaything of the current — one of τῶν ῥεόντων. Either one of the MSS. readings διαφερόμενος, 'tossed about,' or συμφερόμενος, 'borne along (with the current)', would satisfy this interpretation. But some term continuing the figure of playing at draughts would best satisfy the context. The simple verb φέρω is used of moving the pieces Plato *Rep.* 487 B. and cf. Legg. 739 ἢ φορά. Could διαφερόμενος mean 'and (himself) moved about like a piece on the board?' Lucian's direct quotation from Heraclitus



apparently stops with *πεσσεύων*, cf. *Frag.* 79 (Fairbanks, p. 42) αἰὼν παῖς ἔστι παίζων, πεσσεύων· παιδὸς ἢ βασιληίῃ. This latter clause in the original (for which the doubtful word in Lucian is substituted), gives perhaps negative help as it simply returns to the idea of παίζων, thus giving no support to Sommerbrodt's emendation and translation so far as this part of the fragment can be supposed to continue the same sentence. Therefore, both as accounting for the various readings, and also for the sake of the meaning, I should suggest writing *συνδιαφερόμενος* (combined from the MSS. and also in the Scholia; see Reitz, *ad loc.*). The double compound would have been not unlikely to be abbreviated to one of the shorter compounds. It is used once by Lucian (*Hist. Conscrib.* § 45) in the meaning here desired and not in the sense of 'fighting' (which, following Du Soul, is the meaning assigned to the Scholium even in Steph. Lex. s. v. 'Med. signif. Pugnandi in var. scrip. ap. Luc. Vit. Auct. ap. Solanum ad Schol.'). I should then suggest translating the double compound: 'Moved about along with (the rest of the checkers).'

While speaking of the *Vitarum Auctio*, the divergences of translators in two passages may be noticed. Does not *φορή* (§ 4) mean 'rotation'? If Lucian can, as he does, attribute to Pythagoras the four 'elements' defined by Empedocles, their interchanging motion would come 'mit im Kauf' (cf. also below, § 13, ἀτόμων *φορή* of Democritus). Pauly renders by the somewhat comprehensive term 'Kräfte,' while Miss E. J. Smith, in her racy translation of Selections from Lucian, renders it 'mass'; a rendering which decides for the view, perhaps possible, that it is the *form* not the '*mode of motion*,' to which Pythagoras is alluding. The latter translator also renders (§ 11) — and this seems less defensible — *τραπέζιτης* as 'cabinet-maker.' Is not the orthodox meaning intelligible enough? 'Be you carrier, or pickler, or carpenter, or *cashier*, there'll be nothing to hinder, etc.'

*Vera Historia* B, § 1. Two changes made by Sbd. in this section will serve to indicate the tendency to emend freely, against MS. tradition, to which even so ripe a scholar as Sommerbrodt occasionally succumbs.

(a) καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν διορύξασι κατὰ τὸν δεξιὸν τοῖχον ἀποδρᾶναι, καὶ ἀρξάμενοι διεκόπτομεν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ . . . Sbd. changes to *διακόπτειν* and begins a new sentence after ἀποδρᾶναι, omitting the δὲ

after ἐπειδή, and reading, καὶ ἀρξάμενοι διακόπτειν, ἐπειδὴ προελθόντες . . . This makes very good syntax and is, as he says, less abrupt. But it leaves no contrasting clause for the μέν above and also ignores the apparently intentional repetition in the similar phraseology, three lines below, ἀρξάμενοι οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν οὐραίων ἐκαίμεν. In fact, even if we had the choice presented on ms. authority, the *textus receptus* would be preferable.

(b) In this same section there is a difficulty of a different kind — this time a variation in the mss. between two improbable forms. The sea-monster is described as in process of mortification on the tenth and eleventh days, δεκάτῃ δὲ καὶ ἑνδεκάτῃ τέλειον ἀπενεκροῦτο (v. l. ἀπονενέκρωτο, ἀπενεκροῦτο), and on the thirteenth day his actual death took place ἤδη ἐτεθνήκει. The imperfect ἀπενεκροῦτο, if supported by ms. authority (Sbdt. in reporting the mss. here contradicts himself), would give the requisite sense, though τέλειον seems somewhat forced, and the subsequent statement of his death seems to exclude the plpf. Is it possible that Lucian here tried his hand at another double compound? (see the long list p. 124 ff., Chabert *L'Atticisme*). ἐννεκρόομαι was used by Plutarch and the imperfect of ἀπεννεκρόομαι, i. e. — ἀπεννεκροῦτο would have given ample opportunity for variants. Translate: 'Internal (ἐν +) mortification was (at last? τέλειον, see Steph. s. v.) setting in (or, completely? τέλειον) from mouth to tail (ἀπο +), and he was malodorous.' If τέλειον means 'completely' and if the plpf. stands, the phrase would mean 'complete mortification had set in'; 'he was as dead as a door-nail.' This is manifestly inconsistent with the statement of his subsequent death.

*De Morte Peregrini* § 3. διὰ τοῦ γυμνασίου αὐτῶν ἐπήκουον. As the sense was incomplete, αὐτῶν was emended by Schaefer to ἀλύων and this, written ἀλύων, is accepted in Teubner ed. Sommerbrodt's emendation (*Lucianea*, p. 126) of this somewhat inappropriate word (meaning 'wildly roaming'), into ἀνιών is far better, but Levi<sup>1</sup> rejects this on the ground that ἀνιών must mean either 'going up,' or 'returning.' This meaning of 'going up' may be as suitable here (cf. Frazer's *Pausanias*, Vol. IV, pp. 101-2) as of coming up from the Piraeus in Plato's *Rep.* 439 E, but I would suggest, as an alternative for ἀνιών,

<sup>1</sup> Critical ed. of *Peregrinus*, by Lionello Levi, Berolini apud Weidmannos, 1892.

the compound ΔΙΩΝ, conforming nearly as well to the space and letters of ΑΥΤΩΝ. Lucian, having in mind the market-place scene in the *Acharnians* (845) *χλαῖναν δ' ἔχων φανῆν δίει*, would not consider *διὰ τοῦ γυμνασίου διών* an unnatural expression.

*De Morte Peregrini* § 11. *ὅτι καινὴν ταύτην* (v. l. *ταῦτα*) *τελετήν εισήγαγεν εἰς τὸν βίον*. Levi would emend *ταύτην* to *ἐνταῦθα*, saying of *ταύτην*, '*haud facile feras cum antea de τελετῇ nequaquam verba facta sint.*' Would not *ταύτη* be easier, meaning 'in this way,' i. e. by the death on the cross?

*De Morte Peregrini* § 25. *οὐκ ἀπ' ἐλπίδος μὴ ἀναπηδήσεσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἡμίφλεκτον, εἰ μὴ, . . . τὴν πυράν*.

Fritzsche's emendation may safely be ignored as wanton tampering with the text, except, perhaps, the change of *οὐκ* to *οὐδ'*. Three elements of uncertainty exist as to the meaning: (a) Is *ἐλπίς* to be referred to the speaker's outlook or to Peregrinus's mental state? The latter is Pauly's interpretation: 'Sonst bliebe ihm immer noch die Hoffnung.' (b) Is *ἐλπίς* used meaning 'hope' or merely 'expectation?' (c) Is the negative *μὴ* with the infin. the otiose *μὴ* repeating the negative idea of the leading sentence (*G. M. T.* § 815), and would Lucian have written *μὴ οὐ* had he intended the infinitive clause to be negative?

As to (a) it seems less natural to refer the thought with Pauly to Peregrinus than with Bernays ('Man braucht auch die Hoffnung nicht aufzugeben,') to the speaker or to the general public. The second (b) and the third (c) mutually exclude each other.

If *μὴ* has here a real negative force I should suggest solving the difficulty by putting an interrogation mark at the end of the whole sentence. We should then have the sense desired, instead of its opposite (as is the case in Bernays's translation), and could translate: 'Is it not beyond hope that he will not jump out?' (i. e. is it not too good to hope for that he'll stay and be burnt?) If, however, it is assumed that Lucian would have written *μὴ οὐ* to express the dependent negative, we are apparently thrown upon the less natural meaning of *οὐκ ἀπ' ἐλπίδος*, but the passage would be translated as it stands without interrogation: i. e. 'It is not past belief that he'll jump out, etc.' Bernays's translation, implying a hope that he will jump out, could be justified by the somewhat far-fetched interpretation that the speaker

implies a willingness to see Peregrinus saved alive rather than have this martyrdom completed for the Cynics to brag of. The honest, impulsive wish to see him burnt up once for all suits better the temper of the speaker. The phrase ἀπ' ἐλπίδος, which Fritzsche edits out, occurs Ap. Rh. 2, 863, μάλα πολλὸν ἀπ' ἐλπίδος ἔπλετο.

*De Morte Peregrini* § 43. ὡς ἐπιταραχθείη μὲν τῆς νυκτὸς ἐν μέσῳ τῷ ἀγῶνι (vulgo Αἰγαίῳ) γνόφου καταβάτος καὶ κῶμα παμμέγεθες ἐγείραντος ἐκώκυε μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν . . .

The passage is much confused, but Levi has shown from the united testimony of the MSS. that the correct reading is ἀγῶνι for Αἰγαίῳ hitherto accepted. This necessarily carries with it the rejection of Fritzsche's plural ἐπιταραχθείημεν and leaves us with the μὲν to account for. Next comes the difficulty, to which Professor Gildersleeve has called my attention, in γνόφου . . . ἐγείραντος. The 'darkness' could not, strictly speaking, kick up a big sea; and we should expect, — as in *Charon*, § 7, χειμῶν ἄφνω καὶ γνόφος ἐμπροσθῶν . . . περιέτρεψεν ἡμῖν τὴν ναῦν —, some addition like χειμῶνος καὶ (possibly lost after ἀγῶνι), or πνεύματος (possibly dropped out before κῶμα or after ἐγείραντος), but it is possible that γνόφος may have been loosely used for 'a cloud burst.' However that may be, the main difficulty still remains and editors (Fritzsche—Levi) have usually assumed a lacuna before ἐκώκυε. The Teubner text has ἐπιταραχθεῖς μὲν, etc., without lacuna and without any contrast to μὲν. The change to the imperfect, in the face of the two optatives συμπλεύσαιμι and ἐπιταραχθείη above, is difficult, and, were it not for the μὲν, Fritzsche's suggestion of ὅτε περ (borrowed from *Charon*, *l. c.*) with the imperfect, would seem like a possible explanation. It has occurred to me that possibly after ἐγειραντος, ΑΥΤΟΣΔ' might have dropped out and, going one step further, change ἐκώκυε to (δ)ὲ κωκύοι and translate αὐτὸς δὲ κωκύοι 'while he himself began his womanish wailings with the best of them.' This contrast is awkward; we should rather expect κωκύοι δέ unless, perhaps, αὐτός (= 'the master') is viciously emphasized to distinguish him from his companion.

Till some more satisfactory solution is offered the passage might be printed ἐπιταραχθείη μὲν etc., . . . ἀγῶνι etc., . . . ἐγείραντος, ἐκώκυε (\*δὲ) μετὰ etc., . . . without any lacuna.

## MUSONIUS IN CLEMENT

BY CHARLES POMEROY PARKER

A NEW edition of the collected fragments of Musonius is much to be desired. Peerlkamp's text and notes, with Nieuwland's dissertation, are almost impossible to procure. The scattered passages in Stobaeus, Epictetus, etc., fail to produce their true impression, or to attract the attention which they deserve. Meantime, new introductions and notes are needed to show the true relations of the philosopher or philosophers named Musonius to the great Stoic movement of the first and second centuries. But as a first step towards making any such edition, the future editor will have to decide on the question discussed by Wendland, whether a lost treatise of Musonius is to be found in Clement of Alexandria's *Paedagogus* (*Quaestiones Musonianae. De Musonio Stoico Clementis Alexandrini aliorumque auctore scripsit Paulus Wendland. Berlin, 1886*). The argument of Wendland is interesting, but the real test of it comes in the practical disentangling of the lost treatise from Clement's text. The brief specimen given in the excursus (pp. 63-66) is impressive as far as it goes; but the real problem is not so easy as this specimen would suggest. You cannot simply by leaving out a text from Scripture or a Christian phrase here and there recover a Stoic text. As one contribution to the argument, I will take for analysis the first chapter of the second book of the *Paedagogus* (πὼς περὶ τὰς τροφὰς ἀναστρεπτέον), because this subject is very fully treated by Musonius as quoted in Stobaeus. All references to Clement are made to the pages and lines of Dindorf's edition, Vol. I, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1869. References to Musonius are made, unless otherwise indicated, to the pages and lines of Otto Hense's edition of the third book of the *Anthology* in Wachsmuth and Hense's Stobaeus, Berlin, 1894.

At first the clearing out of Clementine interpolations proceeds merrily enough; καὶ τὰς γραφὰς πρὸς τὸ βιωφελὲς τῆς παιδαγωγίας ἐκλεγόμενοι (211, 5, 6), ἐνταῦθα (212, 17), ἣν ὁ λόγος εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν

παιδαγωγεί (212, 17, 18), — all these come out, as containing allusions to Scripture or to the future life. Section 1 thus becomes possibly a Pagan production if we suppose Clement to have written *Χριστιανὸν* (211, 7) for *σοφὸν* (see Wendland, p. 63, Excursus, l. 4), or for *σπουδαῖον* or *ἀγαθὸν* (Wendland, p. 64, first note). I might suggest *φιλόσοφον* or *λογικὸν*. Turning now to section 2 the text is improved by leaving out the reference to simple truth for simple children (*καὶ ἀπερίεργος — παιδίσις*, 212, 19-21); for this contains allusion to the word *παιδαγωγός* and hinders the argument on food. Section 2 is all right now, and 3 needs no emendation to make a Stoic text. But when we come to section 4 the trouble begins. Starting from the idea of luxurious feasts, Clement attacks the conduct of the *ἀγάπη* or Christian love-feast, which must have become far from religious in his time; 215, 1-18 (*ὅν ἀγάπην — πολλούς*) comes out at once, and there are several texts of Scripture on page 214. If we add to these the reference to seeking heavenly bread, there is nothing left of section 4 except the first five lines. Section 5 contains certainly some quotations from Musonius, and may have been written by him, until we come to 216, 7, when the discussion of the *ἀγάπη* begins again; and we cannot possibly attribute anything to Musonius after that until the middle of section 7 (217, 12). Here, however, begins a clearly Stoic passage. Awkwardly enough, to be sure, appears as an essential part of this passage the word *ἀγάπη*, but if we are determined that Clement cannot have written good literary passages of Stoicism we may easily suppose that he changed the word *ἀρετή* of his author to *ἀγάπη*. An excellent sense is secured by restoring *ἀρετή*. With the rest of section 7 I will not meddle for the present. In 8 Clement introduces a new problem, *περὶ τῶν εἰδωλοθύτων*, and continues on this for several pages. Numerous quotations are made from the Apostle Paul, and the discussion is conducted on the principles which Paul lays down to the Corinthians and the Romans; but all this argument seems to be concerned in Clement's mind with the question of eating the flesh of animals; and there are not a few traces of a Stoic or Pythagorean writer strangely mixed in with the Scripture, and not well adjusted thereto in every respect. The first glimpse of this author is 218, 21-23, where occurs the implied suggestion that those who love the bloody feasts are like the ghosts of Homer's *Odyssey* gathering to

drink the blood. A few words from line 25 are needed to complete this passage. Then 219, 9 is Stoic and (if we except *ἄρα*) will come in well here. At 219, 15 begins a passage of eleven lines which is Stoic (or Pythagorean perhaps) except for two Scripture references, and the reading of *πατρός* (219, 20) for which we had better substitute *θεοῦ* as a restoration of the probable Musonian word. Then omitting a reference to *ἀγάπη* and to feeding upon Christ we secure ten or eleven lines of our Greek philosopher. At 220, 10 begins the Christian Apostle again; but 220, 15–21 is (most of it) the philosopher, if we make the proper change for *Χριστιανῶ* as above. Then after a whole page of Clement and the Apostle, comes our Stoic clearly again; and after omitting 222, 1, 2 (*ὑπηχῆσει — λέγουσα*) we need not yet interfere with the rest of 222. But 223, 2–16 is too full of the Apostle to retain. By this time we are fairly through the question of eating flesh, and launched on the question of decent behaviour at meals and avoidance of expense. These subjects are continued 223, 17 — 224, 3. After this, however, the discussion about fishes and the Apostle Peter, etc., gives us no help in our restoration until we come to 225, 2–10. But at *οὐδὲ περιωραταί ποτε* in line 10 the influence of Matthew's gospel becomes evident, and we cannot continue to find our traces of the philosopher until line 19. The rest of the page is easily Stoic and part of it at least is Musonius. 226, 6–17 are lines in part of Musonius, but contain a peculiar problem of their own which we will reserve. The remaining three sections of the chapter have in them much about the New and Old Testaments. In 227, 9–13 is a reference to the Peripatetic doctrine of the mean which does not assort itself well with a Stoic. In 228, 12–19 comes a quotation from Plato's *Epistles* which is connected with a passage about King David. In 229, 2–7 is an allegorical reference to a fish described and named by Aristotle and Epicharmus. This I have found it hard to fit on to our supposed Musonian fragments. But there is a passage about pleasure and nourishment (228, 2–9), which can find a place there.

Looking back now over the Clementine fragments separated from his Stoic authority we find that we cannot deny to the Alexandrian teacher the possession of some ideas of his own. We have been unable to take the Christian passages out of the text without allowing to go with them several suggestions of mystical philosophy. See 216, 16–19,

where love for God and our neighbor is ἡ ἐπουράνιος εὐωχία, contrasted with ἡ ἐπίγειος. Compare (214, 20) ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς θηρωμένοις τὴν βρῶσιν τὴν ἐπουράνιον. Here, again, the heavenly food is contrasted with the perishable food of the belly. This sort of contrast can be easily paralleled from the New Testament, and the word ἐπουράνιος is found there in some of these parallel passages. A man who diligently studied the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, for instance, would easily learn to make such mystical speculations as these. In the sixth chapter of the Fourth Gospel is an instance just like this, though the word ἐπουράνιος does not occur there. Clement dwells on the same idea in 216, 24-26, where he refers to our ordinary food as τὸ ἐφήμερον ἄριστον in contrast with τὸ ἄριστον τῶν ὄντων τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. The word ἐφήμερος occurs once in the New Testament in a wholly unmythical passage (*James 2, 15*). The phrase τὸ ἄριστον τῶν ὄντων has quite a Platonic sound to it. The whole passage shows that Clement could step for himself at least a little way in mysticism without a direct quotation from the New Testament. For continuing (217, 3-7) he refers to ἀγάπη as χρῆμα καθαρὸν καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄξιον. And of the earthly love feasts he says ἔναυσμά τι ἀγάπης ἔχουσι ἐκ τῆς πανδήμου τροφῆς συνεθιζόμενον εἰς αἰδίου τροφήν.<sup>1</sup> This last passage is quite Platonic. The use of καθαρὸν just above in its mystical meaning cannot be paralleled in the New Testament. I conclude, then, that the undoubted Clementine passages show traces of mysticism.

Now there are in the philosophic parts of the chapter several mystical passages hitherto passed over in this discussion, which ill accord with the known attitude of the Stobaeian Musonius. You can find in him of course the distinction of seeming and being, and the idea of secure and abiding joy (χαρὰν βεβαίαν—Peerlkamp, 173, line 10). But he seems to me not to show any such mystical feeling as is seen in Clement (219, 22-25) ἀγαστὸν μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀναθρήσαντας τῆς ἄνω τροφῆς ἐξέχεσθαι τῆς θείας καὶ τῆς τοῦ ὄντως ὄντος ἀπληρώτου ἐμπύμπλασθαι θέας, τῆς βεβαίου καὶ μονίμου καὶ καθαρῶς γενομένου ἡδονῆς. This passage, I think, could not be printed in an edition of Musonius; and the reference to burying τὸ ἀγαθὸν in the gluttonous

<sup>1</sup> I write τροφήν for τρυφήν of the MSS. Their reading makes no sense. There is an erasure in the Paris MS. in which v is written.



life might be omitted with it. If Clement could not have written these things (a question which I leave to experts in his writings), then he must have made use of some mystical philosopher who was not Musonius. Another mystical passage of a Platonic or Pythagorean character is that in 212, 8-12. τὸ δὲ ἴδιον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ ὄμμα τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκκαθαίρειν, ἀγνίζειν δὲ καὶ τὴν σάρκα αὐτῆς. ὁ γὰρ ἐκείνων καθαρῶς ἀπολυθείς, δι' ὧν ἔτι χροῦς ἐστίν, τί ἂν ἄλλο προνυργιαίτερον ἑαυτοῦ ἔχοι πρὸς τὸ ὀδῶν ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν κατάληψιν τοῦ θεοῦ; I might parallel this passage in part from Persius or Seneca; but I have been in the habit of considering such passages in them as traces of Platonism or Pythagoreanism or some oriental influence. They seem wholly out of harmony with the every day thought of Musonius in Stobaeus, or of Rufus the teacher of Epictetus. There remains (226, 10-17) a most curious passage about the δαίμων who dwells in the belly of the greedy man. This probably has some relation to a quasi Platonic doctrine of δαίμονες, or to some peculiar Alexandrian development. It might have appeared, perhaps, in some Pythagorean of Alexandria; but whether it is Clement's own writing or not, it implies a line of thought wholly unfamiliar to Musonius as we know him.

But now when our mystical passages have been disposed of, throwing away with them perhaps 218, 7, 8 (τὸν ἐφήμερον διώκοντες βίον ὡς οὐ ζησόμενοι) 220, 20-21 (καταφρονοῦντες τῶν ὄψων, ὡς μετ' ὀλίγον οὐκ ὄντων), possibly even 225, 7-10 (καὶ ἰσχὺν — ἀναγκαῖα) surely one may say that we have a good Stoic remainder. Perhaps so, but I am greatly impressed with a peculiar rhetorical quality in three of the remaining passages. The Stobaeian Musonius is so simple and natural and healthy in his discussions that one may be permitted some surprise at seeing him burst out into declamations which remind one of Seneca. Take the description of kinds of food from all parts of the earth, and the denunciation of the life among the sizzling frying pans (in 213, 8-214, 16), ending with the description of the man who searches out suppers of sweetmeats and is himself nothing but a jaw. Musonius does say (Stobaeus 528, 1, 2) παρασκευῆ μὲν ὄψων γίνεται μυρίων· πλείται δ' ἢ θάλαττα μέχρι περάτων. But I cannot help thinking that Clement, who evidently at least knew and pondered Musonius, has enlarged rhetorically on the brief text given above. Another passage is the vivid description of gluttons at the

feast in Clement 222, 3-4. This has usually been supposed to be a description of Alexandrian performances about A.D. 200. If Wendland is right we must transfer them to the first century, and perhaps to Rome. There are certainly traces of Musonius in this passage. Compare Clement 222, 15 *seq.* with Stobaeus 524, 10 *seq.* But here, again, I would suggest that the passage reads like an illustration from (say Alexandrian) life made on the text of Musonius by an able rhetorician. And it may be remarked that the general impression made by Clement's *Paedagogus*, compared with the Stobaeian Musonius, is of one who takes an interest in describing evil as a warning, compared with one who delights in describing good as an attraction. This seems to me very marked in the treatment of marriage and kindred topics. The beautiful descriptions of family life in Musonius are much more Christian than is the vivid consciousness of evil possessed by the Alexandrian. The rhetorical descriptions of wrong doing are hardly likely to have been written by Musonius. Besides these, there is one more rhetorical passage 217, 21 — 218, 8. It is a passage of denunciation, and contains at least one clause which seems to have reference to the devil as a snake, ἐπὶ γαστέρας ἔρποντες, θηρία ἀνδρείκελα κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν τοῦ λίχνου θηρίου. I am inclined to refer the whole to Clement.

But now we have done our worst in tearing away passages from the *Paedagogus*. Our suggestion that the author of these passages was a mystical theorist and rhetorician, earnest in his denunciation of evil, has been clearly made. There remains, however, a large body of text which holds together pretty well when thus purged, and which may have been written by some Stoic author. It certainly contains passages just like the Stobaeian Musonius. These are clearly shown in Wendland's discussion, especially on pages 24-27. The chapter as a whole is differently arranged from the Stobaeian dialogues (503 *seq.* and 523 *seq.*), and they contain passages not in Clement's Stoic author, just as he has passages not in them. But all this is natural if Musonius wrote a book, and afterwards talked to a friend or pupil as reported in the Stobaeian dialogue. If the rest of a Stoic treatise can be extracted from Clement with the amount of success we have attained (not to speak of the marked success of the passage in Wendland's excursus) then such a treatise might well be printed,

though doubtfully, in the same book with Musonius, and might serve at least to show the relation of Stoic philosophy to various forms of Alexandrian thought (Platonic, Pythagorean, Oriental, or so-called Christian). Our experiment goes far to support Wendland's theory that a treatise of Musonius is hidden in the *Paedagogus*; but the process of disentangling the text seems to be more complicated than Wendland found it. I commend as a suggestion to the future editor of such a volume the following text which results from our criticism. Particles and conjunctions which seem to have been inserted by Clement in piecing out his text I have bracketed. Notes are given on other bracketed words. In piecing out this text I have omitted Clement 215, 19-23 not because of any difficulty in attributing the words themselves to Musonius, but because they seem to belong to the Clementine previous context, and we get a better connection of Musonian thought without them.

CONJECTURAL RESTORATION OF MUSONIUS OUT OF CLEMENT'S  
*Paedagogus*, II, 1

Ἐχομένοις τοίνυν τοῦ σκόπου, ὁποῖόν τινα εἶναι χρὴ παρ' ὅλον τὸν βίον τὸν [φιλόσοφον]<sup>1</sup> καλούμενον, κεφαλαιωδῶς ὑπογράφτεον. ἀρκτέον οὖν ἡμῖν ἀφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ὅπως ἀρμόττειν γε χρὴ. στοχαζομένοις τοίνυν τῆς συμμετρίας τοῦ συντάγματος, ὁποῖόν τινα τῷ ἑαυτοῦ σώματι ἕκαστον ἡμῶν προσφέρεσθαι, μᾶλλον δὲ ὅπως αὐτὸ κατευθύνειν χρὴ λεκτέον. ὅποταν γάρ τις ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκτὸς καὶ αὐτῆς ἔτι τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἀγωγῆς ἐπὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀχθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου τὴν θεωρίαν τῶν κατὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον συμβαινόντων κατὰ φύσιν ἀκριβῶς ἐκμάθη, εἴσεται μὴ σπουδάζειν [μὲν] περὶ τὰ ἐκτός. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι ζῶσιν ἵνα ἐσθίωσιν, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ τὰ ἄλογα ζῶα, οἷς οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ γαστήρ ἐστίν ὁ βίος, ἡμῖν δὲ ὁ [λόγος]<sup>2</sup> ἐσθίειν παραγγέλλει, ἵνα ζῶμεν. οὔτε γὰρ ἔργον ἡμῖν ἢ τροφή οὔτε σκοπὸς ἡδονή, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς διαμονῆς. διὸ καὶ ἐκκρίνεται ἡ τροφή. ἀπλή δὲ αὐτῆ, ὡσὰν εἰς τὸ ζῆν, οὐκ εἰς τρυφήν ἐπιτῆδειος. τὸ δὲ ἐκ δυοῖν τὸ ζῆν τοῦτο ὑγείας τε καὶ ἰσχύος σύγκειται, οἷς μάλιστα κατάλληλον τῆς τροφῆς τὸ εὐκόλον, εἷς τε τὰς

<sup>1</sup> In Clement *Χριστιανὸν*. We have quoted and suggested various other readings on a previous page.

<sup>2</sup> In Clement *παιδαγωγὸς*. But this is equivalent to *λόγος* in his treatise.

ἀναδόσεις καὶ τοῦ σώματος τὴν κουφότητα χρησιμεῖον, ἐξ ὧν αὐξήσις τε καὶ ὑγίεια καὶ ἰσχύς δικαία, οὐχὶ δὲ ἄδικος ἢ σφαλερὰ καὶ ἀθλία ὡς ἢ τῶν ἀθλητῶν ἐξ ἀναγκοφαγίας περιγίνεται. αἱ μὲν οὖν πολυειδεῖς ποιότητες ἀποπτυσταί, ποικίλας ἐντίκτουσαι βλάβας, καχεξίας σωματων, ἀνατροπὰς στομάχων, ἐκπορνευούσης τῆς γεύσεως διὰ τινος κακοδαίμονος τέχνης τῆς ὀψαρτυτικῆς καὶ τῆς ἀμφὶ τὰ πέμματα ματαιοτεχνίας. τροφήν γὰρ τολμῶσιν καλεῖν τὴν ἐν τροφαῖς ἐπιτήδευσιν εἰς ἡδονὰς ἐπιβλαβεῖς ὀλισθάνουσαν. Ἀντιφάνης δὲ ὁ Δῆλιος ἰατρὸς καὶ μίαν τῶν νόσου αἰτιῶν ταύτην εἶρηκεν τῶν ἐδεσμάτων τὴν πολυειδίαν—οὐ γὰρ μεμαθήκασιν τὸν θεὸν παρασκευάσαι [τῷ δημιουργήματι]<sup>1</sup> τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ [λέγω] σῖτα καὶ ποτὰ τοῦ σώζεσθαι χάριν, οὐχὶ δὲ τοῦ ἡδεσθαι, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ὠφελείσθαι πέφυκεν τὰ σώματα ἐκ τῆς πολυτελείας τῶν βρωμάτων. πᾶν γὰρ τοῦναντίον οἱ ταῖς εὐτελεστάταις χρώμενοι τροφαῖς ἰσχυρότατοί εἰσιν καὶ ὑγιεινότατοι καὶ γενναῖοτατοι, ὡς οἰκέται δεσποτῶν καὶ γεωργοὶ κτητόρων. καὶ οὐ μόνον ῥωμαλεώτεροι, ἀλλὰ καὶ φρονιμώτεροι, ὡς φιλόσοφοι πλουσίων. οὐ γὰρ ἐπέχωσαν τὸν νοῦν ταῖς τροφαῖς οὐδὲ ἠπάτησαν αὐτὸν ἡδοναῖς. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὸ δεῖπνον ἔστω λιτὸν ἡμῖν καὶ εὐζωνον, ἐπιτήδειον εἰς ἐγρήγορσιν, ποικίλαις ἀνεπίμικτον ποιότησιν, οὐκ [ἀπαιδαγωγῆτον]<sup>2</sup> οὐδὲ τοῦτο. ἀγαθὴ γὰρ κουροτρόφος εἰς κοινωνίαν [ἀρετῆ]<sup>3</sup> ἐφόδιον ἔχουσα πλούσιον, τὴν αὐτάρκειαν, ἣ δὴ ἐφεστῶσα τῇ τροφῇ, δικαία ποσότητι μεμετρημένη, σωτηρίως τὸ σῶμα διοικοῦσα καὶ τοῖς πλεσίον ἀπένειμέν τι ἐξ αὐτῆς, ἣ δὲ ὑπερβλύζουσα τὴν αὐτάρκειαν δίαιτα τὸν ἄνθρωπον κακοῖ, νωθῇ μὲν τὴν ψυχῆν, ἐπισφαλές δὲ εἰς νόσον ἐργαζομένη τὸ σῶμα. μαρὰ δοκεῖ μοι καὶ βδελυρὰ ἐκεῖνα, ὧν ἐφίπτανται τοῖς αἵμασι

ψυχῆ ἀπὲξ ἐρέβους νεκρῶν κατατεθνεῖων.

ἐπεὶ δίχα σωζομένων καὶ φθιμένων τροφαί. ἀδιάφορος [ἄρα] ἡ φυσικὴ χρῆσις τῆς τροφῆς. ἀλλὰ κρατοῦντες δηλονότι τῶν ἡδονῶν κωλύομεν τὰς ἐπιθυμίας. οὐ χρὴ οὖν καθάπερ ἀσωτενομένους ἡμᾶς παραχρῆσθαι

<sup>1</sup> I suspect this word is inserted by Clement. It does not seem to be a Musonian word. Compare the parallel passage in Stobaeus 527, 7-9. This omission carries with it the following λέγω.

<sup>2</sup> No reference to the παιδαγωγός seems likely in Musonius. Perhaps we should read ἄλογον.

<sup>3</sup> In Clement ἀγάπη. But this obviously cannot stand in a Stoic passage. We have spoken of the change to ἀρετή earlier in our discussion.

τοῖς τοῦ [θεοῦ]<sup>1</sup> δωρήμασι, χρῆσθαι δὲ αὐτοῖς ὡς ἄρχοντας ἀπροσκλη-  
νῶς· καὶ γὰρ βασιλεύειν ἐτάχθημεν καὶ κατακυριεύειν, οὐχὶ δουλεύειν  
τοῖς βρώμασιν. κομιδῇ δὲ ἄλογον καὶ ἀχρεῖον καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπειον βοσκη-  
μάτων δίκην πταινομένουσ θανάτῳ τρέφεσθαι, κάτω βλέποντας εἰς γῆν,  
τοὺς ἐκ γῆς αἰὲ κεκυφότας εἰς τραπέζας, τὴν λίχνον διωκαθόντας ζῶην,  
μόνην καλακεύοντας τὴν κατάποσιν, δι' ἣν πολυτιμότεροι γεγόνασι μάγει-  
ροι γεωργῶν. οὐκ ἀφεκτέον [οὖν] παντελῶς τῶν ποικίλων βρωμάτων,  
ἀλλ' οὐ περὶ αὐτὰ σπουδαστέον. μεταληπτέον δὲ τῶν παρατιθεμένων, ὡς  
πρέπον [φιλοσόφῳ],<sup>2</sup> τιμῶντας μὲν τὸν κεκληκότα κατὰ τὴν ἀβλαβῆ  
καὶ ἀπροσκορῆ τῆς συνουσίας κοινωνίαν, ἀδιάφορον δὲ ἡγουμένους τῶν  
εἰσκομιζομένων τὴν πολυτέλειαν. θηρίων [γὰρ] μᾶλλον [τοῦτό γε]<sup>3</sup> καὶ  
ἢ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀναθυμίασις θολοδοστέρα οὔσα ἐπισκοτεῖ τῇ ψυχῇ. εἰ δέ  
τις καὶ τούτων μεταλαμβάνει, οὐχ ἁμαρτάνει, μόνον ἐγκρατῶς μετεχέτω,  
μὴ ἐξεχόμενος μηδὲ ἀπηρητημένος αὐτῶν μηδὲ ἐπιλαιμαργῶν τῷ ὄψῳ. ἔστι  
γὰρ ὄρᾱν τοὺς τοιούτους ὑσῖν ἢ κυσῖν διὰ τὴν λαβρότητα μᾶλλον ἢ  
ἀνθρώποις ὁμοιωμένους. ἢ γοῦν ὀψοφαγία οὐδὲν ἕτερόν ἐστιν ἢ ἀμετρία  
περὶ χρῆσιν ὄψου, καὶ ἢ λαιμαργία μανία περὶ τὸν λαιμὸν καὶ ἢ γαστρι-  
μαργία ἀκρασία περὶ τὴν τροφήν, ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦνομα περιέχει, μανία ἐπὶ  
γαστέρα, ἐπεὶ μάργος ὁ μεμηνῶς. ἀφεκτέον οὖν δουλοπρεπείας ἀπάσης  
καὶ ἀκρασίας τῶν παρατιθεμένων κοσμῶς ἐφαπτομένοις, ἀμόλυντον καὶ  
τὴν χεῖρα καὶ τὴν στρωμνὴν καὶ τὸ γένειον φυλάττουσιν, τὸ εὐσχημον  
τοῦ προσώπου διατηροῦσιν ἀδιάστροφον, οὐκ ἀσχημονοῦσιν οὐδὲ περὶ τὴν  
κατάποσιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν χεῖρα μετὰ τάξεως ἐκ διαστημάτων ἐκτατέον,  
παραφυλακτέον δὲ καὶ τὸ φθέγγεσθαι ὅτιοῦν ἐσθίοντα ἅμα. ἀπρεπῆς  
γὰρ καὶ ἄσημος ἢ φωνὴ γίνεται, πλήρεσι ταῖς γνάθοις στενοχωρουμένη.  
καὶ ἢ γλῶσσα τῇ τροφῇ πιεζομένη, τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἐνεργείας παραπο-  
δισθείσα τὴν προφορὰν ἐκδίδωσι τεθλιμμένην. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐσθίειν ἅμα καὶ  
πίνειν καθήκει. ἀκρασίας γὰρ τῆς μεγίστης συγχεῖν τοὺς καιροὺς, ὧν αἱ  
χρήσεις ἀσύμφωνοι. εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἔνεκεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγένε-  
το τὰ πάντα, ἀλλ' οὐ πᾶσι χρῆσθαι καλόν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ αἰεὶ. καὶ γὰρ  
καὶ ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ὁ χρόνος καὶ ὁ τρόπος καὶ τὸ πρὸς τί οὐκ ὀλίγην τῷ

<sup>1</sup> In Clement πατρός, but this seems unlikely in a Pagan writer.

<sup>2</sup> In Clement Χριστιανῷ.

<sup>3</sup> The neuter pronoun and the γὰρ do not work well here; I suspect that there is a hitch in restoring the Musonian text at this point; but this sentence is certainly Musonian.

[παιδαγωγουμένῳ]<sup>1</sup> πρὸς τὸ λυσιτελὲς ἐνδίδωσι ῥοπήν, καὶ τό γε ἔστι ἐπιτήδειον. πολυτέλεια δὲ οὐκ εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν ἔρημον, ἀλλ' εἰς μετάδοσιν κοινωνικὴν ἐπιτήδειος. διὸ παραφυλακτέον τῶν βρωμάτων ἃ μὴ πεινῶντας ἡμᾶς ἐσθίειν ἀναπείθει γοητεύοντα τὰς ὀρέξεις. μὴ γὰρ οὐκ ἔνεστι καὶ ἐν εὐτελείᾳ σάφροσι πολυειδία ἐδεσμάτων ὑγιεινῆς; βολβοί, ἐλαῖαι, λαχάνων ἔνια, γάλα, τυρὸς, τὰ τε ὠραῖα ἐψήματά τε παντοδαπὰ ζωμῶν ἄνευ. κἂν ὅπου δέη κρέως ἢ ἐφθῶ, μεταδοτέον. πρὸς τούτοις οὐδὲ τραγημάτων καὶ κηρίων ἀμοίρους περιορατέον τοὺς δειπνοῦντας κατὰ λόγον. τῶν γὰρ τοι βρωμάτων ἐπιτηδειότατα οἷς αὐτόθεν χρῆσθαι ὑπάρχει δίχα πυρὸς, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐτοιμότερα, δεύτερα δὲ τὰ εὐτελέστερα, ὡς προειρήκαμεν. ἀνθρώποις δὲ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ βλάβην καὶ λύπην ἐνεγέννησεν ἡδονή, δυσπάθειαν δὲ καὶ λήθην καὶ ἀφροσύνην ἢ πολυτροφία ἐντίκει τῇ ψυχῇ. εὐαυξῆ δὲ καὶ τῶν παιδῶν τὰ σώματα γίνεσθαι φασιν εἰς μῆκος ἐπιδιδόντων ἀπὸ τῆς ἔλλειπούσης τροφῆς. οὐ γὰρ κωλύεται τὸ ἀνατρέχον εἰς αὐξήσιν πνεῦμα τῆς πολλῆς τροφῆς ἀντιφραττούσης τὸ εὐπνον τοῦ δρόμου.

If the reasoning which we have followed, and the text which we have obtained, commend themselves to any scholar, then the following rules may be laid down for rescuing the rest of our Stoic's text from the *Paedagogus* II and III. The problem of Book I is harder. First, leave out references to Scripture, to Christian doctrines, and to Christian customs. Second, take away all traces of mystical speculation. Third, omit all rhetorical descriptions of wickedness. Fourth, leave out references to Peripatetic doctrines. Wendland gives only the first of these rules, and in suggesting this does not warn us of that close entanglement of Christian and Pagan thought which we have actually found in this chapter. But all who are interested in Stoicism owe much to him for his ingenious and stimulating dissertation.

<sup>1</sup> Probably φιλοσόφῳ or some such word was in the Musonian text.

## PLATO, LUCRETIUS, AND EPICURUS

BY PAUL SHOREY

**D**ID Lucretius read Plato? Having a few hitherto unnoticed coincidences to cite, I propose to reopen the trifling question not with the expectation of proving anything in a matter hardly admitting of demonstration, but for the light which the discussion itself may throw on some points of the Epicurean tradition, and because the most poetic of philosophers and the most philosophic of poets present a parallel and an antithesis that justifies this coupling of their names. But we must first consider the possibility that Lucretius knew Plato only through Epicurus. What Lucretius may have found in the thirty-two books of the *περὶ φύσεως* it is impossible to say. But with the aid of Usener's *Epicurea*, the two treatises of Plutarch, and the tenth book of Diogenes Laertius, it is easy to enumerate the chief ascertainable points of contact between Epicurus and Plato. To begin with, Plato's polemic against the predecessors of Epicurus contains a full and lucid statement of the most distinctive doctrines of the school. Nothing is wanting to the exposition of the fundamental dogmas of materialism in the *Theaetetus*, *Sophist*, and *Laws*. The psychology of relativity and the dependence of all subjective ideas on sense-begetting modes of motion are clearly set forth in the *Philebus* and *Theaetetus*.<sup>1</sup> The 'hedonistic calculus' has never been more uncompromisingly formulated than in the *Protagoras*,<sup>2</sup> and passages in the *Republic*, *Gorgias*, and *Theaetetus* anticipate all that Epicurus had to teach of the social compact and the derivative and conventional character of political justice.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. especially Diog. L. 10, 68-69, and Sextus Empiricus *Mathem.* 7, 209, with *Theaetet.* 152-154, 156-157, and *Philebus* 38-39.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Protag.* 356 with Diog. L. 10, 141 (Usener) οὐδεμία ἡδονὴ καθ' ἑαυτὸ κακόν, etc., and 10, 129 ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὅτε πολλὰς ἡδονὰς ὑπερβαίνομεν, ὅταν πλεῖον ἡμῖν τὸ δυσχερὲς ἐκ τούτων ἔπηται, etc.

<sup>3</sup> This might have been taken for granted were it not so often overlooked. Thus Mr. Guyau, *La Morale d'Épicure*, p. 146, observes: "Ce furent Épicure dans l'antiquité et Hobbes dans les temps modernes, qui résolurent les premiers la question dans le sens utilitaire, en invoquant comme fin de la société l'intérêt de chacun de ses membres, et comme moyen d'organisation le consentement mutuel." He

And in the present state of the evidence Plato must be treated as the scientific author of these ideas. Men may have said before Plato that pleasure is the chief good, that matter is the only real, that all knowledge is relevant to the percipient, and that justice is the advantage of the stronger. But the scientific formulation of these ebullitions of cynicism and scepticism into a systematic doctrine belongs to him, and it is labor lost to try to reconstruct his sources in the Sophists with the aid of hints from Euripides and the parallels in later writers.<sup>1</sup> If we waive this larger aspect of the question, the explicit allusions of Epicurus to Plato are few. Epicurus we are told felt a marvellous scorn for his teacher, the Platonist Pamphilus,<sup>2</sup> and there are traces of gibes at Plato's character<sup>3</sup> and hostile allusions to 'scholarship,'<sup>4</sup> supersubtle refinements of style, and the Socratic irony.<sup>5</sup> The Epicurean Ἐρμαχος wrote a special treatise *πρὸς Πλάτωνα*, Colotes ridiculed the myth of Er, the son of Armenios, and Philodemus attacked the doctrine of the moral influence of music. The *Timaeus* would be especially repugnant to Epicureans, and we catch an echo of the polemics directed against it in the words of Cicero's Velleius.<sup>6</sup> The letter to Herodotus contains what seems to

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forgets that the theory of the social compact as summed up by Epicurus, D. L. 10, 150, τὸ τῆς φύσεως δίκαιον ἐστὶ σύμβολον τοῦ συμφέροντος εἰς τὸ μὴ βλάπτειν ἀλλήλους μὴδὲ βλάπτεσθαι, is clearly set forth in *Republic* 358 E-359; and Epicurus' further inference that the right of the stronger is the only justice that exists among animals and tribes that entered into no such compact is distinctly implied in *Protag.* 322 B and *Gorg.* 483 D.

<sup>1</sup> I refer to the use which Duemmler, in his interesting *Prolegomena to Plato's Republic*, makes of Blass *de Antiphonte Sophista Iamblichi Auctore*. These so-called fragments of Antiphon contain nothing that is not found in Plato, with whom Iamblichus was familiar, and it is merely reasoning in a circle to reconstruct Antiphon out of Iamblichus' text, and then treat him as the common source of Iamblichus and Plato.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero *De Nat. Deor.* 1, 26.

<sup>3</sup> Diog. L. 10, 8 Διονυσιοκλάκας.

<sup>4</sup> τάχα δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆν πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πλάτωνα . . . δυσμένειαν says Sextus *Math.*

1, 1.

<sup>5</sup> Diog. L. 10, 13, Cicero *Brutus* 85, 292.

<sup>6</sup> *De Nat. Deor.* 1, 8, 18, *non futilis commenticiasque sententias, non opificem aedificatoremque mundi Platonis de Timaeo deum*. For further traces of polemic against the *Timaeus* cf. Proclus in *Plat. Tim.* p. 80, apud Usener, *Epicurea*, p. 257, and frgt. 6 of the 28th book *περὶ φύσεως*, Gomperz, *Zeitschrift f. Oesterreich. Gymn.* Vol. XVIII, p. 212 apud Munro; Usener, p. 128.



be a direct attack on Plato's theory of vision.<sup>1</sup> There is a characteristic sneer at the idea of good in the words reported by Plutarch, *Non posse suaviter vivi*, 7, p. 1091 B: καὶ αὐτὴ φύσις ἀγαθοῦ ἂν τις ὀρθῶς ἐπιβάλλῃ . . . καὶ μὴ κενῶς περιπατῆ περὶ ἀγαθοῦ θρυλῶν. The 37th κυρία δόξα reads like a direct reply to Plato's condemnation of those who make immutable justice depend on legislative enactment.<sup>2</sup> Epicurus' protest against the attempt to explain the simple idea of time by any substitution of other terms may be a covert polemic against Plato's 'moving image of eternity.'<sup>3</sup> Olympiodorus reports what seems an attack on the *Philebus* in the words Ἐπίκουρος οὐκ οἶται μίγνυσθαι λύπην ἡδονῇ, μηδὲ γὰρ ἀγαθῶ τὸ κακόν. And the statement reported by Philodemus that πολιτικὴ is not a science or art is a flat contradiction of a distinctive Platonic doctrine.

The possible positive indebtedness of the Epicurean psychology and ethics to Plato has already been indicated in general terms, and there is no space to work out the details.<sup>4</sup> One interesting verbal coincidence may be noted — the use of the term ἄθροισμα for body, viewed not merely as a material aggregate of atoms, but as a metaphysical complex of qualities.<sup>5</sup> These instances hardly create a presumption that any

<sup>1</sup> Diog. L. 10, 49 οὐδὲ διὰ τινῶν ἀκτίνων ἢ οἶων δὴ ποτε ρευμάτων ἀφ' ἡμῶν πρὸς ἐκεῖνα παραγινομένων, etc. Cf. *Timaeus*, 45 C, τὸ τῆς ὕψεως ρεῦμα, τότε ἐκπέπτον, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the words οὐδὲν ἦττον ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ἦν δίκαιον τοῖς μὴ φωναῖς κεναῖς ἑαυτοῖς συνταράττουσιν ἀλλ' εἰς τὰ πράγματα βλέπουσιν with Plato *Theaetel.* 177 D, ἂ ἂν θῆται πόλις δόξαντα αὐτῇ, ταῦτα καὶ ἔστι δίκαια τῇ θεμένῃ, ἕωςπερ ἂν κέηται.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Diog. L. 10, 72, with *Tim.* 37 D.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. further the distinction between necessary and unnecessary desires, Diog. L. 10, 127, 148–149, *Republic* 558 DE; the insistence that pleasure is inseparable from virtue Diog. L. 10, 132, 140, *Lawes* 734 AB; πρόληψις as a precondition of any enquiry οὐκ ἂν ἐξητήσαμεν τὸ ζητούμενον, εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἐγνώκειμεν αὐτό, Diog. L. 10, 33, cf. *Meno* 80 E seq.; the use made of the Empedoclean ἀπορροαί in the theory of sensation, Diog. L. 10, 53, *Meno* 76 D, *Timaeus* 67 C; the Democritean γαλήνη *Phaedo* 84 A, Diog. L. 10, 37, 83. The moral interpretation of βεηθεῖν ἑαυτῷ *Gorg.* 522 C, Diog. L. 10, 35.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Sextus Empiricus *Math.* 10, 257, Diog. L. 10, 63, 142. Plato, *Theaetel.* 157 B φ δὴ ἄθροισματι ἀνθρωπίν τε τίθενται καὶ λίθον, etc. Campbell thinks the 'whole' here is rather an aggregate of individuals in a class idea than of attributes in a thing. But that the latter is meant appears from the passages cited above as well as from Sextus 9, 339 and Alcinous *εἰσαγωγή* 4, a chapter in which the psychology of the *Theaetetus* is closely followed. Alcinous distinguishes (1) λευκότης

allusions to Plato detected in Lucretius came by way of Epicurus. The more obvious parallels are cited by Munro.<sup>1</sup> Woltjer (*Lucretii Philosophia cum fontibus comparata*) finds only one point of contact. The dysteleology of the fine passage 5, 110-235 is directed, he thinks, primarily not against the Stoic thesis μηδὲν εἶναι ἔγκλητον τῷ κόσμῳ, but against the optimistic teleology of Plato's *Timaeus*. But in view of the evidence of Epicurean polemic against that work he finally concludes that Lucretius is here merely following his master. Such being the state of the question, students of Plato and Lucretius may be interested in the following parallels whether they demonstrate anything or not.

The *Timaeus* from its theme takes the first place in any comparison of Plato and Lucretius. The most noteworthy parallel is that between *Tim.* 50 E and Lucret. 2, 845. Plato illustrates the thought that the recipient of all forms and qualities must itself be formless by the following image: διὸ καὶ πάντων ἐκτὸς εἰδῶν εἶναι χρεὼν τὸ τὰ πάντα ἐκδεξιόμενον ἐν αὐτῷ γένη, καθάπερ περὶ τὰ ἀλείμματα ὅποσα εὐώδη, τέχνη μηχανῶνται πρῶτον τοῦτ' αὐτὸ ὑπάρχον, ποιούσιν ὃ τι μάλιστα ἀώδη τὰ δεξιόμενα ὑγρὰ τὰς ὀσμὰς κτλ. Nothing better exhibits the fertility of Plato's suggestions than the fact that, while Aristotle took from this passage the hint for his argument that the pure reason which knows all things must be free from admixture,<sup>2</sup> Lucretius borrows the image to enforce the doctrine that the atoms as bearers of all secondary qualities are themselves without any sensuous determinations. 2, 847:

*Sicut amaracini blandum stactaeque liquorem | et nardi florem, nectar  
qui naribus halat, | cum facere instituas, cum primis quaerere par est, |  
quoad licet ac possis reperire inolentis olivi | naturam, nullam quae mittat  
naribus auram, | quam minime ut possit mixtos in corpore odores | concoc-  
tosque suo contractans perdere viro, | propter eandem rem debent primor-  
dia rerum | non adhibere suum gignundis rebus odorem, etc.*

(2) τὸ λευκὸν (3) μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸ ἄθροισμα οἶον πῦρ. The lexicons, especially L. and S., are all astray. Cf. further Usener, p. 196.

<sup>1</sup> 2, 79 *viti lampada* with *Laws* 776 B; 3, 873 *sincerum sonere* with *Theaetet.* 179 D; the hypocoristic lover 4, 1160 with *Republic* 474 D, a frequent motif of comedy; the dissipation of the soul like smoke or vapor, 3, 456 with *Phaedo* 70; the comparison of our fear of death to the terrors of children in the dark, 2, 55, *Phaedo* 77 E; the use of *articulat* 4, 551 with that of *διηθρώσατο* *Protag.* 322 A; the social compact 5, 1020 with *Republic* 358-359.

<sup>2</sup> *De an.* 429a, 20.

Other resemblances are more easily felt than described. Plato's theory of matter is, as Windelband observes, essentially atomic and Democritean, despite the half serious Pythagoreanizing mathematical form in which it is disguised. And, while there is no express coincidence, there is a broad general likeness in the language used by Plato and Lucretius in describing the relations that obtain between the shapes of the elemental particles and the sensations which they cause.<sup>1</sup>

We may note further: (1) The emphasis laid upon the idea of cause at the outset though for opposite ends.<sup>2</sup> (2) The distinction between permanent and transitory being and the protest, though with different application, against confounding the two by the double meaning of the verb to be.<sup>3</sup> (3) The common background of chaos derived from Hesiod and the Pre-Socratics.<sup>4</sup> For aesthetic reasons and to save the eternity of the existing order of the world Plato entirely absorbs this chaos into the cosmos.<sup>5</sup> But in *Polit.* 273 D he seems to recognize it as still subsisting outside of the world, and he agrees with Lucretius in a certain large way of speaking of the wholeness and com-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. on the one hand *Tim.* 58 B, τὰ σμκρά εἰς τὰ τῶν μεγάλων διάκενα ξυνωθεῖ—58 D τὸ μὲν οὖν ὑγρὸν διὰ τὸ μετέχον εἶναι τῶν γενῶν τῶν ὕδατος ὅσα σμκρά ἀνίσων ὄντων κινητικόν, etc.,—59 B τῷ δὲ μεγάλα ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ διαλείμματα ἔχειν κουφότερον (cf. Lucret. 1, 364-367)—61 D ἢ πῦρ θερμὸν λέγομεν . . . τὴν διάκρισιν καὶ τομὴν αὐτοῦ . . . ἐννοηθέντες—62 A κερματίζουσα—65 C φαίνεται δὲ καὶ ταῦτα, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ τὰ πολλὰ, διὰ συγκρίσεών τε τιῶν καὶ διακρίσεων γίνεσθαι . . . τραχύτησί τε καὶ λειότησιν—65 D ξυνάγει τὰ φλέβια καὶ ἀποξηραίνει, etc.—67 C ὄψει ξύμμετρα μόρια ἔχουσαν πρὸς αἴσθησιν—67 E τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τὰς διεξέδους βία διωθοῦσαν καὶ τήκουσαν, etc. And on the other hand Lucret. 2, 385 sqq. *caelestem fulminis ignem | suptilem magis e parvis constare figuris*, etc.—394 *hamatis inter se perque plicatis*—401 *pertorquent ora sapore*—406 *vias rescindere nostris sensibus*—420 *qui compungunt aciem*, etc.—432 *dentata compungere sensus*—460, 469-70, 3; 185-195, —4, 249, 277 *et quasi perterget pupillas*—344, 620, 625-7, 650-665, 660 *contractabiliter caulas intrare palati*—716 *pupillas interfodiunt*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Tim.* 28 A, Lucret. 1, 150 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> *Tim.* 27 D, Lucret. 1, 215 sqq., *Tim.* 38 B τὸ τε γεγονός εἶναι γεγονός, etc., Lucret. 1, 464 *belloque subactas | Troiugenas gentes cum dicunt esse videndumst | ne forte haec per se cogant nos esse fateri*. But whereas Lucretius, 1, 478, regards *res gestae* as less real than bodies, Plato, *Cratyl.* 386 E holds that ἐν τι εἶδος τῶν ὄντων εἶσιν αὐτὰ πράξεις, and censures materialists for not recognizing this, *Theaetet.* 155 E.

<sup>4</sup> *Tim.* 30 A, 53 A, Lucret. 5, 435.

<sup>5</sup> *Tim.* 33 A C.

pleteness of the All.<sup>1</sup> (4) Both describe in similar terms the disintegration ultimately effected in every organic or cosmic aggregate by the unceasing impingement of external forces,<sup>2</sup> and the continual influx and efflux that mark the growth and decay of the animal body.<sup>3</sup> (5) A certain periphrastic elaboration of phrase, sometimes merely a conventional poetic diction, sometimes used especially of processes and ingenious mechanisms of nature.<sup>4</sup> (6) Lastly, Plato anticipates Lucretius in the correct account of the images presented by laterally concave mirrors<sup>5</sup> and in the fancy that the sun and moon taught mankind mathematics.<sup>6</sup> But transcending all coincidences of detail is the spiritual affinity of imaginative insight and poetic temper that has associated these expositions of antithetic philosophies in the enthusiastic admiration of ages which, like the Renaissance and our own time, are repelled by the lifeless pedantry of Aristotle and the Stoics. The *Timaeus* and the *De Rerum Natura* were both composed under the immediate inspiration of the Pre-Socratic poet-philosophers. They are 'Hymns of the Universe' rather than dry inventories of phaenomena. Guided by a few great thoughts, their majestic rhetoric sweeps across the entire field of knowledge from the origins of the world to the diseases of the human body. Both approach the investigation of nature in a spirit of glad wonder and awe. Both thrill with a sense of the beauty of the cosmos, the glory of the sum of things, that reflects itself in a sustained intensity of rhythm, diction, and vivid imagery. Nothing is viewed in disconnection, lifeless and inert. Everywhere there is a sense of largeness and

<sup>1</sup> Lucret. 1, 963; 2, 305; 5, 361; *Tim.* 33 CD. Cf. Empedocles 92 τοῦτο δ' ἐπαυξήσεται τὸ πᾶν τί κε καὶ πῶθεν ἔλθόν; Cf. D. L. 10, 39.

<sup>2</sup> Lucret. 2, 1146 *nec tuditantia rem cessant extrinsecus ullam | corpora conficere et plagis infesta domare*. Cf. 4, 933 sqq. *Tim.* 33 A περιεστώμενα ἔξωθεν καὶ προσπίπτοντα ἀκαίρως λύει — 43 BC τὰ τῶν προσπιπτόντων παθήματα, etc. — 81 A τὰ μὲν γὰρ δὴ περιεστώτα ἐκτὸς ἡμᾶς τήκει, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Tim.* 43 A, ἐπίρρτον σῶμα, 80 E τὰ τῆς τροφῆς νάματα . . . ἐπίρρτα. Lucret. 2, 1112–1145 *fluere, liquitur, fluendo*, etc. \*

<sup>4</sup> E. g. Lucret. 1, 321 *natura videndi*; 2, 400 *natura absinthi*; *Tim.* 45 E τὴν τῶν βλεφάρων φύσιν, 75 D τὴν φύσιν τοῦ προσώπου, 76 E, 82 D. Lucret. 3, 255 *per caulas corporis omnis*, 702, 4, 620; *Tim.* 70 B διὰ πάντων τῶν στενωπῶν. Cf. also 4, 828 sqq. with *Tim.* 44 E ἐκτατά τε κῶλα καὶ καμπτά and *Phaedo* 98 D.

<sup>5</sup> *Tim.* 46 BC; Lucret. 4, 312 sqq.

<sup>6</sup> Lucret. 5, 1437; *Tim.* 47 A. Cf. *Epinomis* 978 D.

wholeness, and we are aware of nature related, moving, and alive in all her parts and processes. And the instinct of a Giordano Bruno that feels this deeper likeness is a sounder guide than classifications based on oppositions of dogma.

After the *Timaeus* the greatest number of coincidences is found in the *Laws*, a work more justly appreciated in antiquity than in modern times. In *Laws* 660 A we have apparently the first instance of the comparison of the poet to the physician who conveys nauseous but salutary drugs in sweets.<sup>1</sup> But this, like the *vitai lampada*, may well have been a literary commonplace in Lucretius' time.<sup>2</sup> The simile from defective foundations that betray the superstructure 793 C is very closely followed by Lucretius 4, 513, οἶον τεκτόνων ἐν οἰκοδομήμασιν ἐρείσματα ἐκ μέσου ὑπορρέοντα, συμπίπτειν εἰς ταῦτόν ποιεῖ τὰ ξύμπαντα κείσθαι τε ἄλλα ὑφ' ἐτέρων αὐτά τε καὶ τὰ καλῶς ὕστερον ἐποικοδομηθέντα, τῶν ἀρχαίων ὑποπεσόντων. *Denique ut in fabrica, si pravast regula prima, | normaue si fallax rectis regionibus exit, | et libella aliqua si ex parti claudicat hilum, | omnia mendose fieri atque obstipa necesse est | prava cubantia prona supina atque absona tecta, | iam ruere ut quaedam videantur velle, ruantque | prodita iudicii fallacibus omnia primis, | sic igitur ratio, etc.*

An expression in Lucretius 4, 376, for which Munro cites no parallel, *quasi in ignem lana trahatur*, finds apt illustration in the proverbial εἰς πῦρ ξαίνειν of *Laws* 780 C, now correctly rendered by Jowett but mistranslated in the earlier editions. This parallel, if it be one, makes against the sufficiently improbable view of Erasmus and Stephanus' Thesaurus that εἰς πῦρ ξαίνειν = ξαίνειν πληγὰς εἰς πῦρ.

Still more interesting is the coincidence in thought between the argument in Lucretius 5, 325 sqq. and *Laws* 677 D. Epicurus had said ὅτι οὐδὲν ξέρον ἐν τῷ παντὶ ἀποτελεῖται παρὰ τὸν ἤδη γεγεννημένον χρόνον ἄπειρον.<sup>3</sup> Lucretius infers that our particular world and civilization are young because new discoveries have been made within the last one thousand years and are still being made. Similarly in *Laws* 677 C it is asked: Πῶς γὰρ ἂν, ἂ ἄριστε, εἴ γε ἔμενε τάδε οὕτω

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lucret. 1, 936. There is a hint of it in *Cratylus* 394 A.

<sup>2</sup> Lucret. 2, 79; *Laws* 776 B.

<sup>3</sup> Plut. apud Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* 1, 8, 8.

τὸν πάντα χρόνον, ὡς νῦν διακεκόσμηται, καινὸν ἀνευρίσκειτό ποτε καὶ ὀπιῶν;<sup>1</sup> Plato's explanation both here and in the *Timaeus* is that the arts and sciences are periodically wiped out by cataclysms or conflagrations. And this alternative, too, Lucretius proceeds to discuss in lines 338 sqq. This coincidence invites a fuller comparison of the account of primitive life and the first steps in human progress in the fifth book of Lucretius with Plato's treatment of the same theme. Plato himself had been preceded by the fifth century Sophists and dramatists, as we see from the myth attributed to Protagoras, and the long list of parallels to the speech of Prometheus in Aeschylus.<sup>2</sup> The chief Platonic passages are *Laws*, 3, 677 sqq.; *Protag.* 322 sqq.; *Timaeus* 23; *Critias* 109-110; *Politicus* 274 BCD.

Plato of course differs from Lucretius in that he starts from a cataclysm rather than from the absolute *novitas mundi*, and that, like the poets, he personifies in some beneficent deity the inventive genius of humanity.<sup>3</sup> But this in no wise lessens the interest of the coincidences in detail. The chief common traits are: The terror-stricken, helpless estate of primitive man,<sup>4</sup> as contrasted with animals for whose comfort and *preservation* Nature provides;<sup>5</sup> his exposure to wild beasts;<sup>6</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> The sequel also should be compared with Lucretius. The text is not in order, but there is no doubt as to the meaning which Jowett utterly misrepresents: "and if things had always continued as they are at present ordered, how could any discovery have ever been made even in the least particular."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Plato, *Repub.* 522 D; Aeschylus, *Prom.* 445 sqq.; *Palamedes* fr. 182; Soph. *Antig.* 333 sqq., fr. 399; Eurip. *Suppl.* 201 sqq., *Palamedes* fr. 578; Critias, *Sisyphus*, Nauck, p. 771; Moschion fr. 6, Nauck, p. 813; Adespota 470, Nauck, p. 931; Duemmler, *Proleg. in Plat. Rep.* pp. 28-29; *Akademika*, 237 sqq.; Weber in *Leipziger Studien*, X, 118. Weber and Duemmler class Plato with Dicaearchus and the Stoics who held that man had sunk from a more blessed condition as against Theophrastus and the Epicureans who thought that he had risen out of primitive animality. But to attempt to ticket Plato in this fashion is to ignore the irony of *Politicus* 272 C, *Laws* 678 B, 679 ABC and *Repub.* 372 D.

<sup>3</sup> *Laws* 679 B, *Polit.* 274 C, *Cratyl.* 438 C. Lucretius, on the other hand, is careful to represent man's natural wit as the source of language 5, 1028, of the discovery of fire 5, 1091 sqq., and the arts 5, 1261; 1452.

<sup>4</sup> *Laws* 678 C φῶβος ἑναυλος, 677 E φοβηρὰν ἐρημίαν, *Crit.* 109 E ἐν ἀπορίᾳ.

<sup>5</sup> Lucret. 5, 222 sqq., 233 *tulentur*, 859 *tutata*. *Protag.* 320 E ἄλλην τιν' αὐτοῖς ἐμηχανᾶτο δύναμιν εἰς σωτηρίαν κτλ.

<sup>6</sup> *Protag.* 322 A; *Polit.* 274 C; *Laws* 681 A, Lucret. 5, 982 sqq.

absence of war;<sup>1</sup> of gold;<sup>2</sup> of iron and fire;<sup>3</sup> of the arts of agriculture;<sup>4</sup> navigation;<sup>5</sup> of luxury and gross inequalities in wealth;<sup>6</sup> the gradual discovery or recovery of these things;<sup>7</sup> the first building of cities;<sup>8</sup> the introduction of moral and political ideas;<sup>9</sup> the social compact;<sup>10</sup> the comparatively late appearance of letters and trustworthy historical traditions.<sup>11</sup> Language and religion of course are treated from diametrically opposite points of view. A quaint detail, 5, 973, is curiously explained by an etymology of the *Cratylus* 418 D. Lucretius denies that primitive man passed the night in terror-stricken longing for the sunlight. He was used to recurrent darkness. Against whom is this remark directed? 'The Stoics,' says Munro. If so, it must have been the "Proto-Stoics." For Plato derives ἡμέρα from ἡμέρα . . . ὅτι ἀσμένοις τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἡμέρουσιν ἐκ τοῦ σκοτίους τὸ φῶς ἐγίγνετο.

Outside of the *Timaeus* and the *Laws* coincidences are sporadic and accidental, since Lucretius' theme was not concerned with the logical and ethical enquiries that occupy the dialogues.<sup>12</sup> There is one passage,

<sup>1</sup> Lucret. 6, 999, *Protag.* 322 B, *Laws* 678 E. Both find its origin in the growth of wealth, Lucret. 5, 1434, *Phaedo* 66 C, *Repub.* 586 B, 373 E. But Lucretius 5, 1419 sqq. explicitly protests against Plato's half serious assertion that the simpler goods of primitive times aroused no jealousy or private strife, *Laws* 678 E.

<sup>2</sup> Lucret 5, 1113, *Laws* 679 B.

<sup>3</sup> *Laws* 678 E, *Protag.* 321 D, Lucret. 5, 1090 sqq., 1241 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Lucret. 5, 933, *Laws* 680 E, 681 A.

<sup>5</sup> Lucret. 5, 1006, *Laws* 678 C.

<sup>6</sup> Lucret. 5, 1008, 1112 sqq., *Laws* 679 AB.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Usus* 5, 1452 with *χρησιν*, *Polit.* 274 C.

<sup>8</sup> Lucret. 5, 1108, *Protag.* 322 B, *Laws* 681 B sqq.

<sup>9</sup> Lucret. 5, 958, 1020-1028, 1140-1155, *Laws* 681 CD, *Protag.* 322 CD.

<sup>10</sup> 5, 1140-1155; cf. *supra*, p. 201, n. 3.

<sup>11</sup> 5, 1446 *propterea quid sit prius actum respicere aetas | nostra nequit, nisi qua ratio vestigia monstrat.* Cf. *Critias* 110 A; *Timaeus* 23 B.

<sup>12</sup> The treatment of love at the close of the fourth book has touches which suggest the *Phaedrus* and *Symposium*. Cf. 4, 1121 sqq. with *Phaedr.* 252 A, and 4, 1110 with *Symp.* 192. The comparison of the nursing woman to the earth, 5, 813-815, reminds us of *Menexenus* 237-238. The comparison of the elements of the alphabet to the elements of things, 1, 197, 912; 2, 688, 1013, is a favorite Platonic image—*Polit.* 278, *Tim.* 48 B, *Theaet.* 201 E. The image in 2, 365 *derivare animum* for which Munro can find no parallel is akin at least to the use of ἀπαχευμένον in *Repub.* 485 D. The moral application of *pertusum vas* in 3, 1009 and 6, 20 is like that in *Gorgias* 493 B. Cf. further 1, 263 with *Phaedo* 71-72 and the moral senti-

however, that demands special consideration. In 3, 358 sqq. Lucretius attacks the theory that it is the mind which sees using the eyes only as a door for the admission of sensations. In that case, he dryly observes, we ought to see better when the doors are removed, posts and all. A similar image is found in Sextus Empiricus, *Math.* 7, 350 οἱ δὲ αὐτὴν (τὴν διάνοιαν) εἶναι τὰς αἰσθήσεις καθάπερ διὰ τινων ὀπῶν τῶν αἰσθητηρίων προκύπτουσιν. Elsewhere, *ibid.* 130, Sextus says of Heraclitus ἐν δὲ ἐγρηγοροσί πάλιν διὰ τῶν αἰσθητικῶν πόρων ὥσπερ διὰ τινων θυρίδων προκύψας (sc. ὁ νοῦς). Accordingly, La Salle, Woltjer, and Munro assume that Lucretius is combating Heraclitus. The resemblance, however, is confined to the image. There is no parallelism in the thought. Epicurus taught that the body feels and perceives as well as the mind. Lucretius is opposing the doctrine that the mind alone feels and knows using the organs of sense as mere channels and instruments. There is no trace of this idea in Heraclitus. In the passage before us Heraclitus is explaining how the individual mind renews its connection with the universal mind through eye-gate and ear-gate. The question whether sensation and perception reside in the body or the mind has not been raised. But in Plato's *Theaetetus*, the source of so much later psychology, attention is called to this specific problem, 184 C: σκόπει γάρ, ἀπόκρισις ποτέρα ὀρθότερα, ᾧ ὀρώμεν, τοῦτο εἶναι ὀφθαλμούς, ἢ δι' οὗ ὀρώμεν (cf. *Tim.* 51 C). It seems probable then that Lucretius is following Epicurus in a polemic against this Platonic thought. We cannot be sure that the image in Sextus goes back to Heraclitus.<sup>1</sup> In any case, once set in circulation it was liable to be used for picturesque effect apart from its original context.

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ment of 5, 1118 with *Laws* 736 E. Note also the almost direct contradiction of *Cratyl.* 400 A, where the soul holds the body, by 3, 435 sqq.; of *Phaedo* 109 AB by the polemic against the *medii cupido* in 1, 1082; and the striking coincidence of the rhetorical question in 2, 1095 *quis regere immensi summam . . . quis pariter caelos omnis convertere*, with the like question in *Epinomis* 983 A *τις τρόπος ἂν ἐν τοσούτον περιφέρειν θεγον*; etc.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Zeller, *Phil. d. Griechen*, I, 707.



THE ORIGIN OF THE STATEMENTS CONTAINED IN  
PLUTARCH'S LIFE OF PERICLES, CHAPTER XIII

BY HAROLD N. FOWLER

PLUTARCH was so voluminous a writer that he had little time to devote to that process of mental digestion which enables one to make the results of one's reading an integral part of one's own mind, to be used and expressed as one's own thoughts, bearing no trace of foreign origin, because all such traces have been lost in the personality of him who has made the thoughts and statements of others part of his own mental equipment. Plutarch evidently consulted his authorities, made notes, and copied quotations freshly for each essay, whether he wrote on a philosophical, antiquarian, or historical subject. Each of his essays contains passages derived from various authors more or less skilfully joined together. Sometimes Plutarch mentions his authorities by name, sometimes he seems to try to hide their identity, and in any case it is frequently difficult to find the exact place where his dependence upon any one author begins or ends. The sources of most of his essays, both those collected in the *Parallel Lives* and those oddly called the *Morals*, have been determined with some degree of certainty, and in many instances the dividing lines between the passages derived from different authors have been noted. Something still remains to be done in accurate marking of such dividing lines, but still more, perhaps, in discovering the ultimate source behind the immediate authority consulted by Plutarch or, in some instances, the intermediate authority through whom Plutarch draws from a known ultimate source. The results of such investigation may not be certain, and they are probably less likely to be certain in the case of historical statements than of philosophical doctrines; but if historical statements can be traced with a fair degree of probability to their ultimate sources, the gain is so great that the impossibility of attaining absolute certainty should not serve as a deterrent.

The authors from whom Plutarch drew his material for the Life of Pericles have been known for years, ever since the investigations of H. Sauppe<sup>1</sup> and F. Rühl.<sup>2</sup> There is little to add to their results,<sup>3</sup> which may be stated briefly somewhat as follows: Plutarch does not follow one author consistently, but passes from one to another, taking from each what seems to him most interesting, even when the transition involves a change in point of view or an actual contradiction. His

<sup>1</sup> *Die Quellen Plutarchs für das Leben des Perikles: Abhandlungen d. k. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften*, Goettingen, XIII, 1866-67, pp. 3-38.

<sup>2</sup> *Ueber die Quellen des Plutarchischen Perikles: Jahrbücher für Philologie*, XCVII, 1868, pp. 657-674.

<sup>3</sup> The discovery of the Aristotelian *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* has decided in Sauppe's favor the question whether Plutarch derived the account of Cimon's generosity given in chapter 9 (cf. *Cimon*, chap. 10) from Theopompus or from Aristotle. Not only does the story told by Theopompus (Athenaeus 533 A, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* I, 293) differ in some respects from that told by Plutarch, but the words of Plutarch, τῶν τε χωρίων τοὺς φραγμοὺς ἀφαιρῶν, ὅπως ὀπωρίζωσιν οἱ βουλομένοι, and (*Cimon*, chap. 10) τῶν τε γὰρ ἀγρῶν τοὺς φραγμοὺς ἀφείλεν ἵνα . . . ὑπάρχη λαμβάνειν τῆς ὀπίρας, are evidently derived from those of Aristotle, 27, 3, ἐτι δὲ τὰ χωρία πάντα ἀφρακτα ἦν, ὅπως ἐξῆ τῷ βουλομένῳ τῆς ὀπίρας ἀπολαίειν. It might, to be sure, be contended that the quotation from Theopompus given by Athenaeus is incorrect, and that Theopompus really gave the story as it is told in the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία*, in which case Plutarch might have derived it entirely from Theopompus; but such a contention has little in its favor and would cast a doubt upon all the quotations in Athenaeus. Plutarch's indebtedness to Aristotle is not, as Rühl, p. 659, and Rose, *Aristot. Pseudepigr.*, pp. 422, 423, thought, confined to the mention of Damonides. It is, however, evident that the account of Cimon's generosity is not as a whole taken from the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία*, for Plutarch states that Cimon gave clothing to those who needed it, while the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* mentions only food. Possibly the extension of Cimon's generosity to all Athenians is due to a false interpretation of the word δημότης in *Ἀθ. Πολ.* 27, 3, ἔπειτα τῶν δημοτῶν ἔτρεφε πολλούς· ἐξῆν γὰρ τῷ βουλομένῳ Λακιαδῶν καθ' ἐκάστην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐλθόντι παρ' αὐτὸν ἔχειν τὰ μέτρια. Here δημότης means "fellow demesman," but a careless reader might perhaps interpret it as "man of the people," and in this way make Cimon open his house to all comers. It seems almost incredible that such a misinterpretation should be due to Theopompus, but if he did not misinterpret the statement in the *Ἀθ. Πολ.* he changed it intentionally, or derived his information directly from an earlier source. In any event, the statement of the *Ἀθ. Πολ.* is more likely to be true. Plutarch seems to have followed Theopompus, inserting the passage τῶν τε χωρίων . . . Δαμωνίδου τοῦ Ὀσθεν with changes from the *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, while in *Cimon*, chap. 10, he uses the *Ἀθ. Πολ.* to correct Theopompus. See Sandys' note on *Ἀθ. Πολ.* 27, 3.

chief authority seems to be Theopompus, but he derives not a little from Ephorus, and introduces brief passages from several other authors. Some of these authors he appears to have read, while his references to others may be taken with the surrounding matter from an intermediate authority. The parts derived from Theopompus are, leaving out of consideration brief passages inserted from other writers, chapters 3 to 7 inclusive, part of chapter 9, chapters 10 and 11, and chapters 14 to 23 inclusive. Chapters 12 to 14 inclusive and from chapter 29 to the end of the essay are derived from Ephorus. Duris of Samos is the probable authority for chapters 24 to 28 inclusive. Various other authors are cited, some of whom may have been consulted by Plutarch, while the citations of others may be taken from the author who happens to be for the moment his chief guide.

That Plutarch's authority for chapters 12 to 14 is Ephorus is clear from comparison with Diodorus, 12, 39, where the same general statements are made in abbreviated form, followed in chapter 40 by an account of the causes of the Peloponnesian war closely resembling that given by Plutarch in chapter 29 and following. Diodorus, inasmuch as he is writing a concise history of Greece, not a biography of Pericles, passes lightly over the public works undertaken under Pericles' administration. Similarly Aristodemus (*Jahrb. f. Philologie*, CVII, 1868, p. 91 f., *Fragm. Hist. Graec.*, V, p. 17 f.) mentions the statue of Athena and the part played by Phidias only as one of the causes of the Peloponnesian war. Plutarch, however, is interested in the great public works of Pericles, and devotes to them two entire chapters (12 and 13). There is no reason to doubt that Ephorus also gave a more or less detailed account of the public works of Pericles, and Plutarch probably derived from him all the contents of these chapters, though it is possible that some details are added from other sources or even as the result of Plutarch's own combinations.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The quotations from the comic poets in Diodorus, Aristodemus, and Plutarch show that the three are drawing from the same source. In his philosophical treatises Plutarch could take his poetical quotations from a commonplace book (see *Harv. Stud. in Class. Phil.*, I, p. 139, note), but in a biographical essay he could hardly employ such a compilation, for it is improbable that any one ever compiled a book of quotations applied or applicable to Pericles and other men of note. In historical works by different authors the occurrence of the same poetical or other quotations is

Assuming, then, that Plutarch's authority, or at least his chief authority, in chapter 13 is Ephorus, we still need to know the source from which Ephorus drew his information before we can accept or reject his statements with confidence. The first part of the chapter contains no indication of its ultimate source, nor indeed is it necessary to look further than Ephorus himself for a somewhat rhetorical expression of wonder and admiration at the rapidity with which the great public works of the Periclean period were completed. The story of Agatharchus and Zeuxis is quite in the vein of Ephorus, though he may have found it in a work by some earlier writer as well as in the mouth of the people. The anitithesis between the "ancient" or classical beauty of the works when they were new and their freshness when they were old may be due to Plutarch himself, though it would have been possible for Ephorus to express himself in the same way a century after the time of Pericles.

After the expression of admiration for the works of Pericles we read the statement that Phidias was general overseer for him, with the modifying clause "although the works had great architects and artists" (πάντα δὲ διείπε καὶ πάντων ἐπίσκοπος ἦν αὐτῷ Φειδίας, καίτοι μεγάλους ἀρχιτέκτονας ἔχόντων καὶ τεχνίτας τῶν ἔργων). This is followed by simple, matter of fact statements that Callicrates and Ictinus built the

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good evidence that the writers draw from a common source. The differences in the quotations by Plutarch, Diodorus, and Aristodemus show that Ephorus quoted more freely than any one of the three later writers. So Aristodemus quotes Aristophanes, *Peace*, 603-611, omitting only line 608, while Diodorus omits lines 607 and 608, and Plutarch's arrangement of his material leads him to omit this quotation altogether; Aristodemus quotes lines 524-533 of the *Acharnians*, while Diodorus gives part of line 530 followed by 531 and three lines of Eupolis' *Demoi* (the last three lines of frg. 94, Kock), and Plutarch quotes lines 424-427 in chapter 30, with a very evident reference to line 530 in chapter 8. The work of Ephorus was elaborate and voluminous. He certainly quoted in full these two passages from Aristophanes, and the presumption that all the citations and references to the comic poets in those parts of Plutarch's *Pericles* which appear to be derived from Ephorus are taken over bodily with the other material is so strong as to amount almost to a certainty. Plutarch is enough of a literary artist to cut down the quotations from the poets to correspond with the comparatively small compass of his essay, inserting a few lines here and there and a mere reminiscence where he feels that the lines would be obtrusive, while Diodorus and Aristodemus copy their quotations more or less completely, and save space by omitting all reference to what they do not copy.

Parthenon, that Coroebus began the *τελεστήριον* at Eleusis, which was finished after his death by Metagenes and Xenocles, and that Callicrates was contractor for the long wall. A quotation from Cratinus is introduced *à propos* of the long wall. Then follows a brief description of the Odeum, with another quotation from Cratinus, followed by remarks about the institution of musical contests at the Panathenaea and the action of Pericles as *athlothes*. Next comes the statement that Mnesicles built the Propylaea in five years, with the story of the workman who fell from the roof and the consequent dedication by Pericles of the statue of Athena Hygieia. After this we have the statement that Phidias was the artist of the "golden" statue of the goddess and was inscribed as such on the stele, but that nearly everything was under his charge, and he was overseer of the artists (and artisans) on account of the friendship of Pericles. This is followed by a series of evil tales about Pericles, with only the first of which Phidias has any connection. Stesimbrotus of Thasos is given as the author of one of these stories, and it is not improbable that he is really a principal source of tales which Ephorus introduced to give fifth century color to his narrative, especially of gossip to the discredit of Pericles.<sup>1</sup>

Is there any difference in quality in the statements of fact contained in this chapter, from which any conclusions can be drawn as to their ultimate sources? Apparently there is. The names of the architects mentioned were without the shadow of a doubt to be found in inscriptions recording the expenses incurred for those buildings of which they had charge. These official records were accessible to all, and we may with confidence regard them as the source of Ephorus' information about Callicrates and Ictinus as architects of the Parthenon, Coroebus, Metagenes, and Xenocles as architects at Eleusis; and probably the statements that Callicrates undertook the building of the long wall and that Mnesicles was architect of the Propylaea are ultimately derived from the same official source, though if that is the case some literary

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<sup>1</sup> Stesimbrotus is cited three times in the *Life of Pericles* besides our passage. In chapter 8, Ephorus seems to be the intermediary between him and Plutarch, in chapter 27 he is cited in opposition to Duris, so that it may be doubted whether the citation was already made by Duris or is introduced from Ephorus, and in chapter 36 Ephorus is Plutarch's chief source. A. Croiset, *Histoire de la Littérature Grecque*, IV, pp. 659 f., evidently believes that Ephorus used Stesimbrotus freely.

authority also seems to have been employed. The assumption of a literary authority is not absolutely necessary, for Ephorus might very well have inserted the quotations from Cratinus and the mention of the musical contests, etc., himself, but it is at least not improbable that he found these things in some earlier work. It is possible that he followed Stesimbrotus in more matters than mere tales.

The story of the workman who fell from the roof of the Propylaea is also connected with a tangible and well known inscribed monument, the statue of Athena Hygieia. The statue stood in a conspicuous place and must have been of itself of considerable interest, or Pausanias (1, 23, 5), who claims to describe only the most interesting monuments on the Acropolis, would not mention it. Almost any writer who mentioned monuments on the Acropolis or monuments of the age of Pericles would, therefore, be likely to refer to this statue, and to tell the story connected with it. The story was probably told by Stesimbrotus, and Ephorus may have taken it from him, but Ephorus probably knew the tale without needing to refer for it to any one author. While it is therefore not improbable that his version is taken from Stesimbrotus, it is by no means certain. One thing seems fairly certain, however, namely, that Pliny (22, 44) does not derive his version of the story from Ephorus nor from the source from which Ephorus drew.

Even for the well known fact that Phidias made the "golden" statue documentary evidence is cited.

For a number of facts, then, we have official records as the ultimate source of Ephorus' (and Plutarch's) statements. The dry official record of fact is, in the case of the long wall and of the Odeum, enlivened with quotations from Cratinus (perhaps through the medium of Stesimbrotus or some other writer), and in the case of the Propylaea and the Athena Hygieia with the story of the man who fell from the roof. But these additions are not new statements of historical facts.<sup>1</sup> They simply show that Ephorus wished his history to be interesting. But before and after these facts based on documentary evidence we have the statement that Phidias was the general overseer of the works. What is the

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<sup>1</sup> The story of the workman may or may not be true, but in any case the accident is not an *historical* fact, but merely a fact to be used as an illustration or ornament in historical writing.

authority for this statement? It is evident at first sight that the second statement is merely a repetition of the first. The first has been given in full above, the second is as follows: (ὁ δὲ Φειδίας εἰργάζετο μὲν τῆς θεοῦ τὸ χρυσοῦν ἔδος καὶ τούτου δημιουργὸς ἐν τῇ στήλῃ εἶναι γέγραπται,) πάντα δ' ἦν σχεδὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ πᾶσιν, ὡς εἰρήκαμεν, ἐπεστάται τοῖς τεχνίταις διὰ φιλιάν Περικλέους. Now this statement cannot be based on official records. In the first place, the statement that Phidias was general director of works is indissolubly bound up with the further remark that he was director "on account of the friendship of Pericles," which could naturally not be part of an official record, and, moreover, if Phidias had been regularly elected or appointed to oversee the buildings erected by the city, we should not find Pericles spoken of as overseer even of the statue of Athena,<sup>1</sup> as well as of the works in general.<sup>2</sup>

Plutarch is the only writer who speaks of Phidias as the general director of works under Pericles. He is also the only writer who calls Phidias the friend of Pericles, with the single exception of Dio Chrysostom,<sup>3</sup> whose testimony cannot be regarded as independent or weighty.

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Aristoph. *Rax*, 605, Φιλόχορος . . . φησί· καὶ τὸ ἀγαλμα τὸ χρυσοῦν . . . ἐστάθη . . . Περικλέους ἐπιστατοῦντος, Φειδίου δὲ ποιήσαντος . . . λέγουσι δὲ τινες ὡς Φειδίου τοῦ ἀγαλματοποιοῦ δόξαντος παραλογίζεσθαι τὴν πόλιν καὶ φυγαδευθέντος ὁ Περικλῆς, φοβηθείς διὰ τὸ ἐπιστατῆσαι τῇ κατασκευῇ τοῦ ἀγάλματος κτέ. Diod. Sic. 12, 39, τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀγαλμα Φειδίας μὲν κατεσκεύαζε, Περικλῆς δὲ ὁ Ξανθίππου καθεσταμένος ἦν ἐπιμελητής. This passage of Diodorus is derived from Ephorus, as is also our Plutarch passage. It is therefore not independent testimony, but the wording shows that Ephorus regarded Pericles as officially responsible for the statue. In Diodorus this passage introduces the story of the trial of Phidias, told by Plutarch in chapter 31, and both writers (following Ephorus) use the story in giving the causes of the Peloponnesian war. The connection is substantially the same in the second part of the Schol. Aristoph. *Rax* 605, and also in Suidas, s. v. Φειδίας· ἀγαλματοποιὸς ὃς ἐλεφαντίνης Ἀθηνᾶς εἰκόνα ἐποίησε. Περικλῆς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀναλώμασι ταχθεὶς ἐνοσφίαστο πεντήκοντα τάλαντα, καὶ ἵνα μὴ δῶ τὰς εὐθύνας, πόλεμον ἐκίνησε. Probably all these notices come from Ephorus.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo 9, 1, 12 (395), Ἐἶτ' Ἐλευσίς πόλις, ἐν ἣ τὸ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερὸν τῆς Ἐλευσινίας, καὶ ὁ μυστικὸς σηκὸς, ὃν κατεσκεύασεν Ἰκτίνος, ὄχλον θεάτρου δέξασθαι δυνάμενον, ὃς καὶ τὸν Παρθενῶνα ἐποίησε τὸν ἐν ἀκροπόλει τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ, Περικλέους ἐπιστατοῦντος τῶν ἔργων. Here the words Περικλέους ἐπιστατοῦντος τῶν ἔργων refer to the clause ὃς καὶ τὸν Παρθενῶνα ἐποίησε κτέ. rather than to what precedes.

<sup>3</sup> 402 R., 242 Emp. (*Or.* 12, 55), Πρὸς δὴ ταῦτα τυχὸν εἶποι ἂν Φειδίας, ἄτε ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἀγλωττος οὐδὲ ἀγλώττου πόλεως, ἔτι δὲ συνήθης καὶ ἐταῖρος Περικλέους.

All the other writers who bring Pericles and Phidias into connection<sup>1</sup> fail to make them anything nearer and dearer than mere associates in wrong doing, and in fact the general impression derived from some of the accounts of the trial of Phidias is not so much that Pericles was really intimately associated with him, and for that reason likely to be suspected of sharing his guilt as that, being responsible for the funds appropriated, Pericles was naturally exposed to suspicion in his official character. Plutarch, in chapter 13, uses the alleged connection between Pericles and Phidias to introduce a series of disgraceful stories about Pericles, the last of which is given on the authority of Stesimbrotus, who is probably the source from whom Ephorus derived them all. Now Stesimbrotus, so far as can be judged from the extant fragments of his historical writings,<sup>2</sup> is far from being good authority. He evidently delighted in scurrility, and his hostility to Pericles made him welcome anything to that statesman's discredit. Phidias was employed to make the statue of Athena, and Pericles was responsible for the funds. A charge brought against Phidias might easily involve Pericles in trouble, and it may be accepted as true that Pericles exerted himself to secure the acquittal of Phidias. All this is perfectly reasonable and involves nothing improper in the conduct of Pericles. He had enemies, however, and political opponents, who were resolved to see some more personal and political reason for his interest in the trial of Phidias. This was made easy by Aristophanes. When he wrote (*Pax*, 605)

πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ ἤρξεν ἄτης Φειδίας πράξας κακῶς·  
εἶτα Περικλέης φοβηθεὶς μὴ μετάσχοι τῆς τύχης, κτέ.

he intended this reason for the outbreak of the war to be taken no more seriously than the other reason he gives in the *Acharnians*, 524–534. Even before Aristophanes had given the trial of Phidias as a cause of the war, on account of the deep interest taken in it by

<sup>1</sup> Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, 627, 628, 629, 631 = Aristoph. *Pax* 605 ff., Schol. Aristoph. *Nub.* 859, 2, Schol. Aristoph. *Pax* 605, Diod. Sic. 12, 39, this last being practically identical with Plutarch, *Pericles*, chapter 31.

<sup>2</sup> *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* II, pp. 53–56. The exact date of the writings of Stesimbrotus is unknown, but his book *Περὶ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Θουκυδίδου καὶ Περικλέους* was probably written after the death of Pericles, the three statesmen being then on an equality. It is very likely that Stesimbrotus wrote after the production of the *Peace*.



Pericles, it was an easy calumny to say that Pericles was a sharer in the sculptor's ill-gotten gains, and that he was an associate in other disgraceful affairs and an intimate friend. All such gossip was welcome to Pericles' opponents and enemies, among them to Stesimbrotus, and the story that Pericles was an intimate friend of Phidias (Phidias the thief rather than Phidias the sculptor) was used to the further discredit of Pericles by giving it the turn that the plans for the adornment of the city were not due to the much admired statesman but to Phidias.

When Aristophanes gave the trial of Phidias as the cause of the Peloponnesian war, he did not expect to be taken seriously. The fact that the trial must have taken place seven years before the beginning of the war is sufficient proof, if any were needed, of the absurdity of the charge. Probably those who asserted the connection between Phidias and Pericles in other matters than the making of the statue of Athena and the theft of the gold (or ivory), had little expectation of being believed. They stretched the truth and invented falsehood with the hope that some of the things they said would leave a stain upon the name of Pericles, but they little thought that their gossip would be copied at considerable length by Ephorus, repeated in abbreviated form by Plutarch, and believed by almost countless generations.

There is no evidence that Phidias was anything more than a great sculptor. Nowhere, except in the thirteenth chapter of Plutarch's life of Pericles is there the slightest hint that Phidias had any knowledge of architecture or any ability to plan a scheme of municipal decoration, and there the attribution to him of such ability is coupled with the most incredible stories, and is not to be separated from the statement that he was the intimate friend of Pericles.

Everything that we know about the society of Athens in the fifth century should make us slow to believe that an intimacy between Pericles and Phidias could exist.<sup>1</sup> Even in later times the social position of the artist was not especially enviable,<sup>2</sup> and in the Athens of the fifth century an artist could hardly be on intimate terms with any of the greater men, certainly not with one of Pericles' aristocratic birth and

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<sup>1</sup> A strong statement of the improbability of such a friendship is to be found in Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen*, II, p. 100, note.

<sup>2</sup> See Plutarch, *Pericles*, chapter 2, near the beginning.

nature. But if Phidias was not the intimate friend of Pericles, we have no evidence that he was the general director of works under the rule of Pericles, for the two statements rest upon exactly the same foundation.

The only literary evidence we have for the connection of Phidias with the decorative sculptures of the Parthenon is the statement of Plutarch that he was general overseer of works, and as the probability is seen to be against the truth of that statement, we have now no reason to believe that Phidias had anything to do with the sculptures of the Parthenon unless we find such close resemblance between those sculptors and the copies of undoubted works of Phidias as to force upon us the belief that they are the offspring of the same genius. I use the expression "force upon us" advisedly, for there is no indication in Greek literature that Phidias was ever engaged in decorative work other than that pertaining to the proper mounting of his statues. He is called ἀγαλαματοποιός or πλάστης, once λιθουργός (Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* 6, 7), and more general epithets are sometimes used, but there is nothing that so much as hints at any connection with architecture. The fact that Phidias must have been busy modelling the Athena Parthenos, carving the ivory, beating or chiselling the gold, and making the inner framework of the great statue, while the decorative sculptures were in process of execution and probably for some time before, would seem to add to the probability that those decorative sculptures are due not only to other hands, but also to other minds.





Fig. 1.

## NOTES ON THE SO-CALLED CAPUCHIN PLANS OF ATHENS<sup>1</sup>

BY J. R. WHEELER

IN Volume VII, pp. 178-180, of these *Harvard Studies*, I have given a brief account, taken chiefly from Laborde's *Athènes au XV<sup>e</sup>, XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, of the two plans of Athens which are supposed to have their origin in the work of the Capuchin monks. The first of these plans to be published was that which Guillet de St. Georges brought out in connection with his book entitled *Athènes Ancienne et Nouvelle* (Paris, 1675), a work in the preparation of which he says he was greatly assisted by the monks. From this the inference has been drawn that the Capuchins furnished Guillet with his plan. The second plan was not widely known until 1854, when Laborde published it in his *Athènes*. The original of this publication is a pencil sketch which forms one of a series of drawings<sup>2</sup> brought back by the French royal engineers who were sent out in 1685 to inspect fortifications in the Levant. If the inference in regard to the first plan is correct, it is likely that this second one also had its origin in the work of the monks, since a comparison of the two shows at once that they must have had in the main the same original. It is, indeed, barely possible that the drawing in the collection of the engineers is itself the original which was at the monastery in Athens; but this is hardly likely.

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<sup>1</sup> Inasmuch as in the following article I have expressed some views with reference to these plans of Athens which are at variance with those of Professor Dörpfeld, it is only right to say that, if it had not been for his keenness of vision, the article would probable never have been written at all, and that I feel myself under obligation to him for various courtesies which he has shown me during its preparation.

<sup>2</sup> *Bibl. Nat. MS. français 7176*. The drawing in question is No. 34 in this series. In the index to the volume it wrongly appears as No. 33. The paper on which the sketch is made is very rough; it has been folded, cracked, and then mended. In the beginning the drawing was done on two sheets of paper which are joined in the middle of the plan by a strip pasted on the back. The dimensions of the sketch are .685 × .405 m.

If, now, the two plans are compared it will be seen that, except for the west of the Acropolis, their agreement is practically absolute, but that here the differences are very striking.<sup>1</sup> Figures 1 (Guillet's map) and 2 (the Engineers' sketch) are made from copies of this western quarter as it is represented on the two plans, and they will serve to make these differences evident at a glance. The Engineers' plan shows the conspicuous ruins of the Pnyx and Theseum, but on Guillet's plan these are absent — the Pnyx certainly, the Theseum very probably, although in the case of the latter building so careful an observer as Professor Dörpfeld would deny the truth of this view. On the other hand, Guillet's plan shows two important additions, the auditorium of a theatre (No. 82) and the Enneacrunus (77).

It is in connection with the Enneacrunus question that the relation between the two maps may appropriately be discussed anew. Which of the two most nearly resembles the actual topography to the west of the Acropolis in the seventeenth century? Laborde suggested,<sup>2</sup> as a not improbable view, that the Engineers' plan was the really correct one, and that very possibly the copy transmitted to Guillet was unfinished to the west of the Acropolis. He would then, we may infer, have restored this part of the plan to the best of his ability from his literary sources. In the meantime, before the coming of the Engineers to Athens, it is the theory of Laborde that the monks would have finished their plan, and we accordingly find the complete form of this in the Engineers' copy. Omont, in his *Athènes au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, does not discuss the question, but his reference to Laborde would seem to imply that he does not dissent from this theory. Indeed, this has been until recently the generally received view of the relations of the two plans to one another. In developing his theory of the Enneacrunus, however, Professor Dörpfeld was struck by the fact that Guillet's map and

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<sup>1</sup> These plans are best published by Henri Omont, *Athènes au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1898, pls. XXXIX and XL. It had been my intention, until this admirable work appeared, to republish in connection with this article the Engineers' sketch, an excellent photograph of which had been placed at my disposal by Professor W. Dörpfeld. The plate in Omont's folio makes this unnecessary. It is probably as good a one as could be obtained, in spite of the fact that it does not show everything which I believe may be detected upon the original.

<sup>2</sup> *Athènes*, I, p. 232, note.



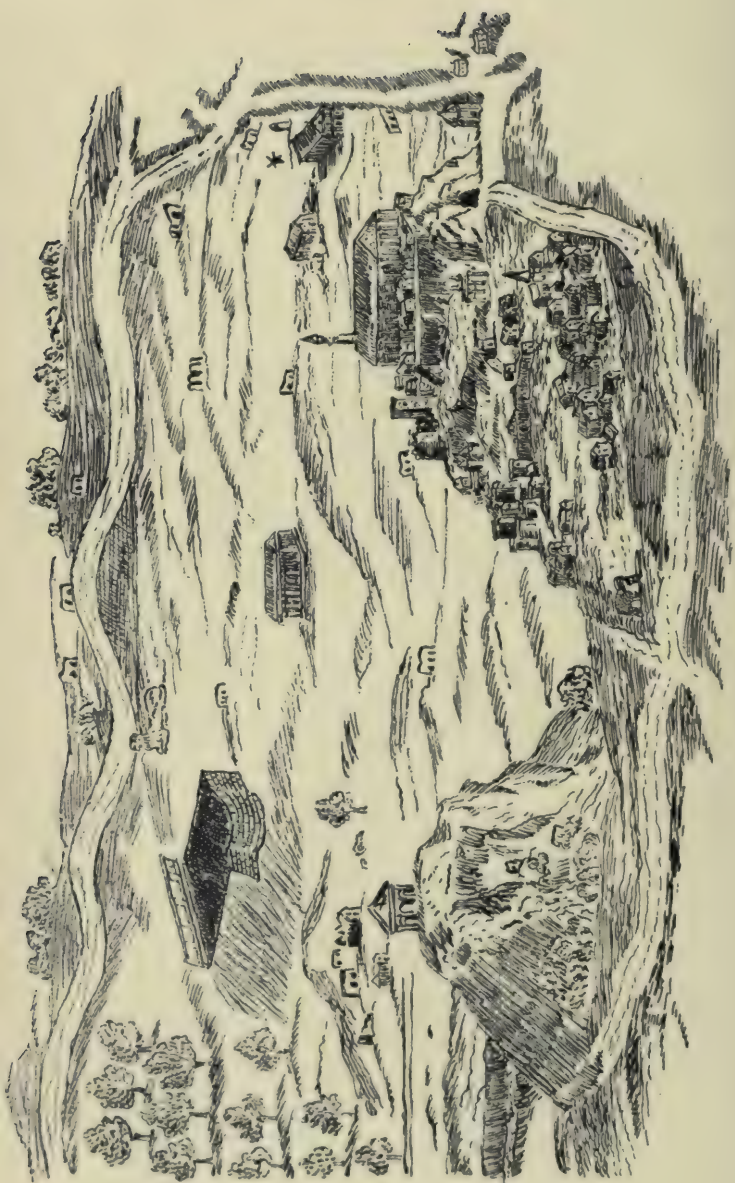


Fig. 1.



Coronelli's, which has its source in Guillet's or in a similar one,<sup>1</sup> represented the Enneacrunus as still existing in the seventeenth century. He thought it would be worth while to examine the maps more carefully, and through the courtesy of the French School at Athens he had an excellent photograph made of the Engineers' plan. As a result of a study of the photograph, Professor Dörpfeld felt justified in making the following statements.<sup>2</sup> First, that the Engineers' plan had originally been like Guillet's to the west of the Acropolis, and that it had been worked over into its present form; that the clumsy corrector had actually represented the Theseum twice.<sup>3</sup> Second (and here I translate Professor Dörpfeld's words), "from this the proof is certain that to the west of the Acropolis the ruins of the theatre, which is mentioned by Pausanias as being in the neighborhood of the market and of the Enneacrunus, were still in existence in the seventeenth century, and that the water which was connected with the Enneacrunus still issued from the rocks at the old spot." These views are quoted with apparent approval by Judeich,<sup>4</sup> and are, it may be assumed, becoming widely current.

Dörpfeld's inferences are twofold: first, they concern the question of the original form of the Engineers' plan, and second, the question of the Enneacrunus in the seventeenth century. These two questions may in part be treated separately. In the first place, then, was the

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<sup>1</sup> See *Harvard Studies*, VII, pp. 184 and 185.

<sup>2</sup> See *Athenische Mittheilungen*, XX, p. 510.

<sup>3</sup> The second Theseum would be the building which appears as No. 43 on Guillet's plan, and which he calls "Temple de Neptune, Eglise grecque." It is, indeed, true that the Theseum on the Engineers' plan is much too far removed from the city wall, and that, with reference to this wall, the so-called "Temple de Neptune" is in a much better position. With reference to the Acropolis, however, its position is no great gain over that given the Theseum on the Engineers' plan. The wall of the city, according to Verneda's plan (Laborde, *Athènes*, II, p. 180), should run much farther to the west. Certain it is that Guillet did not suspect this building of being intended for the Theseum, and the failure to recognize it very likely caused the serious error in orientation which his map and that of Coronelli betray (see *Harvard Studies*, VII, pp. 183 f.). It seems to me possible, but by no means certain, that this No. 43 on Guillet's plan was originally intended for the Theseum.

<sup>4</sup> *Ath. Mitth.* XXII, p. 435, note.

Engineers' plan worked over by some one who sought to correct a previous one? That is, is Laborde's theory of the mutual relation of the two plans a mistaken one? Dörpfeld is very positive that the photograph yields indisputable evidence that the Enneacrurus and the odeum or theatre mentioned by Pausanias have been erased. When, however, I first saw the photograph I felt considerable doubt about the theatre, but I finally reached the conclusion that Dörpfeld was justified in believing that the Enneacrurus had been represented on the map. This view was further strengthened by the fact that the map shows an undoubted erasure of a domed building (No. 117 on Guillet's plan) near the Olympieum. My opinion, however, was somewhat shaken by the fact that Professor F. B. Tarbell and Professor H. N. Fowler both examined the photograph, and were by no means convinced that any trace of the Enneacrurus could be detected upon it. Moreover, Professor Tarbell was kind enough to inspect the original drawing in Paris during the summer of 1897, and his doubts were thereby considerably strengthened. Under the circumstances I did not feel like publishing any discussion of the plans, until I had myself at least seen the drawing of the Engineers in Paris, and this I was able to do in the summer of 1899.

I will first quote what Professor Dörpfeld writes me he sees on the photograph, and will then say what I believe I found on the original. "Den Lauf," he says, "des kleinen Baches der Enneakrunos-Wasserleitung werden Sie darauf noch gut erkennen können. Nicht so gut zu sehen sind die Ruinen des Odeion, aber zu erkennen sind sie doch; es ist dort eine andere kleine Ruine gezeichnet worden. Sehr gut zu bemerken sind auch die 3 Häuser, die auf dem Guillet'schen Plan mit 67 und 69 bezeichnet sind und auf dem Kapuzinerplan (that of the Engineers) zwischen dem 2 Theseion, der Pnyx und dem zu grossen Löwen erscheinen. Auch hier hat der Veränderer des Plans die radirte Stelle mit einer neuen Ruine versehen." With reference to these remarks I have the following notes made at the Bibliothèque Nationale: "On this original of Plantier (the name of the engineer who Laborde supposes made the copy from the plan of the monks) it seems quite uncertain whether an Enneacrurus has been erased. On the other hand, what seems to be an odeum, showing very faintly on the photograph, comes out more clearly on the original. The ruins of the buildings, as

Dörpfeld says, between "Theseion 2," as he calls it, and the lion are pretty plain on the original. Indeed, both these and the odeum are only less distinct than the domed building near the Olympieum. The outline of the Museum hill looks a little as if it had been corrected. The original shows this better than the photograph. The original line ran, on the right side of the hill, further to the right, and the Enneacrurus (?) led out of it." I queried the Enneacrurus because I think it cannot be traced with any certainty on the drawing. On the other hand, what appears to have been the original line of the Museum hill corresponds in its course more closely than the corrected one to that of Guillet's plan, particularly at the spot where on the latter plan the Enneacrurus is made to issue. Now, if it be admitted that the Engineers' plan shows any sure traces of having been altered in part from an original scheme like that of Guillet's, the presumption becomes strong that previous to the alteration it showed the entire scheme. It seems pretty certain, then, that Dörpfeld's view of the relation of the two plans is justified, and that the scheme of Guillet is the earlier one.

The second question may now be asked: Is Dörpfeld justified in his further inference that the ruins of the theatre or odeum mentioned by Pausanias were in existence in the seventeenth century, and that the water connected with the Enneacrurus was still flowing at that time? This is, of course, the same thing as asking whether Guillet's plan represents the topography of Athens as it was in the seventeenth century without material error. An attempt to answer this question fully would probably prove to be an impossible task, and it would almost certainly be a thankless one. We know that Guillet had not been in Athens, and that much of his information was derived from the monks; further, that both his text and his plan were prepared after a diligent study of the compilations of Meursius, but an attempt to trace in detail the sources of his work, even if it were successful, would far surpass the limits of this article.<sup>1</sup> I shall, therefore, only try to indicate a few

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<sup>1</sup> Guillet, in the preface to his book, has the following honest but significant remarks with reference to his sources and to his plan: "Ne vous imaginez pas qu'il (the brother) m'ait envoyé le détail de toutes les Remarques anciennes que vous trouverez icy. Il luy manquoit en ce pays-là des Livres que i'ay consultez à Paris; & i'avouë de bonne foy que mon plus grand secours m'est venu des Volumes de Meursius. Il est certain que nostre Voyageur n'avoit qu'une partie des Traitez de

points which seem to me to show that the plan exhibits the inaccuracy so characteristic of topographical works of the period, and that it cannot be regarded as good evidence for the existence of monuments to the west of the Acropolis in the seventeenth century. It should be said in the beginning that of course no one disputes the fact of there being errors in Guillet's interpretation of his map and in his descriptions; nor could any one claim that the ruins on the map are correctly represented in their details. The question is whether the omissions and additions are serious enough to make it likely that the plan is based in part on literary tradition and not wholly on a true idea of the ruins as

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ce laborieux & sçavant Homme. Ainsi pour rétablir dans le Plan d'Athenes beaucoup d'Antiquitez que les gens du pays ne reconnoissent plus, il m'a falu étudier les autres Citations de cet Auteurs, curieuses à la verité, mais semées si confusément en differens endroits de ses Ouvrages, que pour donner un ordre aux materiaux qu'il a preparez, & trouver la place de ces débris, il m'a falu chercher dans un second Cahos dequoy développer le premier. I'ay pris autre part le Temple des Muses, situé au bout de la place de Pnyx, le Tholus, le Theatre de Regilla, la Palestre d'Hippocrate, le Symbolon, & beaucoup d'autres Monumens celebres que ie n'ay pas voulu marquer icy, parce que j'espere leur fair voir bien-tost le jour dans le Plan de l'ancienne Athenes, où je travaille presentement, & que je mettray dans une étenduë où tout se démeslera sans peine."

I have not access to the controversial tracts which Guillet and Spon published after the appearance of *Athenes ancienne et nouvelle*, but to judge from Laborde's description of them (*Athènes*, II, pp. 28 ff.) they afford little further detailed information in regard to the exact sources of either the map or the book.

Dörpfeld holds that Guillet indicates his own additions to his map by the introduction of dotted lines which enclose certain numbers, thirteen in all. "Die Pläne," he writes, "von Guillet und Coronelli zeigen uns also in Wirklichkeit den originalen Plan der Capuziner, an dem nichts verändert ist; denn seine Zusätze hat Guillet mit punktirten Linien gemacht ohne irgend eine Ruine hinzuzufügen." At No. 109 and 110, however, where dotted lines are used, he has added a ruin, and he appears, moreover, to have made additions which are not included in dotted lines. Instances of this appear to me to be No. 68, *Temple de Saturne & de Rhée*, No. 86, *Kourotrophos, Temple de Ceres & de Tellus*, and No. 114, the *Amazonion*. I am unable to explain the dotted lines satisfactorily. I have thought of them as indicating some class of sources, but there are hardly enough of them to show, for example, what was taken from Meursius, and besides, Nos. 86 and 114, which are not included in dotted lines, are almost certainly from Meursius, *Athenae Atticae*, II, vii, and II, x, respectively. If, on the other hand, the lines are supposed to indicate sources other than Meursius, the objection may be raised that it is probably possible to refer all the numbers thus included to the works of that scholar.

they really existed. The most noteworthy omission on the plan is perhaps that of the Pnyx. This was evidently felt at once by the person who made the changes in the Engineers' copy. Why, then, was this conspicuous ruin not represented? Professor Dörpfeld answers the question as follows: "Dass auf den älteren, nicht veränderten Plänen von Guillet und Coronelli die Pnyx nicht gezeichnet ist, muss ich dadurch erklären, dass die halbrunde Mauer damals nicht sichtbar war. Sie ist erst dadurch zum Vorschein gekommen, dass die Steinblöcke der Obermauer, welche heruntergefallen waren and die Fassade verdeckten, später entfernt worden waren. Ich vermute, dass dies zu derselben Zeit geschehen ist, als man auch die Reste des Odeion abgebrochen hat, beides zu dem Zwecke, um Steine für die Verstärkerung der Burgmauer zu gewinnen." One cannot of course deny the possibility of such an explanation as this, but its probability may be questioned. To my mind, Spon's description of the Pnyx, which he supposed to be the Areopagus, tells strongly against Dörpfeld's view. When Spon saw the great wall on the hill it must have been very much in its present condition.<sup>1</sup> Now, Guillet's book appeared in 1675, and Spon visited Athens early in 1676. If, therefore, Guillet's scheme of topography represents essentially the actual state of affairs, we must suppose, in case Dörpfeld's theory is correct, that the upper courses of stone in the Pnyx wall, which had fallen down and were concealing the immense stones of the lower courses, had been removed just before Spon reached Athens, and that, although by this process a new and impressive record of the past had been revealed, in Spon's mind nothing less than the Areopagus, the traveller did not think it worth while in writing his account of the remains to make any mention of their recent discovery; and this, too, when the consul Giraud, who, on the above

<sup>1</sup> *Voyage, etc.*, Lyons edition, 1678, II, pp. 199 f. and 161.

It is certainly singular that the Pnyx receives so little attention from mediaeval writers before Spon. There is a barely possible, though very uncertain, reference to it in the writings of the metropolitan Acominatus (Lambros, *αἱ Ἀθήναι περὶ τὰ τέλη τοῦ δωδεκάτου αἰῶνος*, p. 33) in these words, Μόνον ἂν ἴδοις πετραῖον Ἀρείου Πάγου γεώλοφον οὐδὲν ὃ φασιν ἱερὸν, ὅτι μὴ στεφάνην πέτρας ψιλὴν καὶ μόνῃ τῷ σεμνῷ γνωριζομένην ὀνόματι. Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, I, p. 727, refers the words of Cyriacus "moenia Athenarum antiquissima magnis condita lapidibus" to the Pnyx, but we can hardly regard this as at all certain. Nor do the anonymous treatises of Vienna and Paris help us here.

theory, was probably in Athens when the great wall was brought to light, acted as guide. But Spon has also left us some discussion of the odeum which appears on Guillet's map as the "Theatre de Bacchus" (No. 82). This, according to Dörpfeld's theory, is the odeum mentioned by Pausanias, which, like the upper courses of the Pnyx wall was pulled down by the Turks for purposes of fortification. Now Spon says he cannot conceive how Guillet should have represented the Theatre of Bacchus at a distance from the Acropolis (Spon himself identifies it with the Odeum of Regilla), and he ridicules Guillet's restoration of the building.<sup>1</sup> But, if the Turks had just removed such an extensive ruin, and a question about a building on this spot had arisen in Spon's mind, is it likely that he would have said nothing about such a removal? Moreover, while we know that the Turks strengthened the Acropolis to meet the Venetian siege of 1687, and that this strengthening took place at any rate in great part after the visit of Spon, as is shown by the history of the temple of Athena Niké, we do not know of any important restoration of fortifications shortly before this time. Of course such a restoration is a possible thing, but we are here dealing with probabilities.

Let us now turn to what Spon has to say of Guillet's Enneacrunus, represented on the map by a stream which flows into a little pond. Guillet had said that his traveller found this stream in a meadow, had followed it, and had drunk of the water.<sup>2</sup> Spon remarks<sup>3</sup> that this astonishes him, because there is no such meadow; and Wheler<sup>4</sup> speaks of passing from the ruin we call the Pnyx directly across the valley where Guillet places his Enneacrunus to a fountain which apparently got its water from the so-called Clepsydra, and this he thinks was the Enneacrunus. It seems clear from Wheler's account that he found no water in the valley. He, however, did find the Turkish cemetery which we know existed in this quarter, and of which, by the way, Guillet makes no mention. According to Dörpfeld's theory, then, the water of the Enneacrunus must have dried up shortly before Spon and Wheler came to Athens, and Wheler, though he was searching for the fountain in this quarter and thought he had found it, failed to

<sup>1</sup> *Voyage*, II, p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> *Athenes*, p. 308.

<sup>3</sup> *Voyage*, II, p. 209.

<sup>4</sup> *Journey into Greece*, p. 383.

hear of its recent extinction. This again is perhaps possible, but hardly probable.

It appears to me, then, very likely that Guillet's Enneacrurus and Theatre of Bacchus or odeum are restorations having their origin in literary sources. Perhaps, indeed, Spon's suggestion<sup>1</sup> that he may have taken the walls of the Areopagus (Pnyx) for his theatre is worth noting, but even if this were so, and we thus bring Guillet's topography a little nearer reality, we lose the odeum which is needed in Dörpfeld's theory. I have already said (p. 223, note 3) it seemed to me quite possible, though not certain, that Guillet's map omits the Theseum; but, supposing that it does not, where is the marble lion which we know from various sources was near it, and which the corrector added on the Engineers' plan — one of the lions which is now in front of the arsenal at Venice?<sup>2</sup> Instead of placing this near the building which Dörpfeld takes to be the Theseum, Guillet's "Temple de Neptune," he has put it near a domed building to the north of the city, which he calls the Theseum. Very likely this error arose from the fact that when he fixed the Ceramicus in this quarter (V on the map), he put the Theseum there as being traditionally associated with the spot, and the lion as being in turn associated with the Theseum. But if Guillet's plan, as Dörpfeld believes, quite apart from the author's mistaken explanations of it, is correct in its general scheme, and in the main unaffected by literary or verbal tradition, how is it that he has created a lion in this quarter, so to say, out of whole cloth? Dörpfeld writes: "Wenn er unter No. 146 einen Löwen zeichnet, so kann das möglicher Weise dadurch veranlasst sein, dass er in einem Baum durch Versehen den von seinen Gewährsmännern erwähnten Löwen zu erkennen glaubte. Dieser Irrtum entstand vielleicht durch seine falsche Ansetzung des Kerameikos." This explanation, however, does not account for the omission of the lion from its proper place near the building which Dörpfeld thinks was intended for the Theseum, and in general it does not seem to me to have much likelihood.

In conclusion, then, it may be said that Dörpfeld's view, which makes Guillet's plan of an older scheme than the plan of the Engineers, is

<sup>1</sup> *Voyage*, II, p. 161.

<sup>2</sup> The one to the spectator's right on entering. See the plates in Fanelli, *Atene Attica*, at p. 344.

almost certainly the right one, but that, in spite of this, it is not safe in all cases to draw inferences from it touching the continued existence in the seventeenth century of the ruins which the map shows. This is, of course, a negative conclusion, and one is naturally inclined to ask for a theory at least which is more positive. But we are unfortunately on ground where great uncertainty prevails. For sure judgment the data are insufficient, and we must always keep in mind the fact that the map-makers of the period were far from having developed a conception of real accuracy in their work. It is possible that Laborde's theory of the unfinished plan<sup>1</sup> may be acceptable to some persons. It is also possible that the author of the map added remains, the position of which he inferred from literary sources, to those which he knew of through the information of the monks. Guillet's restoration of his "Theatre de Bacchus," which Spon finds so extraordinary, is enough to show how ready he was to draw on his imagination. On this theory, however, if we would account for omissions, it is necessary to suppose that some sort of an imperfect sketch was sent him by the monks, even if this were not definitely incomplete in a certain quarter, as Laborde supposes. To me it seems not unlikely that Guillet, on whose map is "Guillet delin.," implying apparently that he himself prepared the drawing for his engraving, received a sketch from the monks which showed the general lie of the land; this sketch, we may suppose, he treated in the free manner common to topographers of the period.<sup>2</sup> We know that afterward, when the controversy with Spon arose,<sup>3</sup> he sought the authority of the monks in support of his statements, and nothing would be more natural than that a copy of his plan should find its way to the convent. Its departures from reality would then of course at once be noticed, and some seeker after greater accuracy would attempt to make what he deemed the more needful corrections. Perhaps the corrector was a monk, and perhaps not. Dörpfeld writes: "Es scheint mir sicher dass die Veränderungen in dem Plane von Plantier vorgenommen sind." I should be glad to feel as sure, but our present knowledge does not seem to me to warrant it.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 222.

<sup>2</sup> Witness such a view as that published with the letter of Père Babin, Omont, *Athènes*, pl. XXXVIII.

<sup>3</sup> Laborde, *Athènes*, II, p. 32, notes.



## MISCELLANEA

BY MORRIS H. MORGAN

### *Petitor*

THE warning that *petitor* in the sense of 'candidate for office' does not occur in classical prose has long stood in the principal authorities on usage. Thus, in the sixth edition of the *Antibarbarus*, Schmalz summarizes what is to be found in earlier editions and in the lexicon of Georges as follows: '*Petitor* wird in klass. Prosa nur in gerichtlicher Beziehung gebraucht von dem, der auf etwas *Anspruch* macht; besonders ist es ein *Kläger* in einem Privatprozesse. — Bei Hor. Od. 3, 1, 11, ferner bei Scip. Afr. in Macrob. Sat. 3, 14, 7, sowie *N. Kl.* bei Sueton. (*Iul. Caes.* 23) bedeutet es *Bewerber um ein Amt*, welcher *Kl. candidatus* hiess, vgl. Bagge<sup>1</sup> p. 39.' Harper's Lexicon says of the word in its political sense 'not in Cicero.'

Nevertheless, *petitor* 'candidate for office' is found in Cicero twice: 1) *Mur.* 44, *petitorem ego, praesertim consulatus, magna spe, magno animo, magnis copiis et in forum et in campum deduci volo.* 2) *Planc.* 7, *his levioribus comitiis diligentia et gratia petitorum honos paritur.*

The passages escaped the compilers of the old lexicons to Cicero (hence probably the statements in the *Antibarbarus* and our lexicons) although of course they are to be found in Merguet. Neither have the editors of Horace used either passage, although the first well illustrates *descendat in campum petitor.*

Cicero's brother Quintus also made use of *petitor* in our sense four times in his *Commentariolum Petitionis* (§§ 18, 25, 42, 45). It would be strange enough if *petitor*, 'candidate' were actually lacking in classical prose, considering how common are *peto*, *petitio*, and *competitor*, referring to office seeking. In general usage, however, it was pushed out by *candidatus* (no doubt originally election slang), which is often

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The reference is to Bagge's *de Eloc. Suetonii* where he merely sends us back to Krebs and to Georges.

employed by Cicero, and indeed just before and just after our first passage; and by his brother twice (*ibid.* §§ 31 and 44). The old-fashioned term was still understood, we see, in the time of Suetonius; but Macrobius, after quoting the passage from Scipio in which it occurred, felt it necessary to explain to his readers that it meant *candidatus* (*ibid.* 8).

It may be mentioned here, for the sake of adding to the record, that in the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae* of B.C. 44 (*C. I. L.* II, 5439 ch. 132) we have the curious double expression *petitor candidatus* three times and *candidatus petitor* once. This looks much like that adjectival use of *candidatus* which is said to occur only in poetry and in post-Augustan prose (see the *Lexicon*). It seems to describe the office-seeker *after* he has entered his name as a regular candidate. My friend Professor A. A. Howard informs me that in Suetonius *Aug.* 10, *candidatum se ostendit*, according to his own collations the Parisinus 6116 (S. XII) has *candidatum petitorem* and the Parisinus 5801 (S. XII) *petitorem* in the margin and *candidatum* in the text. These mss. represent two different classes, and in view of the inscription just cited I think it possible that something is to be said for the double expression in Suetonius.

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#### *Quin with the Subjunctive in Questions*

The use of *quin* with the subjunctive in direct questions has been passed with scant notice by authors of grammars and collectors of statistics. Hence in Lane's *Latin Grammar* § 1982, I was led to write as if *quin* were found but once in this usage: *Pl. Mil.* 426 — an example drawn from Kienitz, *de quin particulae ap. pr. scr. lat. usu*, p. 4. This is in fact the stock example; cf. Lübbert, *Jenaer Litt. Zeit.* 1879, p. 65. Since then I have met with other occurrences, and it may be worth while to print them here.

1) *Plaut. Mil.* 426, *Sc. me rogas hem qui sim? Ph. quin ego hoc rogem quod nesciam?* Here, as Kienitz observes, no other mood could stand; cf. *Ter. Andr.* 749, *Mv. satin sanu's qui me id rogites? Da. quem igitur rogem qui hic neminem alium videam?*

2) *Ter. Phorm.* 1015, *ego, Nausistrata, esse in hac re culpam meritum non nego; sed ea quin sit ignoscenda?* Dziatzko suggested in a

note that this *quin* clause might be nothing but a direct question (thus getting rid of numerous forced explanations), and he is now followed by Elmer in his note and by Hauler in his text and note. None of them, however, cite parallels with *quin*, confining themselves to subjunctives with *cur non* and *quidni*.

3) Ter. *Eun.* 811, TH. *quid nunc agimus?* GN. *quin redeamus?* Here D<sup>2</sup> and G according to Fabia read *redimus*, which might of course stand (so Kienitz, p. 4, though no recent editor), but there seems no strong reason for such a change nor for the colon of our printed editions, instead of which I have written the second interrogation mark. It must be noted, however, that in A we have *quin* corrected to *quid* by the 'corrector antiquissimus' or A<sup>2</sup> of Hauler and Kauer, a hand which they consider not much later than A itself. If we accept this correction we must read with Fleckeisen<sup>2</sup>: *quid? redeamus: etc.*

4) Lucretius 1, 798,

*quin potius tali natura praedita quaedam  
corpora constituas, ignem si forte crearint,  
posse eadem demptis paucis paucisque tributis,  
ordine mutato et motu, facere aeris auras,  
sic alias aliis rebus mutarier omnis?*

5) Tac. *Ann.* 4, 11, *quin potius ministrum veneri excruciaeret, auctorem exquireret, insita denique etiam in extraneos cunctatione et mora adversum unicum et nullius ante flagitii compertum uteretur?*

The next two examples are fragments, so that we cannot be certain that the sentences were independent questions; still, they have every appearance of being such. Hence I append the question mark.

6) Lucil. ap. Non. 425, 32,

*quin potius vitam degas sedatu' quietam,  
quam tu antiquiu' quam facere hoc fecisse videris?*

7) Lucil. ap. Non. 300, 27,

*quin totum purges, devellas me atque deuras,  
exultes et sollicites?*

So far there can be, I think, little doubt of the readings. The next two are much less certain.

8) Cic. *Rep.* 6, 14, *quin tu aspicias ad te venientem Paulum patrem?* Here the Palimpsest and Macrobius fail us, but the other mss. of the *Somnium* read *aspicias*. Editors since Halm print his emendation *aspicis*. Munro, however, in his note to *Lucr.* 1, 798 lends the weight of his deliberate judgment to the subjunctive. It ought perhaps to be added that below in § 15 we have *quid moror in terris? quin huc ad vos venire propero?*

9) Cic. *Legg.* 1, 14 QUINT. *quid enim agam potius aut in quo melius hunc consumam diem?* MARC. *quin igitur ad illa spatia nostra sedisque pergamus?* Here codd. AB<sup>2</sup> give the subjunctive (though Vahlen notes that the *a* in A seems due to a correction). Editions since Halm have *pergimus*. The emendation is distasteful. The indicative with *quin* generally gives an impatient tone to the question, which often becomes practically a command or an exhortation to the speaker himself; cf. *Rep.* 6, 15, cited above. But a polite suggestion is in place here, and that seems indicated by the dubitative nature of the subjunctive. Still it is curious that, just as in the *Republic*, so here in the *Laws* we have in the immediate neighborhood of our passage an undoubted case of *quin* with the indicative, § 13 *quin igitur ista ipsa explicas nobis his subsicivis, ut ais, temporibus et conscribis de iure civili subtilius quam ceteri?*

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#### Quintilian's Quotations from Horace

For the reading *intonsis capillis* in *Hor. C.* 1, 12, 41, Quintilian is our only ancient authority. Against him all the mss. of Horace, as well as Servius and Charisius, give *incomptis capillis*. It is not surprising, therefore, that the majority of the editors (e. g. Bentley, Keller, Orelli-Hirschfelder, Müller, Wickham) read the latter. But Kiessling and Smith follow Quintilian, rightly as I believe. Without entering into other reasons for this reading (on which cf. the two editors just mentioned), I wish merely to show that Quintilian deserves respect as an authority on the text of Horace. The attempt seems worth while because Keller, in his note on the passage in the *Epilegomena*, calls Quintilian's reading false and refers to his note on *C.* 1, 13, 2. There he is dealing with misquotations of Horace by the grammarians and cites one each from Priscian, Victorinus, Flavius Caper, Charisius and

Diomede, two from Servius, and our passage from Quintilian. All of these he considers errors due to the habit of quoting from memory. Now although everybody knows that misquotations are made by very many writers and in all times and languages, yet Keller's dictum here seems a little too sweeping. It is uttered as if he had not taken sufficient account of the memories of individuals, and as if he had not stopped to inquire whether Quintilian and the other writers mentioned were really alike in their methods of quoting from Horace. To examine the works of all of them would perhaps be a long task, but it is not difficult to find Quintilian's record in this matter.

He quotes Horace twenty-four times and refers to passages, without quoting them, three times. The references may be found so conveniently in Meister's edition, p. 346, that I omit them here. In only four of these does Quintilian's evidence<sup>1</sup> differ from that of our MSS. of Horace. The first is the passage already cited. The second is *A. P.* 311, where nobody doubts that, as against the present tense in codd. B and C, Quintilian (1, 5, 2) is right with *sequentur*, agreeing as he does with the other MSS. and with Porphyrio. The third is *S.* 1, 4, 11 where Quintilian 10, 1, 94 has: *ab Horatio dissentio, qui Lucilium fluere lutulentum et esse aliquid quod tollere possis putat*. Here the MSS. and editions of Horace give:

*cum fueret lutulentus, erat quod tollere velles.*

The only real difference lies in the word *possis*, because it is evident that the passage appears in Quintilian as a paraphrase and that the other changes are due to his use of *putat* to introduce it. The fact that *esse aliquid* fits in metrically with *quod tollere possis* is possibly a mere accident, so that we cannot feel certain that Quintilian thought that he was quoting these two words. The fourth passage is *Ep.* 1, 1, 73 f., which reads thus in Horace:

*olim quod volpes aegroto cauta leoni  
respondit, referam.*

Quintilian 5, 21, 20, speaking of the use of fables, has: *et Horatius ne in poemate quidem humilem generis huius usum putavit in illis versibus:*

*quod dixit vulpes aegroto cauta leoni.*

<sup>1</sup> Omitting, of course, mere orthographical variants, like *classes* and *classis*.

Here we certainly seem to have a slip of the memory; but here and in the use of *possis* in the third passage are the only places in which we can convict Quintilian of this fault. Therefore, until an equally good record can be made out for the grammarians mentioned, we should be slow to class him among them. He either had a good memory for Horace, or else he usually verified his quotations.

LYSIAS 12, 44, οὕτως οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων πολιτῶν ὄντων ἐπεβουλευέσθε, ὅπως μήτ' ἀγαθὸν μηδὲν ψηφίσησθε πολλῶν τε ἐνδεεῖς ἔσεσθε.

Here the vulgate before Bekker had been *ψηφίσεσθε*, the reading of the inferior MSS., while X has the aorist subjunctive. Bekker changed to *ψηφίσαισθε* and he was followed by Sauppe and Scheibe. Cobet, in the course of his restorations of 'Attic Future' forms (*Var. Lect.* p. 177), corrected the old vulgate to *ψηφιεῖσθε*, and this has ever since been the received reading. Although ΦΗΦΙΕΙΣΘΕ might easily engender (palaeographically) ΦΗΦΙΣΗΣΘΕ, still probably X is correct: it is the more difficult and expressive reading, and it is also correct in syntax. The aorist tense is, as usual, used to denote simple occurrence; they were not to be allowed to pass a single advantageous decree. The future tense with ἐνδεεῖς denotes the continuing state into which they were to be thrown. How careful Lysias is in his use of the aorist in the dependent moods has already been shown in a note to Lysias 16, 6 in the appendix to my edition. As for the combination of both subjunctive<sup>1</sup> and future indicative within the same sentence in object clauses, cf. Xen. *Symp.* 8, 25 (cited by Goodwin, *M. T.* 339): οὐ γὰρ ὅπως πλείονος ἄξιός γένηται ἐπιμελείται, ἀλλ' ὅπως αὐτὸς ὅτι πλείστα ἰραῖα καρπώσεται. So, too, in Aeschines 3, 64 needless levelling has been at work in the change of ὅπως μὴ περιμείνητε to ὅπως μὴ περιμείετε because two clauses containing future indicatives follow. Weber (*Entwick. der Absichtssätze*, p. 42) gets rid of the example by bowing to Weidner's dictum that, in such combinations of the aor. subjv. and fut. ind., the aorist with ὅπως μὴ always follows and never precedes.

<sup>1</sup> For the subjunctive after a secondary tense, cf. Lys. 1, 29 and Aesch. 3, 64 below.

Weber has, however, already accepted the change to *ψηφείσθε* in Lysias (p. 23), and later on (p. 86) he reads, with Mehler, *γενήσεται* in the passage in Xenophon.

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CICERO, *Quinct.* 13, *qua in re ita diligens erat quasi ei qui magna fide societatem gererent arbitrium pro socio condemnari solerent.*

A much discussed and emended passage. Long interprets thus: he was as active in this business (i. e. in cheating his partner) as if those who acted as *honest* partners were usually convicted instead of the (dishonest) partner. But with this explanation the word *arbitrium* is unnecessary, and indeed some of the older editors omitted it as a gloss. Others read *ad arbitrium* or *ad arbitrum*, 'before the arbiter;' and Landgraf *per arbitrum* (see p. 44 of his *de Cic. elocutione in or. pro Q. et pro R. Am. conspicua*). Emendation, however, is unnecessary, for we are dealing here with legal language, in which the use of the double accusative with *condemnare* (i. e. *aliquem aliquid*) was common; see Stolz and Schmalz, *Lat. Gr.*<sup>8</sup>, p. 233. In our sentence the accusative of the penalty, *arbitrium*, is retained with the passive voice; cf. Gaius 4, 32 *tantam pecuniam condemnetur*. Cicero says then: 'as if men who acted as honest partners were usually condemned to *arbitrium pro socio*,' that is, were obliged to go before an arbitrator on a question of partnership, for defrauding a partner. This explanation is borne out by *Rosc. Com.* 25 *quae cum ita sint, cur non arbitrum pro socio adegeris Q. Roscium quaero*. The same phrase *arbitrum adigere* with the accusative of a person occurs in *Off.* 3, 66, and without such an accusative in *Top.* 43. Hence we may suppose that the passage in *pro Quinctio*, if not strictly a legal formula, was modelled on or suggested by the certainly legal formula *arbitrum adigere*. And *pro socio* is legal phraseology for 'in a partnership question': cf. *Rosc. Com.* above and *Fl.* 43; *Dig.* 17, tit. 2.

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*On the Date of the Oration Pro Roscio Comoedo*

The question of the year in which this speech was delivered has been much discussed and remains undetermined. Probably 77 or 76 B.C. is ordinarily preferred. The latter (first suggested by Fabricius) was favored by Teuffel (cf. Teuffel-Schwabe, I<sup>6</sup> § 179, 3); it or 77 (Fer-

raci, Orelli, Klotz) is supported by Landgraf (*de Ciceronis elocutione etc.*, p. 47 ff.); and 76 has recently been defended by W. Sternkopf (*Jahrb. für Cl. Phil.* 1895, 1, p. 41 ff.), although he believes that either 74 or 73 is also possible. On the other hand, the year 68, fixed by Manuzio, had the support of Drumann (V, p. 346 ff.), and Schanz adopts it (*Gesch. der Röm. Litt.* I<sup>2</sup>, p. 249); A. Mayr has very lately proposed and defended 66 B.C. (*Wiener St.* 1900, 1, p. 115 ff.). C. A. Schmidt in his useful edition of our speech, Leipzig, 1839, p. 13, (the last edition, except Long's, with a commentary) argued briefly that the date was not earlier than 68 and might be any one of the next few years.

The question is interesting biographically; for if we adopt 77 or 76 we are still in the period of Cicero's youth, before he began to hold public office, although after his return from his studies in Asia. In 68, however, he had already been quaestor and aedile, and had impeached Verres; in 66 he was praetor, advocated the Manilian law, and defended Cluentius. Without entering fully into the arguments which have led the scholars just mentioned to their conclusions, let us see what information about the date can be gleaned from the speech itself.

1) It is a fair inference that the great career of Roscius the actor, which ended only with his death in 62 B.C., was now drawing near its close; cf. § 23 *decem his annis proximis HS sexagiens honestissime consequi poluit: noluit. Laborem quaestus recepit, quaestum laboris reiecit; populo Romano adhuc servire non destitit, sibi servire iam pridem destitit.* The same section contains an allusion to the popularity of the dancer Dionysia and the great sums which she was earning at the time, with the statement by Cicero that Roscius, if he wished, could be earning even more. The only other mention of Dionysia is found in Gellius I, 5, 3, from which it seems likely that in the year 62 (when Cicero and Hortensius defended Sulla) she was a popular personage.

2) From § 42 we learn that Flavius, whose killing of the slave of Roscius and Fannius had led to the case in which our speech was delivered, had long been dead — *is iam pridem est mortuus.* It appears later, however, that *iam pridem* cannot here refer to a period of much more than two years (see p. 239). But in its context *iam pridem* is not an exaggeration; *two year's dead* is *dead long ago* when the question is one of looking vainly to a dead man for evidence.



3) After the killing of the slave, his owners, who had expected to make money out of his gains as an actor, brought suit against Flavius. Just as the suit was ready to be tried, Roscius concluded a settlement with Flavius. This settlement took place, according to the reading of all our MSS., fifteen years before the delivery of our speech: § 37 *abhinc annis xv*. Of the time of this settlement is also used the expression *iam pridem* (38), and the adjective *vetus* (39). They are contrasted with *nunc*, *nova*, and *recens*, used in the same sections of a proceeding next to be mentioned.

4) Fannius claimed that he, as the partner of Roscius, was entitled to a share of what Roscius received from Flavius under the settlement. Roscius denied this and the question came before an *arbiter*. Under his advice a compromise was effected between them. This compromise took place three full years before the delivery of our speech (*amplius triennium*, 8; *triennio amplius*, 9; *abhinc triennium*, 37). It is this compromise which is called *nova* in 38, *recens* in 39, and of which *nunc* is used in 38.

Summarizing what we have learned thus far, we see that the compromise was of three years standing, that a much longer time intervened between it and the earlier settlement, and that Flavius had died so long ago that *iam pridem* could be used of the event which cut Cicero off from the possibility of calling him as a witness. These facts do not help us at all towards fixing any particular date. Toward this we have, so far, only the *inference* that the speech was delivered in the last years of Roscius, who died in 62 B.C.

5) After the settlement between Flavius and Roscius, the original suit against Flavius was continued by Fannius and finally won by him (§ 41 f.). This end came *after* the compromise which had been effected between Roscius and his partner Fannius (*ibid.*) The *iudex* in this suit was Cluvius, called an *eques* (42, 48), but otherwise unknown to us. The fact that Sulla deprived the *equites* of the privilege of acting as *iudices* in 81 B.C. and that this privilege was not restored to them until the Aurelian Law of 70 B.C. seems to show that Cluvius could not have rendered his decision during the intervening period. It is true that some have supposed that Sulla's law did not refer to the judges in *private* suits such as the one in question (cf. Bethmann-Hollweg, *Der röm. Civilprocess*, II, p. 805; Keller, *Der röm. Civilprocess*, § 10). If

this were so, we should not be helped at all towards a date by the mention of the knighthood of Cluvius. But as Mayr (p. 117) points out,<sup>1</sup> there is not the slightest evidence for a distinction between public and private suits in this matter, and he further adds that there is on record no case wherein a knight acted as a judge which we can certainly ascribe to the period between the Cornelian and Aurelian laws. It follows therefore that Cluvius gave the decision either before (or in) the year 81 or after (or in) the year 70. And inasmuch as his verdict was given *after* the compromise between Fannius and Roscius, which was reached three years before our speech was delivered, and further as Cicero's oratorical career began not earlier than 82 B.C. and probably in 81,<sup>2</sup> and was interrupted by his two years in Asia (79-77 B.C.), we get for the first time something definite towards fixing the date of the speech. The next point affords us something more definite still.

6) Under the settlement mentioned above, Roscius received from Flavius a certain estate. The value of it was among the important topics treated in our speech, and in § 33 Cicero says: *accepit enim agrum temporibus eis cum iacerent pretia praediorum; qui ager neque villam habuit neque ex ulla parte fuit cultus; qui nunc multo pluris est quam tunc fuit. Neque id est mirum: tum enim propter rei publicae calamitates omnium possessiones erant incertae, nunc deum immortalium benignitate omnium fortunae sunt certae; tum erat ager incultus sine tecto, nunc est cultissimus cum optima villa.*

From this passage we learn two things: first, that the estate passed into Roscius's hands at a time when the value of lands was low, *and* (this *and* is important) when the misfortunes of the Commonwealth caused all men to feel uneasy about their holdings; second, that a considerable time must have elapsed since Roscius had received the estate because it came to him as utterly uncultivated land without buildings, whereas now it was in the highest state of cultivation and had on it a very handsome villa. Under the second head we get no immediate helps towards a date for the speech but only further reason for believing that it was delivered long after the troubles between Roscius and Fannius with Flavius began. Under the first head, however, we are led

<sup>1</sup> So also, apparently, Mommsen, *Strafrecht*, p. 209 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Brut.* 311, 312, 328.

at once to look for a crisis affecting the value of lands. This crisis must be searched for not earlier than the fifteenth year preceding 82 or 81 B.C. (the beginning of Cicero's career) and not later than the fifteenth year before the death of Roscius in 62 B.C., — that is to say, between the years 97 and 77.

Within these twenty years the Marsic War might at first seem to be the period for which we are in search, and indeed Sternkopf (p. 47) holds that Cicero is referring to it. This war broke out towards the close of 91 and was brought to an end in 88; fifteen years later would give us a choice between 76, 74 or 73 for the delivery of our speech.<sup>1</sup> Two objections, however, may be advanced against any of these dates. The first is that Cluvius the *equus* would thus be found rendering a verdict within the prohibited period (see p. 239). The second and the more important (since some may still hold the view that Cluvius might have acted in a *private* suit) is that we have no evidence of any such *general* depreciation of the value of lands and of any such universal financial anxiety during the Marsic War as Cicero describes in § 33. If Cicero had stopped with the words *cum iacerent pretia praediorum*, we might think that he was referring to land in Etruria (for, as we shall soon see, it is probable that the piece of land which Roscius received from Flavius was situated there); but he says also *omnium possessiones erant incertae*. And there is no allusion elsewhere in the authors to any such general state of uncertainty during the Marsic War.

But within our period of twenty years there was another crisis, namely that caused by the Sullan proscriptions which began towards the end of 82 and extended into the middle of 81. This was a reign of terror which, so far as it concerned matters of property and titles to it, perfectly corresponded to the account given by Cicero in § 33. The state of things described in the speech for Roscius of Ameria makes this evident; cf. also with Landgraf *Paradox.* 46 *qui expulsiones vicinorum, qui latrocinia in agris . . . qui possessiones vacuas, qui proscriptiones locupletium, qui cladis municipiorum, qui illam Sullani temporis messem recordetur*, and Sall. *Cat.* 51, 33 *uti quisque domum aut villam, postremo vas aut vestimentum alicuius concupiverat, dabat operam ut is in proscriptorum numero esset*. To Landgraf's citations

<sup>1</sup> The year 75 is barred out by Cicero's absence in Sicily.

we may add *pro Caecina* 11 *fundum in agro Tarquiniensi vendidit temporibus illis difficillimis solutionis*, which likewise contains an allusion to the Sullan period; cf. also § 95 of the same speech, where he uses *calamitas reipublicae* as in our speech. Nor does Landgraf refer to the fact that Etruria (Flavius, from whom Roscius received the estate, lived, like the man of *pro Caec.*, in Tarquini, § 32) was a special centre of fighting and disturbance at the time; in *Rosc. Am.* 20 we find Volterrae still holding out after the submission of Rome herself. We have, therefore, abundant evidence to lead us to adopt the year 81 as the period referred to in § 33. And this will bring us fifteen years later with Mayr to 66 B.C. as the date of our speech, to 70 or 69 (*amplius triennium*, § 8, *abhinc triennium*, § 37) as the date of the compromise, and to some time very soon after the compromise to the verdict of Cluvius, who is thus found acting as a judge after the Aurelian Law gave him the right. The year 66 is in fact the only one which without any forcing fits all the circumstances described in the speech, and it is a year in which we know that Cicero was active, since in it he delivered the speeches *de Imp. Pomp.*, *pro Cluentio*, *pro Fundanio*, and *pro Gallio*. Pompey had just cleared the sea of pirates, and on that element as well as on land it might be said with truth *nunc omnium fortunae sunt certae* (33).

Only two obstacles stand in the way of the general adoption of this date, one of them more than three hundred years old, the other a little over twenty. Neither of these, I think, ought to make us abandon the date which we have reached, I trust, by the natural method of procedure and on rational grounds.

The first obstacle need not detain us long. It is the emendation *v* or *iv* for *xv* in the expression *abhinc annis xv* (37), which stood in the vulgate for centuries down to the text of Klotz, and which, though not printed in the Teubner or Tauchnitz texts, has the support of many scholars, including Drumann<sup>1</sup> and Landgraf.<sup>2</sup> In his first edition

<sup>1</sup> Who thought that the allusion in § 33 was to the time of Spartacus; but I know of no other passage which points to a disturbed condition of land values and titles at that time.

<sup>2</sup> Whose adoption of the year 77 or 76 as the date of the speech must oblige him to accept the emendation, since he thinks that the allusion in § 33 is to the time of Sulla.

Lambinus changed *xv* to *v*, but in his second he read *iv* with Hotman whose reasons for the change he approved. Hotman's note is as follows: 'manifestum mendum. Legendum opinor *iv* id est quatuor. Primum quod iam supra nomen hoc 1000 HS de quo haec controversia est nonnisi ab hinc quadriennium a Fannio in adversaria relatum dicat. Scribit enim amplius triennium. Deinde quod modo repromissionem ab hinc triennium factam confirmet, quam satis constat non multo post Roscii transactionem factam esse. Postremo tamdiu prolatam esse rem mihi certe non fit verisimile.' Long ago Klotz and Schmidt saw that this emendation was based on mere feeling, not on any sound argument. Hotman did not feel that the case against Flavius could have been left undecided for so many years as are required by the reading *xv*; and he felt that Roscius's settlement with Flavius could not have taken place very long before his compromise with Fannius. His feeling is of no consequence in the face of the fact that the ms. reading is a possible one and in face of the language used by Cicero in § 33. For, as Baron<sup>1</sup> remarks, no writer would talk in this strain about a period of only four years.

The second obstacle lies in Landgraf's investigation of the language and style of the speech, from which he draws the conclusion that it must be placed in 77 or 76, soon after Cicero's return from Asia, since it resembles more closely his earlier than his later works and yet differs enough from the earliest to show that it belongs to a kind of transition period. In a brief answer to Landgraf, Mayr (p. 119) points to the fact that our speech is only a fragment and that its 56 sections cannot properly be compared with the 253 sections of the certainly early speeches *pro Quinct.* and *Rosc. Am.* He adds: 'tum si huiusce aetatis scriptorum in singulis libris dicendi usum respicimus, nonne eos a consuetudine sua nonnumquam discedere invenimus? Non hic vel illic post longius quoddam temporis intervallum ad eum, quem antea admiraverant, loquendi usum inscii vel etiam inviti relabuntur? Certe non is sum, qui talia, qualia supra allata sunt, argumenta spernenda esse censeam, sed si ea pugnant cum gravioribus, quae ex rebus ipsa petita sunt, haec illis anteferre non dubito.' And he concludes with

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<sup>1</sup> *Der Process gegen den Schauspieler Roscius.* In *Zeitschr. der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, I (1880), 2, p. 118.

the remark that the case of Roscius Comoedus was not an important one and that consequently Cicero was not likely to have spent much toil upon the speech, so that we need not be surprised if he sometimes falls back into methods of expression which he had abandoned in his greater works. These reasonings by Mayr seem sound, but I hardly think that they are needed, for I am more than inclined to doubt whether Landgraf has actually shown that the language used in this speech really does point to the early period.

Before considering Landgraf's points in detail, a general warning may be in place. If we take up the first volume of Cicero's orations and read them in the order in which they are printed, we feel, as soon as we begin the *Divinatio in Cæcilium*, that we are in a different literary atmosphere from that of the *pro Quinct.*, *Rosc. Am.*, and *Rosc. Com.* But is not this a misleading feeling, due to the fact that in the *Divinatio* we are suddenly relieved from the technical details of which those works are so full? Perhaps this absence of the difficulties caused by technicalities makes one fancy that the *Divinatio* is written in much better Latin than is really to be found in it. However this may be, we must not think that either it or the Verrines represent Cicero at his best in oratorical style; for these speeches resemble those of his early period much more nearly than they resemble the great speeches of his prime, — the *pro Sestio* for example. The Verrines are in fact treated by Hellmuth<sup>1</sup> as belonging to the earlier period and he finds in them much in common with the earlier speeches, e. g. redundancy, union of synonyms, paronomasia, alliterations, all recalling the style of earlier Latin or the language of the comic poets. Still all these characteristics are found to a less degree in the Verrines than before, so that they exhibit a certain advance in the direction of a purer prose style and less inequality. They are, therefore, called by Thomas<sup>2</sup> 'la dernière oeuvre de jeunesse de Cicéron et la première production de sa maturité.' If public orations like the Verrines must occupy this middle ground is there anything surprising in finding a return to it in a speech written a few years later for an unimportant private suit like that of Roscius? But to return to the points which Landgraf makes: they are five in number.

<sup>1</sup> *Acta Sem. Phil. Erlang.* I, 1877.

<sup>2</sup> *Cicero: Verrines*, Introd. p. 32.

1) Examples of the Asian style consisting of the joining together of pairs of synonymous words. Landgraf cites *oro atque obsecro* (20), *pravum et perversum* (30), *planius atque apertius* (43), *locupletes et pecuniosos* (44), *irasci et suscensere* (46), *consistere et commorari* (48), *ductum et conflatum* (48), *callidus et versutus* (48), *resistere et repugnare* (51). Here are nine pairs and to them we may add three others: *copia et facultate* (2), *conclusa et comprehensa* (15), *sanctos et religiosos* (44), — a total of twelve in all. This means an average occurrence of one pair in about every  $4\frac{1}{2}$  sections of the oration; but in the 253 sections of the *pro Quinct.* and *Rosc. Am.* there are, according to Landgraf's count (p. 48), 127 pairs or one in every two sections. This great difference in proportion, which it does not seem to have occurred to Landgraf to calculate, ought at once to make us suspect the truth of his statement 'totius orationis habitus prioribus similior est quam posterioribus.' Let us turn to two of the later orations, selecting the two which we know were delivered in 66 B.C., the *Imp. Pomp.* and the *pro Cluentio*. Examining the first fifty-six sections in each (the number of sections in our fragment), we find at least fourteen pairs of synonyms in the former and fifteen in the latter, as follows: *Imp. Pomp.*: *deposci atque expeti* (5), *excitare atque inflammare* (6), *necandos trucidandosque* (7), *pulsus superatusque* (8), *repressos ac retardatos* (13), *ornatas atque instructas* (20), *superatam atque depressam* (21), *terrore ac metu* (23), *varia et diversa* (28), *superatos prostratosque* (30), *attenuatum atque imminutum* (30), *vitam ac spiritum* (33), *imperio ac potestati* (35), *meminisse et commemorare* (47); in the *pro Cluentio*: *convicta atque damnata* (7), *finis atque exitus* (7) *portum ac perfugium* (7), *expulsa atque exturbata* (14), *effrenatam et indomitam* (15), *squalore et sordibus* (18), *vi ac necessitate* (19), *breviter strictimque* (29), *initio ac fundamento* (30), *indicia et vestigia* (30), *blanditiis et adsentationibus* (36), *compertum atque deprehensum* (43), *infesta atque inimica* (44), *comperta manifesteque deprehensa* (48), *aperta et manifesta* (54). From this examination it must be apparent that in the matter of the joining of pairs of synonyms Landgraf's view is quite mistaken; for the fact is that herein our oration resembles more closely the two which were delivered in 66 B.C. than the two delivered before Cicero's journey to Asia. More striking is Landgraf's observation that whereas in the *pro Quinct.* and *Rosc. Am.* the word used to connect such synonyms is

*atque* (82 times) or *ac* (45 times), in the *Rosc. Com.* it is *et*, except in §§ 20 and 43 where *atque* appears, while *ac* is never used.<sup>1</sup> Noting that in the certainly later orations Cicero employs *atque*, *ac*, and *et* indiscriminately, Landgraf argues that Cicero had become conscious of his 'Asian' fault of coupling synonyms and that in his struggle against it in the *Rosc. Com.* he purposely employed *et* instead of *atque* (*ac*) which had been his habit. But this observation of Landgraf's is rather curious than practical and the conclusion which he deduces from it cannot be trusted. This is obvious the moment we note that in the first 56 sections of *Imp. Pomp.* we have in the examples given above nine occurrences of *atque* (*ac*) to only two of *et*,—almost exactly the reverse of the figures in the *Rosc. Com.* where are ten of *et* and two of *atque*. On Landgraf's principle we should see in the *Imp. Pomp.* (if we had only the first 56 sections of it) a return to Asianism!

2) Landgraf next notes Cicero's use of the phrases *tantum laborem capere* and *paullulum compendii facere* in § 49, and points out that both phrases are found in Plautus and Terence and that Cicero does not later employ them in the orations. But Landgraf here fails to observe that there is a very good reason why Cicero should employ these colloquialisms in our passage. He is not speaking in his own person, but is giving us an imaginary dialogue, in a truly comic vein, between Roscius and Cluvius. The colloquial colour is just what is wanted, and it proves nothing at all about Cicero's usual style at the time and consequently nothing about the date of the speech, in which it occurs as a mere accident of treatment. Further *tantum laborem capere* (for the commoner *tantum laborem suscipere*) is pretty closely paralleled in *Verr.* 5, 37 *nequaquam capio tantum voluptatis quantum et sollicitudinis et laboris*; and finally in the *De Officiis* 3, 63, Cicero allows himself to say *tantum se negat facturum compendii*. Neither of these usages, therefore, need surprise us in the colloquial passage in our oration.

3) The superlative *novissimus* occurs in § 30 *qui ne in novissimis quidem erat histrionibus, ad primos pervenit comoedos*. The word has a familiar sound to us because Caesar uses it so often, but, as Landgraf notes, it is found nowhere else in the works of Cicero, and indeed

<sup>1</sup> *fraudis ac furti* in § 26 looks very like a case of synonyms coupled by *ac*.



Gellius (10, 21) remarks that Cicero never used it at all. Hence we might be inclined to think that the word in our MSS. was due to a gloss; but if it is allowed to stand as a  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\acute{\xi}$  I do not see how it points to the year 76 rather than to ten years later. Varro tells us that his master Aelius Stilo condemned the word, and that within his recollection it was avoided by *senes*. This information comes from Varro's *Lingua Latina* (6, 59; Gell. *ibid.*), and yet we find Varro himself using *novissimus* half a dozen years later in his *Res Rusticae* (1, 2, 11), showing that he had got rid of his master's prejudice. Cicero also was an admiring pupil of Aelius Stilo (cf. *Brut.* 205 ff.), and it seems rather more likely that he would have departed from the teachings of that philologist in a later than in an earlier work. At any rate, there is nothing 'Asian' nor poetical in *novissimus*, and these are the two factors on which Landgraf chiefly relies to prove that the language of the *Rosc. Com.* points to an early date.

4) 5) The adverb *extemplo* (8) and the phrase *exspecto quam mox* (1 and 44) seem certainly to be drawn from the early poets. The former occurs nowhere else in Cicero's writings except in his *Aratea*;<sup>1</sup> the latter is found only here and in *Inv.* 2, 85. Landgraf might have gone even further and noted that in § 1 of our speech we have a perfect septenarius:

expécto quam mox Chaérea hac orátione utátur.

If this occurred in the proem of an oration, it would indeed be astonishing, but our fragment is wholly without a proem, and possibly it may be that we have here either a quotation or an adaptation from some play, suggested, of course, by the name *Chaerea* which seems to occur only here before imperial times except in the *Eunuchus*. But I should not wish to press this point, and of course neither quoted nor accidental verses prove anything towards a date. Regarding *extemplo* and *exspecto quam mox* as mere words, however, and as words used by the early poets, the question arises whether, because Cicero used them only here, we are therefore to set an early date to the oration. It is certainly true that in the *pro Quinct.* and the *Rosc. Am.* we find a considerable number of such traces of Cicero's reading in the early

<sup>1</sup> In *Att.* 13, 47 *extemplo* is no doubt part of the quotation.

poets, and that those speeches belong to his most youthful period. But in our speech we are dealing with a very small number, in fact with only two, and the evidence is too limited to prove anything at all. This is obvious the moment we begin to apply such a test to orations which we know do not belong to that youthful period. For instance, the Verrines fall ten years later, in 70 B.C., and yet here we find Plautine and Terentian words such as *abitus* (3, 125), a substantive which does not, according to the new *Thesaurus*, occur again in prose until Pliny the Elder; the verb *ablego* four times (2, 73; 74; 79; 5, 82; and in three of these, by the way, joined to a synonym by *atque* or *-que*), and nowhere else in the orations nor, save for a couple of sporadic cases, again in prose until Livy. Eighteen years after the Verrines we find in the *pro Milone* the Plautine *abnuo* (100), its only use in the orations. A few years before this, the *pro Caelio* (56 B.C.) yields us *cum adolescentiae cupiditates deferbuissent* (43), which seems suggested by Ter. *Ad. 152 sperabam iam deferuisse adolescentiam*. This rare verb *deferueo* is found once again in the same speech (77), and elsewhere in the orations only in that one of the year 66, a part of which we have examined above for another purpose, the *pro Cluentio* (108). In view of all this we have a right to say that the occurrence of *extemplo* and *expecto quam mox* in the *Rosc. Com.* does not prove that the speech belongs to the early period.

To conclude, then, the obstacles raised by the arguments of Landgraf are by no means sufficient to cause me to turn aside, to emend the numeral xv, or to adopt the date of 76 for the oration. The year 66 is the earliest upon which a natural interpretation of the fragment will allow us to fix.

## THE PREPOSITION *AB* IN HORACE<sup>1</sup>

BY JOHN C. ROLFE

1. *The Form.* — Before considering the form of this preposition in Horace, a few general remarks on the subject are, I think, justified by the treatment of the question in our handbooks. Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.*, p. 577, says: "In Plautus *ab* is used before vowels and *j, s, r*; *a* before *b, p, m, f, v, c, q, g* (Labial and Guttural sounds); *abs* (and *a*) before *tu, tuus*, etc.; *ab* and *a* before *t, d, l, n*; in class. Lat. *ab* is used before vowels and *l, n, r, s, j*; *a* before *p, b, f, v*; *abs* before *c, q, t* (Cicero began with *abs te*, but discarded the expression for *a te*); in Late Latin *ab* is used before vowels, *a* before consonants." This statement is measurably correct, so far as Plautus is concerned; but in considering the classical period, nothing at all is said of *c, g*, and *m*, except the questionable statement about *abs* before *c*.<sup>2</sup> *Ab* is found in Caesar and

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<sup>1</sup> This paper was presented at the meeting of the American Philological Association, at Madison, July 1900.

While it deals primarily with Horace's use of *ab*, I have given incidentally an outline of my theory of the syntax of the preposition, which in my article in the *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik*, X, 487 ff., was shown only by the arrangement of the lexicon-article. Since the paper left my hands (in October 1900) it has been given an additional timeliness by the publication of Lommatzsch's article in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, I, 1, in which a different outline is followed. If Lommatzsch's article had appeared before the present paper was written, I should have been somewhat more explicit, but I think that the plan of my lexicon-article will be clear, if it was not so before, in the light of the explanations which I have here given.

Since my former article was originally intended for the *Thesaurus* (see *Archiv*, X, p. 481), I feel that it is due myself to state that the Board of Editors, as finally constituted, decided that all the articles prepared from the 'Archiv-Zettel' should be rewritten, and based on the later collection of material which was made especially for the *Thesaurus*. For permission to make this explanation here I wish to express my gratitude to the editors of the *Harvard Studies*.

<sup>2</sup> *abs chorago* occurs in Early Latin (Plaut. *Pers.* 159), but I know of no other case of *abs* before *c*. Before *q*, *abs* occurs a few times in Early Latin — in Plaut., *Ter.*, Auct. ad Her.

Livy before *p* and *f*, as well as in inscriptions of the ante-classical period, and before *v* in later inscriptions. The use of *ab* before *l*, *n*, *r*, *s*, and *j* is certainly not universal in the classical period, whatever limits be set to that somewhat elastic concept. The use of *ab* before vowels and *a* before consonants is not universal in Late Latin, nor is it confined to Late Latin, again making allowance for different views as to the meaning of the term.

To take but one other example, Schmalz, in the third edition of his *Lat. Syntax*,<sup>1</sup> although somewhat more accurate than Lindsay, leaves much to be desired in exactness and completeness. No clear line is drawn between the usage in Early Latin and that of the classical period, between that of inscriptions and that of the literature; and strangely enough, nothing is said of the use of *ab* before *s impurum* in Late Latin. As will appear below, an accurate and satisfactory statement must be based on a consideration of the usage in different periods, in different branches of literature, and in different writers.

The origin of the form *ā* must still be regarded as uncertain. For a discussion of the various theories see *Archiv für lat. Lex. u. Gramm.* X, 466 ff. The Romans themselves regarded *a* as a by-form of *ab*, and gradually developed the rule of using the former before all consonants, and the latter before vowels and *h*.<sup>2</sup> It is noteworthy that no example of *a* before *h* occurs in the literature or in inscriptions, although *h* appears to have had sufficient consonantal force in Early Latin to prevent hiatus and to make position.<sup>3</sup>

*Abs* (*ab* + *-s*) is used freely in Early Latin, but rarely except in the formula *abs te*. It becomes less and less frequent in the Ciceronian epoch, and practically disappears in the Augustan age, to be revived by the archaistic and ecclesiastical writers.<sup>4</sup> It is not found in the poets of the classical period.

<sup>1</sup> In Müller's *Handbuch d. klass. Altertums-Wiss.* II<sup>3</sup>, p. 270.

<sup>2</sup> This rule is formally stated by Charis. 232, 21 K. and Diomed. 414, 13 K.

<sup>3</sup> See Birt, *Rhein. Mus.* 1899, p. 40 ff. Lommatzsch cites one example, †C. I. L. XIII, 1601 *a hoc*, but apparently falsely.

<sup>4</sup> It is used by Fronto, Gellius, Cyprian, Arnobius, Augustine, and others. Gell. has *abs re* twice (1, 26, 4 and 2, 2, 12), in which he is followed by Hieron. *Epist.* 121, 8 (p. 1024 Migne). Isolated cases of *abs re* are also found in *Cod. Inst.* 7, 43, 8 and elsewhere in Late Latin. The Pseudo-Tert. has *abs* before a vowel in two cases (*Marc.* 4, 130; 5, 121).

The rule of using *ab* only before vowels and *h* was a gradual development, and the full application of the rule appears first in poetry, and would seem to be characteristic of the literary rather than of the colloquial language. Thus in Plautus *ab* is not found before the labials and gutturals, the exception in *Asin.* 118 *nec quo ab caveas* aegrius being only apparent, since the form *ab* is due to the anastrophe. The early inscriptions, however, offer not a few instances of *ab* in such positions,<sup>1</sup> as do Caesar, Cicero, Sallust, and especially Livy.

Terence is in harmony with Plautus in this regard. From the other ante-classical writers but little evidence can be drawn. Accius has *ab classe* (318, p. 205 R<sup>a</sup>), the only case of *ab* before a guttural or labial in poetry. Cato, *Agr.* 150, 2 has *ab coactore*, and the fragments of the early historians and orators furnish one case of *ab* before *c*.<sup>2</sup> The last case is drawn from the pages of Livy, who freely uses *ab* before *c*, so that perhaps no great weight should be placed on it.

In the classical period<sup>3</sup> we find a still greater divergence between the prose and the poetical usage. Catullus has but one example of *ab* before any consonant whatever — *ab semiraso*, 59, 5. He is followed by Tibullus, who has no cases (including the pseudo-Tibulliana), and by Propertius with but two — *ab litore*, 3, 9, 53; *ab zonis*, 4, 1, 108. Ovid has 10 deviations from the rule, of which 8 are in one formula,<sup>4</sup> *ab Iove*.

Lucretius and Virgil use *ab* before consonants with more freedom, although not so freely as the prose writers of the same period. The difference between their usage and that of the poets mentioned above is doubtless due to their fondness for archaisms, and in part perhaps to the nature of their sources. On the usage of Lucretius see Woltjer, *A. L. L.* xi, 250. Virgil uses only *a* before labials, gutturals, *d*, and *n*. Before *r* he always has *ab*.<sup>5</sup> Before the other consonants he uses *ab* for the most part in what may be called formulaic expressions.<sup>4</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> See *C. I. L.* I, 200, 56; 200, 71; 199, 7; 199, 13; 1412; 569, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Val. Ant. ap. Liv.* 44, 13, 12.

<sup>3</sup> Say 80 B.C. to 17 A.D.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 253 f.

<sup>5</sup> *ab radice*, *Ge.* 1, 20; 2, 17; *Aen.* 12, 787; *ab radicibus*, *Ge.* 1, 319; *ab rupe*, *Aen.* 3, 647; *ab rege*, *Aen.* 11, 230.

only poets who use *ab* before *s impurum* are Lucretius and perhaps Virgil.<sup>1</sup>

The prose writers of the same period use *ab* before consonants much more freely than the poets. Caesar has *ab* even before labials and gutturals (before *p*, 4 times; *m*, 8 times; *f* and *v*, once each; *c*, 22 times; *g*, 8 times). The same thing is true of Sallust, and as far as the gutturals are concerned, of Cicero. Livy uses *ab* freely before nearly all consonants, and the first prose writer who follows the rule of *ab* before vowels, and *a* before consonants, with substantial regularity is Seneca Rhetor.

In the Silver Age the poets show almost no cases of *ab* before consonants, and the only prose writers who offer any considerable number of exceptions are Pliny the Elder and Tacitus.

The revival of *ab* before consonants by the prose writers of the Golden Age, and the extension of its use to labials and gutturals would seem to be a conscious stylistic peculiarity, possibly due in some measure to the earlier writers whom they followed as sources. Exactly analogous is the revival of *abs*, and to some extent of the use of *ab* before consonants, in Late Latin.

Horace, as might be expected, follows the usage of Lucretius and Virgil rather than that of Catullus, Propertius, Tibullus, and Ovid. He uses *a* before consonants 20 times, and has *ab* 6 times, as follows:

*ab labore*, *Epod.* 17, 24; <sup>2</sup>  
*ab Iove*, *Carm.* 1, 28, 29;  
*ab se*, *Carm.* 3, 5, 43;  
*ab dis*, *Carm.* 3, 16, 22;  
*ab Iamo*, *Carm.* 3, 17, 1;  
*ab Iove*, *Epist.* 1, 12, 3.

The exceptions occur before *j*, *d*, *l*, *s*. Before *j* he has no cases of *a*. He has one each before *d*, *l*, and *s*: *a labris*. *Serm.* 1, 1, 68; *a domo*, *Carm.* 4, 5, 12; *a sole*, *Serm.* 1, 4, 29.

<sup>1</sup> Lucr. has *ab stellis*, 6, 720; *ab speculis*, 4, 288 (Cod. A, *av*; Cod. B, *a*). Cod. M. of Virgil gives *ab stirpe* in *Aen.* 1, 626; 7, 99; and 8, 130, and there is some evidence for *ab* before *s impurum* in other passages, though Ribbeck reads *a* in all cases.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 254.

It is interesting to note that with the exception of the one case in the *Epodes*, all the cases of *ab* before consonants occur in his later writings, and 4 of the 6 cases in the *Odes*. Two other writers, at least, show a varying usage in this respect at different stages of their literary careers. Cicero gradually discards the use of *ab* before consonants. Horace, on the contrary, seems to take up the use in his more highly developed style, though mainly, if not wholly, in special formulas.<sup>1</sup> The same thing is true of Tacitus, who uses *ab* before consonants most freely in the *Annals*. The *Dialogus* and the *Agricola* have one case each: *ab scholasticis controversiis*, *Dial.* 14, 24 (when cod. F has *a*), which may possibly be a forerunner of the later use of *ab* before *s impurum*.<sup>2</sup> The case in the *Agricola* is *ab legatione*, 9, 1, which may perhaps be regarded as formulaic. The three cases in the *Histories* are all formulaic, being before the personal name *Iulio*.<sup>3</sup> The *Annals* have 33 cases, of which a large number are formulaic.

2. *The Formulas*.—I have shown, I think, in *A. L. L.* X, 468 ff. that the use of *ab* before consonants is particularly persistent in certain stereotyped formulas, and above all with personal and geographical names. Especially common is *ab Iove*, which, as has been said, occurs 8 times in Ovid, who otherwise shows almost absolute regularity. Virgil has the same expression 5 times, Cicero 3 times, Horace twice. Most striking of all, Quintilian, who has at most only 8 exceptions to 651 cases of the regular use of *a* before consonants,<sup>4</sup> apparently wrote *ab Iove* in 10, 1, 25. *Ab dis* is also of frequent occurrence, being found, e. g. 15 times in Cicero and 5 times in inscriptions. These two formulas, with others of the same kind, may be explained from their use in religious rituals, which, as is well known, were especially conservative in their language.

The use of *ab* with personal and geographical names is less easy to account for, but seems to be beyond question. Thus Sallust has but two

<sup>1</sup> Professor Bennett has suggested to me that the sacred nature of lyric poetry leads to the retention (or adoption) of an archaic orthography. This seems highly probably, and the case of *ab* before consonants in the *Odes* will then belong to the same class as *ab Iove* (*Epist.* 1, 12, 3), *ab dis*, and the like.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 255.

<sup>3</sup> 1, 42, 7; 1, 76, 5; 3, 84, 25.

<sup>4</sup> See Hirt, *Prog. des Sophien-Gymnasiums zu Berlin*, 1900, p. 7.

cases of *ab* before *m*, and both are personal names.<sup>1</sup> Of four cases before *c*, three are with proper names.<sup>2</sup> The same coincidence is to be noted elsewhere; for example, in the *Histories* of Tacitus, as stated above.<sup>3</sup> This usage persisted until very late; for instance, Lactantius and Ambrosius, who rarely use *ab* before any consonant except *s impurum*, have *ab Iohanne*, *Inst.* 4, 15, 1 and *ab Iordane*, *de Patriarchis*, 4, 24. *Ab re* is a very persistent formula, occurring, e. g. in *Sen. Phil. Ep.* 82, 18 (according to codd. V and P); *Plin. N. H.* 31, 43 and 34, 96; *Suet. Aug.* 94 and *Dom.* 11; *Fronto*, p. 134, 1 N; *Ulpian*, 5 times; *Lact. de Mort. Pers.* 1, 7; etc., etc.

A formula may also be characteristic of an individual writer, as, for example, Virgil has *ab sede* six times. Furthermore, analogy seems to play an important part; thus we have *ab re frumentaria* after *ab re*; *ab iustitia*, *Cic. Off.* 1, 63, and *ab iusto timore*, *Hirt. B. G.* 8, 48, 9, after *ab iure*, *ab iure iurando*, etc. It is true that absolute consistency is nowhere found, that *a dis* is found beside *ab dis*, *a Iove* beside *ab Iove*; but the same thing is true of other orthographical phenomena, of the various devices for indicating vowel length, of the assimilation of prepositions in composition, and the like.

As will be seen, a good number of Horace's uses of *ab* before consonants may be regarded as formulaic. In contrast with *ab Lamo* he has *a* before the personal names *Nerio*, *Serm.* 2, 3, 69, and *Fabricio*, *Serm.* 2, 3, 36. But *ab* before *f* is very rare, and before *n* it is used only by Lucretius of the classical poets. Moreover, Horace has no cases of *ab* before consonants in his *Sermones*, which may or may not be significant. See above, p. 253, footnote 1.

*Ab se* may also be regarded as formulaic, since it occurs quite frequently in writers who use *ab* before consonants but sparingly; e. g. *Quint.* 8, *praef.* 13 and (in a quotation from Cicero) in the *Orat. in Clod. et Cur.* fr. 111, 1 H.

As regards the text of Horace, editors are practically unanimous in reading *ab*, except in *Epod.* 17, 24, where I have given my reasons for preferring *ab labore* in the *Class. Rev.* xiv, p. 261.

<sup>1</sup> *ab Mario*, *Jug.* 102, 2; *ab Metello*, *Jug.* 64, 1.

<sup>2</sup> *ab Capsa*, *Jug.* 91, 3; *ab Cicerone*, *Cat.* 48, 9; *ab Cirta*, *Jug.* 82, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Page 253.



In considering this whole question of the form of the preposition, it is of course important to make up one's mind to what extent our manuscripts are to be trusted in this particular. It seems entirely probable that, in accordance with the rule which was followed in later times,<sup>1</sup> the tendency of the copyists would be to write *a* before all consonants, and that accordingly *ab* would be changed to *a* in some cases. On the other hand, the reverse change was not likely to be made, and the cases of *ab* before consonants are therefore entitled to the preference due to the *lectio difficilior*.

A number of circumstances tend to increase our confidence in the conscientiousness of the scribes. Perhaps the most striking is the occurrence in Late Latin of *ab* before *s impurum*, first noted by Hausleiter in 1883,<sup>1</sup> in writers who otherwise very rarely use *ab* before consonants. This use was entirely overlooked by the Latin grammarians, but is confirmed by inscriptions, and by the literature as well, as the ecclesiastical writers gradually appear in trustworthy texts in the Vienna *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Romanorum*. Brandt and Laubmann, it is true, read *ab* but twice before *s impurum*, and *a* seven times, in their edition of Lactantius, but there is MS. authority for *ab* in all but one case, *a stultis*, *Inst.* 5, 12, 13. Schenkl, on the other hand, in his edition of Ambrosius, gives *ab* the preference due the *lectio difficilior*, and regularly reads *ab*, except in *de Noe*, 9, 28 *a stomacho*, where one codex reads *ad*, apparently for an original *ab*; and *de Interpell. Job et David*, 1, 5, 13, where the MSS. are unanimous for *a scelere*.

Another striking point is the reappearance of *abs* already referred to,<sup>2</sup> and the persistence of certain formulas with *ab*: and in general a certain regularity in the use of *ab* at different epochs. On the whole it seems to me that the manuscript tradition is to be respected, allowing for some changes of *ab* to *a*.

3. *The Word Order*. — The original position of the preposition in Italic was after the governed word. Genuine anastrophe of *ab* is very rare, and occurs only in Early Latin. In classical Latin, as a rule, *a* or *ab* directly precedes the substantive which it governs. A modifying

<sup>1</sup> See the references to Char. and Diomed. above, p. 250.

<sup>2</sup> See *A. L. L.* III, 148; cf. X, 476 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Above, p. 250.

adjective, pronoun, or substantive sometimes stands directly before *ab*, as *surgente a sole*, Hor. *Serm.* 1, 4, 29; *aequo ab Iove*, *Carm.* 1, 28, 29; *solis ab ortu*, *Carm.* 3, 27, 12. This order, though found in poetry as early as Accius,<sup>1</sup> is exceedingly rare in classical prose. It is found now and then in Cicero's prose, but only once in Caesar,<sup>2</sup> and but once in Livy.<sup>3</sup> Horace sometimes inserts one or more words between the modifier and *ab*, as *dulci distinet a domo*, *Carm.* 4, 5, 12; Caesar *Hispana repetit penates Victor ab ora*, *Carm.* 3, 14, 4; *gemino bellum Troianum orditur ab ovo*, *A. P.* 147. This order is not at all uncommon in the classical poets, but is foreign to the prose of the same period. In some cases we find the substantive preceding the preposition and the modifier following, as *Hisperia sospes ab ultima*, *Carm.* 1, 36, 4; *auctore ab illo*, *Carm.* 3, 17, 5; *etc.* This order, which is found in the ante-classical and classical poets, does not make its way into prose before Tacitus.

4. *The Syntax.* — The greater number of the cases of *ab* in Horace belong to the simple and primitive use with verbs of motion, to indicate the point from which the action of the verb takes its beginning. This is found with verbs compounded with prepositions denoting motion from; viz. *ab-*, *de-*, and *re-*, and once with *e-*: *ab infimis eripiunt aequoribus ratis*, *Carm.* 4, 8, 31, a combination which is not at all rare; with verbs compounded with other prepositions, *suscitabo*, *processerit*; and with simple verbs, *ago*, *duco*, *fero*, *fugio*, *mano*, *migro*, *rapio*, *torqueo*, *volo*.

In the use of the preposition with names of towns and countries Horace shows great regularity. The following exceptions and apparent exceptions may be noted: *fugatis Latio tenebris*, *Carm.* 4, 4, 40, an omission of the preposition which is common enough in poetry. In *Epod.* 10, 13 *Pallas vertit iram ab Ilio* in *Aiacis ratem*, and *gens quae cremato fortis ab Ilio . . . pertulit*, *Carm.* 4, 4, 53, the country about the city is, as often, included, and in the second example the idea is perhaps rather that of time than of motion from. In *Serm.* 2, 1, 66 *duxit ab . . . Carthaginæ nomen*, the idea is not that of motion, but *duxit nomen* is an expression of naming, and as such regularly takes the preposition. Cf. *Serm.* 2, 4, 33 *ostrea Circeiis, Miseno oriuntur echini*,

<sup>1</sup> *Pract.* 12, p. 282 R.

<sup>2</sup> *B. C.* 1, 15, 7.

<sup>3</sup> 21, 31, 6.

where the ablative, instead of the locative, is due to the meaning of the verb. In *capta classem reducere Troia*, *Serm.* 2, 3, 191, *capta Troia* is an abl. abs., denoting time.

With verbs meaning 'begin,' 'originate,' and the like we have regular constructions: *natus ab Inacho* (of remote ancestry), *Carm.* 2, 3, 21; *ab his maioribus orti*, *Serm.* 1, 5, 55; *auctore ab illo ducit originem*, *Carm.* 3, 17, 5; *ab alto demissum genus Aenea*, *Serm.* 2, 5, 63; *ab interitu Meleagri . . . gemino . . . orditur ab ovo*, *A. P.* 147; and with an easy ellipsis, *vetusto nobilis ab Lamo*, *Carm.* 3, 17, 1. The close connection with the construction with verbs of motion is seen in the third and fourth examples.

With verbs meaning 'seek,' 'receive,' 'hear,' and the like, we have: *a te depono*, *Serm.* 1, 2, 69; *duxit ab oppressa Carthagine nomen*, *Serm.* 2, 1, 66; *ab ipso audieris*, *Serm.* 2, 8, 32. Here the connecting link is seen in the second example. Under this head belong also: *a me ferret*, *Epist.* 2, 2, 13; *ab dis ferret*, *Carm.* 3, 16, 22.

The peculiar use of *ab* with verbs which refer to banking and other financial transactions is illustrated by *Serm.* 2, 3, 69 *scribe decem a Nerio*. To take *a Nerio* as an abl. of the agent with a verb understood, as some editors do, is entirely unnecessary, as will be clear from a comparison with the examples cited in *A. L. L.* X, 492 f.

The so-called abl. of the agent with *ab* denoted originally the person from whom the action of the verb proceeded. Horace offers but few peculiarities in this construction. *Ab* is used with a collective noun in *Serm.* 1, 7, 22 *ridetur ab omni conventu*, where a personal subject is doubtless to be understood. *Ab* is perhaps used in this construction with the name of an animal in *Serm.* 2, 2, 10 *equo lassus ab indomito*; but it seems decidedly preferable to take *equo ab indomito* in a temporal sense.

*Ab* is also used with verbs which do not imply motion, to denote the place where anything is, stands, or lies. The Romans, by a peculiar idiom, conceived the object as the place whence the action of the verb was directed, but no idea of motion is felt in the corresponding English expressions. Thus *a dextera* (*dextra*), 'on the right,' etc. This use appears to be entirely lacking in Horace. The only possible example is *Carm.* 3, 27, 58 *potes hac ab orno pendulum laedere collum*. The construction with *pendeo* seems to form a connecting link between this

and the preceding type, the idea of the place *from which* being more clearly present to the mind than, e. g. in Varr. *R. R.* 1, 24, 3 (arbores) ponuntur *a septentrionali parte*. A glance at some of the uses of *pendeo* will make this clear. E. g. Virg. *Ge.* 3, 53 crurum tenuis *a mento* palearia pendent, where *a mento* is most naturally translated 'from the chin.' Cf. also Cic. *Verr.* 2, 4, 74 sagittae pendebant *ab humero*; Virg. *Aen.* 5, 484 columbam *malo* suspendit *ab alto*, etc., etc.

Again *ab* is used with verbs like *abesse*, *distare*, *dividi*, etc., to denote, not motion from, but an interval existing between two objects. This is in the main a distinct and clearly marked usage, but overlaps the first mentioned construction in some cases. Thus in *Serm.* 2, 5, 83 ut canis, *a corio* numquam absterrebitur *uncto*, we clearly have the idea of 'driving away,' and hence of motion from; but in *Serm.* 1, 4, 111 *a turpi amore* cum deterreret, the idea is not of driving away, but of holding aloof from. Other examples of this construction in Horace are *Carm.* 4, 5, 12 distinet *a domo*; *Serm.* 2, 2, 53 sordidus *a tenui victu* distabit; *Serm.* 2, 3, 320 *a te* non multum abludit; *Carm.* 3, 3, 47 secernit Europen *ab Afro*; *Carm.* 3, 19, 1 quantum distet *ab Inacho* Codrus. This is usually the force with verbs meaning 'defend' and 'protect,' and with the verbal adjective *tutus*:

Besides being joined to verbs, we find *ab* and the abl. depending on substantives.<sup>1</sup> The use is a comparatively rare one (for examples see *A. L. L.* X, 498 f.), and there is always a more or less conscious ellipsis of a verbal idea. Horace seems to have but one genuine case — *Carm.* 1, 9, 22 gratus puellae *risus ab angulo*. To this two other cases might perhaps be added: *Epod.* 17, 24 nullum *ab labore* me reclinat *otium*; *Serm.* 1, 6, 88 laus illi debetur et *a me gratia* maior. In the latter case *a me* may be taken with *debetur*, but both the sense of the passage and the word order suggest a close connection with *gratia*.

The use of *ab* with adjectives is frequent in Latin. I have already treated sanus *ab illis* (vitiis), *Serm.* 1, 4, 129; pudicum *ab omni facto turpi*, *Serm.* 1, 6, 82; and *ab omni parte* beatum, *Carm.* 2, 16, 27; in the *Classical Rev.* XIII, 303 f. and XIV, 126 f. Parallel with the first two is vix una *sospes navis ab ignibus*, *Carm.* 1, 37, 13; but in *Hesperia*

<sup>1</sup> Verbal substantives are not taken into consideration, since they, like verbal adjectives, properly belong with verbs.

*sospes ab ultima*, *Carm.* 1, 36, 4, the idea is a different one, and we may best assume the ellipsis of a verb meaning 'come' or 'return.' In *Ajax heros ab Achille secundus*, *Serm.* 2, 3, 193 we have a somewhat common use with numerals and words of kindred signification, to indicate the rank or position which a person or thing occupies. So Plaut. *Pseud.* 597 *septimas aedis a portu*; Varr. *R. R.* 3, 2, 14 *ad quartum vicesimum lapidem a Roma*; Virg. *Buc.* 5, 49 *tu eris alter ab illo*.

The use of *ab* and the abl. to denote time came originally from the idea of motion from or separation, but appears fully developed in the earliest literature. We may distinguish two uses: *ab* with the abl. denotes the beginning of an action which extends over a more or less long interval of time. The duration of the act is sometimes, but not always, indicated by an adverb like *iam*, *inde*, *usque*. *Ab* in this use corresponds to Gk. ἀπό, Germ. von . . . an, Eng. 'from.' E. g. Plaut. *Aul.* 538 *an audiisti? usque a principio omnia*. Or *ab* designates a momentary action, like Gk. μετά, Germ. nach, Eng. 'after,' the momentary nature of the action being sometimes indicated by an adverb like *statim*, *continuo*, *ilico*. E. g. Ter. *Heaut.* 214 *aequom censent nos a pueris ilico nasci senes*. Horace has two examples which show the connection with the construction with verbs of motion: *Serm.* 1, 6, 93 *si natura iuberet a certis annis aevum remeare peractum*; *Carm.* 4, 4, 53 *gens quae cremato fortis ab Ilio . . . pertulit Ausonias ad urbes*. Other examples are: *Serm.* 1, 4, 97 *me Capitolinus convictore usus . . . a puero est*; *Serm.* 1, 3, 6 *ab ovo usque ad mala citaret*; *Epist.* 2, 1, 62 *numeratque poetas ad nostrum tempus Livi scriptoris ab aevo*; *Epist.* 2, 2, 185 *ad umbram lucis ab ortu . . . mitiget agrum*.

The suggestion of Keller, *Epilegomena*, p. 532, that *ab ipsis Saturnalibus*, *Serm.* 2, 3, 4, is an example of the temporal use of *ab* is a most extraordinary one. *Ab* may mean 'from (the time of)' or 'after,' but I know of no case in which it means 'at the time of.' In support of his view Keller quotes *a puero*, *Serm.* 1, 4, 97; *a certis annis*, *Serm.* 1, 6, 94; and Cic. *de Orat.* 2, 89 *vix intercesserat ab hoc sermone*. Further comment is unnecessary. I should read *at ipsis Saturnalibus*. See *Class. Rev.* xiv, p. 127.

Horace probably has a case of the rare causal use of *ab* and the abl. in *Serm.* 1, 4, 26, when I should read *aut ab avaritia aut misera ambitione laborat*. See *Class. Rev.* XIV, p. 126.

*Ab* with the abl. is often used absolutely, i. e. it is not governed by a verb, substantive, or adjective, but stands in a somewhat loose adverbial relation to the sentence in which it occurs, or to some word in the sentence. E. g. Plaut. *Ep.* 623 usque *ab unguiculo* ad *capillum* summumst festiuissima. Horace has four cases of this use: *Epist.* 2, 2, 4 hic candidus et talos *a vertice* pulcher ad imos; *Serm.* 2, 3, 308 *ab imo* ad summum totus moduli bipedalis; *Serm.* 1, 4, 29 hic mutat merces *surgente a sole* ad eum quo vespertina tepet regio; and *Epist.* 1, 1, 54 haec Ianus *summus ab imo* prodocet, where *summus ab imo* is equivalent to *a summo ad imum*; cf. *A. P.* 254 primus ad extremum similis sibi, and Ov. *Ibis* 179 iugeribusque novem summus qui distat ab imo.

## NOTES ON A FIFTEENTH CENTURY MANUSCRIPT OF SUETONIUS

BY ALBERT A. HOWARD

SINCE the appearance of C. L. Roth's edition of Suetonius in 1858, it has become the fashion to speak disparagingly of the fifteenth century manuscripts of this author and to assume that nothing can be gained from them for the establishment of the original text. Roth himself says on page xxix of his preface; 'Nusquam enim ex antiquitate ullam lectionem servarunt quae non in Memmiano aut in duorum generum vetustioribus exemplis scripta exstet. Fit tamen nonnumquam, ut feliciter coniectando vel in uno libro novicio vel in compluribus aliquod vitium sublatum sit, ideoque ab eo qui singularum correctionum auctoritates persequitur pro Sabellico aut Beroaldo appellandus sit codex Cortianus vel Basiliensis, id est ignotus quidam grammaticus saeculi xv, cuius haud improbable commentum in hunc vel illum librum devenit.'

It is extremely difficult, perhaps impossible, absolutely to prove that a reading found only in a fifteenth century manuscript was copied from an older manuscript, but fortunately no such proof is necessary. In the absence of convincing evidence to the contrary, the presumption must necessarily be that the readings of the manuscript were copied from an earlier manuscript, and this presumption is strengthened if more than one manuscript shows a disputed reading. The presumption is still further strengthened if a considerable number of similar readings are found in two or more manuscripts not copied one from the other, or if in any single manuscript a very considerable number of obviously correct readings are found.

In answer to Roth's argument, on page xxx of his preface, that the authority of the fifteenth century manuscripts is invalidated by the fact that they do not consistently follow the readings of any one of the classes established by him, but agree now with one of these classes now with another, it can be said with equal truth that some of the earlier manuscripts are equally independent. Thus Parisinus 5801, a manu-

script of the eleventh or twelfth century shows readings which are quoted by Roth as peculiar to each of his three classes. In agreement with Memmianus it omits 249.31 *conspiratione*; in agreement with Roth's second class it reads 217.27 *factionis suae*, 238.11 *adverso rumore*, and omits 199.22 *catuli*, 245.9 *in provinciis*, 248.34 *intra urbem*, 249.7 *illos sibi redidisse*. In agreement with Roth's third class it omits 207.10 *maiora et tristiora*, and reads 229.21 *sedentem*. It further agrees with Memmianus and Mediceus III in omitting at first hand 32.26 *libris*, 76.12 *ingenium*, and agrees with Medicei I and III in omitting 19.36 *in dies*,<sup>1</sup> 102.14 *umquam*.

These divergencies of early manuscripts from Roth's classes could be still further illustrated from material in my possession, but enough has surely been said to show that such divergencies are not sufficient ground for impugning the authority of fifteenth century manuscripts.<sup>2</sup>

During the summer of 1899, while examining the manuscripts of Suetonius in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, I inspected with some care one from the fifteenth century, No. 5809, and found in it, to my surprise, not only a very considerable number of readings adopted by Roth in his edition and attributed by him to Beroaldus, Sabellicus, Politian, and others, but also a number of readings known to Roth only from early printed editions of Suetonius. The number of these readings is so great as to make incredible the supposition of Roth that they are the fortunate conjectures of grammarians, while the confirmation which some of them receive from earlier manuscripts makes it very probable that most of the readings antedate the fifteenth century.

The manuscript No. 5809 is written in double columns on folio sheets of carefully selected vellum in a large clear hand, probably French. It is divided into chapters, each preceded by a brief summary of the contents in red, and each beginning with a large, colored capital. The first page of the manuscript contains only the first chapter of the life of Julius Caesar with the title in gold CAII SEVTONII TRANQVILLI | DE VITA XII LIBER PRIMVS | CAESAR DICTATOR.

<sup>1</sup> These words are added by a later hand.

<sup>2</sup> As a matter of fact an entirely new classification of the manuscripts of Suetonius, based upon the examination of a considerable number of manuscripts, is very much to be desired. It is not impossible that in such a classification a modest place may be found for fifteenth century manuscripts.



This whole page is elaborately ornamented in colors. Comparatively few abbreviations are used in the manuscript, not one tenth the number used in the codex Memmianus, evidence all of which favors a somewhat late date.

Roth apparently examined this manuscript, although very cursorily, as he mentions it only on page xxx of his preface; he was possibly deterred from a further examination by the considerable number of conspicuous blunders which appear in the early pages of the work.

It is obvious from internal evidence that the writer of this manuscript did not personally invent the various correct readings which it offers; his crude attempts to supply missing phrases and his frequent slips in perfectly familiar words are conclusive evidence on this point. It is also probable that the correct readings were not gathered by comparing a number of different manuscripts, for in that case we should expect to find many corrections in the body of the manuscript and alternative readings suggested in the margin, while, as a matter of fact, there are almost no erasures or corrections in the entire work; and even the obvious blunders have been allowed to stand.

As a sample of the readings found in this manuscript the following are offered.

Sabellicus is quoted by Roth as sole authority for 16 different readings, of which 11 are found in this MS. 126.12 *Siculasque*, 135.20 *Nemorensi*, 156.16 *principali*, 161.17 *icit*, 172.13 *ioco*, 179.37 *Casii*, 197.5 *non mediocre studium*. *Maxime* for *maxime non mediocre studium*. *Maxima*, 208.26 *Patrobii*, 220.9 *circumforaneo*, 225.10 *Sabinis*, 226.23 *cui*, 244.8 *sacrorum quidem die*. To these may well be added 135.16 Sabellicus *hoplomacho* 5809 *oplomacho*, and 245.36 Sabellicus *Scantinia* 5809 *scatinia*.

Of 53 readings quoted from Beroaldus, 30 are found in this MS., and of 42 readings quoted on the sole authority of Beroaldus, 22 are found in it: 35.32 *ad manus*, 56.15 *scaptiensibus tribulibus*, 60.12 *ab se*, 72.2 *ludios*, 101.8 *mullos*, 108.5 *creberrime*, 108.16 *exitium*, 112.26 *evocarar*, 126.4 *Liviae Augustae*, 126.29 *fascias*, 130.12 *prostraverit*, 137.21 *libertos*, 145.17 *actor*, 161.6 *Christo*, 164.20 *interdiu*, 167.10 *quaesturae*, 176.4 *tiara deducta*, 179.15 *prasinum*, 196.17 *Acte*, 235.16 *Cutilias*, 247.12 *abductam*, 247.18 *membranis*. Here belong also 149.29 Beroaldus *Silani* 5809 *sillani*, and 246.1 Beroaldus *Ocellatis* 5809 *Ocelatis*.

Other readings attributed to Beroaldus but for which some manuscript authority is quoted appear in our manuscript, as follows: 56.20 *civitatem Romanam*, 92.29 *Nemausenses*, 123.25 *hoste tunc* not adopted by Roth, 174.34 *catadromum*, 221.38 *reclamantibus*, 245.1 *communi rerum usu*.

The following readings attributed by Roth to Politian are found in this manuscript: 193.20 *ascopera*, 250.2 *κην*, 250.3 *καισαρι*, so also 19.9 *ii*, attributed to Egnatius, 22.30 *Naso*, attributed to Mancinellus, and 238.33 *celeriter*, attributed to Calderinus.

Of readings known to Roth only from early printed editions the following are found in this manuscript: 55.36 *ex improbat*, 64.11 *consensu*, 81.34 *ac exitum*, 95.30 *ageret*, 115.38 *Minois*, 141.30 *efferebat*, 156.21 *Stoechadas*, 186.22 *L. Agerinum*, 190.17 the correct forms *πατερ* and *μητερ* in the Greek passage, 231.25 *et patris patriae*, 233.19 *Apollinari*.

The number of these readings is, as has already been suggested, too great, as also the number of sources from which they are supposed to have been drawn, for it to seem possible that they were not copied from a single earlier source. Furthermore, a few at least of these readings are actually found in much older manuscripts which have never been properly utilized for the text of Suetonius. Examples of such readings are the following, attributed to Beroaldus: 108.16 *exitum*, which is found in Parisinus 5802, a manuscript of the early fourteenth century, and the following, quoted by Roth from early editions: 115.38 *Minois* which is found in Parisinus 5802; 186.22 *L. Agerinum*, which is found in Parisinus 5801 a manuscript of the twelfth century, and 141.30 *efferebat*, which is found in Parisini 5801, 5810, and 5754, the last two manuscripts of the fifteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

These readings were certainly not invented by Beroaldus or by any fifteenth century grammarian, but pretty certainly reproduce the tradition of the parent manuscript. If, however, one fifteenth century manuscript has preserved in some remarkable instances readings which

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<sup>1</sup> Of other readings attributed by Roth to Beroaldus, but which do not occur in Parisinus 5809, I found in earlier manuscripts the following: 86.18 *quo*, 112.1 *et*, in Parisinus 5801; and 122.26 *ioco* for *loco* in Parisinus 6116 one of Roth's manuscripts; cf. Roth's preface, page xxvii.

are substantiated by the evidence of earlier manuscripts, it is surely probable that the considerable number of correct readings in it which have not yet been traced to an earlier source are due, not to the acumen of fifteenth century grammarians, but to an accidental accuracy in copying from an earlier and correct source.

But if this is true of one fifteenth century manuscript it may also be true of others, and the future editor of Suetonius will find it necessary to examine with some care the manuscripts of this century and see whether they are not of value in establishing the original text.



## THE ANTIGONE OF EURIPIDES

BY JAMES M. PATON

IN the *American Journal of Archaeology*, III, (1899) pp. 183-201, Professor J. H. Huddilston has performed the welcome service of republishing the two vases containing scenes from the story of Antigone, with the passages from the ancient writers which throw light upon their source. It can scarcely be doubted that this source is the same tragedy which forms the basis of Fabula 72 of Hyginus, though in view of the decided divergencies between the vases it seems unlikely that either painter derived his inspiration from a performance of the play. Granting, however, that the vases and Hyginus tell the same story, is this the version of Euripides? Professor Huddilston argues that it is, but it seems to me that the evidence will bear another examination.<sup>1</sup>

For the reconstruction of any lost play there are available, first, the fragments, second, direct testimony as to the plot. The indirect evidence furnished by the mythographers and works of art, though often very valuable, is only secondary, and as a rule cannot be used to correct but only to confirm and elaborate the primary sources. In the present case the fragments are so scanty — only 41 verses — and in character so largely gnomic that they throw but little light upon the treatment. It is only necessary to compare the totally different reconstructions of Welcker and Wecklein to see that a little ingenuity can accommodate them to almost any scheme.

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<sup>1</sup> That Hyginus contains the plot of Euripides' Antigone has been maintained by Welcker, *Griech. Trag.* II, 563 ff., III, 1588 ff.; Klügmann, *Ann. d. Inst.*, 1876, 173 ff., and Max. Mayer, *De Euripidis Mythopoeia*, 73 ff. The contrary opinion is defended, among others, by Schneidewin, *Philologus*, VI, 593 ff. and *Antigone, Einl.*; Heydemann, *Nacheuripideische Antigone*; Vogel, *Scenen euripideischer Tragödien in griechischen Vasengemälden*, 47 ff., and Wecklein, *Ueber drei verlorenen Tragödien des Euripides*, *Sitzb. bay. Akad.* 1878, II, 186 ff. Many of the considerations urged in the course of this paper will be found in these articles, but I have usually omitted specific references.

If the fragments cannot be used as a basis, it is obvious that the starting point of the investigation must be the direct statements of the ancient writers as to Euripides' treatment of the story. In this case it must be admitted that the statements are somewhat less conclusive than could be desired, though even in their present condition, I doubt if they can be naturally interpreted in more than one way.

Two passages profess to give us information as to the Euripidean version of the story of Antigone. (1) The Hypothesis of Aristophanes of Byzantium to the *Antigone* of Sophocles, *ad fin.* κείται ἡ μυθοποιία καὶ παρὰ Εὐριπίδῃ ἐν Ἀντιγόῃ· πλὴν ἐκεῖ φωραθείσα μετὰ τοῦ Αἴμονος δίδεται πρὸς γάμου κοινωνίαν καὶ τέκνον τίκτει τὸν Μαίονα. (2) Schol. Soph. *Antig.* 1350, ὅτι διαφέρει τῆς Εὐριπίδου Ἀντιγόνης αὐτῆ, ὅτι φωραθείσα ἐκείνη (Nauck, *e conj.* ἐκεῖ μὲν) διὰ τὸν Αἴμονος ἔρωτα ἐξεδόθη πρὸς γάμον, ἐνταῦθα δὲ τοῦναντίον.

In spite of its variations, it is scarcely likely that the latter passage can be used as an independent witness, for the scholiast was doubtless more familiar with Aristophanes than with Euripides; but it is not therefore to be cast aside. It shows that the commentator had the statement of Aristophanes in substantially the same form in which it has come down to us, and that he understood it to refer to the entire play of Euripides, for the whole point of his comment is that, in Euripides, Antigone was given in marriage and *did not die*; ἐνταῦθα δὲ τοῦναντίον is meaningless if in both plays the heroine met death. He may have misunderstood the facts, but we may be certain that he knew of no statement that Euripides told of the marriage of Antigone and the birth of Maeon in a prologue. At first sight the words of Aristophanes seem to mean, (a) that Antigone was not alone in the burial of Polynices, but was assisted by Haemon; (b) that the result of the discovery was not her death but her marriage, from which sprang a son, Maeon. It is argued, however, by those who believe that Hyginus contains the Euripidean version, that these words of Aristophanes have no reference to the plot as such but only to the preceding events, which were narrated in a prologue or possibly developed in the course of the action. This question of interpretation requires an examination of similar phrases in other Hypotheses.

Before the *Eumenides*, *Medea*, and *Alcestis*, we find the phrase παρ' οὐδετέρῳ κείται ἡ μυθοποιία, and before the *Orestes* παρ' οὐδενὶ κείται

ἡ μυθοποιία — a variation, which, as Wilamowitz suggests,<sup>1</sup> may be due to the extraordinary plot of that drama.

More important are the following :

Aesch. *Prom.* κείται ἡ μυθοποιία ἐν παρεκβάσει παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ ἐν Κόλχοις, παρὰ δ' Εὐριπίδῃ ὅλως οὐ κείται.

Soph. *Philoct.* κείται καὶ (L ὡς, vulg. δὲ) παρ' Αἰσχύλῳ ἡ μυθοποιία.<sup>2</sup>

Eur. *Bacch.* ἡ μυθοποιία κείται παρ' Αἰσχύλῳ ἐν Πενθεῖ.

Schol. Eur. *Hec.* 1, τὰ περὶ τὴν Πολυξένην ἔστι καὶ παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ εὐρεῖν (cod. Marc. 469 adds ἐν δὲ Πολυξένη. Wilamowitz, *Herakl.* I<sup>1</sup>, 146 Anm. 39, reads τὰ περὶ Πολυξένην ἔστιν εὐρεῖν παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ ἐν Πολυξένη).

Eur. *Phoen.* ἐπιστρατεία τοῦ Πολυνείκουσ μετὰ τῶν Ἀργείων ἐπὶ Θήβας καὶ ἀπώλεια τῶν ἀδελφῶν Πολυνείκουσ καὶ Ἐτεοκλέουσ καὶ θάνατος Ἰοκάστησ. ἡ μυθοποιία κείται παρ' Αἰσχύλῳ ἐν Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας πλὴν τῆσ Ἰοκάστησ.

In all these cases the word *μυθοποιία* seems to indicate the general treatment of the story, without reference to minor details. The argument to the *Prometheus* shows that where the story was not the real subject of the play, but only incidentally introduced, Aristophanes noted the fact. The scholium to the *Hecuba*, obviously dependent on a similar argument, is also evidence of the endeavor after accuracy in the references to other treatment of the same material. Most important, however, is the Hypothesis to the *Phoenissae*, for here the preservation of the *Septem* enables us to test the statements of the grammarian. It is to be noted that he has singled out three points as containing the essentials of the play, — the expedition of Polynices, the death of the brothers, and the death of Iocasta. It is certainly true that the same story is told by Aeschylus, but without the death of Iocasta.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Herakles*, I<sup>1</sup>, 146, Anm. 38a.

<sup>2</sup> Schneidewin, *Abh. d. Götting. Gesellsch.* VI, 19, conjectures κείται δὲ καὶ παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ ὡσ καὶ παρὰ Αἰσχύλῳ.

<sup>3</sup> A sentence from the Hypothesis of the *Septem* is worth comparing: ἡ δὲ ὑπόθεσισ στρατιὰ Ἀργείων πολιορκούσα Θηβαίους, τοὺσ καὶ νικῆσαντας, καὶ θάνατοσ Ἐτεοκλέουσ καὶ Πολυνείκουσ.

The conclusion seems warranted that κείται ἡ μυθοποιία means that the same general subject, already indicated in a brief statement, was treated by one of the other tragedians. If the treatment was merely incidental, or there was a variation in what Aristophanes regarded as an essential feature, a few words indicated the divergence, but mere details in the method of working out the plot do not seem to have been noticed. This might seem confirmed by the Hypothesis of the *Philoctetes*, for we know that in all three plays the general subject was the bringing of Philoctetes from Lemnos by Odysseus, though the differences in detail were radical. The text, however, seems corrupt, for it is scarcely possible that the well-known play of Euripides was passed over, and it is possible that more has fallen out.

Turning now to the *Antigone*, we find that the Hypothesis has this form: Ἀντιγόνη παρὰ τὴν πρόσταξιν τῆς πόλεως θάψασα τὸν Πολυνείκην ἐφωράθη, καὶ εἰς μνημεῖον κατάγειον ἐντεθείσα παρὰ τοῦ Κρέοντος ἀνήρηται· ἐφ' ἣ καὶ Αἴμων δυσπαθήσας διὰ τὸν εἰς αὐτὴν ἔρωτα ξίφει ἑαυτὸν διεχειρίσατο. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τούτου θανάτῳ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ Εὐρυδίκη ἑαυτὴν ἀνείλεν. κείται ἡ μυθοποιία κτλ.

Considering the extreme brevity with which the subject of the play is usually indicated, we are warranted in believing that this portion has been expanded to meet the taste of later times. Reduced to its simplest form it sets forth the burial of Polynices, the capture of Antigone, her sentence and suicide. From this proceed the deaths of Haemon and Eurydice. Aristophanes adds that Euripides treated the same subject, i. e. the burial of Polynices and fate of Antigone, but with a fortunate ending and a decided difference in details. There is not one word to show that to Aristophanes the case of Antigone differed from the cases of Pentheus, Philoctetes, and the expedition of the Seven against Thebes, in which the same subject was used for complete plays by the different dramatists.

Is this interpretation of Aristophanes warranted by the fragments? We have seen that they cannot be used as the starting point for an inquiry, but any theory as to the contents of the lost play must be tested by a comparison with these remains. *Frag.* 157, ἦν Οἰδίπους τὸ πρῶτον εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ, was the opening line of the play,<sup>1</sup> and *Frag.* 158, εἴτ' ἐγένετ' αἰθις ἀθλιώτατος βροτῶν, must have occurred very early in the

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Arist. *Ran.* 1182.



prologue. But neither this beginning nor the mention of the shield of Capaneus in a lyric passage (*Frag.* 159) is satisfactory evidence for the time of the action. One fragment (176), however, seems to throw some light on this point :

θάνατος γὰρ ἀνθρώποισι νεικέων τέλος  
ἔχει· μαθεῖν δὲ πᾶσιν ἔστιν εὐμαρές.<sup>1</sup>  
τίς γὰρ πετραῖον σκόπελον οὐτάζων δορί  
ὀδύναισι δώσει; τίς δ' ἀτιμάζων νέκυς,  
εἰ μηδὲν αἰσθάνονται τῶν παθημάτων;

These words are evidently part of an argument to show the futility of vengeance upon the corpse of an enemy. In an *Antigone* such verses can refer only to Creon's treatment of the body of Polynices, and it is hard to explain their presence in a play concerned with events many years after the Argive expedition. The difficulty of finding a place for these verses in the version of Hyginus was seen by Welcker,<sup>2</sup> who found it necessary to suppose that Haemon reproached his father for his treatment of Polynices, when blamed by Creon for saving Antigone. The ways of Euripidean argument are doubtless often devious, but these words seem intended to lead the hearer to change his course, rather than to reproach him for deeds long past. To me the natural implication of the passage is that the edict of Creon is still in force, and consequently that the time of the action is the same as in the Sophoclean play.<sup>3</sup>

Three fragments, however, are supposed to prove the presence of a son of Antigone and Haemon.

*Frag.* 167. ἡ γὰρ δόκησις πατράσι παῖδας εἰκέναι  
τὰ πολλὰ ταύτῃ γίγνεται τέκνα πέρι.

*Frag.* 168. ὀνόματι μεμπτόν τὸ νόθον, ἡ φύσις δ' ἴση.

*Frag.* 166. τὸ μῶρον αὐτῷ τοῦ πατρὸς νόσημ' ἔνι·  
φιλέει γὰρ οὕτως ἐκ κακῶν εἶναι κακοῦς.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So Stob. *Flor.* 120.3 in Cod. A. according to Grotius; *Id. Ib.* 125.6. τί γὰρ τοῦδ' ἔστι μείζον ἐν βροτοῖς. Cf. Nauck, *Frag. Trag. Graec.*

<sup>2</sup> *Griech. Trag.* II, 570.

<sup>3</sup> The importance of this fragment seems to have been first pointed out by Hartung. Cf. Wecklein, *l. c.* p. 186.

<sup>4</sup> Wecklein, *l. c.* 189 cites Soph. *Ant.* 471, δηλοῖ τὸ γέννημ' ὧμὸν ἐξ ὧμοῦ πατρὸς τῆς παιδός.

Of these the first is obviously too general a statement to be conclusive, even if the text were sound, and though the second might be referred to Maeon, if there were other evidence for his presence in the play, the lamentations of Oedipus over his daughters and their fate seem to point to other possibilities for the word νόθος in a play connected with the Theban cycle. Considering that the source of the last fragment is Stobaeus, Süvern's conjecture, αὐτῆ for αὐτῶ, is by no means improbable; but even without this change, I see no reason why πατρός must refer to Haemon, and it is very difficult to see in what way Maeon could manifest "the foolhardy stiff-neckedness of Haemon," especially if he were a *mutus* as Professor Huddilston seems to think likely. However, I do not wish to use the very inadequate fragments for a reconstruction of the play, but merely to show that they contain nothing inconsistent with the natural interpretation of the language of Aristophanes.

It now remains to examine the story in Hyginus and its relation to the primary authorities. His *Fab.* 72 in Schmidt's text is as follows: *Creon Menoecii filius edixit ne quis Polynicen aut qui una venerunt sepulturae traderet, quod patriam oppugnatum venerint. Antigona soror et Argia coniunx clam noctu Polynicis corpus sublatum in eadem pyra qua Eteocles sepultus est imposuerunt. quae cum a custodibus deprehensae essent, Argia profugit, Antigona ad regem est perducta. ille eam Haemoni cuius sponsa fuerat dedit interficiendam. Haemon amore captus patris imperium neglexit et Antigonam ad pastores demandavit, ementitusque est se eam interfecisse. quae cum filium procreasset et ad puberem aetatem venisset, Thebas ad ludos venit. hunc Creon rex, quod ex draconteo genere omnes in corpore insigne habebant, cognovit. cum Hercules pro Haemone deprecaretur ut ei ignosceret, non impetravit. Haemon se et Antigonam coniugem interfecit. at Creon Megaram filiam suam Herculi dedit in coniugium: ex quo nati sunt Therimachus et Diopithes.*

That the source of this narrative is a drama can scarcely be questioned. Wecklein<sup>1</sup> has pointed out the ἀναγνωρισμός, so dear to the new comedy, and has referred to this play the quotation in Aristotle's *Poetics*, cap. 16 *ad init.* λόγῃν ἣν φοροῦσι γηγενεῖς, which certainly

<sup>1</sup> *l. c.* p. 190.

agrees well with the words, *quod ex draconteo genere omnes in corpore insigne habebant*. The subject of the play must have been the recognition of Maeon at the games, probably in consequence of some victory, the discovery of his parents, the unavailing intercession of Heracles and the death of Haemon and Antigone. Strangely enough, it seems to have been generally assumed that Heracles appeared in this play as *deus ex machina*.<sup>1</sup> The vases furnish no support for this view, and the words of Hyginus, *cum Hercules pro Haemone deprecaretur ut ei ignosceret, non impetravit*, are surely inconsistent with any such position. A *deus ex machina* cannot have failed in his intervention. If therefore Heracles did not obtain his request, he must have appeared in his ordinary character as mortal, and in that case it is not improbable that the play included his reconciliation with Creon, though of course the concluding statement of Hyginus, as well as other clauses in his narrative, may easily be scraps of mythographic learning. The events preceding the arrival of Maeon at Thebes must have been narrated at some point in the play, especially as this version of the story seems to have been original with this dramatist.

Omitting for the moment debatable points, the assumption of the writer was that after the capture of Antigone, she was given to Haemon for execution, but that he hid her in the country, where she bore him a son. If Haemon was ordered to kill Antigone, it is obvious that he was not arrested with her, as Aristophanes expressly declares was the case in the Euripidean play, for in that case both would be guilty, and the punishment of Antigone could not be entrusted to her partner in the crime. Even if an example for such a proceeding could be found, it is necessary to explain the absence of any precautions on the part of Creon for insuring his son's obedience. If the words *cuius sponsa fuerat* are derived from the original play and are not a mythographer's addition, the situation must have been similar to that in the *Phoenissae*, where Eteocles has indeed betrothed Antigone to Haemon, though she threatens to murder him if her marriage is to interfere with her duty to her father and brother.

Nor is this the only inconsistency between Hyginus and Aristophanes. According to the former the marriage of Haemon and Antigone was

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<sup>1</sup> Welcker is of course an exception.

secret, the words of the latter are *δίδοται πρὸς γάμον κοινωνίαν*, which certainly are a peculiar description of a secret connection. So far as I know *δίδοται* can be used only of the bestowal of the bride by her father or guardian.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, Eurip. *Bacch.* 1273-1276 is worth comparing<sup>2</sup>:

ΚΑΔ. εἰς ποῖον ἦλθες οἶκον ὑμεναίων μετὰ;

ΛΓ. σπαρτῶ μ' ἔδωκας, ὡς λέγουσ', Ἐχίονι.

ΚΑΔ. τίς οὖν ἐν οἴκοις παῖς ἐγένετο σῶ πόσει;

ΛΓ. Πένθευς, ἐμῆ τε καὶ πατρὸς κοινωνίᾳ.

Here there can be no question of other than a formal and open marriage. It is true that Klügmann<sup>3</sup> has also referred to Plato, *Legg.* 4, 721a, in support of his assertion that *κοινωνία* implies an illegal connection, but in that place the words *ἡ τῶν γάμων σύμμυξις καὶ κοινωνία* are used in the discussion about the *γαμικοὶ νόμοι*, and there is nothing to show that they refer to connections unsanctioned by those laws.

One other point of divergence remains to be considered. Hyginus says that Antigone was accompanied by Argia, and that together they laid the body of Polynices upon the pyre of Eteocles. This version of the burning of the body is preserved in the name of a place near Thebes, *Σῦρμα Ἀντιγόνης* (Paus. 9, 25, 2), though the local explanation supposed Antigone to be alone, since she had dragged the body because unable to lift it. The burning of the bodies of the fallen leaders is also mentioned by Pindar, and in all probability was found in the Theban epics, though there is no evidence that they contained any reference to the dishonoring of Polynices and the fate of Antigone. Argia early found her way into the Theban legend,<sup>4</sup> for her presence at the funeral games of Oedipus was mentioned by Hesiod (Schol. Hom. *Il.* 23, 679), and it was natural therefore to associate her with Antigone in a drama where the part to be played by Haemon compelled a departure from the Euripidean version. Of course we may owe the presence of Argia to the mythographer; the main point of my contention is that Haemon as a companion is excluded by the sequel.

<sup>1</sup> Still stronger is the language of the scholiast, *ἐξεδόθη πρὸς γάμον*, for *ἐκδίδωμι* is the legal-term.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vogel, *Scenen d. eur. Trag.*, p. 49<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> *Annali*, 1876, p. 180, Ann. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Argeia.

It is far from my intention to attempt a complete reconstruction of the Euripidean play. For that, as Wilamowitz has said,<sup>1</sup> the material is far too scanty. Certain conclusions, however, seem to me warranted by this study of the available evidence.

1. The time of the action corresponded in general with that of the play of Sophocles.

2. The love of Haemon and Antigone was given greater prominence, as is shown by his share in the disobedience of Creon's command. This is also confirmed by the prominence of love in the fragments.

3. The play had a happy ending in the marriage of the lovers. Such an outcome is of course inconceivable without divine intervention, though the *deus ex machina* must be left unnamed, for *Frag.* 177, ὦ παῖ Διόνυς, ὡς ἔφυς μέγας θεός, Διόνυσε, θνητοῖς τ' οὐδαμῶς ὑποστατός, is insufficient to prove the appearance of Dionysus, while the presence of Heracles in his human character in the later play seems rather against his divine intervention in the work of Euripides. This god of course prophesies the birth of Maeon, who was already known as the son of Haemon from Homer (*Il.* 4, 394), and doubtless also from the Theban epics.

With such a play as a basis and a desire to give the story again a tragic ending, without imitation of Sophocles, it is easy to see how the dramatic original of Hyginus and the vase-painters arose. Argia was substituted for Haemon as the companion of Antigone, because the love of Haemon must not be brought to Creon's attention. Then the action of the play was developed on the lines already familiar in the story of Hypermestra, Lynceus, and Abas,<sup>2</sup> but with a different ending. Wecklein indeed assumed that Theodectes, the author of a *Lynceus*, was also the author of this *Antigone*. Such an hypothesis is unnecessary, for we know of an *Antigone*, written by a contemporary of Theodectes, and so successful as to warrant the belief that it would suggest a subject to contemporary vase-painters.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Anal. Eurip.*, p. 150.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wecklein, *l. c.* p. 191.

<sup>3</sup> This identification was first suggested by Georg Müller, *sent. contr.* 4, appended to his dissertation *De L. Annati Senecae quaest. nat.*, Bonn, 1886. I owe the reference to Professor A. Brinkman.

*C. I. A.* II, 973, shows that in 341 B.C. Astydamas was first with the trilogy, *Achilles*, *Athamas*, and *Antigone*. The poet was then at the height of his popularity, for the same inscription shows that in 340 B.C. he was victorious with the *Parthenopaeus*, which seems to have procured for him the honor of a statue.<sup>1</sup>

Under these circumstances it seems needless to strive after a reconciliation between Hyginus and Aristophanes, which can only be brought about by assuming ambiguities and confusion in both writers. These faults are unfortunately by no means rare in the commentators and mythographers, but when a natural interpretation of a text contradicts no known fact, and at the same time enables us to believe that our only authorities understood their own words, it seems to me not unlikely to be correct. We have too few Greek tragedies, and those few are too diverse in their structure, to make it safe to discard ancient testimony and draw conclusions as to the lost plays from any *à priori* reasoning as to what would or would not be ventured by an Athenian poet or tolerated by an Athenian audience.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Köhler in *Ath. Mitt.* III, pp. 112-116.

THE USE OF μή WITH THE PARTICIPLE, WHERE THE  
NEGATIVE IS INFLUENCED BY THE CONSTRUCTION  
UPON WHICH THE PARTICIPLE DEPENDS

BY GEORGE EDWIN HOWES

DURING the past year my attention has been called several times to the use of the negative μή with participles where the force of the participle would seem to demand οὐ; e. g. Xen. *An.* 4, 3, 28, κελεύει αὐτοῦ μέναι ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μὴ διαβάοντας. Id. *Cyr.* 1, 2, 7, ὃν ἂν γνῶσι δυνάμενον μὲν χάριν ἀποδιδόναι, μὴ ἀποδιδόντα δέ, κολάζουσι. Plato, *Apol.* 29 A, τὸ . . . θάνατον δεδιέναι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἢ δοκεῖν σοφὸν εἶναι μὴ ὄντα. Dem. 4, 15, οἶμαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ ταῦτα λέγειν ἔχειν, μὴ κωλύων εἴ τις ἄλλος ἐπαγγέλλεται τι. Editors generally pass over such places without any comment. Occasionally, however, an editor calls attention to the fact that the preceding construction has influenced the selection of the negative. The general rule is thus stated in Hadley-Allen's *Grammar* (1884), § 1027, — "μή is often used instead of οὐ with participles or other words, through an influence of the verbs on which they depend, when these verbs either have μή, or would have it, if negative." I have been curious enough to examine into the matter somewhat, to find whether such cases are common or only rarely found.<sup>1</sup> I have carried my search only down through the writers who flourished in whole or in part before 400 B.C. The investigation has not been exhaustive, even with the field thus limited. To secure every example would have necessitated a careful reading of all the authors included in this period. I have, however, looked through all the works of these authors, with the exception of Homer, gathering all the examples that attracted my eye. I may hope, therefore, to have a fairly representative, though not absolutely complete, list of examples. Naturally, I have not included those participles with μή that express condition, nor have I made a list of those instances that show

<sup>1</sup> There is said to be only one instance of the use of μή with the participle in Homer; cf. Monro, *Homeric Grammar*, § 361.

the generic use of μή, for the negative in both these cases is due, not to the influence of any verb on which the participle depends, but to the force of the participle itself.<sup>1</sup>

I. μή WITH THE PARTICIPLE DEPENDENT UPON AN INDICATIVE.

1. Dependent upon ὅπως with the Independent Future Indicative of Exhortation.

Eur. *H. F.* 505 : τοῦτον (sc. βίον) δ' ὅπως ἤδιστα διαπεράσετε ἐξ ἡμέρας εἰς νύκτα μὴ λυπούμενοι.

2. Dependent upon an Indicative of Purpose.

Soph. *O. R.* 1389 : οὐκ ἂν ἐσχόμην τὸ μὴ ἀποκληῆσαι τοῦμὸν ἄθλιον δέμας, ἵν' ἦ τυφλὸς τε καὶ κλύων μηδέν.

3. Dependent upon an Indicative Denoting Condition.<sup>2</sup>

Soph. *O. R.* 1110<sup>3</sup> : εἰ χρή τι κάμῃ μὴ συναλλάξαντά πω, πρέσβεις, σταθμᾶσθαι. Hdt. 7, 50 : εἰ τοίνυν . . . οἱ . . . βασιλείες γνώμησι ἐχρέωντο ὁμοίησι καὶ σύ, ἣ μὴ χρεώμενοι . . . ἄλλους συμβούλους εἶχον τοιοῦτους . . . 7, 139. Eur. *Suppl.* 254.<sup>4</sup>

4. Dependent upon an Indicative with a Conditional Relative.

Aeschyl. *Sept.* 3 : χρή λέγειν τὰ καίρια ὅστις φυλάσσει πρᾶγος ἐν πρύμνῃ πόλεως οἶακα νωμῶν, βλέφαρα μὴ κοιμῶν ὕπνῳ. Eur. *Tro.* 1166 ; *Frgt.* 503 ; *Frgt.* 1049 ; Hdt. 7, 132 ; Thuc. 8, 74, 3.

5. Dependent upon an Indicative of Unattained Wish.

Eur. *Alc.* 536 : εἴθ' εὐρομέν σ', Ἄδμητε, μὴ λυπούμενον. *Or.* 1580.

<sup>1</sup> As most of the passages referred to in this article are merely cited and not quoted in full I mention the editions used: *Hesiod*, Rzach; *Homeric Hymns*, Abel; *Elegiac poets* (including *Theognis*), Bergk-Hiller; *Aeschylus*, Wecklein; *Sophocles*, Dindorf; *Euripides*, Kirchhoff; *Frag. Trag.*, Nauck; *Aristophanes*, Meineke; *Herodotus*, Stein; *Thucydides*, Classen; *Antiphon* and *Andocides*, Blass.

<sup>2</sup> I have noted two instances in which the negative is οὐ.

Soph. *O. R.* 885 : εἰ δὲ τις ὑπέροπτα χερσὶν ἢ λόγῳ πορεύεται, δίκας ἀφόβητος οὐδὲ δαίμωνων ἔδη σέβων, κακὰ νιν ἔλοιτο μοῖρα. Eur. *Frgt.* 450.

In the first example the presence of an intervening adjective—and that, too, a negative one—may sufficiently weaken the influence of the condition to make the negative οὐδέ natural. In the second example the negative and the participle οὖσιν express a simple idea, "dead," and hence οὐκέτ' is normal.

<sup>3</sup> Here there is the double influence of the condition εἰ χρή and of the infinitive σταθμᾶσθαι; cf. *infra*, p. 284, 3. In Eur. *Heracl.* 167 μὴ is generic.

<sup>4</sup> Here the participle is really in indirect discourse; cf. p. 280, note 3.



## II. μή WITH THE PARTICIPLE DEPENDENT UPON A SUBJUNCTIVE.

## 1. Dependent upon a Hortatory Subjunctive.

Tyrt. 8, 14: *περὶ παίδων θνήσκωμεν ψυχέων μηκέτι φειδόμενοι.*  
Theog. 764; Eur. *H. F.*<sup>1</sup> 1110.

## 2. Dependent upon a Prohibitive Subjunctive.

Antiphon, 3, δ, 10<sup>2</sup>: *μήτε οὖν ἡμᾶς εἰς μὴ προσηκούσας συμφορὰς ἐμβάλλητε.*

3. Dependent upon an Interrogative Subjunctive of Appeal.<sup>3</sup>

Theog. 913: *δύ' εἰσὶν πρόσθεν ὁδοὶ μοι· φροντίζω τούτων ἦντιν' ἴω προτέρην· ἢ μηδὲν δαπανῶν τρύχω βίον ἐν κακότητι, ἢ ζῶω . . .* Aeschyl. *Ag.* 777.

4. Dependent upon a Subjunctive of Purpose.<sup>4</sup>

Soph. *O. C.* 1279: *πειράσασ' ἄλλ' ὑμεῖς γε κινήσαι πατρὸς τὸ . . . στόμα, ὡς μή μ' ἄτιμον . . . οὕτως ἀφῆ με, μηδὲν ἀντειπὼν ἔπος.* Hdt. 9, 45 (*fin.*)<sup>5</sup>

5. Dependent upon a Subjunctive with μή after a Verb of Fearing. I have not found an example of this.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Though the verb is not expressed, it is felt as a hortatory subjunctive from the preceding verse, where there is an interrogative subjunctive of appeal.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps μή is felt as generic.

<sup>3</sup> In Eur. *I. A.* 384 the μή is generic and in Ar. *Ran.* 128, though an interrogative subjunctive of appeal just precedes, I think that an imperative is really felt in the answer; cf. *infra*, p. 281, IV.

<sup>4</sup> Sometimes οὐ not μή is found with the participle after a subjunctive of purpose. The reason is that some stronger influence is at work to induce οὐ than to induce μή. The examples that I have noted are these:

Eur. *Phoen.* 1319: *ἐγὼ δ' ἤκω μετὰ γέρων ἀδελφὴν γραῖαν Ἰοκάστην, ὅπως λούσῃ προθήται τ' οὐκέτ' ὄντα παῖδ' ἐμόν.* Here οὐκέτ' ὄντα—as in οὐ φημι—forms really one thought, i. e. “dead,” cf. *supra*, p. 278, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> Thuc. 3, 74, 2: Here the purpose clause, though immediately preceding the participle, is felt as parenthetical, and besides, the participle belongs to the preceding indicative clause.

In Thuc. 6, 91, 4 and in Andoc. 1, 31 the μή is generic; and in Aeschyl. *P. V.* 850 the μή is used with an indirect discourse participle dependent upon οἶδα in a purpose clause (*ὅπως δ' ἂν εἰδῆ μή μάτην κλύουσά μου*). The μή may be due to the purpose clause. But οἶδα often takes μή with the participle; cf. *infra*, p. 281. In Thuc. 8, 45, 2 (*fin.*) MSS. vary between οὐ and μή, and some omit the negative altogether.

<sup>6</sup> I have noted two instances of the use of οὐ with the participle, though μή and

6. Dependent upon a Subjunctive denoting Condition.

Soph. *Tr.* 411 :<sup>1</sup> ποίαν ἀξιοῖς δοῦναι δίκην, ἣν εὔρεθῆς ἐς τήνδε μὴ δίκαιος ᾖν; Eur. *Or.* 1198; Ar. *Vesp.* 1119; *Pl.* 494; Hdt. 3, 69.<sup>2</sup>

7. Dependent upon a Subjunctive with a Conditional Relative or Temporal Word.<sup>3</sup>

Soph. *O. R.* 1530: ὥστε θνητὸν ὄντα . . . μηδέν' ὀλβίζειν, πρὶν ἂν τέρμα τοῦ βίου περάσῃ μηδὲν ἀλγεινὸν παθῶν. Critias, *Frgt.* 4 (Nauck); Ar. *Nub.* 619.

### III. μὴ WITH THE PARTICIPLE DEPENDENT UPON AN OPTATIVE.

1. Dependent upon an Optative of Wish.<sup>4</sup>

Hom. *Od.* 4, 684: μὴ μνηστεύσαντες μηδ' ἄλλοθ' ὀμλήσαντες ὕστατα καὶ πύματα νῦν ἐνθάδε δειπνήσειαν. Hes. *O. et D.* 444 :<sup>5</sup> τεσσαρακονταετῆς αἰζῆρὸς ἔποιτο . . . ὃς ἔργου μελετῶν ἰθεῖάν κ' αὐλακ' ἐλαύνει,

the subjunctive after an expression or implication of fear preceded. — Thuc. 4, 22, 3: ὀρώντες δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὔτε σφίσιν οἶόν τε ὄν ἐν πλήθει εἰπεῖν, εἴ τι . . . ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ξυγχωρεῖν, μὴ ἐς τοὺς ξυμμάχους διαβληθῶσιν εἰπόντες καὶ οὐ τυχόντες . . . ἀνεχώρησαν. Though no verb of fear is expressed, fear is implied in the whole context, especially in the words οὔτε . . . εἰπεῖν. οὐ τυχόντες, however, is really equivalent to a single word ἀτυχοῦντες, and hence the negative οὐ and not μὴ. In Thuc. 5, 40, 3 though the negatived participle immediately follows the subjunctive, it belongs to the indicative that follows, and the preceding subjunctive is felt to have no influence over it at all.

<sup>1</sup> Here the participle is really in indirect discourse.

<sup>2</sup> The negative may be due to the fact that the participle is in indirect discourse (after φαίνηται), which is sometimes negatived by μὴ even when introduced by an indicative. Cf. Goodwin, *M. T.* 688.

<sup>3</sup> I have not included Soph. *Ph.* 903, where the μὴ is generic. I have noted these instances where the negative is οὐ.

Theog. 750: τίς δὴ κεν βροτὸς ἄλλος . . . ἄζοιτ' ἀθανάτους, . . . ὀππότ' ἀνὴρ δίκαιος . . . οὔτε τευ ἀνδρὸς οὔτε τευ ἀθανάτων μῆνιν ἀλευόμενος, ὑβρίξῃ πλοῦτος κερκορημένος. Here the use of οὐ emphasizes the *fact*.

Aeschyl. *Ag.* 13: Here οὐκ ἐπισκοπούμενην suggests a simple idea, 'unvisited.'

<sup>4</sup> In Aeschyl. *Ag.* 615 οὐ, not μὴ, follows an optative of wish. However, οὐδὲν διαφθεύρασαν is equivalent to σφίζουσαν.

<sup>5</sup> Here the participle immediately follows what appears to be a potential optative. There is considerable doubt, however, whether κ' should be read in the verse, which without κ' would be optative by assimilation due to the preceding optative of wish.

μηκέτι παπταίνων μεθ' ὀμήλικας. *Ibid.* 489; *Ibid.* 591; Theog. 1154<sup>1</sup>; Eur. *I. T.* 535; *Ion* 632; *Frgt.* 201; Ar. *Pl.* 892.

2. Dependent upon an Optative of Purpose.<sup>2</sup>

Thuc. 4, 67, 3: κομίσαντες (sc. ἀκάτιον ἀμφηρικὸν) ἐς τὸ τεῖχος κατὰ τὰς πύλας ἐσῆγον, ὅπως τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Μινώας Ἀθηναίοις ἀφανῆς δὴ εἴη ἢ φυλακὴ, μὴ ὄντος ἐν τῷ λιμένι πλοίου φανεροῦ μηδενός.

3. Dependent upon an Optative denoting Condition.

Eur. *And.* 845: ἀλλ' εἴ σ' ἀφείην μὴ φρονούσαν, ὡς θάνοις; Or. 1174; *Tro.* 874; Ar. *Lys.* 1113; Antiphon, 1, 10; 6, 19; Hdt. 6, 130.<sup>3</sup>

4. Dependent upon an Optative with a Conditional Relative.

Theog. 734: εἴθε γένοιτο θεοῖς φίλα τοῖς μὲν ἀλιτροῖς ὕβριν ἀδεῖν, καὶ σφιν τοῦτο γένοιτο φίλον θυμῷ, σχέτλια ἔργα μετὰ φρεσιν ὅστις (ἀπ)ηγῆς ἐργάζοιτο, θεῶν μηδὲν ὀπιζόμενος.

#### IV. μή WITH THE PARTICIPLE DEPENDENT UPON AN IMPERATIVE.<sup>4</sup>

Tyrt. 13, 5: Ἄγετ', ὦ Σπάρτας εὐάνδρω . . . λαίᾳ μὲν ἵπυν προβάλεσθε, δόρυ δ' εὐτόλμως (ἄνσχεσθε) μὴ φειδόμενοι τὰς ζωᾶς. Theog.

<sup>1</sup> Here there is a double influence, that of the optative *εἴη* and that of the infinitive *ζῶειν*. Cf. *infra*, p. 284, 3.

<sup>2</sup> I have noted two instances of a negative *οὐ* with the participle after an optative of purpose. — Eur. *Bacch.* 1050: ποιητὸν ἕζομεν νάπος, τὰ τ' ἐκ ποδῶν σιγηλὰ καὶ γλώσσης ἀπο σφύζοντες, ὡς ὀρῶμεν οὐχ ὀρώμενοι. Here *οὐχ ὀρώμενοι* is really thought of as one word, i. e. equivalent to *ἀφανεῖς*. Hdt. 1, 99. In this passage *οὐ* is used, instead of *μή*, to emphasize the *fact*, I think.

<sup>3</sup> The clause *μήτ' . . . ἀποδοκιμάζων* depends intimately upon the protasis *εἰ . . . εἴη*, in spite of the intervening apodosis, and hence the negative *μή*.

<sup>4</sup> I have not included examples in which the *μή* is generic, and hence may be used regardless of the imperative construction: e. g. Aeschyl. *P. V.* 44; *Cho.* 929; Soph. *O. C.* 1104; Eur. *Frgt.* 362 (vs. 18); Ar. *Eccl.* 579; Hdt. 9, 98 (*fin.*); Thuc. 6, 40, 2.

There are many indirect discourse participles negated by *μή* which depend upon an imperative. — Aeschyl. *Pers.* 438 (after *ἴσθι*); *Ag.* 923 (after *ἴσθι*); Soph. *Ant.* 1063 (after *ἴσθι*, with *ὡς*); *Phil.* 253 (after *ἴσθι*, with *ὡς* — possibly generic); Eur. *And.* 726 (after *ἴστε*); *Heracl.* 983 (after *ἴσθι*); *Hipp.* 306 (after *ἴσθι*); Hdt. 8, 144 (after *ἐπίστασθε*); Thuc. 1, 141, 1 (after *διανοήθητε* — a disputed passage). As the negative *μή* is occasionally found with indirect discourse participles even after an indicative, I have not included these cases just cited, among those in which the negative *μή* is induced by the preceding imperative. Still, the influence of the imperative is something.

332; *Ibid.* 364; Aeschyl. *Suppl.* 81<sup>1</sup>; *Ibid.* 215; *Ag.* 897; Soph. *El.* 1014<sup>1</sup>; *O. C.* 489; *Ibid.* 1155; *Ant.* 1061; *Ph.* 415<sup>2</sup>; Eur. *Alc.* 1094<sup>3</sup>; *Hec.* 874; *Heracl.* 175; *I. A.* 818; *Or.* 657; *Tro.* 728; *Phoen.* 1234; *Frgt.* 288 (vs. 4); *Frgt.* 779; Ar. *Ran.* 128<sup>4</sup>; Hdt. 7, 10, 8<sup>5</sup>; Thuc. 1, 124, 2; 2, 87, 8; 3, 40, 7; 3, 48, 1<sup>6</sup>; 7, 15, 1 (*bis*).

οὐ WITH THE PARTICIPLE DEPENDENT UPON AN IMPERATIVE.

There are so many of these cases in which οὐ is found with the Participle after the Imperative, that they are entitled to some consideration. I will note them first, and then consider them.

1 Theog. 468: μηδὲ θύραζε κέλευ' οὐκ ἐθέλοντ' ἰέναι. 2 Aeschyl. *Sept.* 699. 3 Soph. *Ant.* 1322. 4 Eur. *And.* 894. 5 *Hec.* 517. 6 *El.* 952. 7 *Heracl.* 773. 8 *I. T.* 802. 9 *Ion* 1324. 10 *Med.* 1311. 11 [*Rhes.*] 145. 12 Ar. *Nub.* 1123. 13 Hdt. 1, 91 (*med.*). 14 *Ibid.* 5, 92, η (*fin.*). 15 *Ibid.* 7, 10, η (*med.*). 16 *Ibid.* 7, 49 (*med.*).

Two of the participles (2, 5) are used with καίπερ. The influence of καίπερ (suggesting a fact) upon the negative is evidently stronger than that of the imperative. A third (9) has περ which does service for καίπερ.

In several cases the negative forms with the participle a simple idea: οὐκ ἐθέλοντ' (1) is equivalent to 'unwilling' or 'refusing.' So strong became the bond between οὐ and ἐθέλων that we find οὐ θελούσης equivalent to a condition; cf. Eur. *And.* 382: ἦν θάνης σύ, παῖς ὄδ' ἐκφεύγει μόρον, σοῦ δ' οὐ θελούσης κατθανεῖν, τόνδε κτενῶ. Again, οὐκ ὄντα (3) means 'dead' and οὐκ ὄντα μᾶλλον ἢ means 'just as dead as.' Again, οὐδὲν εἰδῶς (6) means 'ignorant.' In οὐ δοκοῦσ'

<sup>1</sup> The presence of an infinitive in these examples may make the influence for μή even stronger than the simple imperative would. Cf. *infra*, p. 284, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly generic.

<sup>3</sup> Here an imperative is felt from αἰνῶ in the verse above.

<sup>4</sup> From the interrogative subjunctive of appeal in the verse above, an imperative is felt, I think. Cf. *supra*, p. 279, note 3.

<sup>5</sup> There is the influence both of the imperative, βούλευ and of the infinitive ἀπικέσθαι; cf. *infra*, p. 284, 3.

<sup>6</sup> Though the participle precedes the imperative, the influence of the coming imperative is felt.

(8) we have a case parallel to οὐ φημι, where the negative really goes with the following infinitive. So οὐκ εἶ (4) means 'poorly' (κακῶς); and οὐ δικάίως (7) means 'unjustly.' In these last two cases the negative really belongs to the adverb rather than to the participle, and, strictly speaking, these two should not be included in the list.

In one case (12) the participle depends more intimately upon a preceding indicative than upon the imperative which precedes that.

In Herodotus I note four instances (13, 14, 15, 16) of the negative οὐ with the participle, though the participle depends upon an imperative. In two of them (13, 16) the negative comes several words ahead of the imperative, and perhaps the imperative is not felt at all at the time the negative is used. In the third instance (15) the presence of οὐ instead of μή may help to emphasize the *fact*. In one case, however, (14) I find the negative οὐ even after the imperative ἴστε, though even the indicative of this verb sometimes takes μή with the participle. The fact that sometimes οὐ and sometimes μή is used with the participle after this verb may have weakened its influence, even in the imperative. Still, though we have perhaps too few cases to generalize safely, it would appear that in Herodotus the influence of the imperative in inducing the negative μή is weaker than in other authors.

#### V. μή WITH THE PARTICIPLE DEPENDENT UPON AN INFINITIVE.

##### 1. Dependent upon an Infinitive used as an Imperative.

Hes. *O. et D.* 696: Ὀραῖος δὲ γυναῖκα τέον ποτὶ οἶκον ἄγεσθαι, μήτε τριηκόντων ἐτέων μάλα πόλλ' ἀπολείπων μήτ' ἐπιθείς μάλα πολλά. *Hymn. Hom.* 3, 92.<sup>1</sup>

##### 2. Dependent upon an Infinitive used in an Exclamation.

Ar. *Nub.* 268: τὸ δὲ μηδὲ κυνὴν οἴκοθεν ἐλθεῖν ἐμὲ τὸν κακοδαίμον' ἔχοντα.

3. Dependent upon a Subjective or Objective Infinitive, not in Indirect Discourse.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As there is a lacuna before this verse, the construction of the infinitive εἶναι cannot be positively determined.

<sup>2</sup> I have not included examples where the μή is generic, and hence may be used regardless of the influence of the infinitive; e. g. Aeschyl. *Cho.* 749; *Eum.* 492 (reading doubtful), 699; Soph. *Ant.* 33 (after indirect discourse infinitive); Eur.

Theog. 280: Εἰκὸς τὸν κακὸν ἄνδρα κακῶς τὰ δίκαια νομίζειν, μη-  
 δεμίαν κατόπισθ' ἀζόμενον νέμεσιν. *Ibid.* 1154<sup>1</sup>; Aeschyl. *Suppl.* 414;  
*Eum.* 301; Soph. *Aj.* 261; *Ibid.* 1007; *El.* 1014<sup>2</sup>; *O. R.* 1110<sup>3</sup>;  
*O. C.* 1509; *Ant.* 579; Eur. *Hel.* 814; *Ibid.* 1052; *Ibid.* 1289<sup>4</sup>;  
*Heracl.* 533; *Ibid.* 693; *H. F.* 203; *I. T.* 1288; *Cycl.* 165<sup>5</sup>; *Med.*  
 239; *Ibid.* 815; *Frغت.* 950; Ar. *Eq.* 766; *Ibid.* 905; *Nub.* 777<sup>6</sup>;  
*Ibid.* 966; *Lys.* 474; *Eccles.* 284; *Pl.* 552; *Ibid.* 803; Hdt. 1, 80  
 (*med.*); 5, 18 (*fin.*); 7, 10, 8<sup>7</sup>; 7, 24; 7, 101; 9, 41 (*med.*);  
 Thuc. 1, 82, 1; 1, 90, 3; 1, 120, 2 (*fin.*); 3, 11, 1; 3, 39, 5 (*init.*);  
 3, 43, 3; 3, 59, 1 (*bis*); 4, 38, 3; 4, 118, 4 (*ter*); 6, 36, 4; 6, 70, 1;  
 6, 84, 1; 7, 77, 7; 8, 14, 1; 8, 27, 3; 8, 68, 4; Antiphon 2, a, 8;  
 4, a, 1; 5, 18; Andoc. 1, 58; 1, 113.

The number of instances in which the negative οὐ is used with the  
 participle dependent upon an infinitive is so great that I ought to treat  
 them at length; but it would take more space to do so than is at my  
 command. So I will refer to them — some thirty or so — and indicate  
 what influences I think were at work to produce οὐ instead of μή.

In some instances the negative and the participle form a single idea,  
 as in Theog. 1094 (οὐκ ἐθέλοντα); Soph. *O. C.* 934 (οὐχ ἐκών); Eur.  
*Ion* 272 (οὐχ ὀρώμενον); *I. T.* 1344 (οὐκ ἐωμένους); Hdt. 1, 11 (οὐ  
 νομιζόμενα); Thuc. 6, 9, 1 (οὐ προσήκοντα); 8, 104, 4 (οὐχ ἐκών);  
 Antiphon 5, 2 (οὐ προσηκούσης).

*Hec.* 984; *Hel.* 433, 923 (participle understood); *Hipp.* 922, 942, 997; *Or.* 1128;  
*Ph.* 394; *Frغت.* 899; Achaëus, *Frغت.* 45; Ar. *Eccles.* 283; Thuc. 1, 32, 1; 1, 120, 2  
 (*init.*); 2, 61, 4 (*fin.*); 3, 39, 5 (*fin.*); 3, 42, 5 (*fin.*); 4, 87, 4; 4, 98, 7  
 (after indirect discourse infinitive); 5, 27, 2 (after indirect discourse infinitive) 6,  
 56, 3 (in indirect discourse); 7, 43, 7; 7, 63, 3; Andoc. 1, 22, 32, 136; 4, 37.

<sup>1</sup> Here there is a double influence, that of the optative εἴη and that of the infini-  
 tive ζῶειν. Cf. *supra*, p. 280, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Here there is a double influence, that of the imperative σχές and that of the  
 infinitive εἰκαθεῖν. Cf. *supra*, p. 281, IV.

<sup>3</sup> Here there is a double influence of the condition εἰ χρή and of the infinitive  
 σταθμᾶσθαι depending upon it. Cf. p. 278, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly generic.

<sup>5</sup> μή added by conjecture of Hartung.

<sup>6</sup> Here, if μέλλων is felt as implying a condition, we have a double influence, that  
 of the condition, and that of the infinitive ὀφλήσειν.

<sup>7</sup> Here there is the double influence of the imperative βούλεν and of the infinitive  
 ἀπικέσθαι. Cf. *supra*, p. 281, IV.

Several passages show ὡς with the participle: Hdt. 9, 122; Thuc. 3, 4, 4; 3, 37, 4; 7, 31, 4; 8, 63, 4; Antiphon 5, 32.

In several cases the infinitive depends on ὥστε: Eur. *Frgt.* 578; Hdt. 3, 14 (*med.*); 8, 52; Thuc. 4, 125, 1; 5, 49, 1 (after infinitive with ὥστε μή—the participle really depends upon the preceding indicative).

Perhaps the best explanation of the use of οὐ, instead of μή, in the remaining cases is that the author wishes thereby to emphasize the *fact*, as in Eur. *Hec.* 961; *El.* 46; *Heracl.* 897; *Suppl.* 472; Ar. *Achar.* 681; Hdt. 4, 30; 6, 103 (*med.*); 6, 106; 6, 117; 9, 116 (*med.*); Thuc. 1, 10, 4 (*fin.*); 8, 50, 3; Antiphon 5, 63; Andoc. 3, 35.

As this paper is concerned principally with the negative μή as induced by a neighboring construction, I have not listed the participles negatived by οὐ when depending on an indirect discourse infinitive. For, since οὐ is the natural negative for an ordinary participle, and since οὐ is the natural negative for an indirect discourse infinitive, after such infinitive we should expect a participle, if negatived, to have οὐ. I have noted about fifty such instances, and there are probably many more. I have not found any instances of the use of μή in this construction.<sup>1</sup>

There are two examples of the use of μή with the participle that I have not been able to account for.

Aeschyl. *Sept.* 423: τίς ἄνδρα κομπάζοντα μὴ τρέσας μενεΐ; Is the negative μή to be accounted for on the supposition that the whole question has a characteristic or generic force? "Who is there that has the courage to await the boaster without trembling?"

Eur. *Frgt.* 196: τί δῆτ' ἐν ὄλβῳ μὴ σαφεῖ βεβηκότες οὐ ζῶμεν ὡς ἤδιστα μὴ λυπούμενοι.

Is characteristic implied in this last example also? or is this verse but an echo of Eur. *H. F.* 505, quoted on page 278, 1?

This list of passages, even though incomplete, in which the negative μή with the participle is induced by its environment, may lead us to think twice before stating that in a given sentence a participle, merely because it has the negative μή, has necessarily a conditional force—a principle laid down in many of our grammars.

<sup>1</sup> In two cases after a verb or expression of swearing, followed by the infinitive, the participle depending upon the infinitive is negatived by μή, as we should expect: Eur. *I. T.* 739; Ar. *Vesp.* 1281.





## NOTES ON THE TRAGIC HYPOTHESES

BY CLIFFORD HERSCHEL MOORE

### I

THE prose hypotheses to the extant Greek tragedies were first carefully studied by F. G. Schneidewin<sup>1</sup> in 1852. By analysis of those hypotheses that still bear the name of Aristophanes, he was able to determine the fixed characteristics of this grammarian's arguments and thereby to regain from the unnamed hypotheses a considerable amount of Aristophanic comment. His work was carried somewhat further by Trendelenburg<sup>2</sup> in 1867, and since that time the portions of hypotheses which can be assigned to Aristophanes, have been regarded as fully determined. I have no intention of calling into question the general results obtained by these two scholars, but a repeated examination of the hypotheses has convinced me that in a few minor points we may draw the lines more accurately than they have done; yet I trust that what I shall say in trying to establish my views may be considered at best only a footnote to their work.

Schneidewin and Trendelenburg claimed to prove that Aristophanes employed in his hypotheses the following seven rubrics: (1) He gave a brief outline of the plot; (2) stated whether the subject was treated by either of the other two great tragedians; (3) gave the place of action, the composition of the chorus, the speaker of the prologue, and in all probability the dramatis personae; (4) dated the play by Olympiad and archon; also named two other contesting poets and the titles of their plays, and gave the result of the contest; (5) apparently gave the number of the play in the list of the poet's works; (6) expressed a brief aesthetic judgement; (7) enumerated the most important parts

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<sup>1</sup> *De hypothesisibus tragoediarum Graecarum Aristophani Byzantio vindicandis commentatio*. Read Dec. 4, 1852; published in *Abhand. d. k. Gesell. d. Wissenschaften, hist.-philol. Klasse*, Göttingen, VI, 1-38.

<sup>2</sup> *Grammaticorum Graecorum de arte tragica iudiciorum reliquiae*. Bonn, 1867.

of the play, introducing his statement with the formula τὸ δὲ κεφάλαιόν ἐστι, or with ἡ ὑπόθεσις κτλ.<sup>1</sup> The chances of transmission have lost us many of these rubrics in certain hypotheses, for with the growing interest in mythology during the Alexandrian and Roman period, grammarians paid less attention to questions of date, contesting poets, etc.; Aristophanes' hypotheses, however, maintained themselves, at least in their important rubrics, as standard introductions to the plays. That this was the case in the second century A.D. is clearly shown by the fact that Lucian prefixed to his mock Ὀκλύπους a perfect imitation of an Aristophanic hypothesis so far as the case allowed.<sup>2</sup> This is therefore an important document, and Schneidewin and Trendelenburg were justified in using it in connection with the hypotheses bearing Aristophanes' name to test those that were uncertain. While their results for both rubric one and six especially are open to criticism in certain details, considerations of space lead me to confine myself in this paper to an examination of one. The Aristophanic form is unquestionably preserved in ten hypotheses.<sup>3</sup> Trendelenburg further claims that the outline of the plot in the hypotheses to four other plays, the *Agam.*, *Oed. Col.*, *Ion*, and *Troades*, are to be attributed to the great grammarian; he rightly rejects, without, however, giving his reasons, the outline of Sophocles' *Electra*, which Schneidewin had held to be Aristophanic.<sup>4</sup>

An examination of this section in the ten unquestioned hypotheses

<sup>1</sup> Although Trendelenburg saw that Schneidewin was wrong in understanding τὸ κεφάλαιον, found only in the hypotheses to the *Prom.*, *Oed. Rex*, *Antig.*, and ἡ ὑπόθεσις, found in hypotheses to the *Septem* and *Persae*, to be perfectly equivalent terms, he left them under the same head. While our data are quite insufficient to support an argument, I am inclined to doubt whether either belongs to Aristophanes' work. Neither is necessary after the outline of the plot has once been given, and we have every reason for believing that Aristophanes made his hypotheses very brief.

<sup>2</sup> Lucian employed rubrics 1, 3, and 6; he naturally could not use 2, and to give 4, 5, and 7 would have been more than verisimilitude required.

<sup>3</sup> To Aeschylus *Prom.*, *Eumen.*, Sophocles *Antig.*, Euripides *Alc.*, *Bacch.*, *Cycl.*, *Iph. Taur.*, *Med.*, *Orest.*, and *Rhesus*.

<sup>4</sup> The passage Schneidewin considered is one of three (best exhibited in Jahn's *Electra*,<sup>3</sup> p. 35), all of which have the form of scholia on the opening line rather than of hypotheses proper; they tell of Orestes' history previous to the opening of the play.

shows that they all have the same characteristics and agree exactly with Lucian's hypothesis to his *᾽Οκύπους*: a *brief* outline only is given, few or no details are mentioned.<sup>1</sup> They are also in accord stylistically: nine of the ten, as well as Lucian's imitation, begin with the name of the chief character in the nominative case: e. g. Lucian's *Ocyr.* *᾽Οκύπους Ποδαλειρίου καὶ ᾽Αστασίας υἱὸς ἐγένετο κτλ.*; Euripides' *Alc.* *᾽Αλκηστis ἡ Πελείου θυγάτηρ κτλ.*; *Med.* *Μήδεια διὰ τὴν πρὸς ᾽Ιάσονα ἔχθραν κτλ.*; *Orest.* *᾽Ορέστης διὰ τὴν τῆς μητρὸς σφαγὴν κτλ.*; *Rhes.* *᾽Ρῆσος παῖς μὲν ἦν Στρυμόνος κτλ.*; Sophocles' *Antig.* *᾽Αντιγόνη παρὰ τὴν πρόσταξιν τῆς πόλεως κτλ.*; Aeschylus' *Eumen.* *᾽Ορέστης ἐν Δελφοῖς κτλ.* The hypothesis to the *Prometheus* alone varies with the genitive *Προμηθεὺς ἐν Σκυθία δεδεμένον κτλ.*, but its correspondence with the rest in all other respects is too close to admit of doubt as to its genuine character. The case is very different, however, with the corresponding sections in the four other hypotheses claimed for Aristophanes. I begin with the *Ion*: *Κρέουσαν τὴν ᾽Ερεχθέως ᾽Απόλλων φθείρας ἔγκνον ἐποίησεν ἐν ᾽Αθήναις· ἡ δὲ τὸ γεννηθὲν ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐξέθηκε, τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον καὶ τοῦ ἀδικήματος καὶ τῆς λοχείας μάρτυρα λαβοῦσα. τὸ μὲν οὖν βρέφος ᾽Ερμῆς ἀνελόμενος εἰς Δελφοὺς ἤνεγκεν· εὐροῦσα δ' ἡ προφήτις ἀνέθρεψε. τὴν Κρέουσαν δὲ Ἐοῦθος ἔγημε· συμμαχήσας γὰρ ᾽Αθηναίους τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὸν τῆς προειρημένης γάμον ἔλαβε δῶρον. τούτῳ μὲν οὖν ἄλλος παῖς οὐκ ἐγένετο· τὸν δ' ἐκτραφέντα ὑπὸ τῆς προφήτιδος οἱ Δελφοὶ νεωκόρον ἐποίησαν. ὁ δὲ ἀγνοῶν ἐδούλευσε τῷ πατρί. . . .*

The opening sentence marks the difference between this and the Aristophanic outlines: we should expect his hypothesis to begin in some such way as *᾽Ιων παῖς μὲν ἦν κτλ.*, which would be followed by a brief sketch of the plot. In place of this the fragmentary first section — a mere summary of the prologue — gives a circumstantial account of events *preceding* the play at a length exceeding any of the outlines in the unquestioned hypotheses; Ion's name is not mentioned; and the actual events included within the play are not touched on at all. Thus it departs both in style and manner of treatment from the

<sup>1</sup> The first rubric in the hypotheses to the *Iph. Taur.* and the *Cycl.* is not complete, but in the other eight the average length is but 34 words. The fragmentary hypotheses to the *Cycl.* and to the *Iph. Taur.* when complete need not have exceeded the hypothesis to the *Rhesus*, the longest of the eight.

norm of Aristophanes' arguments, and it is impossible to agree with Schneidewin and Trendelenburg in assigning it to him. It rather belongs to some later grammarian who wished to give a fuller account of the myth than the Alexandrian master allowed himself to do. The fact that the words which follow, ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ δράματος ὑπόκειται ἐν Δελφοῖς, are the Aristophanic formula does not militate against this view, for it can be shown in many other cases that such portions of Aristophanes' hypotheses were adopted without change by later writers.

With regard to the hypothesis to the *Troades* we may not be able to speak so confidently, but a comparison of its style and structure with the almost stereotyped form employed by Aristophanes certainly arouses strong suspicion that it is wrongly attributed to him. Μετὰ τὴν Ἰλίου πόρθησιν ἔδοξεν Ἀθηναῖ τε καὶ Ποσειδῶνι τὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν στράτευμα διαφθεῖραι, τοῦ μὲν εὐνοοῦντος τῇ πόλει διὰ τὴν κτίσιν, τῆς δὲ μισησάσης τοὺς Ἕλληνας διὰ τὴν Αἴαντος εἰς Κασάνδραν ἔβριν. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες κληρωσάμενοι περὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων γυναικῶν τὰς ἐν ἀξιώμασιν ἔδωκαν Ἀγαμέμνονι μὲν Κασάνδραν, Ἀνδρομάχην δὲ Νεοπτολέμῳ, Πολυξένην δὲ Ἀχιλλεῖ. ταύτην μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ταφῆς ἔσφαξαν, Ἀστυάνακτα δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἔρριψαν. Ἐλένην δὲ ὡς ἀποκτενῶν Μενέλαος ἤγαγεν, Ἀγαμέμνων δὲ τὴν χρησμοφδὸν ἐνυμφαγωγῆσεν. Ἐκάβη δὲ τῆς μὲν Ἑλένης κατηγορήσασα, τοὺς ἀναιρεθέντας δὲ κατοδουραμένη καὶ κηδεύσασα πρὸς τὰς Ὀδυσσεῶς ἤχθη σκηνάς, τούτῳ λατρεύειν δοθεῖσα. Its opening sentence reminds one inevitably of the beginning of the hypothesis to the *Hecuba*—μετὰ τὴν Ἰλίου πολιορκίαν κτλ., but this coincidence in phrase is insufficient to warrant us in claiming common authorship for the two in the face of differences in form and style; neither has the characteristics of Aristophanes' work. Furthermore, something over half of the hypothesis to the *Troades* is occupied with an account of events that antedate the play; again, the murder of Astyanax is mentioned in connection with the killing of Polyxena over Achilles' grave, as if they were coincident (ταύτην μὲν . . . ἔσφαξαν, Ἀστυάνακτα δὲ . . . ἔρριψαν), whereas Polyxena's death is reported by Poseidon (v. 39 f.) as already past, but Astyanax is not lead away to be cast from the walls until v. 786 ff. This seems to show that the writer of this hypothesis did not take the trouble to read the play itself with care, but rather compiled from the work of his predecessors. Who these were cannot now be determined; of course Aristophanes may

have been one. But it is clear that the hypothesis in its present form does not come from him. We may also note that a comparison of the *Epit. Vat.* and the *Frag. Sabb.* (p. 212 Wag.) of Ps-Apoll. *Bibliotheca* with this hypothesis shows no stylistic agreement between them such as can be seen in the case of the hypothesis to the *Helena* (cf. p. 297); they do not therefore have a close common source, and one is tempted to believe that the hypothesis is of decidedly late composition.

We will now consider the hypothesis to Sophocles' *Oedipus Coloneus*:

Ὁ ἐπὶ Κολωνῷ Οἰδίπους συνημμένος πῶς ἔστι τῷ Τυράννῳ, τῆς γὰρ πατρίδος ἐκπεσὼν ὁ Οἰδίπους ἤδη γεραῖος ὢν ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Ἀθήνας, ὑπὸ τῆς θυγατρὸς Ἀντιγόνης χειραγωγούμενος· ἦσαν γὰρ τῶν ἀρσένων περὶ τὸν πατέρα φιλοστοργότεραι. ἀφικνεῖται δὲ εἰς Ἀθήνας κατὰ πυθόχρηστον, ὡς αὐτὸς φησι, χρησθὲν αὐτῷ παρὰ ταῖς σεμναῖς καλουμέναις θεαῖς μεταλλάξαι τὸν βίον. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον γέροντες ἐγχώριοι, ἐξ ὧν ὁ χορὸς συνέστηκε, πυθόμενοι συνέρχονται καὶ διαλέγονται πρὸς αὐτόν. ἔπειτα δὲ Ἰσμήνη παραγενομένη τὰ κατὰ τὴν στάσιμ ἀπαγγέλλει τῶν παίδων καὶ τὴν γενησομένην ἄφιξιν τοῦ Κρέοντος πρὸς αὐτόν. ὃς καὶ παραγενόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ ἀγαγεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τοῦπίσω ἀπρακτος ἀπαλλάττεται. ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὸν Θεσεία διελθὼν τὸν χρῆσμὸν οὕτω τὸν βίον καταστρέφει παρὰ ταῖς θεαῖς.

Of course it is impossible to deny here too that this rather long outline of the plot *may* have an hypothesis of Aristophanes as its basis; but if it has, the original has been changed and obscured past recognition. Indeed, Trendelenburg seems to have been somewhat doubtful in the matter himself, for after printing the hypothesis in his text, he adds in a footnote (p. 10<sub>18</sub>) *hoc argumentum hic statim exhibui, quoniam pro fundamento ei fuisse hypothesin Aristophaneam et indoles eius et testimonium satis disertum docet*. His hesitancy was certainly not without reason, for the only words in the entire hypothesis that have the indisputable characteristics of Aristophanes are τὸ δὲ δράμα τῶν θανμαστῶν, and the last three lines ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ δράματος ὑπόκειται ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἐν τῷ ἰππίῳ Κολωνῷ, κτλ. Confining our attention, however, to the argument proper we see that it opens with the title of the play and a statement as to its relation to the *Oed. Rex*. This recalls the first sentence of the discussion διὰ τί Τύραννος ἐπιγέγραπται prefixed to the earlier play — ὁ Τύραννος Οἰδίπους ἐπὶ διακρίσει θατέρου

ἐπιγέγραπται, likewise of the beginning of the fragmentary comment that follows the play in L — ὁ Τύραννος Οἰδίπους πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν τοῦ ἐν τῷ Κολωνῷ ἐπιγέγραπται. The hypothesis to the *Ajax* also has a similar passage — ὅθεν (since Ajax scourged the ram) καὶ τῇ ἐπιγραφῇ πρόσκειται Μαστιγοφόρος, ἢ πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν τοῦ Λοκροῦ. ΔικαίARCHOS δὲ Αἴαντος θάνατον ἐπιγράφει. ἐν δὲ ταῖς διδασκαλίαις ψιλῶς Αἴας ἀναγέγραπται. Now it may be urged that Aristophanes devoted a portion of his critical work to determining the correct titles of plays, and that the mention of the difference between the simple title found in the didascaliae and that given by Dicaearchus is due to him. But all our evidence goes to show that he gave no space in his hypotheses to reasons for titles or to discussions as to their correctness. As a matter of fact we have in such notices as these remnants of ἀπορίαι and λύσεις of which a very apposite example is fortunately preserved in connection with Sophocles' *Electra*: ἀπορία. διὰ τί οὐκ ἐπιγέγραπται Σοφοκλέους Θάνατος Αἰγίσθου καὶ Κλυταιμνήστρας ἀλλ' Ἡλέκτρα, καίτοι μὴ τι παθούσης αὐτῆς; λύσις. ἀπὸ τοῦ πολυπαθεστέρου προσώπου καὶ ἐπιμονεστέρου τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἐποίησε. παρεισάγει γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ δράματι θρηνοῦσαν αἰὲ καὶ στεναζούσαν κτλ. Their incorporation in these hypotheses is due to a later redactor, very likely to Didymus. However, three other points of internal evidence may be urged against the claim that this hypothesis is Aristophanic. First we find twice ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Ἀθήνας where we expect εἰς Κολωνόν or at least εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν. This use of Ἀθηναί is undoubtedly due to v. 24 τὰς γοῦν Ἀθήνας οἶδα, where the district and not the city is meant. But if this part of the hypothesis were by Aristophanes, we might fairly expect it to agree with the last paragraph, which is unquestionably his; yet that has ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἐν τῷ ἱππίῳ Κολωνῷ. Such lack of agreement shows the composite character of the hypothesis in its present form. Again the outline is formally divided τὸ μὲν πρῶτον . . . , ἔπειτα δὲ . . . as in none of the hypotheses that can be certainly attributed to Aristophanes; and thirdly we have the composition of the chorus given in the midst of the plot γέροντες ἐγχώριοι, ἐξ ὧν ὁ χορὸς συνέστηκε. The genuine Aristophanic formula is found below, ὁ δὲ χορὸς συνέστηκε ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἀνδρῶν, invariably as here in connection with the scene of the play. Finally we may see Aristophanes' argument fairly well preserved in two forms: in a scholium on Statius, *Theb.* 12,

510, which Trendelenburg (p. 1018) quotes without fully realizing its significance; and in Ps-Apollod. *Bibliotheca* 3, 56 Wag.

*Oedipus expulsus Creontis imperio*

*confugit ἐπὶ Κολωνόν, in quo locus erat Furiis consecratus. sed misericordia Atheniensium illa sede est exceptus (erutus cod.) hospitaliterque tractatus.*

*hanc tragoediam Aristophanes scripsit.*

Οἰδίπους δὲ τὰς ὄψεις τυφλώσας ἐκ Θηβῶν ἤλαύνετο, ἀρὰς τοῖς παισὶ θέμενος, οἱ τῆς πόλεως αὐτὸν ἐκβαλλόμενον θεωροῦντες οὐκ ἐπήμυναν. παραγεγόμενος δὲ σὺν Ἀντιγόῃ τῆς Ἀττικῆς εἰς Κολωνόν, ἔνθα τὸ τῶν Εὐμενίδων ἐστὶ τέμενος, καθίζει ἰκέτης, προσδεχθεὶς ὑπὸ Θησέως,

καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἀπέθανεν.

It will be seen at once that both passages begin in the Aristophanic manner and that the outline of the play is briefly given. The scholium to Statius has suffered seriously in transmission and has wholly lost the last sentence of its original. This original was apparently in a collection of hypotheses, a handbook of mythology, such as were prepared in antiquity for school use; it seems likely that in this collection the name of the writer of the arguments was attached to them, either as heading, e. g. here Ἀριστοφάνους (γραμματικοῦ), or as authority in some such form as Ἀριστοφάνης φησὶ κτλ. This the translator misunderstanding has transmitted to us in *hanc tragoediam Aristophanes scripsit*. The passage in Ps-Apollodorus came from a similar collection, and while it may have suffered from *contaminatio*, it has well preserved the features of its original.

There remains the hypothesis to the *Agamemnon* which Schneidewin and Trendelenburg analyze as follows:

1) Ἀγαμέμνων εἰς Ἴλιον ἀπιὼν τῇ Κλυταιμῆστρα, εἰ πορθήσοι τὸ Ἴλιον, τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας σημαίνειν διὰ τοῦ πυρσοῦ. ὅθεν σκοπὸν ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ μισθῷ Κλυταιμῆστρα, ἵνα τηροίη τὸν πυρσόν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἰδὼν ἀπήγγειλεν, αὐτῇ δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτῶν ὄχλον μεταπέμπεται, περὶ τοῦ πυρσοῦ ἐροῦσα. ἐξ ὧν καὶ ὁ χορὸς συνίσταται. οἷτινες ἀκούσαντες παιανίζουσιν. μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ καὶ Ταλθύβιος παραγίνεται καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν διηγείται. Ἀγαμέμνων δ' ἐπὶ ἀπήνης ἔρχεται. εἶπετο δ'

αὐτῷ ἑτέρα ἀπήνη, ἔνθα ἦν τὰ λάφυρα καὶ ἡ Κασάνδρα. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν προεισέρχεται εἰς τὸν οἶκον σὺν τῇ Κλυταιμίστρᾳ, Κασάνδρα δὲ προμαντεύεται, πρὶν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια εἰσελθεῖν, τὸν ἑαυτῆς καὶ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος θάνατον καὶ τὴν ἐξ Ὀρέστου μητροκτονίαν, καὶ εἰσπηδᾷ ὡς θανουμένη, ῥίψασα τὰ στέμματα.

6) τοῦτο δὲ τὸ μέρος τοῦ δράματος θαυμάζεται ὡς ἔκπληξιν ἔχον καὶ οἶκτον ἰκανόν. ἰδίως δὲ Αἰσχύλος τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἀναιρέσθαι ποιεῖ, τὸν δὲ Κασάνδρας σιωπήσας θάνατον νεκρὰν αὐτὴν ὑπέδειξεν, πεποίηκέν τε Αἰγισθον καὶ Κλυταιμίστραν ἑκάτερον δυσχυριζόμενον περὶ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως ἐνὶ κεφαλαίῳ, τὴν μὲν τῇ ἀναιρέσει Ἰφιγενείας, τὸν δὲ ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς Θυέστου ἐξ Ἀτρέως συμφοραῖς.

4) ἐδιδάχθη τὸ δράμα ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Φιλοκλέους Ὀλυμπιάδι κῆ ἔτει β. πρῶτος Αἰσχύλος Ἀγαμέμνονι, Χοηφόροις, Εὐμένισι, Πρωτεί σατυρικῶ. ἐχορήγει Ξενοκλῆς Ἀφιδνεύς.

That section four comes from Aristophanes no one will question; we are now concerned with the first part only. It is evident that we have here a far more circumstantial outline than in any of the undoubted hypotheses of Aristophanes, and further that the first two sentences deal with events antecedent to the action of the play. The plot here, as in the hypothesis to the *Oed. Col.*, is interrupted by a statement as to the composition of the chorus—ἐξ ὧν καὶ ὁ χορὸς συνίσταται,<sup>1</sup> and finally the outline is not complete, but covers only about four-fifths of the play. A suggestion that the last part of the argument has been lost is made impossible by the fact that the following words τοῦτο δὲ τὸ μέρος τοῦ δράματος θαυμάζεται κτλ. are immediately connected with the preceding sentence, which refers to Cassandra's speech and dramatic action (1264 ff.) in casting to the ground her chaplet and staff, the signs of her prophetic office. With the aesthetic judgement here expressed we are not now concerned, but I wish to emphasize the fact that there is no break between the two sentences, and that the last fifth of the play is not mentioned in the outline of the plot. The first section thus lacks the well defined features of Aristophanes' work, and we may conclude has been wrongly attributed to him.

<sup>1</sup> This form of the verb in place of Aristophanes' συνίστηκε is interesting, as the only other variant in 17 cases is ἐστὶ in the hypothesis to the *Septem*, where, however, the arrangement is the normal one. Evidently the compiler in transferring this statement unconsciously substituted a form more natural to himself.



## II

The conclusions at which we have thus far arrived are chiefly negative. To these I wish to add some brief observations on certain of the longer hypotheses to Euripides. The first hypothesis to the *Alcestis* is ascribed in L to Dicaearchus, and in view of the familiar passage in Sext. Empir. *adv. Math.* 3, p. 697 Bekk., (ὑπόθεσις) πολλαχῶς μὲν καὶ ἄλλως προσαγορεύεται . . . καθ' ἓνα μὲν τρόπον ἢ δραματικὴ περιπέτεια, καθὸ καὶ τραγικὴν καὶ κωμικὴν ὑπόθεσιν λέγομεν καὶ Δικαιάρχου τινὰς ὑποθέσεις τῶν Εὐριπίδου καὶ Σοφοκλέους μύθων, there has been little hesitancy in accepting the ascription as correct; we may therefore regard this hypothesis as typical of Dicaearchus' work.<sup>1</sup> A comparison of it with Aristophanes' argument shows that Dicaearchus gave the outline in more detail than the Alexandrian critic, and, here, at least, mentioned an event antecedent to the play itself, the bargain with the Fates, to which Aristophanes did not refer directly. Dicaearchus is named in C as the author of the first hypothesis to the *Medea* also. The correctness of this ascription has been doubted, for the hypothesis as it now stands is a composite of three distinct parts: an outline of the plot, mythographical matter in regard to Medea and Jason, and critical comments on the source of the plot and the dramatic treatment. Furthermore, Dicaearchus, together with Aristotle, is quoted in the last part as authority for the view that Euripides stole his plot from Neophon. If, however, we compare the outline of the plot with Dicaearchus' hypothesis to the *Alcestis* we find that it has the same characteristics, and it is clear also that the same relation exists between this argument and that of Aristophanes that we find between the two to the *Alcestis*. The first here is more detailed than that of Aristophanes, and also in its opening sentence gives the antecedent situation out of which the tragedy grows. We may therefore regard the superscription in C as correct for the first part of the hypothesis, even though it be only the conjecture of a Byzantine or Renaissance scholar. The authorship and date of the second and third parts are more uncertain. The

<sup>1</sup> With regard to Schrader's views on this and allied points (*Quaest. Peripat.* 1884), a non liquet appears the only verdict; his arguments do not seem weighty enough to warrant the rejection of the ascription.

second is similar to that large class of scholia in which the varied treatment of the same myth by different writers is noticed. That these comments have their origin in the mythographical activity among the Alexandrians and their successors which dates from the third century B.C. there can be no doubt. The question when and by whom this material was incorporated in our scholia is an interesting one, which can be answered only approximately. So far as this particular passage is concerned, Robert (*Bild u. Lied*, p. 231) has conclusively shown that it was known to Ovid in its present form;<sup>1</sup> whether it had its present place following the argument of the play, as Robert seems to believe, is not so certain, but it is very probable that it had. If this be the case, the redactor to whom we may attribute with most probability the addition of such passages to the scholia is the indefatigable Didymus. To him we may safely ascribe further the statement as to Euripides' relation to Neophron. With regard to the last part of the hypothesis *μέμφονται δὲ αὐτῷ κτλ.*, it will be noted that we have a combination of unfavorable and favorable criticism, and that the first repeats in substance the blame bestowed on Euripides in the scholium to *Med.* 922. Now Trendelenburg (p. 54 ff. cf. Wilamowitz, *Her.*<sup>1</sup> I, 158<sub>79</sub>) has made it very probable that the unfavorable criticism in the scholia to Euripides is to be attributed to Didymus. He therefore refers to him<sup>2</sup> the charges against Euripides in this hypothesis and in the scholium to v. 922, and in other similar passages.<sup>3</sup> It is clear then that this criticism and other like comments, e. g. in the hypothesis to the *Androm.* and on *Androm.* 32, in which unfavorable judgements are offset or objected to, are due to a redactor after Didymus, who has been rightly called *defensor Euripidis*. We can therefore distinguish three strata as regards

<sup>1</sup> The scholium on Aristoph. *Equit.* 1321 comes from a common source with this; it gives the same information, but exactly reverses the order of authors quoted.

<sup>2</sup> As he claims, in the role of interpreter of Aristophanes of Byzantium — a quite unnecessary supposition.

<sup>3</sup> It should be noted that such comments in this hypothesis and in that to the *Andromache* are properly scholia transferred by a redactor to the introductions. So the favorable criticism here *ἐπαινέται δὲ ἡ εἰσβολὴ κτλ.* is found also in the scholium on v. 1. This tends to prove that Trendelenburg and others are wrong in claiming that Aristophanes gave such detailed comment in his hypotheses. Wilamowitz likewise can hardly be right when he holds (*Her.*<sup>1</sup> I, 146<sub>89</sub>) that the criticism on *Orest.* 1691 originally belonged to an hypothesis.

date and authorship in the hypothesis to the *Medea* as it now stands: the outline by Dicaearchus, the mythographical portion added by Didymus, and the aesthetic criticism coming in part from Didymus, but given its present form by a later hand.

The argument of the *Helena* differs from those already considered in that the argument proper is prefaced by a mythographical discussion in which the treatment of the story by Herodotus (2, 113-120), and by Homer (*Od.* 4, 227-230) as quoted by Herodotus, is inexactly contrasted with that of Euripides. The argument itself begins in the sentence  $\acute{\omicron}$  δὲ (*sc.* Εὐριπίδης) τὴν μὲν ἀληθῶς Ἑλένην φησὶ μηδ' ὄπωσοῦν ἐλθεῖν εἰς Τροίαν, τὸ εἶδωλον δὲ αὐτῆς. By comparing this with other hypotheses we see that the argument originally began somewhat as follows Ἑλένη μὲν οὐκ ἦλθεν εἰς Τροίαν, τὸ εἶδωλον δὲ αὐτῆς. It then continued as at present κλέψας γὰρ αὐτὴν ὁ Ἑρμῆς κτλ. The argument thus separated resembles the longer hypotheses to the *Alcestis* and the *Medea* so closely in form and style that we may more reasonably refer it also to Dicaearchus than hold with Wilamowitz (*Anal. Eurip.* p. 54) that it is of late origin. His view can be correct only for the mythographical introduction. It is possible that this argument was one of the sources used for the history of Menelaus given in the handbook of mythology from which Diodorus, Ps-Apollodorus, and others drew.<sup>1</sup> The *Epit. Vaticana* and the *Frag. Sabbaitica* (p. 188 f. Wag.) tell of the rape of Helen in very similar language:  $\xi$ νιοι δὲ φασιν Ἑλένην μὲν ὑπὸ Ἑρμοῦ κατὰ βούλησιν Διὸς κομισθῆναι κλαπέισαν εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ δοθεῖσαν Πρωτέϊ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων φυλάττειν. The divergence in κατὰ βούλησιν Διὸς may, however, show another source.

As regards the longer hypothesis to the *Rhesus*, Kirchoff (*Philol.* VII, 561 ff.) has held that the entire discussion of the authenticity of the play is taken directly from Dicaearchus; he further conjectures with good reason that the argument proper goes back to the same author.<sup>2</sup> Thus four hypotheses can be claimed for him. For the other arguments we have no certain data: they exhibit that fulness of detail in recounting both events preceding the plays and the plots themselves which characterized hypotheses when no longer written primarily as

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bethe, *Quaes. Diod. Myth.*, pp. 45-99.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., however, Schrader's objections, *l. c.* p. 8 ff.

introductions to the tragedies but rather as more or less independent mythological accounts.<sup>1</sup> While their authorship must remain uncertain, the argument of the *Bacchae* at least can be shown to be of late origin, for if we compare it with the hypothesis incorporated in Ps-Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca* 3, 5, 2, we see that it is only an expansion of the argument there used and therefore written later than it. This intermediate argument was probably taken by the author of the *Bibliotheca* from the mythological handbook which was his main source. But the relationship between the two establishes no certain date for our hypothesis.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Robert's description of such hypotheses, *Bild u. Lied*, p. 242 ff

## AN OBSERVATION ON THE STYLE OF S. LUKE

BY JAMES HARDY ROPES

THE language and style of the Gospel of Luke and the Book of Acts have been the subject of many investigations from various points of view. The unity of authorship of the two books has been argued and demonstrated from their common internal characteristics. Similarly the unity of style in the Gospel has been used to prove that it is not an expansion of the gospel used by Marcion in the second century, but rather the original which he mutilated. In the Acts the language of the so-called "we-sections" has been studied in order to show that it does not differ in character from that of the surrounding masses of the book. Furthermore, in pursuance of the suggestion contained in Paul's description of his companion Luke as "the beloved physician" (*Col.* 4, 14), the vocabulary of the writer has been searched, and with success, for words used by ancient medical writers. In general it has been recognized that in style and language Luke and Acts come nearer to the literary standard of the time than does any other of the Evangelists or the Apostle Paul.<sup>1</sup>

On the other side, the Semitic influence in the language and style has been studied, and the Hebraisms have been found to be rather more abundant than in the other Gospels. In view of the marks of a superior Greek style which the books show this is surprising, and the cause has been variously explained. In the narratives and canticles of the first three chapters the phenomenon is especially manifest, and here

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<sup>1</sup> Instructive because proceeding from a student of classical literature are the remarks of E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, pp. 480-492, on the style of Luke. Unfortunately, however, he has adopted his Greifswald colleague Gercke's highly improbable theory of the sources of the Book of Acts.

some have held, with doubtful right, that it points to a Semitic original from which these chapters were translated. Others have been unable to separate these chapters in this respect from the rest of the work, and have felt bound to ascribe the Hebraisms to Luke himself, in spite of his evidences of Greek literary training and his admitted Gentile birth. A holy style appropriate to holy subjects has sometimes been assumed to account for the glaring contrast between the secular style of the preface, *Luke* 1, 1-4, and the narrative immediately following included in the rest of these chapters. This could be made plausible by the fact that the author's mind was filled with the language of the Greek Old Testament, and one of the most competent students of the subject, G. Dalman, holds that the Semitic influence has come in wholly, or almost wholly, at second hand through the Septuagint, so that the Hebraisms should rather be termed "Greek-biblicisms" or "Septuagint-grecisms."

It is evident that the answer to such questions as these is of much importance for the problems of the criticism of the books. An adequate account of Luke's language and style ought to be written with ample knowledge of the non-Christian literature of the period, and especially of the rhetorical principles and habits of the most widely read writers. It would require also sufficient familiarity with Hebrew and Aramaic to determine the true character and weigh the significance of the Semitic element. Such a discussion still waits.

In what follows I would call attention to a single point in Luke's use of language. The uniformity of his style is one of its striking characteristics. The similar phrases and identical words found at remote points in his great history have overwhelming force when massed in an argument for the unity of authorship, as has been frequently done and most fully by J. Friedrich (*Das Lukasevangelium und die Apostelgeschichte Werke desselben Verfassers*, 1890). But this uniformity, to which hitherto attention has been chiefly directed, is not stereotyped and mechanical. It is accompanied by great variety within the similar phrases, by a manifest fondness for change of expression, and by a notable copiousness of vocabulary in the terms used for things and actions often mentioned.

This could be illustrated from every chapter. The following examples will serve to make it clear.

(1) The writer likes to vary his word in the same context. For example :

*Lk.* 20, 29 ἀπέθανεν ἄτεκνος.

*Lk.* 20, 31 οὐ κατέλιπον τέκνα καὶ ἀπέθανον.

*Acts* 3, 1-8 ἀνέβαινον, εἰσπορευομένων, εἰσιέναι,<sup>1</sup> εἰσῆλθεν.

So in *Acts* 10 and 11, where the later chapter gives a report of the matters narrated in the earlier. Thus :

*Acts* 10, 12 πάντα τὰ τετράποδα καὶ ἔρπετὰ τῆς γῆς καὶ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

*Acts* 11, 6 τὰ τετράποδα τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰ θηρία καὶ τὰ ἔρπετὰ καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

*Acts* 10, 14 ὅτι οὐδέποτε ἔφαγον πᾶν κοινὸν καὶ ἀκάθαρτον.

*Acts* 11, 8 ὅτι κοινὸν ἢ ἀκάθαρτον οὐδέποτε εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ στόμα μου.<sup>2</sup>

*Acts* 10, 16 καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνελήμφθη τὸ σκεῦος εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν.

*Acts* 11, 10 καὶ ἀνεσπᾶσθη πάλιν ἅπαντα εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν.

*Acts* 10, 20 πορεύου σὺν αὐτοῖς μηδὲν διακρινόμενος (i. e. 'not hesitating').

*Acts* 11, 12 συνελθεῖν αὐτοῖς μηδὲν διακρίναντα (i. e. 'making no discrimination').

(2) Similar expressions in distant contexts so often show variation that the habit must be deemed a trait of the writer's style. For example :

*Lk.* 1, 8 κατὰ τὸ ἔθος.

*Lk.* 2, 27 κατὰ τὸ εἰθισμένον τοῦ νόμου.

*Lk.* 4, 16, *Acts*, 17, 2 κατὰ τὸ εἰωθός (c. dat.).

<sup>1</sup> It is noteworthy that in his effort to vary his word for 'enter' Luke has been forced to use a compound of *ίναι*. This verb, uncompounded, is not found in the New Testament and scarcely in the Greek Old Testament; compounds are found, apart from one instance in the Epistle to the Hebrews, only in the writings of Luke, and there sparingly.

<sup>2</sup> Note that 11, 8 is not another statement of the fact mentioned in 10, 14, but a report of the same reply of Peter to the voice of God which is just before given in different words. This increases the significance of the variation.

*Lk.* 9, 44 θέσθε ὑμεῖς εἰς τὰ ὦτα ὑμῶν τοὺς λόγους τούτους, ὁ γὰρ υἱὸς κτλ.

*Acts* 2, 14 ἐνωτίσασθε τὰ ῥήματά μου· οὐ γὰρ ὡς ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετε κτλ.

*Lk.* 21, 35 ἐπὶ πρόσωπον πάσης τῆς γῆς.

*Acts* 17, 26 ἐπὶ παντὸς προσώπου τῆς γῆς.

*Acts* 2, 11 λαλούντων . . . τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ θεοῦ.

*Acts* 10, 46 μεγαλυνόντων τὸν θεόν.

*Lk.* 1, 65 ἴ. διελαλείτο πάντα τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα καὶ ἔθεντο . . . ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν.

*Lk.* 2, 19 πάντα συνετήρει τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα συνβάλλουσα ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς.

*Acts* 2, 45 καὶ τὰ κτήματα καὶ τὰς ὑπάρξεις ἐπίπρασκον καὶ διεμέριζον αὐτὰ πᾶσιν καθότι ἂν τις χρεῖαν εἶχεν.

*Acts* 4, 34 ὅσοι γὰρ κτήτορες χωρίων ἢ οἰκιῶν ὑπῆρχον ἔφερον τὰς τιμὰς τῶν πιπρασκομένων . . . διεδίδετο δὲ ἐκάστῳ καθότι ἂν τις χρεῖαν εἶχεν.

*Acts* 2, 47 ὁ δὲ κύριος προσετίθει τοὺς σωζομένους καθ' ἡμέραν.

*Acts* 5, 14 μᾶλλον δὲ προσετίθεντο πιστεύοντες τῷ κυρίῳ πλήθη ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν.

*Acts* 6, 7 καὶ ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἠύξανεν, καὶ ἐπληθύνετο ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν μαθητῶν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ σφόδρα.

*Acts* 11, 21 πολὺς τε ἀριθμὸς ὁ πιστεύσας ἐπέστρεψεν ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον.

*Acts* 12, 24 ὁ δὲ λόγος τοῦ κυρίου ἠύξανεν καὶ ἐπληθύνετο.

*Acts* 16, 5 καὶ ἐπερίσσειον τῷ ἀριθμῷ καθ' ἡμέραν.

*Acts* 17, 4 καὶ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπίεισθησαν καὶ προσεκληρώθησαν τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ τῷ Σίλλᾳ.

*Acts* 19, 20 οὕτως κατὰ κράτος τοῦ κυρίου ὁ λόγος ἠύξανεν καὶ ἴσχυεν.

*Lk.* 24, 26 οὐχὶ ταῦτα ἔδει παθεῖν τὸν χριστόν καὶ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ.

*Acts* 9, 20 ἐκήρυσσεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ.

*Acts* 9, 22 συνβιβάζων ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ χριστός.



*Acts* 17, 3 παρατιθέμενος ὅτι τὸν χριστὸν ἔδει παθεῖν καὶ ἀναστῆναι ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ χριστός, ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὃν ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν.

*Acts* 18, 5 διαμαρτυρούμενος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις εἶναι τὸν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν.

*Acts* 18, 28 ἐπιδεικνὺς διὰ τῶν γραφῶν εἶναι τὸν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν.

*Acts* 26, 23 εἰ παθητὸς ὁ χριστός.

*Acts* 22, 3 πεπαιδευμένος κατὰ ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ πατρῷου νόμου, ζηλωτῆς ὑπάρχων τοῦ θεοῦ.

*Acts* 26, 5 κατὰ τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην αἵρεσιν τῆς ἡμετέρας θρησκείας ἔζησα Φαρισαῖος.

*Acts* 1, 23 ὃς ἐπεκλήθη Ἰούστος.

*Acts* 12, 12 τοῦ ἐπικαλουμένου Μάρκου.

*Acts* 12, 25 τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Μάρκον.

*Acts* 15, 37 τὸν καλούμενον Μάρκον.

These examples will, I think, be convincing, and they could be multiplied indefinitely. We have here a mental trait of the writer, a mark of his taste. He likes to vary, and his variation shows a literary feeling and gives his writing a certain elegance.<sup>1</sup>

(3) If this is true it is perhaps not going too far to connect with this trait certain more substantial variations. Luke is fond of repeating his material. Thus *Lk.* 24, 44-53 and the use with differences of the same material in *Acts* 1, 1-12; the two lists of apostles in *Lk.* 6, 14 ff. and *Acts* 1, 13; the three accounts of the conversion of Paul in *Acts* 9, 22 and 26, with their notorious divergences of statement; the repetition of the Cornelius incident of *Acts* 10 with additions and changes in the report of chapter 11; the repetition of Paul's speeches in *Acts* 22, 3-5, 23, 6 and 26, 4-10; the repetition of *Acts* 22, 23-29 in the letter of Claudius Lysias, *Acts* 24, 26-30, with, as is sometimes alleged, offi-

<sup>1</sup> A good example of Luke's feeling for variety of form in a series is to be seen in *Acts* 2, 9-11, where the variations produce an agreeable suggestion of rhythm. Πάρθοι καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ Ἑλαμεῖται, καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν, Ἰουδαίαν τε καὶ Καππαδοκίαν, Πόντον καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, Φρυγίαν τε καὶ Παμφυλίαν, Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὰ μέρη τῆς Λιβύης τῆς κατὰ Κυρήνην, καὶ οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι, Ἰουδαῖοι τε καὶ προσήλυτοι, Κρήτες καὶ Ἀραβες. The same thing is to be found in Aelian and Philostratus. See W. Schmid, *Der Atticismus*, III, 317, IV, 479, 524, where abundant illustrations from these authors are given.

cial misrepresentation of facts, — all these instances testify to his fondness for repetition, and nearly all to his tendency to vary even facts of some importance when rehearsing a story for the second time.

Now the bearing of my observation is this. If this tendency to vary is a trait of Luke, these variations must not be used, as some of them often have been, as marks of written sources slavishly followed and worked up into a patchwork like the Hexateuch in the Old Testament. For instance, the shifting use of Ἱεροσαλήμ and Ἱεροσόλυμα in *Acts* has been observed, and attempts made to use it as a criterion for the analysis into sources. In this particular case the attempts have failed, and probably the two forms owe their adoption to the changing fancy of the writer in each several instance. So of the two accounts of the "communism," and the three of Paul's conversion. Indeed, it ought to be said that it still remains to be proved that the writer of *Acts* used any written sources. The alleged (and in some quarters much vaunted) agreement of the makers of *Quellenscheidungen* as to the existence of certain rifts in the mass in which their picks and wedges can take hold, amounts in *Acts* 1-14 to scarcely more than the rather obvious fact that these chapters contain several blocks of more or less connected narratives. Whether any of these blocks had ever been in written form before is a fundamental problem to which the analyzers usually have no leisure to address themselves. And in *Acts* 15-28 the agreement in the analysis is really an agreement as to which of the statements are historically trustworthy, and which not. The point which I have tried to make in this article, if well taken, makes the work of analysis somewhat less hopeful. Variation of expression in *Luke* and *Acts*, at any rate when of a certain kind, indicates rather unity than diversity of authorship. Nor, it may be added, do such discrepancies show the untrustworthiness of the statements of the writer. They have neither the one significance nor the other, but are merely a part of his mode of writing history, introduced in order to avoid a monotonous uniformity.

On the interpretation of one important passage, too, this observation seems to me to throw some light. I refer to *Lk.* 1, 4, ἵνα ἐπιγνῶς περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν. This is often made to mean 'know the certainty, or trustworthiness, of the accounts which thou hast received.' So Zahn, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, II, p. 360, says that Theophilus is to be led to a conviction "von der Zuverlässig-

keit der Reden, von welchen er Kunde bekommen hatte." But twice in *Acts* (21, 34; 22, 30) the similar expression γνῶναι τὸ ἀσφαλές is used in the plain sense "gain sure and certain knowledge." In view of Luke's fondness for varying his phrase it seems justifiable to interpret *Lk.* 1, 4 by these later passages as meaning 'that thou mightest have sure and certain knowledge concerning those matters of which thou hast heard.' This suits the context better, for the mere repetition of the story by Luke would not convince of its trustworthiness, but can well be said to supply full and accurate knowledge of the matters treated. There is thus no explanation here of the mystery of the writer's supposed deep and subtle purpose in his work; there is indeed no suggestion that there was any such mystery.



## THE USE OF μή IN QUESTIONS

BY FRANK COLE BABBITT

IN Greek grammars the statement is regularly made that questions introduced by μή expect the answer 'no.' Some time ago I became sceptical regarding the truth of this statement, and more recently I took occasion to note from my reading examples of the use of μή in questions. I became, in time, convinced that the use of μή in questions (except in purely rhetorical questions) does not, as a rule, expect the answer 'no,' but that its use shows the same fundamental distinction which always exists between οὐ and μή, namely, that οὐ is used in questions of fact, while in other questions (e.g. questions of possibility) μή is used.

Thus we have at least four forms of questions, (1) the simple verb with no introductory word: as ὕει; 'is it raining?' i. e. asking merely for information; (2) οὐχ ὕει; 'is it not raining?' i. e. I think it is raining, but pray tell me if it is *not*, questioning merely the fact of rain or no rain; (3) οὐ δήπου ὕει; 'it is 'nt raining is it?' i. e. I think it is not; (4) μή (or μῶν) ὕει; 'is it not possible that it is raining?' i. e. among other possibilities. But the context may show that the speaker is already acquainted with the facts, and asks the question in a purely rhetorical manner; in such case μή ὕει must mean 'is it possible that it is raining!' implying of course the answer 'no.' A brief examination of some of the examples (they do not pretend to be exhaustive) will, I think, suffice to make this matter clear.

In the *Odyssey* (6, 199) Nausicaa says to her companions:

στῆτέ μοι, ἀμφίπολοι· πόσε φεύγετε φῶτα ἰδοῦσαι;  
ἦ μή πού τινα δυσμενέων φάσθ' ἔμμεναι ἀνδρῶν;

Here the most natural reason for this running away was because, for the moment, they thought Odysseus unfriendly, and so Nausicaa naturally asks if this is the reason (among other possible reasons) why they are running away; but she certainly did not expect the answer 'no,' else she

would not have proceeded to explain, as she does in the following lines, why such a reason for fear was groundless.

So also in the *Odyssey* (9, 405-6), the Cyclopes ask Polyphemus why he is crying out so loudly, and further ask :

ἢ μή τίς σευ μῆλα βροτῶν ἀέκοντος ἐλαύνει;  
ἢ μή τίς σ' αὐτὸν κτείνει δόλφ ἢ βίηφι;

That is, are the reasons (among other possible reasons) for his crying out the ones that they state? These are the possibilities that occur to their minds, and Polyphemus answers affirmatively that one of these suggested possibilities is what is really taking place, but, owing to the playing on the word *οὔτις*, the Cyclopes understand that neither of the suggestions is right; hence they conclude that Polyphemus must be afflicted by a heaven-sent plague, since they can think of nothing else on earth that could be hurting him. (I cannot at all agree with Mr. Monro in this matter (*H. G.* § 358 C) either in regard to the "strong form of denial uttered in a hesitant or interrogative tone" or in regard to the "incredulity" expressed in such a question. If any incredulity is expressed, it lies in the ἢ and not in the μή. Cf. *Od.* 5, 415, quoted below.

In Plato's *Apology* (24 D-25 A) Socrates is endeavoring to discover who, according to Meletus' ideas, are the corrupters of the youth, and he sets about his task by trying first to learn who are able to improve the youth. He learns successively that all the members of the court, the audience, and the members of the Senate, exert an improving influence. Socrates has now reduced the possible corrupters to within very narrow limits, and asks Meletus if the members of the Assembly may not be the guilty ones. His words are<sup>1</sup>: ἀλλ' ἄρα, ὦ Μέλητε, μή οἱ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ . . . διαφθείρουσι τοὺς νεωτέρους; ἢ κάκεινοι βελτίους ποιοῦσιν ἅπαντες; Whether this be regarded as a single or a double question makes no difference for us, for we are concerned only with the first part, which, like other questions introduced by μή, does not

<sup>1</sup> Interesting is Dyer's note on this passage, for he apparently saw the truth, yet could not refrain from quoting the set phrase of the grammars. He says: "Questions with μή take a negative answer for granted. . . . 'Somebody in Athens is corrupting the youth. We have seen that it is nobody else, hence possibly it is these gentlemen.' But this is absurd," etc.

expect the answer 'no,' but merely queries the possibilities. The only ground on which this question could be said to expect the answer 'no,' is that it may be regarded as a rhetorical question, since the context shows that Socrates has probably already made up his mind on the subject; such questions will be treated further on. Other examples are Xen. *Oec.* 12, 1, where Socrates politely asks Ischomachus whether possibly he may not be detaining him, in case he has other matters to attend to (as he might very likely have).

Ἄλλὰ γάρ, ἔφην ἐγώ, μή σε κατακωλύω, ὦ Ἰσχύμαχε, ἀπιέναι ἤδη βουλόμενον;

In Xenophon's *Memorabilia* (4, 2, 10) are numerous questions in rapid succession, each introduced by μή. It is customary in the grammars to quote partially the second of these alone (or the second or third) as a proof that such questions expect a negative answer, but such a method of quotation does enormous violence to the proper understanding of the passage, since in several of the questions Socrates (with no irony) adds a reason for expecting an affirmative answer. It is worth while to quote the passage at length :

τί δὲ δὴ βουλόμενος ἀγαθὸς γενέσθαι, ἔφη, ὦ Εὐθύδημε, συλλέγεις τὰ γράμματα; ἐπεὶ δὲ διεσιώπησεν ὁ Εὐθύδημος σκοπῶν ὅτι ἀποκρίναιτο, πάλιν ὁ Σωκράτης, Ἄρα μή ἰατρός; ἔφη. πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἰατρῶν ἐστὶ συγγράμματα. καὶ ὁ Εὐθύδημος, Μὰ Δί', ἔφη, οὐκ ἔγωγε. Ἄλλὰ μή ἀρχιτέκτων βούλη γενέσθαι; γνωμονικοῦ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τοῦτο δεῖ. οὐκ οὐκ ἔγωγ', ἔφη. Ἄλλὰ μή γεωμέτρης ἐπιθυμεῖς, ἔφη, γενέσθαι ἀγαθὸς, ὥσπερ ὁ Θεόδωρος; Οὐδὲ γεωμέτρης, ἔφη. Ἄλλὰ μή ἀστρολόγος, ἔφη, γενέσθαι; Ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἠρνεῖτο, Ἄλλὰ μή ῥαψωδός; ἔφη. καὶ γὰρ τὰ Ὅμηρον σέ φασιν ἔπη πάντα κεκτῆσθαι. Μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἔγωγ', ἔφη. τοὺς γὰρ τοὶ ῥαψωδοὺς οἶδα, κτλ.

The sense of the passage as I understand it is this: Socrates asks Euthydemus in what he desires to excel that he is collecting so many books. Does he wish to be a physician? — their compilations are very voluminous; or an architect? — they, too, must be well provided with a store of knowledge (such as Euthydemus might obtain from his books) — and so on, until finally he asks (remembering that Euthydemus is said to possess a copy of Homer entire) whether he may not be intending

to employ his copy of Homer in learning to be a rhapsodist. In none of these questions is there the slightest suggestion that the expected answer will be 'no,' unless we assume (wrongly, as it seems to me) that Socrates is talking ironically, in which case these questions come under the head of rhetorical questions, which will be considered later.

No argument is to be drawn from the fact that all these questions *happen* to be answered in the negative. An equal number of questions containing *μή* can be produced in which the answer *happens* to be affirmative.

Two other examples from Plato, *Euthydemus*, of past tenses with *μή* are quoted by Kühner (§ 589, Anmerk. 5), who tries, however, to explain them by an ellipsis of a word of fearing.

In a fragment also of Plato's *Παιδάριον* (quoted in the scholium on Aristoph. *Pax* 948), if the text be right, *μή* is used in a question expecting the answer 'yes.' The fragment is:

φέρε τοῦτ' ἐμοὶ  
δείξον τὸ κανοῦν  
μοι δεῦρο· μή μάχαιρ' ἔνι;

The scholiast quotes this in proof of his statement immediately preceding, that the knife was regularly concealed in the basket beneath the barley and the fillets. Hence it is fair to infer that the person who asked *μή μάχαιρ' ἔνι*; really expected to find a knife there.

So in Aeschyl. *Suppl.* 292 *μή καὶ λόγος τις Ζῆνα μυχθῆναι βροτῶ* is followed by an affirmative answer, as might naturally be expected.

That *μή* may be found in company with other (quasi) interrogative words (*ἄρα μή*, *ἦ μή*, *μή οὖν* = *μῶν*) retaining its regular meaning needs hardly more than to be stated. Some examples of *ἄρα μή* and *ἦ μή* have, for convenience, already been given in treating of *μή*. It will suffice therefore to mention only one more example.<sup>1</sup>

In Plato's *Crito*, 44 E, Crito asks Socrates *ἄρά γε μή ἐμοῦ προμηθῆ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων, μή, ἐὰν σὺ ἐνθένδε ἐξέλθῃς, οἱ συκοφάνται ἡμῖν πράγματα παρέχωσι, κτλ.*, and goes on to assure him that he need have no anxiety on that account, for the task of rescue is by no means so difficult for them as Socrates thinks. Plainly Crito thinks that

<sup>1</sup> Other examples may be found in Kühner's *Grammatik*, § 587, 14.



Socrates must have some anxiety on their account, else he would not give reasons why Socrates need not feel anxious. Consequently the affirmative answer (45 A) καὶ ταῦτα προμηθεύμαι, ὦ Κρίτων, καὶ ἄλλα πολλά is exactly what Crito expects.

So also μῶν (like simple μή) inquires merely as to possibilities, and may quite as frequently be followed by an affirmative as by a negative answer. Thus in the *Pax* (746) Aristophanes boasts that he has driven from the stage, among other things, those who intentionally get a beating,

ἴν' ὁ σύνδουλος σκώψας αὐτοῦ τὰς πληγὰς εἶτ' ἀνέροιτο  
 “ὦ κακόδαιμον, τί τὸ δέριμ' ἔπαθες; μῶν ὑστριχίς εἰσέβαλέν  
 σοι, κτλ.”

Here, exactly as in the *Odyssey* passages quoted above, the question is concerning the first natural supposition that enters the speaker's mind in explanation of the circumstances. The supposition may turn out to be right or wrong, but the speaker, in choosing the most reasonable explanation that occurs to his mind, shows that he thinks it more likely to be right than wrong, and hence would be less disappointed by an affirmative than by a negative answer.

In Aristophanes' *Acharnians* 418 Dicaeopolis visits Euripides in order to borrow a ragged outfit. To his request for such an outfit Euripides replies :

τὰ ποῖα τρύχη; μῶν ἐν οἷς Οἰνεὺς ὄδῃ  
 ὁ δύσποτμος γεραῖος ἠγωνίζετο;

i. e. 'What rags? [I have numerous outfits that would meet his requirements] does he very likely want those of Oeneus? [they ought to be satisfactory].' And Dicaeopolis replies that '[the rags of Oeneus may have been very admirable in their way, but] they were not the ones he had in mind, etc.'

Other examples of μῶν in addition to those quoted by Kühner<sup>1</sup> are :

Soph. *Aj.* 791 : οἴμοι, τί φής, ἄνθρωπε; μῶν ὀλώλαμεν;

<sup>1</sup> Kühner, § 587, 12, where he admits that μῶν seems sometimes to expect an affirmative answer (*scheint* μῶν eine bejahende Frage einzuleiten). The other examples of μῶν in Aristophanes are most conveniently consulted in Dunbar's *Concordance*.

'Are we undone? [I have been anticipating all the time that this might happen].'

Eurip. *I. T.* 551: τί δ' ἐστέναξας τοῦτο; μὼν προσῆκέ σοι;

'Why this lament? was he a relative of yours? [it is incomprehensible to me that he should have been, but otherwise I fail to understand why you should be affected by his fate].'

Lucian, *Timon*, 57 *ad fin.*: τί ἀγανακτεῖς, ὦγαθε; μὼν τι παρακέρουσμαί σε; καὶ μὴν ἐπεμβάλῳ χοίνικας ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον τέτταρας. 'What's the matter? Have I cheated you? [Well, perhaps I have, so] here's a trifle in addition to the regular measure, etc.'

It is now perhaps time to ask how it happens that *μή* is used (and of this there can be no doubt) in questions expecting the answer 'no'; and the explanation is perfectly simple, that such questions are purely rhetorical,<sup>1</sup> and expect the answer 'no' not because of the *μή*, but because of the context. Moreover, it should be added that questions expecting a negative answer may be introduced by other words as well as by *μή*. An example of a rhetorical question of this sort is in Aeschylus, *Prom.* 959, where, prophesying the overthrow of the new ruler (*Ζεύς*) in a manner even worse and more swift than that of his predecessors, Prometheus asks Hermes:

μή τί σοι δοκῶ  
ταρβεῖν ὑποπτήσσειν τε τοὺς νέους θεούς;

The question, as the context shows, is only a stronger way of saying "You plainly see I have no fear of fledgeling gods," and hence is purely rhetorical, expecting a negative answer.

So also in Plato's *Apology*, 28 D, Socrates is arguing that one should not shirk his duty because of fear of death, and quotes the example of Achilles 'who made light of death and danger, but much more feared to live a coward's life, saying "Let me die straightway when I have taken vengeance on the offender," etc.' Socrates then continues: μή αὐτὸν οἶη φροντίσαι θανάτου καὶ κινδύνου; 'Think you (i. e. is it

<sup>1</sup> That no two persons will agree as to what is and what is not a rhetorical question is only to be expected, but disagreement in regard to the classification does not prevent agreement about the general principle involved.

possible that you think) that *he* had any thought of death and danger! 'Of course not.'

But in these questions the expectation of a negative answer is not inherent in the μή, but is deduced from the entire context. Such a question can be asked equally well without μή, as in Plato, *Apology*, 37 D, when Socrates, after saying that his own citizens have become tired of his presence, asks: ἄλλοι δὲ ἄρα αὐτὰς οἴσονται ῥαδίως; plainly expecting the answer 'no,' for he adds, πολλοῦ γε δεῖ, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι.

So also in Aristoph. *Ran.* 526 οὐ δὴ που μὲ ἀφελέσθαι διανοεῖ | ἄδωκας αὐτός; "surely you don't intend, etc?" gets its meaning from the context. (Other examples: *Av.* 269, *Nub.* 1260, *Pax* 1211, *Ach.* 122, *Eccl.* 327.)

A hint as to the origin of μή in questions is given by the fact that μή alone (without another interrogative word) is rare before the time of Aeschylus. This seems to point to the fact that the interrogative μή is nothing but the ordinary negative adverb μή used in an interrogative sentence precisely as οὐ is used, but, since the question was not concerned with *fact*, the keen sense of the Greek forbade him to use the regular negative of facts, and the result was the use of μή. On this supposition (which seems extremely reasonable) ἄρα μή ὕει; would mean "May it perhaps not be raining?" while οὐχ ὕει would mean "Is it not raining?" Later, of course, μή alone came to be felt as a sufficient interrogative.

This then concludes the main part of the thesis: that μή in questions does not regularly expect the answer 'no,' but, on the contrary, often awaits an affirmative answer. To make the treatment complete it should be stated that μή can be used to introduce the first part of a double (or alternative) question, and that it is also found (with or without other words) in indirect questions both simple and double. For these facts it will be sufficient to quote a very few examples.

*Double Direct Question.*<sup>1</sup> — Soph. *O. C.* 1502 :

μή τις Διὸς κερανός, ἢ τις ὄμβρῖα  
χάλαζ' ἐπιρράξασα . . . ;

i. e. 'is it perhaps thunder or a hail-storm . . . ?'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Plato, *Phaed.* 78D; *Rep.* 442D, 466A, 479B, 436E, quoted by Kühner.

*Indirect Questions.*—The frequent use of simple μή in indirect questions seems to have been a comparatively late development. See Kühner's *Grammar*, § 589, Anmerk 2. This usage, however, is not unknown in classical Greek, but it is customary to explain such examples by assuming that there is some idea of fearing implied in the words on which such questions depend; and it is not to be denied that some of the examples<sup>1</sup> will admit this explanation, but, from the original significance of μή in questions (i. e. uncertainty or apprehension, as I have tried to show above) it could not be used as a colorless interrogative, but its use would naturally be confined to questions suggesting uncertainty or apprehension. The following examples seem to be clear cases of questions.

Eurip. *Orest.* 209 :

ὄρα παρούσα, παρθέν' Ἡλέκτρα, πέλας  
μή κατθανών σε σύγγονος λέληθ' ὄδε.

i. e. 'see whether he may not perhaps have died.'

Soph. *Ant.* 1253 :

ἀλλ' εἰσόμεσθα μή τι καὶ κατάσχετον  
κρυφῇ καλύπτει καρδίᾳ θυμουμένη  
δόμους παραστείχοντες.

*Ibid.* 278 :

Ἄναξ ἐμοί τοι μή τι καὶ θεήλατον  
τοῦργον τόδ', ἢ ξύννοια βουλεύει πάλαι.

Eurip. *Her.* 481 :

κάμαντῆς περὶ  
θέλω πυθέσθαι μή 'πὶ τοῖς πάλαι κακοῖς  
προσκεείμενον τι πῆμα σὴν δάκνει φρένα.

'on my own account

I also wish to hear if any ill,  
Added to those you have already suffered,  
Torture your soul.' — *Woodhull.*

Cf. also *I. T.* 67, *Phoen.* 93.

<sup>1</sup> See Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, § 369, 1.

The general tendency of verbs of this sort to be followed by an indirect question has been demonstrated by Professor Hale in his article on the Anticipatory Subjunctive in Vol. I of the *Chicago Studies in Classical Philology*.

There can be no doubt as to the use of μή in later Greek as an indirect interrogative, and it is not unreasonable to believe that its use in this way was developed along the same lines as its use as a direct interrogative (see page 313), and that, from being used at first in company with another interrogative word (εί), it later came to be regarded as an interrogative word by itself. The question then merely resolves itself into this, viz. how early we are to admit the use of μή as an indirect interrogative; to my mind the indicatives in the examples just cited are easier explained as questions than in any other way (see below, page 317).

From later Greek, an example of μή as an indirect interrogative (in addition to those cited by Kühner, § 589, Anmerk 2) is Herondas 1, 2, where, if Blass' restoration be right, the reading is :

οὐκ ὄψει  
μ[ή τις] παρ' ἡμέων ἐξ ἀγροικίης ἦκει;

Usually, however, μή in indirect questions is found in company with εί, as Plato, *Theaet.* 163 d : βουλόμενος ἐρέσθαι εί . . . μή οἶδεν.

Aristoph. *Pax* 1292 :

ἦ γὰρ ἐγὼ θαύμαζον ἀκούων εί σὺ μή εἴης  
ἀνδρὸς βουλομάχου καὶ κλαυσιμάχου τινὸς υἱός.

*Double Indirect Questions.*—Plato, *Crat.* 425 B, εἶτε κατὰ τρόπον κέεται εἶτε μή, οὕτω θεᾶσθαι.

It is often a nice question whether μή or οὐ shall be used, and apparently the *feeling* of the speaker as to whether the question is one of *fact* or not may serve to decide. Thus, in Antiph. 5, 14, μή and οὐ, respectively, are used in successive similar questions :

οὐ δεῖ ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῶν τοῦ κατηγοροῦ λόγων τοὺς νόμους καταμάνθαιεν, εί καλῶς ὑμῖν κέινται ἢ μή, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν νόμων τοὺς τοῦ κατηγοροῦ λόγους, εί ὀρθῶς καὶ νομίμως ὑμᾶς διδάσκει τὸ πρᾶγμα ἢ οὐ.

In regard to the mood of the verb found in questions with μή, it is of course usually the indicative, but there can be no doubt that the

indicative in such questions may be replaced by the "anticipatory subjunctive" (if this name be pleasing). Thus in Hom. *Od.* 5, 415 :

μή πώς μ' ἐκβαίνοντα βάλῃ λίθακι πρὸς πέτρῃ  
κῦμα μέγ' ἀρπάξαν;

And *Od.* 5, 356 :

ὦ μοι ἐγώ, μή τίς μοι ὑψαίνησιν δόλον αὐτε  
ἀθανάτων,

it is extremely difficult to explain the subjunctives as regular "dubitative subjunctives with the negative μή," since the question emphatically is not negative.<sup>1</sup> So also in Aesch. *Cho.* 177 :

μῶν οὖν Ὀρέστου κρύβδα δῶρον ἦ τόδε;

where many editors, without sufficient reason, change ἦ to ἦν.

Plato, *Phaed.* 64 C ἄρα μή ἄλλο τι ἦ ὁ θάνατος ἢ τοῦτο;

Xen. *Oec.* 4, 4 Ἄρα, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, μή αἰσχυρθῶμεν τὸν Περσῶν βασιλεία μμησασθαι;

This last example is regularly quoted as an example of the deliberative subjunctive, and to me there seems to be little doubt that, in origin, all of these lie very closely together.<sup>2</sup>

If the subjunctive can be used in direct questions, it naturally follows that it can be used also in indirect questions, such as Plato, *Phaed.* 91 D, τόδε ἄδηλον παντὶ μή πολλά σώματα κατατρίψασα ἢ ψυχὴ τὸ τελευταῖον αὐτῇ ἀπολλύηται. Moreover, I can see no conclusive reason against explaining in the same way similar expressions in Homer, e. g. *Iliad* 10, 100-1 :

δυσμενέες δ' ἄνδρες σχεδὸν ἦται, οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν  
μή πως καὶ διὰ νύκτα μενοιθήσωσι μάχεσθαι.

<sup>1</sup> Other possible examples are:

*Iliad* 2, 195 μή τι χολωσάμενος βέβη . . . ;

*Iliad* 5, 487 μή πως . . . ἔλωρ καὶ κύρμα γένησθε;

(Observe the subjunctive and future indicative.)

*Iliad* 22, 123 μή μιν ἐγὼ μὲν ἴκωμαι ἰών, ὃ δέ μ' οὐκ ἐλεήσει;

*Odyssey* 18, 334 μή τίς τοι τάχα Ἴρου ἀμείνων ἄλλος ἀναστῆ;

These are often explained (so Monro) as a phase of the imperative use of the subjunctive, or perhaps more frequently by postulating an ellipsis of some word of fearing. Neither of these explanations seems to me quite satisfactory for any great number of the examples.

<sup>2</sup> See Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, § 293.

Finally, I ought not to omit a suggestion that, if we admit the preceding facts, they may have some bearing on the explanation of μή, μή οὐ, and οὐ μή with the subjunctive (or future indicative), and the construction with words of fearing.

According to this explanation μή ἔστιν χαλεπόν; would mean 'Is it not perhaps difficult?' μή ἢ χαλεπόν; 'may there not perhaps be a possibility of its being difficult?' μή οὐκ ἢ χαλεπόν; 'may there not be a possibility of its not being difficult?' (cf. above p. 316), while in οὐ μή ἢ χαλεπόν the οὐ at the outset denies absolutely the possibility suggested by μή ἢ χαλεπόν.

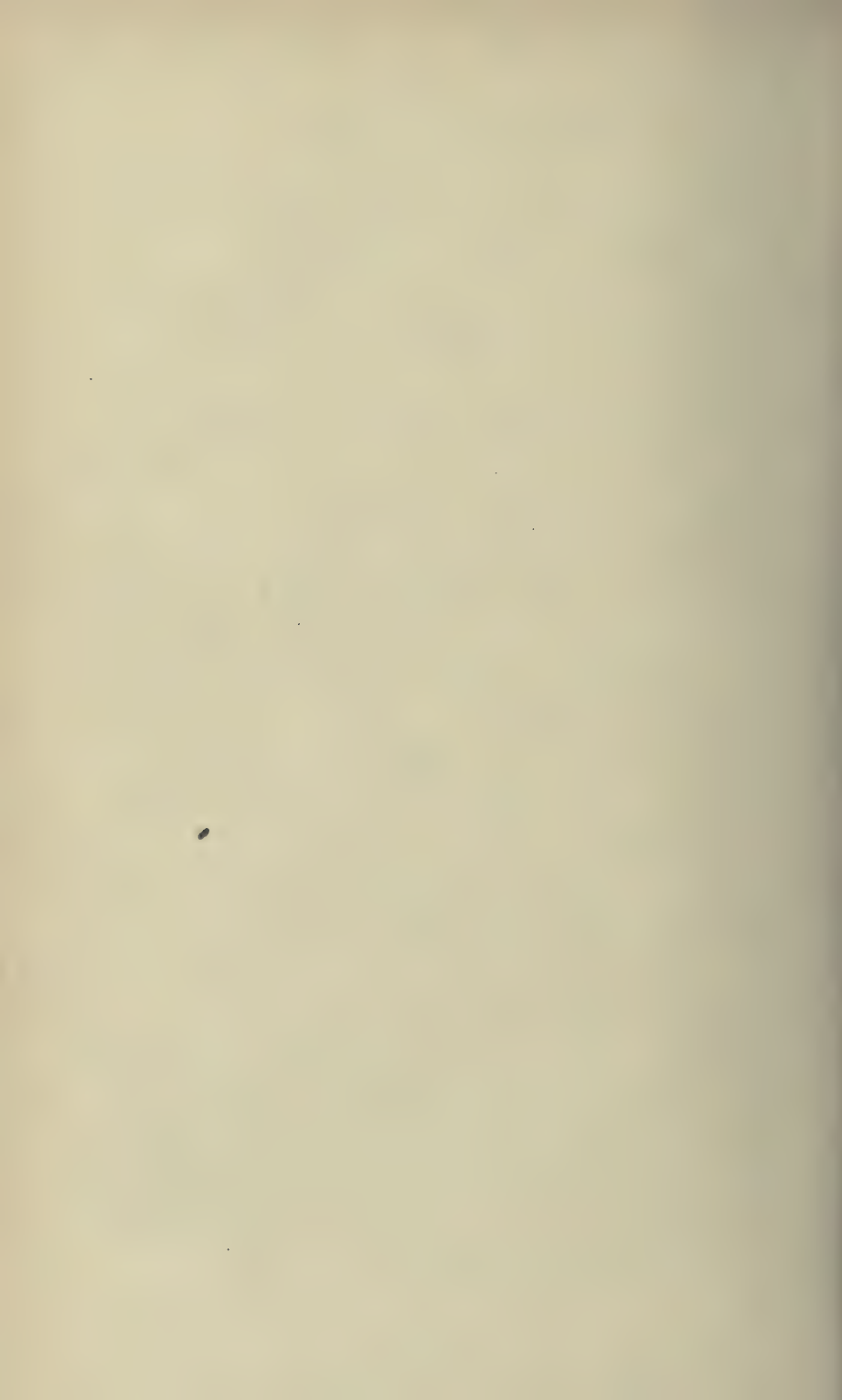
In regard to the construction of the words of fearing, if we admit the customary explanation of parataxis, it is hard to see how in expressions like *Od.* 5, 300, δίδω μὴ δὴ πάντα θεὰ νημερτέα εἶπεν, the expression μὴ . . . εἶπεν, as an independent clause, can be anything but a question introduced by μή, and if we admit the subjunctive in such questions we shall have one and the same simple explanation of both indicative and subjunctive after words of fearing.

I am well aware that both these questions and these explanations are far from novel, but I mention them in the hope, if the main part of the thesis in regard to questions with μή be found tenable, that some one else may perhaps see, more clearly than I have done, the logical conclusions.

To sum up: if we insist that μή in questions always expects a negative answer, we do not find it easy to explain the cases where μή (contained in μὼν, Kühner, *Grammatik*, § 587, 12) expects an affirmative answer, nor cases of the interrogative subjunctive with μή expecting an affirmative answer (Goodwin, *M. T.* § 293), to say nothing of the "disappearance of the original force of μή" in the subjunctive with μή and μή οὐ (as well as οὐ μή); Goodwin, *M. T.*, p. 391.

Moreover, the assumption of an ellipsis of a verb of fearing to explain independent constructions with μή (p. 316) is contrary to the normal development of language; likewise it is difficult to impute an idea of fear to verbs like οἶδα (p. 314); and, finally, if we explain the subjunctive after verbs of fearing as a phase of the imperative subjunctive, we must adopt another explanation for the indicative after the same verbs.

On the other hand, if we admit that μή in questions does not expect a negative answer, we have one and the same simple explanation for all these different constructions.





## NOTES ON THE OLD TEMPLE OF ATHENA ON THE ACROPOLIS

BY WILLIAM NICKERSON BATES

THE problem of the old temple of Athena on the Acropolis at Athens has for some time been a most important one in Athenian topography. This temple, the foundations of which were uncovered in 1886, was destroyed by the Persians under Xerxes at the time of his invasion of Greece. It attracted no particular attention until Dörpfeld advanced his theory that this temple was rebuilt by the Athenians when they came back to Athens; that it was here that the state moneys were stored during the greater part of the fifth century; and that the building remained standing during the whole of the classical period and perhaps lasted down into the middle ages. Dörpfeld conjectures the existence of this temple chiefly because of certain inscriptions which he has difficulty in referring either to the Parthenon or to the Erechtheum. His arguments, together with the evidence upon which they are based, have been set forth at length in a series of papers in the *Mittheilungen des k. d. arch. Instituts zu Athen*,<sup>1</sup> and have been supported in a recent paper in the *American Journal of Archaeology* by A. S. Cooley.<sup>2</sup> The arguments brought forward in these articles I shall not discuss. My object in the present paper is to show that we have important literary evidence which seems to prove that from the time of its destruction the old temple of Athena was never rebuilt. This evidence, so far as I know, has not been examined by any one discussing this subject; and where it has been discussed it has not received the attention which it deserves.

This evidence is as follows: Lycurgus in his speech against Leocrates, in praising the ancestors of the men of his own generation, refers to an

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<sup>1</sup> Dörpfeld's articles are to be found in Vols. XI (1886) p. 337 ff.; XII (1887) p. 25 ff.; p. 190 ff.; XV (1890) p. 420 ff.; XXII (1897) p. 159 ff. For other recent papers see *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. III (1899) p. 346 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. III (1899) p. 345 ff.

oath which he says was taken by the Greeks before the battle of Plataea. That oath is then quoted and runs as follows (§ 81): Οὐ ποιήσομαι περὶ πλείονος τὸ ζῆν τῆς ἐλευθερίας, οὐδὲ καταλείψω τοὺς ἡγεμόνας οὔτε ζῶντας οὔτε ἀποθανόντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τελευτήσαντας τῶν συμμάχων ἅπαντας θάψω. καὶ κρατήσας τῷ πολέμῳ τοὺς βαρβάρους τῶν μὲν μαχισταμένων ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πόλεων οὐδεμίαν ἀνάστατον ποιήσω, τὰς δὲ τὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου προελομένας ἀπάσας δεκατεύσω· καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν ἐμπρησθέντων καὶ καταβληθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων οὐδὲν ἀνοικοδομήσω παντάπασιν, ἀλλ' ὑπόμνημα τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις εἶσω καταλείπεσθαι τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀσεβείας.

It is the last part of this oath which concerns us. If, as Lycurgus says, the Athenians took this oath and if they kept it, the old Athena temple on the Acropolis could not have been rebuilt. For if the temple was not rebuilt soon after the return of the Athenians to Athens, it was not rebuilt at all, since neither Dörpfeld nor any one else would maintain that it was rebuilt at a later period.

There is other evidence besides this. Pausanias in the tenth book<sup>1</sup> gives an account of the temple of Apollo at Abae and explains that Xerxes burned that temple. He then continues: Ἑλλήνων δὲ τοῖς ἀντιστάσι τῷ βαρβάρῳ τὰ κατακαυθέντα ἱερὰ μὴ ἀνιστάναι σφίσις ἔδοξεν, ἀλλὰ ἐς τὸν πάντα ὑπολείπεσθαι χρόνον τοῦ ἔχθους ὑπομνήματα· καὶ τοῦδε ἕνεκα οἱ τε ἐν τῇ Ἀλιαρτίᾳ ναοὶ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς Ἥρας ἐπὶ ὁδῷ τῇ Φαληρικῇ καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ Φαλήρῳ τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ κατ' ἐμὲ ἔτι ἡμίκαντοι μένουσι. τοιαύτην θεῖαν καὶ τοῦ ἐν Ἄβαις ἱεροῦ τότε γε εἶναι δοκῶ, ἐς ὃ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ Φωκικῷ βιασθέντας μάχῃ Φωκίων ἄνδρας καὶ ἐς Ἄβας ἐκπεφευγότας αὐτοὺς τε οἱ Θεβαῖοι τοὺς ἰκέτας καὶ τὸ ἱερόν, δεύτερον δὲ οὗτοι μετὰ Μήδους, ἔδοσαν πυρὶ· εἰστήκει δ' οὖν καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι οἰκοδομημάτων ἀσθενέστατον ὅποσα δὴ ἡ φλόξ ἐλυμήνατο, ἅτε ἐπὶ τῷ Μηδικῷ προλωβησαμένῳ πυρὶ, αὐθις ὑπὸ τοῦ Βοιωτίου πυρὸς κατειργασμένον. In other words, the Persians burned the temple at Abae and the small part of it which was not destroyed was burned in later times by the Thebans. The temple, then, had not been rebuilt down to the time of the Phocian war, and it was not rebuilt after that time, as I shall show later. Pausanias does not say where the oath was taken.

<sup>1</sup> 10, 35, 2-3.

There is still another reference to this oath. Diodorus in a passage in the eleventh book<sup>1</sup> says that before the Greeks marched to Plataea, they collected at the Isthmus where they decided to take an oath to preserve their unity of purpose and to force themselves to undergo all dangers bravely. Then follows the oath as given in Lycurgus, with a few slight changes in text.<sup>2</sup> After this, Diodorus goes on to say that after taking the oath the Greeks started for Boeotia.

These are the only accounts of this oath which I have been able to find, but they are sufficient to prove that in later Greek times the story of this oath was a well established tradition. This tradition can without difficulty be traced back at least to writers of the fourth century, for the oath as we have it in Diodorus undoubtedly goes back to Ephorus. We do not know, to be sure, when the oath found in Lycurgus was inserted into the text, but we have hints enough in the speech proper to prove that in all probability we have the oath essentially as Lycurgus knew it. The source of the passage in Pausanias is more difficult to determine. The one author of whom he is making constant use in this part of his work is Herodotus. This is clear to any one who reads the two authors together; and what is more, Pausanias mentions Herodotus no less than three times three pages before this passage. He even makes use of Herodotus in this very chapter until he comes to the account of the oath. There is no mention of the oath in Herodotus. Consequently we must imagine that Pausanias got his information on this point elsewhere, perhaps from some oral source at Abae. This discussion makes it clear, I think, that the story of the oath as we have it goes back at least to the fourth century B.C.

But we have still another most important piece of literary evidence. Plutarch in his Life of Pericles<sup>3</sup> says that Pericles proposed a decree that all the Greek cities both large and small should be invited to send delegates to Athens to deliberate about the Greek temples which the barbarians had burnt, and the sacrifices which they had vowed to the

<sup>1</sup> II, 29, 1-4.

<sup>2</sup> The part relating to the temples reads, *καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν ἐμπρησθέντων καὶ καταβληθέντων οὐδὲν οἰκοδομήσω, ἀλλ' ὑπόμνημα τοῖς ἐπιγυνομένοις ἔδωκα καὶ καταλείψω τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀσεβείας.*

<sup>3</sup> Ch. 17.

gods when they were fighting against the Persians. They were also to consider plans for freer commercial intercourse. These words of Plutarch are most important, and they rest on the best of authority. Cobet<sup>1</sup> has argued that Plutarch's source for this statement is nothing less than the decree of Pericles itself, which he found in the collection of Craterus. Wilamowitz, who has examined the question independently, has come to the same conclusion.<sup>2</sup> It is the statement as to the burnt temples which is of interest to us here. Why did Pericles call this meeting about the burnt temples, and what was its object? It was, I think, in order that the Greek states might revoke the oath which they had sworn not to rebuild the temples. The Acropolis with its burnt ruins had come to be an eye-sore to the Athenians, and Pericles desired to clear the ground and build a new temple. The only way he could do this without exciting hostile criticism was by appealing to the Greeks to recall their oath. This decree probably dates from about 450 B.C. The meeting planned was never held because of the opposition of the Spartans, but nevertheless the attempt to hold it seems not to have been altogether barren of results. It seems likely that some agreement was reached in the case of the temples, for, as I shall presently show, at about this time the burnt temples began to be restored.

Let us now examine the archaeological evidence on this question, that is, the evidence of the temples themselves.

Herodotus tells us that, aside from Athens, the Persians burned with their temples the following towns: Drymas,<sup>3</sup> Charadra, Erochus, Tethronium or Tithronium, Amphicaea or Amphiclaea, Neon, Pedieis, Triteis, Elataea, Hyampolis, Parapotamii, Abae, Panopeus,<sup>4</sup> Daulis, Aeolides, Thespieae,<sup>5</sup> Plataea, and Eleusis.<sup>6</sup> Excavations have been carried on at most of these sites, but the remains found have, as a rule, been so slight that no satisfactory conclusions can be drawn from them. For example, at Hyampolis the remains of the temples are so trifling that we cannot say whether they were rebuilt or not, but in a few cases we have more satisfactory evidence. At Elataea the remains of the temple of Athena show that the temple was rebuilt, and its proportions prove that

<sup>1</sup> *Mnemosyne*, N. S. Vol. I (1873) p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> *Aus Kydathen*, p. 8 n. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Herodotus, 8, 33.

<sup>4</sup> 8, 35.

<sup>5</sup> 8, 50.

<sup>6</sup> 9, 65.

it was a little earlier than the so-called Theseum at Athens ;<sup>1</sup> that is, the rebuilding dates from about 440 B.C. At Abae we have evidence that the temple of Apollo was never rebuilt. F. Koepp, who has discussed this question,<sup>2</sup> criticises the statement of Pausanias that the part of this temple not burnt by the Persians was burnt by the Phocians, and argues that it would have been impossible to distinguish between the two or to decide whether the building had been rebuilt or not. He thinks that the ruins could not have been left as they were at the end of the Persian wars, and that Pausanias cannot be relied upon when he says that they date from that time. But excavations carried on by members of the British School at Athens in 1894 have shown that the temple was never rebuilt ;<sup>3</sup> and what is more, all the fragments of the offerings found antedate the Persian wars.

The most striking example, however, is Eleusis. The temple destroyed by the Persians was not rebuilt until the time of Pericles. Strabo<sup>4</sup> and Vitruvius<sup>5</sup> even say that Ictinus was the architect, but Plutarch<sup>6</sup> gives us the names of three other men who were said to have designed and erected the building. Dörpfeld asks how we can imagine the Athenians going without a temple of Athena from 480 until the building of the Parthenon. The worship of Demeter and Persephone in connection with the Eleusinian Mysteries was quite as important to the Athenians as the worship and festivals of Athena, and yet the temple at Eleusis was allowed to remain in ruins for a full generation after its destruction.

Of the temples of Hera on the road to Phalerum and of Demeter at Phalerum, both of which Pausanias<sup>7</sup> cites as examples of temples not rebuilt, we can say little. In 1, 1, 5 Pausanias again speaks of the temple of Hera, adding that the people said that the statue in it was the work of Alcamenes, but that if that were the case the temple could not have been injured by the Medes. Koepp accepts this ; but

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<sup>1</sup> Frazer, *Pausanias*, Vol. V, p. 433.

<sup>2</sup> *Jahrbuch des deut. arch. Inst.* Vol. V (1890) p. 268 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See *Journal of Hellenic Studies* Vol. XVI (1896) p. 291 ff.

<sup>4</sup> 9, p. 395.

<sup>5</sup> 7, praef. 16.

<sup>6</sup> *Pericles* ch. 13.

<sup>7</sup> 10, 35, 2.

the other alternative is equally justifiable, namely that the statue was not by Alcamenes.

There are two other temples which must be mentioned in this connection, one the temple at Sunium and the other the old temple at Rhamnus. The present temple at Sunium is built upon the foundations of an earlier temple which was undoubtedly destroyed by the Persians. This second temple was built, according to Dörpfeld,<sup>2</sup> about the time of the so-called Theseum, that is, not earlier than 440 B.C.

At Rhamnus the case is somewhat different. There are remains there of two temples, one of which is larger than the other. The small temple antedates the Persian wars, and its walls are still standing to a height of six or eight feet. The large temple is placed close beside the other and dates from about the middle of the fifth century. This temple was never finished. The finding in the old temple of votive statues dating from the fifth to the second century B.C. seems to prove that the temple was rebuilt. The later temple, therefore, can hardly have been built as the successor of the older one, as was formerly supposed. Unfortunately there is no evidence to show when the rebuilding of the older temple took place. These temples at Rhamnus therefore do not affect the present argument either way.

What then does the evidence of the temples prove? First, that some temples destroyed by the Persians were never rebuilt; second, that those which were rebuilt are not earlier than 450 B.C. In other words, the archaeological evidence bears out the literary evidence that no temple destroyed by the Persians was rebuilt before the time of Pericles.

In this connection one may well ask why the temple begun by Cimon on the site where the Parthenon was afterwards erected was never finished. The fact that his political opponents came into power may explain why work on the building was discontinued, but is hardly a sufficient reason to explain why the good material which had been collected was not used. It is perhaps not unlikely that Cimon's political opponents succeeded in persuading the people that the building of this temple was a violation of the oath; and that later on, Pericles, in order to avoid all similar criticism, asked the Greeks to revoke the oath so that he might begin entirely afresh his new temple, the Parthenon.

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<sup>1</sup> *Athen. Mitth.* Vol. IX (1884) p. 336.

It now remains for me to consider briefly two objections to the genuineness of this oath brought forward by Rehdantz<sup>1</sup> and accepted by Koepf.<sup>2</sup> They are based upon two passages, one in Isocrates and one a fragment of Theopompus. In the first passage Isocrates, after mentioning the fact that the Persians robbed and burned the temples of the gods, says,<sup>3</sup> διὸ καὶ τοὺς Ἴωνας ἄξιον ἐπαινεῖν, ὅτι τῶν ἐμπρησθέντων ἱερῶν ἐπήρασάντ' εἰ τινες κινήσειαν ἢ πάλιν εἰς τάρχαῖα καταστήσαι βουληθεῖεν, οὐκ ἀποροῦντες πόθεν ἐπισκευάσωσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν' ὑπόμνημα τοῖς ἐπιγυγνομένοις ἢ τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀσεβείας, κτλ. Rehdantz and Koepf think it strange that Isocrates should mention such an oath of the Ionians and not mention that of the Greeks, if it existed. The difficulty, however, is not as great as appears at first sight. I have already shown that the oath of the Greeks was probably revoked in the time of Pericles. Consequently it no longer existed in the time of Isocrates, and so could not appropriately be referred to by him. This objection therefore falls to the ground.

The second objection is found in a fragment of Theopompus<sup>4</sup> in which he says that Ἑλληνικὸς ὄρκος καταψεύδεται, ὃν Ἀθηναῖοί φασιν ὁμόσαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας πρὸ τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους. This is only a fragment, and we cannot say whether Theopompus is referring to this oath about the temples or to some other. Two other oaths were taken by the Greeks before Plataea<sup>5</sup> and the reference may be to one of them. But let us suppose for the sake of argument that Theopompus is referring to this oath about the temples. How then are we to explain away the passage in Plutarch, a passage granted to be based upon the best of authority, an official inscription? But this passage in Theopompus must be read with caution; for just below it he continues, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχην, οὐχ ἅμα πάντες ὑμνοῦσι γεγενημένην, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα, φησὶν, ἢ Ἀθηναίων πόλις ἀλαζονεύεται καὶ παρακρούεται τοὺς Ἕλληνας. A fragment of this sort, torn away from its context, so that we do not know what the author was talking about, can count for little, and so may be dismissed.

<sup>1</sup> *Lykurgos gegen Leokrates*, p. 173.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 272.

<sup>3</sup> 4, 156.

<sup>4</sup> Frag. 167 in Müller's *F. H. G.* Vol. I, p. 306.

<sup>5</sup> See Rehdantz, *Op. cit.* p. 173

Let me now very briefly sum up my conclusions. I think that the evidence shows that the Greeks did not rebuild any of the temples destroyed by the Persians before the time of Pericles; that the old temple of Athena was therefore never rebuilt; that Pericles, wishing to beautify the Acropolis, or perhaps to build a secure place for the money coming in from the Confederacy of Delos, called a meeting of the Greeks, one of the objects of which was to revoke the oath about the temples. The meeting did not take place; but the oath was revoked, and from that time on many of the old temples were rebuilt. At Athens the Acropolis was cleared of its ruins and the Parthenon begun.



## ON THE GREEK INFINITIVE AFTER VERBS OF FEARING

BY CHARLES BURTON GULICK

THE purpose of this paper is to examine a few notable instances of the use of the infinitive in Greek with verbs denoting fear, and if possible to define with some precision the limits within which this construction was allowed in the fifth century B.C. In endeavoring to restrict the construction, as I feel bound to do after studying the subject, to such well known uses as have abundant analogy in English, such as "I am afraid *to go*," φοβοῦμαι εἰθελν, I am led to a different interpretation of certain passages from that now commonly accepted. Even if the explanations here offered be contested, I shall be content if I have been able to illustrate once more that "self-restraint" of the language which, after the tendency to use a certain construction had begun, prevented it from reaching extremes that would have resulted in looseness and ambiguity.<sup>1</sup> In sentences with μή and the subjunctive or the optative (*Moods and Tenses* § 365 ff.), which are too familiar to call for fresh illustration here,<sup>2</sup> the object of apprehension is conceived as impending, either immediately or in the immediate future. The subject of the dependent verb may or may not be the same as that of the leading verb. The question which concerns us now is whether the infinitive may express the object feared in the same way, and if so, under what circumstances.

The most striking example of such an infinitive is that quoted by Professor Goodwin (*M. T.* § 373), from Aesch. *Sept.* 707<sup>3</sup>:

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. what Professor Gildersleeve says of the periphrastic tenses, *Syntax of Classical Greek*, Part I, § 285.

<sup>2</sup> A chapter on φόβος in Xen. *Cyrop.* 3, 1, 22 ff. shows the typical constructions.

<sup>3</sup> The numbering in the citations from Aeschylus is according to Wecklein's edition.

πέφρικα τὰν ὤλεσίοικον  
 θεόν, οὐ θεοῖς ὁμοίαν,  
 παναληθῆ, κακόμαντιν,  
 πατρὸς εὐκταίαν Ἐρινὺν  
 τελέσαι τὰς περιθύμους  
 κατάρας Οἰδιπόδα βλαψίφρονος.

The passage is commonly rendered: 'I shudder<sup>1</sup> at that goddess, destroyer of a House, not like other gods, prophet of evil all too true, the Fury invoked by a father's prayer — *I shudder at the idea of the Fury fulfilling* the angry curses of Oedipus, whose wits were shattered.'<sup>2</sup> This interpretation is based on the theory of an extension of the object infinitive from simple clauses like φοβούμαι ἀδικεῖν, in which the subject of the infinitive is the same as that of the controlling verb, to a wider usage allowing different subjects. This is certainly more correct than the older renderings, such as the Latin version in Schütz's edition (1809): *vereor ne iam [Furia] perfectura sit iratas amentis Oedipi diras*, according to which the infinitive is a mere arbitrary variant on the regular construction with μή and the subjunctive. Before I venture, with much diffidence, to suggest another explanation, it will be useful to examine other cases of apparently similar character.

In Thuc. 5, 105 (*M. T.* 372) we find οὐ φοβούμεθα ἐλασσώσεσθαι, 'we are not afraid that we shall be placed at a disadvantage,' where the future at once warns us that this is indirect discourse, pure and simple; φοβούμεθα, spoken in the confident and overbearing tone of the Athenians on this occasion, is only another expression for νομίζομεν or οἴομεθα. The phrase is entirely like οὐδ' ἡμεῖς οἴομεθα λελεύσεσθαι, used in the same chapter for the same contingency. This equivalence is proved by the converse construction, in which an ordinary verb of thinking controls an infinitive with μή instead of οὐ; e. g. Thuc. 6, 102: νομίσαντες μὴ ἂν ἔτι ἀπὸ τῆς παρουσίας σφίσι δυνάμειωσ ἱκανοὶ γενέσθαι κωλύσαι τὸν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τειχισμὸν, 'thinking (i. e. fearing) that with the forces at their disposal they should no longer prove equal to preventing the building of the wall towards the sea.' It is as if the writer, conscious of the fear entertained by the Syracusans, began to

<sup>1</sup> The "emotional perfect," Gildersleeve, § 230.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *M. T.* 373, followed by Liddell and Scott, and Verrall in his edition.

use μή (or μή οὐ here) with the subjunctive or optative, but ended by interweaving the two constructions.<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Od.* 22, 39 :

οὔτε θεοὺς δέισαντες οἳ οὐρανὸν εὐρὴν ἔχουσιν,  
οὔτε τιν' ἀνθρώπων νέμεσιν κατόπισθεν ἔσσεσθαι.

Admitting ἔσσεσθαι to be the right reading,<sup>2</sup> it is plain that its dependence upon δέισαντες is very loose. The poet at first had an antithesis in mind, θεοῦς and ἀνθρώπους, the latter expressed by τιν' ἀνθρώπων νέμεσιν. The words κατόπισθεν ἔσσεσθαι are an afterthought, appended to the notion of 'expect' which pervades the whole passage from vs. 35, where Odysseus says to the suitors: ὧ κύνες, οὐ μ' ἔτ' ἐφάσκειθ' ('ye did not expect') ὑπότροπον οἴκαδ' ἰκέσθαι.

Similarly, ὑποπτεύω takes the infinitive as well as μή with a finite verb, because the *thought* predominates over the *fear*. Xen. *Anab.* 2, 3, 13 : ὁ Κλέαρχος ἔσπευδεν, ὑποπτεύων μή αἰεὶ οὕτω πλήρεις εἶναι τὰς τάφρους ὕδατος.<sup>3</sup> Cf. Thuc. 1, 132 (of Pausanias) : ὑποψίας δὲ πολλὰς παρέιχε μή ἴσος βούλεσθαι τοῖς παροῦσι.<sup>4</sup>

Cases, therefore, like Xen. *Cyr.* 8, 7, 15, φοβήσεται ἀδικεῖν, where we have the object infinitive precisely as in English, or like Thuc. 5, 105, οὐ φοβούμεθα ἐλασσώσεσθαι, where the infinitive is in indirect discourse, have no bearing on the passage in the *Septem*. The well known use of the infinitive with κίνδυνος may seem comparable; but here the apprehended danger is conceived as a *subject*, as in Xen.

<sup>1</sup> See Classen's note *ad loc.*

<sup>2</sup> Marcianus and other MSS. have ἔθεσθε, which is not unintelligible.

<sup>3</sup> Hug, to be sure, reads ὑποπτεύων αὐτὸ τὸ πλήρεις εἶναι τὰς τάφρους ὕδατος, on grounds which have nothing to do with the present question.

<sup>4</sup> In both these cases the infinitive represents an indicative, not an optative or subjunctive. Perhaps, then, ὑπώπτεον γὰρ ἤδη ἐπὶ βασιλέα ἵνα in Xen. *Anab.* 1, 3, 1 may be rephrased: ὑπώπτεον μή ἐπὶ βασιλέα ἴασι, not ἴωσι or ἴωεν. In that case the future indicative (for εἶμι is a future) with μή (*M. T.* 367) might be explained, not as a variant on the construction with μή and the subjunctive, but as a future to the present indicative with μή (*M. T.* 369). Thus Ar. *Nub.* 493, δέδοικέ σ', ὦ πρεσβύτα, μή πληγῶν δέει means, 'I'm afraid you need a whipping,' and shows the present. Its corresponding future would be, μή πληγῶν δεήσει, 'I'm afraid you will have to have a whipping.' In ordinary language, however, μή δεήσει (fut. indic.) and μή δέη or δεήση (subjv.) mean about the same, and the tendency in our MSS. is to displace the future indicative by the more commonly used subjunctive, as in *Lys.* 12, 3.

*Anab.* 5, 1, 6, κίνδυνος πολλοὺς ἀπόλλυσθαι, which I should render, 'there is one danger: the loss of many of our men.' This is not strictly the expression of a fear; it is rather the calm statement of a risk to be expected. From this mild apprehension the transition to such familiar phrases as κινδυνεύεις ἀληθῆ λέγειν, 'you may possibly be right,' where there is no apprehension whatever, is both natural and easy.

The words and phrases<sup>1</sup> denoting fear, etc., occur with the infinitive whenever the fear, shame, doubt, or scruple leads to shrinking from the object and to precautions taken against it; or when the thought of indirect discourse is uppermost. In most cases, too, the subject of the infinitive is that of the main verb also. When, then, we find these conditions not met in πέφρικα τὰν Ἐρινὺν τελέσαι, we are justified in asking whether this sentence really belongs in the category just described. Following the prevailing usage, we ought to have μὴ τελέσῃ.

An examination of Aeschylus shows for all these words, when they occur, a perfectly normal and consistent usage. In fact, anomalous constructions in any category are not as common in Aeschylus as his well known obscurity might lead one to suppose. This obscurity is in almost all cases due to the pregnant use of single words or combinations of words; to compounds and the heaping of epithets which involve incongruous attributes and mixed metaphors. Syntactically, however, he is remarkably normal. Only a few notable syntactic peculiarities (and some of these are not exclusively his) can be cited. I note, for example, the omission of ὥστε in the case of an infinitive clearly consecutive in meaning, *Ag.* 485 ff.; the aorist infinitive παθεῖν<sup>2</sup> with μέλλω, *Prom.* 652; the aorist infinitive with φησί, an Homeric inheritance if the text is right, in *Sept.* 416; the potential optative without ἄν, *M. T.* 241, Gild. p. 182; the curious position of οὐ (οὔτι) μὴ in a dependent clause, *Ag.* 1640, *M. T.* 296 (c); μὴ and the future indicative with a verb of fearing, *Pers.* 118 ff.;<sup>3</sup> ὅταν ἐκσφραζοίαιτο *Pers.* 453-4. It was, then, his vocabulary, not his syntax, which caused him to be regarded as obscure. Herein he differs from Euripides and

<sup>1</sup> Chief among the verbs are ἀθυμῶ, εἰς ἀθυμίαν καταστῆναι, etc., ἀσχύνομαι, ἀπιστῶ, ἀπορῶ, δέδοικα, ἐλπίζω, ἐννοοῦμαι, εὐλαβοῦμαι, κίνδυνός ἐστι, ὀκνῶ, ὀρρωδῶ, σέβομαι, ταρβῶ, τρέμω, τρέω, ὑποπτέω, φοβοῦμαι, φρίσσω, φροντίζω, φυλάττομαι.

<sup>2</sup> See below on this word, p. 333.

<sup>3</sup> If indeed this can be called an anomaly. See p. 329, note 4.

Thucydides, whose sentences are formed with self-conscious delight in rhetorical artifice. Aeschylus, on the other hand, did not disdain the ordinary modes of constructing sentences, and is for example the first in literature to use the colloquial and intimate form of command given by ὄπως and the future indicative (*Prom.* 68). The criticisms on Aeschylus in Aristophanes are almost all directed against his diction, not his syntax. In *Ran.* 924 ff., it is said of him, ῥήματ' ἂν βόεια δώδεκα εἶπεν, ὄφρῦς ἔχοντα καὶ λόφους, δειν' ἄττα μορμωπά, ἄγνωστα τοῖς θεωμένοις; and again, 929: γρῦπαίτους χαλκηλάτους καὶ ῥήμαθ' ἱππόκρημνα, ἃ ξυμβαλεῖν οὐ ῥάδι' ἦν, all of which has reference to his novel, mouthfilling compounds. So *Nub.* 1367, ψόφου πλέων ἀγύστατον στόμφακα κρημνοποιόν.

This seems to me to lead to the presumption that had he intended to use τελέσαι as equivalent, even remotely, to μὴ τελέσῃ, we should find indication of this usage elsewhere. But, again, it is especially true of his use of words denoting fear that we find him employing the regular constructions. I cite a few instances: *Pers.* 811 οὐ βρέτη ἡδούντο συλᾶν, 'scrupled not to violate'; *Cho.* 898, μητέρ' αἰδεσθῶ κτανεῖν; 'am I to refrain (through any scruple) from slaying?'; *Ag.* 847 οὐκ αἰσχυνοῦμαι λέξαι, cf. *Cho.* 916; *Prom.* 655, ὀκνῶ θρᾶξαι φρένας; *Sept.* 406, τρέμω δ' αἱματηφόρους μόρους ὑπὲρ φίλων ὀλομένων ιδέσθαι<sup>1</sup>; *Pers.* 696, σέβομαι προσιδέσθαι; *Cho.* 45, φοβοῦμαι ἐκβαλεῖν, cf. *Suppl.* 384; τρέω has the accusative (*Sept.* 384, *Ag.* 554, *Eum.* 429), or the participle (*Suppl.* 719), or μὴ with the subjunctive (*Sept.* 775); φρίσσω, except in the passage under discussion, has the participle<sup>2</sup> (*Prom.* 556, 721, *Suppl.* 348, *Sept.* 477).

In all these cases there is no change of subject. In regard to φυλάττομαι, we note another important fact, that when the precaution is due to fear, μὴ with the subjunctive must necessarily be used, as in *Prom.* 406. *Suppl.* 507. For Aeschylus, the infinitive with φυλάττομαι would have been impossible here, as is seen from *Suppl.* 211: φυλάξο-

<sup>1</sup> Whatever the meaning of this much debated passage, it is at least clear that ιδέσθαι is an ordinary object infinitive. So, too, in another troubled passage, where φρονῶ is used in the sense of 'take precautions': *Suppl.* 781, φρόνει μὲν, ὡς ταρβοῦσα, μὴ ἀμελεῖν θεῶν.

<sup>2</sup> The infinitive is used in *Dem.* 21, 135, ὃ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐφριξε ποιῆσαι, i. e. 'have shrunk from doing.'

μαι δὲ τάσδε μεμνήσθαι σέθεν κεδνὰς ἐφετμάς, 'I shall be careful to remember,' not, of course, 'I shall beware of remembering.'

Apparently, then, the only way to express 'I shudder lest she may fulfil' is by *πέφρικα μὴ τελέσῃ*, as is shown twice in this same ode: *Sept.* 749, *δέδοικα δὲ σὺν βασιλεῦσι μὴ πόλις δαμασθῆ*; and 775, *νῦν δὲ τρέω μὴ τελέσῃ καμψίπους Ἑρινύς*. With this last sentence the poet reverts to the thought contained in the opening strophe, though expressed from a different point of view, as we shall presently see. The whole is thus made compact, the poet strikes hard with his main idea, and the emphasis is all the greater if he expresses himself each time in a different way.

Having established a presumption against the traditional interpretation, let us look at the positive evidence which may seem to support it. This may, at first sight, thought to be contained in three interesting passages in Euripides. *Med.* 1251: *ἰὼ Γᾶ τε καὶ παμφαῆς ἄκτις Ἑελίου, κατίδετε ἴδετε τὰν οὐλομένην γυναικα πρὶν φοινίαν τέκνοις προσβαλεῖν χέρ' αὐτοκτόνον· σᾶς γὰρ <σπέρμα> χρυσείας γονᾶς ἔβλασταν, θεοῦ δ' αἷμα <πίτνειν> φόβος ὑπ' ἀνέρων*. This passage is corrupt, but the main thought in it is clear. Many take *φόβος πίτνειν* to mean, 'there is fear that blood may be spilt.' This interpretation gives the effect of anticlimax after the excited invocation to Ge and Helios, and the words *κατίδετε . . . αὐτοκτόνον* are enough to show that the crime is already too imminent for apprehension of the future; in fact, it is all but committed. Plainly, then, Wecklein and others are right in taking *φόβος* as equal to *φοβερόν*: 'for it is a frightful thing for divine blood to be spilt by the hands of men.' This interpretation makes the clause beginning with *θεοῦ δ'* follow as a necessary explanation of *ἔβλασταν*, and brings out *θεοῦ* and *ἀνέρων*, standing at opposite points in the sentence, in more distinctly antithetic relief.

*Ion.* 1564: *θανεῖν σε δείσας μητρὸς ἐκ βουλευμάτων καὶ τήνδε πρὸς σοῦ*. Here at last we seem to have a genuine case. The aorist *θανεῖν* instead of *θανεῖσθαι* excludes the hypothesis of indirect discourse. The phrase is clearly used in the sense of *δείσας μὴ θάνῃς*. So in *Hec.* 768: *πατήρ νιν ἐξέπεμψεν, ὄρωδῶν θανεῖν*. The explanation, however, of this divergence from the normal construction is simple. In the *Ion* passage the use of the infinitive instead of the subjunctive has a rhetorical justification, since it contrasts *σέ* and *τήνδε*, mother and son,

more neatly than a finite mood, with its change of persons, possibly could. In this and the *Hecuba* passage *θανεῖν* is virtually a substantive; 'the father feared death' (for his son). This is so common a use of constantly recurring forms like *θανεῖν* and *παθεῖν* that I need illustrate it with only one passage, Mimnermus 2, 10: *τεθνάμεναι βέλτιον ἢ βίωτος*. So *παθεῖν* is equal to *πάθος* in Eur. *Frag.* 128: *τὰς συμφορὰς γὰρ τῶν κακῶς πεπραγόντων οὐπόποθ' ὕβρισ', αὐτὸς ὄρρωδῶν παθεῖν*. It is as if Perseus had said, 'because I fear Nemesis for myself.'<sup>1</sup>

In view of these passages, each of which has its own justification for the use of the infinitive, it appears to me unlikely that *τελέσαι* should have been used for the subjunctive by Aeschylus. Certainly, if the construction were recognized by later Greeks as normal, it would seem strange that it was not imitated by them. In Plut. *Pericles* 7 we have *φοβούμενος ἐξοστρακισθῆναι* made easy by the fact that the subject is unchanged. But even here the whole tone of the passage shows that this is not a vivid apprehension, but merely conditional on Pericles going into politics: 'if he entered on a public career he *expected* to be ostracised.' Hence he abstained.

In the passage from the *Septem* *τελέσαι* may be construed with *εὐκταίαν*, which has a participial force, as in *Sept.* 826, *πατρόθεν εὐκταία φάτις*, and *Ag.* 1386 *εὐκταίαν χάριν*, 'the gratification I have vowed.'

The word *εὐκταῖος* occurs five times in Aeschylus (*Sept.* 710, 825, *Ag.* 1386, *Frgt.* 55 Nauck, *Suppl.* 639). Like *ἀραιός*,<sup>2</sup> it may have both an active and a passive meaning: active, of prayers containing a vow, as in the comic tautology of Aristoph. *Av.* 1060, *εὐκταίαις εὐχαῖς*; passive, of the divinity invoked, as *Ἐρινός*, *Θέμις*, *θεός*, *Σελήνη*. The passive idea is more common in tragedy (Eur. *Med.* 169, *Or.* 214, *I. T.* 213, Soph. *Tr.* 239, Hesych. s. v. *Οὐρανῆ νόξ*).

Although no instances of the infinitive with *εὐκταῖος* actually occur, this may be a mere chance, for the scholiast on the *Septem* finds no diffi-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lys. 24, 10, *περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐμῆς ἱππικῆς, ἧς οὗτος ἐτόλμησε μνησθῆναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, οὔτε τὴν τύχην δεισας οὔτε ὑμᾶς ἀσχυθεῖς, οὐ πολλὸς ὁ λόγος*. Or, since the subject remains the same, we may explain *ὄρρωδῶν* as equivalent to *εὐλαβούμενος*, with Ammonius (Valck. p. 25, Eranius Phil. p. 158), who quotes the fragment: *ὄρρωδεῖν, ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐλαβεῖσθαι*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Pollux, 5, 130: *ἀραιός* of the man who utters an imprecation, and of the person imprecated.

culty in construing τελέσαι as I propose. In his comment on Ἐρινόν he says: ἦν ἐπηύξατο Οἰδίπους τελέσαι τὰς ἀράς. His explanation has been left unnoticed by the editors except Paley, who appears not to approve, though he can find no parallel to justify the common explanation of τελέσαι. Following the scholiast, then, I render: 'that Erinyes of a father, invoked to bring to fulfilment the angry curses of Oedipus.'







## ARGOS, IO, AND THE *PROMETHEUS* OF AESCHYLUS

BY JOSEPH CLARK HOPPIN

THE discovery of the poems of Bacchylides, which include an ode to Io (the nineteenth), has opened up a new field for the discussion of the myth, especially with reference to the version followed by Aeschylus in the *Prometheus*. Since the date of the *Prometheus* is intimately connected with this discussion, it seems advisable to consider the myth again with reference to some fresh material. I propose, therefore, to divide this article into two parts: the first, dealing with a vase heretofore unpublished on which a new version of the Io myth occurs, and the second, with the relation of the myth as represented by monuments to the Aeschylean and Bacchylidean versions, — to establish, if possible, the date of the *Prometheus* on a more secure foundation.

### I. THE DEATH OF ARGOS ON A RED-FIGURED HYDRIA<sup>1</sup>

The red-figured hydria of the Attic 'severe' style on which this scene occurs was formerly in the collection of Sig. Pascale at Santa Maria di Capua, and was acquired by me in 1898. Save for a brief description by Petersen (*Röm. Mitth.*, 1893, p. 328, No. 17), the vase has never been published. It is intact and in perfect condition, both glaze and decoration being of extreme fineness. Though impossible to assign to the hand or atelier of any of the well known Attic vase-painters, it presents a certain affinity to the later style of Brygos, and is probably to be assigned to a date shortly after the Persian wars; later than 470 B.C. it cannot be.

Height, 0.37 m. On rim, tongue pattern. On shoulder, bounded above and below by a black-figured lotos chain, and on either side by a black-figured dotted zig-zag chain (vertical), is the main design. In the centre, Argos to left, nude save for a leopard skin thrown over the left

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<sup>1</sup> A brief article on this hydria was read by me at the Archaeological Conference held in New Haven, December 28, 1899. Most of the conclusions there obtained have been embodied in this paper.

shoulder ; sword belt with sword which hangs from the left shoulder to the right arm-pit, and high, striped boots. He is bearded, and wears a fur pilos ; the entire surface of his body is covered with eyes (twelve in number), one showing under the left boot.<sup>1</sup> In his right hand he holds a club, which projects into the upper border, while looking behind him and stretching out his left with a gesture of fear towards Hermes. The latter to left, bearded, and clad in a chlamys which is fastened at the neck by a button, is in the act of drawing his sword from its scabbard. In his hair he wears a wreath, with a petasos hanging over his shoulder. Between him and Argos a Doric column, and behind him an altar ; at the extreme right of the group a female figure to left clad in chiton, himation, and saccos, with earrings and bracelets, holding up both hands in an attitude of astonishment. Her left hand projects into the side border.

To the left of Argos and partially concealed by him is Io in the form of a heifer, galloping wildly to left. In the field below Io and Argos are four small bushes. Facing Io, to right, is a female figure clad in chiton and himation, in her right hand a temple key, in her left a sceptre which projects into the upper border. Her hair is tied up with a band, and she wears a necklace, earrings, and bracelets. Behind her, at the extreme left of the group, a bearded, male figure clad in a himation, with a fillet in his hair, resting his right hand on his hip, his left raised in astonishment. Beneath his left arm-pit a knobbed staff which he uses as a support.

Purple paint is used for the fillets of Hermes and the other male figure, for the bands in the hair of the female figure with the key, for the sword belt of Hermes and the bushes in the field ; dark yellow paint on the leopard skin of Argos, the petasos of Hermes, and the saccos of the right hand female figure.

The identification of Argos, Hermes, and Io is perfectly certain ; the figure on the left with the staff is undoubtedly Zeus ; but the two female figures of the group are open to considerable discussion. That one is

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<sup>1</sup> Not visible in the drawing. This was made by Mr. F. Anderson under great difficulties, since being unable to have access to the vase itself, he was obliged to make the drawings from photographs, and those not very satisfactory. The result, however, has been extremely successful, and only in this small detail is the drawing inexact.

Hera and the other a priestess is the most natural explanation, but which of the two figures is Hera is difficult to decide. It would seem at first sight as if the figure beside the altar were the priestess and the other Hera. This is supported by the fact that Hera is more appropriately placed next to Zeus; that the sceptre is her usual attribute, and that the priestess belongs near the altar. Against this it may be urged that the temple key<sup>1</sup> as an attribute of Hera does not, so far as I know, occur on any monument, and that the attitude of the right hand female figure is paralleled by a figure on a black-figured amphora (Col. Bassegio in Rome, Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, I, p. 476, No. 14; Atlas, pl. VII, No. 9) which by an inscription is identified as Hera. On the whole, the bulk of the evidence seems to show that the figure with the key is a priestess, and the right hand figure Hera. This arrangement is not, perhaps, as unsymmetrical as it might seem, as the figures of Zeus and Hera would balance each other at the ends of the group.

As the myth of Io and Argos is so well known,<sup>2</sup> we may confine our

<sup>1</sup> Representations of the temple key are by no means unusual in Greek art. A list of the most important monuments is contained in Diels, *Parmenides Lehrgedichte: Anhang über griechische Thüren und Schlösser*. But invariably the key is represented as an attribute of the priestess. Vases which represent the myth of Iphigeneia among the Taurians (cf. Eurip. *Iph. Taur.* 1463 δὲ τῆσδε κληδουχεῖν θεᾶς; v. *Mon. d. Inst.* VI, 66; *Ann.* 1862, p. 116; *Mon. d. Inst.* II, 43; *Arch. Zeit.* 1849, pl. XII) show this clearly.

Inscriptions perhaps are more reliable. A representation of the key occurs on a grave relief in Athens (*Ἐθν. Μουσ.* No. 1727; *C. I. A.* II, 2169) of Apyllis, a priestess as proved by *C. I. A.* 1388: ἐπὶ ἑπέλας Ἀβρύλλιδος τῆς Μεκλώνος Κηφισέως θυγατρὸς. According to Milchhoefer, a relief of a priestess in the Museum at Argos (*Athen. Mitth.* IV, 1879, p. 155, No. 507) had represented on it a "sceptre shaped like a poppy" and a temple key. This seems significant, since the relief comes from Argos, with which place the Io myth is most intimately associated, and may perhaps show that the poppy-stalk sceptre (since such the sceptre on the hydria seems to be) as well as the key was an attribute of the priestess. A round stele in Athens (*C. I. A.* III, 1705) also contains a representation of the temple key.

For the above references I am indebted to Miss Susan Braley Franklin of Bryn Mawr.

<sup>2</sup> For a complete treatment of the Io myth in all its forms, v. Engelmann, *de Ione dissertatio archaeologica*, Halle, 1868; same author in Roscher's *Lexikon*, II, p. 263 ff.; Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq. Grec. et Rom.* III, p. 567; Overbeck, *op. cit.* I, p. 465 ff.; Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*, I, p. 394 ff.; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, I, p. 751.

selves to that part of the myth only, which deals with the surprise and slaughter of Argos by Hermès and the release of the unhappy Io. The literary conception of the myth will be more thoroughly analysed in the second part of this article; here we have to deal with existing monuments which are earlier than our hydria or contemporaneous with it.

Such monuments are extremely scarce and are confined, in fact, entirely to vase paintings. One plastic representation of the myth, the earliest known, occurred on the Amyclæan throne (Paus. 3, 18, 9), on which Io was represented as a heifer in the presence of Hera. Speculation as to whether Argos and Hermès were also represented is of course futile, seeing that the monument is lost to us. Of the vase paintings which represent the surprise and slaughter of Argos, five may be cited.

1. Black-figured amphora, Bassegio (Overbeck, *l. c.*). Hermès rushes at Argos with drawn sword; Io is represented as a heifer with Hera standing by in an attitude of astonishment.

2. Chalcidian amphora in Munich (Overbeck, *op. cit.* pl. VII 19). Io as a heifer led away by Hermès; Argos, as a giant, asleep.

3. Red-figured pinax from Chiusi, Hope Collection (Overbeck, *op. cit.* pl. VII 18). Hermès pressing on Argos with drawn sword, Io as a heifer.

4. Red-figured stamnos, Castellani Collection (Overbeck, *op. cit.* pl. VII 10; *Ann.* 1865 tav. d'agg. 1κ). Io (drawn through error on the painter's part as a bull), Hermès with drawn sword about to slay Argos, and Zeus sitting in a chair. In field two palm trees; eyes drawn all over the body of Argos.

5. Red-figured stamnos, Hope Collection (Overbeck, *op. cit.* pl. VII 12). Hermès with drawn sword seizing Argos by the throat, Zeus as a spectator. Eyes all over Argos' body; Io is not represented at all.

Of the five vases cited 1, 2, and 3 (which belongs to the Epiktetan cycle) are clearly older than our hydria; 4, which is in the style of Duris, is probably contemporaneous, or at least only a little earlier, while 5 seems to be of a slightly later date.

An analysis of these monuments shows the following facts: that Io was universally conceived as a heifer (1, 2, 3, and 4); that the conception of Argos as a being with more eyes than those allowed him by

nature was current as early as the sixth century;<sup>1</sup> that either Zeus or Hera were recognised as proper spectators of the scene (1, 4, and 5); lastly from the presence of the palm trees on 4, that the scene took place in a grove, undoubtedly the sacred grove of Hera.<sup>2</sup> All the monuments unite in showing that Argos met his death by the sword of Hermes and not by a sickle<sup>3</sup> or a stone.<sup>4</sup>

The scene on our hydria may be said to be a combination of the five monuments just considered, since the slaughter of Argos by Hermes is here represented, Io is treated as a heifer, Argos is provided with a multitude of eyes, both Zeus and Hera are present at the scene, and the grove is clearly indicated by the presence of the bushes. Two new features, however, are introduced; a priestess takes part in the scene, and the column and altar clearly denote a temple. In a sense these two features, priestess and temple, go together, but the presence of both on the same vase involves a number of rather interesting points.

As we have said the bushes on our hydria and the trees on 4 clearly point to the grove mentioned by Apollodorus. Although the accounts of the situation of the grove vary — Mycenae,<sup>5</sup> Argos,<sup>6</sup> Nemea,<sup>7</sup> even the island of Euboea<sup>8</sup> being mentioned — the balance of tradition inclines towards a situation in the Argolic plain; if such be the case, in all probability the grove was the sacred temenos of the Argive Heraeum,<sup>9</sup> a perfectly reasonable conjecture in view of Hera's connection with the myth. It is worthy of remark in view of the tradition which placed the grove in the island of Euboea, that the Argive Heraeum lies on the

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<sup>1</sup> Since Argos on 1 is represented as a double-headed monster (the same janiform head is found on an oxybaphon from Ruvo [Overbeck, *op. cit.* pl. VII, 13] belonging to the middle of the fifth century), and on 2 with an additional eye on his breast.

<sup>2</sup> As in Apollod. 2, 1, 3: οὗτος (i. e. Argos) ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐδέσμευεν αὐτὴν (Io) ἦτις ἐν τῷ Μυκηναίων ὑπῆρχεν ἄλσει.

<sup>3</sup> Ovid, *Metam.* 1, 671-721.

<sup>4</sup> Apollod. *l. c.*; Schol. Aeschyl. *Prom.* 568.

<sup>5</sup> Apollod. *l. c.* According to Stephanus of Byzantium Mycenae received its name from the 'mooing' of Io, a derivation differing materially from that of Pausanias (2, 16, 3).

<sup>6</sup> Aeschyl. *Prom.* 677; Soph. *Electra*, 4; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 16, 239.

<sup>7</sup> Lucian, *Deor. Dial.* 3; *Etym. Magn. s. v. ἀφέσιος.*

<sup>8</sup> Steph. Byz. *v. Ἀβαντίς*; *Etym. Magn. s. v. Εὐβοία*; Strabo 10, 445.

<sup>9</sup> Such at least is the connotation in Soph. *Electra*, 4; v. Jebb, *Electra*, 4 note.

slopes of Mt. Euboea, and a confusion of the mountain and the island in later times is perfectly comprehensible.

Now in addition to the grove, our hydria shows a column and an altar; that they are intended as the symbol of a temple is perfectly evident, and, in view of the numerous similar instances on red-figured vases, requires no further proof. Since one temple only answers the requirements of the tradition in favor of a temple situated near the grove, it is clear that we have here a symbolical representation of the Argive Heraeum. That the vase painter had ever seen the Heraeum or intended to reproduce it with accuracy, no one would claim; but that he was well acquainted with the essential details of the myth and its precise locality, which he here wished to emphasize, seems to me not only possible but extremely probable. There exists no valid reason for refusing to recognize here a symbolical representation of a shrine, which, as the recent American excavations on the site have shown, was at the time this vase was painted one of the most famous shrines of all Greece. Buildings or temples which actually existed in classical times occur constantly on monuments, especially on coins, as a superficial glance at the pages of Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner's *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias* will readily show. The Parthenon, for instance, is clearly indicated on a vase found in Southern Russia (Miss Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. 442, fig. 44) which reproduces the scene of the West Pediment of that temple. The omphalos and Apollo temple at Delphi occur constantly on vases which represent the purification of Orestes. In the last case, no one can maintain that an actual reproduction of the object concerned was sought for by the artist; but that he intended to symbolize an actually existing and well known building is self-evident.

That a temple is represented may well account for the presence of the priestess. A passage in the *Supplices* of Aeschylus, however, leads me to believe that there is a deeper significance in her presence, — a significance closely connected with the myth. At line 297 we read

κληδοῦχον Ἴρας φασὶ δωμάτων ποτὲ  
Ἴω γενέσθαι τῆδ' ἐν Ἀργεΐα χθονί.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hesychius (*Lex.* p. 380) calls her ἡ πρώτη ἱέρεια τῆς Ἀθηνῶν; clearly Ἴρας should be read here. Cf. also Apollod. *l. c.*; Schol. Aristid. 2, 3, 8; *Mythogr.* ed. Westermann, p. 324, Ἴω ἡ Ἀρέστορος ἱερᾶτο τῆ Ἴρα.



This would seem to imply that the idea of Io's being a priestess of Hera was known to the vase painter, and that he was endeavoring to represent Io in a dual capacity; not necessarily dual, of course, since we have Io present as a heifer, but undoubtedly her previous connection with the temple of Hera would be an additional reason for representing a priestess as present. The similarity of the treatment of the myth in the *Supplices* to that of our hydria is a significant point, and will be more fully discussed later.

A few other features of the scene on our hydria are important. Both Zeus and Hera are present at this scene, a combination, so far as I know, found on no other vase of the period. Both are present as spectators only, and it may perhaps be urged that as Zeus instigated Hermes to kill Argos, he might more properly be placed on the right of the scene. As a rule, the main figures of any given myth are attended on their respective sides by their several patron divinities. But Hermes being a god requires no such moral support. That a different moment of action is depicted constitutes one of the great differences between our hydria and the other vases; on them we see Hermes, with sword already drawn, seizing Argos by the throat or arm in a firm grasp. Here, however, Hermes is in the act of drawing his sword and has not yet laid violent hands on Argos, who is still at large. The leopard skin is the usual attribute of Argos<sup>1</sup> (we find it on 1 and most of the later monuments), but with the exception of a vase of the Southern Italian style (Overbeck, *op. cit.* pl. VII, 13 and 16), I know of no other case where boots are given him. Argos wears the pilos on 3; he carries a club in Overbeck, *op. cit.* pl. VII, 13 and 16. No other vase painting, so far as I know, represents him with a sword.<sup>2</sup> The heifer on our hydria is treated in a far more satisfactory manner than on the other vases; the udder and teats are carefully drawn,<sup>3</sup> and leave no doubt that the myth was clearly defined in the artist's mind. Only one of the heifer's hind legs is visible, but as the same is true of the horn, careless

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<sup>1</sup> Cook (*J. H. S.* XIV, 1894, p. 125, note 250) considers that the skin and the addition of the eyes may signify that Argos, in early times, was regarded as a leopard.

<sup>2</sup> The sword as an attribute occurs on a Pompeian wall painting; v. Overbeck, *op. cit.* pl. VII, 11.

<sup>3</sup> Which is certainly not the case on 3. In the other vases either a bull is represented (as on 4) or the sex of the animal is not indicated at all.

drawing can alone be responsible for the omission. The spirited dash of the wretched animal is clearly represented and suggests the similar figure of the bull on one of the Vaphio cups.

## II. THE LITERARY CONCEPTION OF THE IO MYTH DURING THE EARLY FIFTH CENTURY

Having analysed the artistic conception of the Io myth which prevailed in Greece until the time just after the Persian wars, we may now examine the literary evidence and compare the two.

The Io myth in its general form was known to both Homer and Hesiod; at least if we may assume that the epithet ἀργειφόντης found so constantly in the Iliad, and, according to Apollodorus (2, 1, 3) in Hesiod as well, refers to the slaying of Argos by Hermes. That such is the case, is, I believe, the view now usually accepted.<sup>1</sup> Further, we learn from the scholiast to Euripides (*Phoen.* 1116) that the cyclic poem Aigimios represented Argos with four eyes, two before and two behind — a conception borne out by two of the vases previously cited. More satisfactory evidence is furnished by the *Supplices* and the *Prometheus* of Aeschylus, and the nineteenth ode of Bacchylides; in them we find the myth treated with a good deal of detail, showing even without monumental evidence that the status of the myth as a whole was clearly defined in the Greek mind during the first half of the fifth century. But the treatment of the myth in the *Supplices* and in Bacchylides differs materially from that in the *Prometheus*, and in order to obtain a clear idea of the dates of these works it is necessary to call in the help of monumental evidence.

In the *Supplices* we have perfectly clear evidence that Io was turned into a heifer (303: βούν τὴν γυναῖκ' ἔθηκεν Ἀργεία θεός); that Argos was a creature of many eyes (307: τὸν πάνθ' ὀρώντα φύλακ' ἐπέστησεν βοί); and that he met his death at the hands of Hermes (309: Ἄργον, τὸν Ἑρμῆς παῖδα γῆς κατέκτανε). Bacchylides follows practically the same version; from such expressions as χρυσέα βούς, καλλιέραν δάμαλιν it is evident that he also conceived Io as a heifer. The manner in which Argos was surprised by Hermes, though treated by Bacchylides at some length, does not concern us. In the *Prometheus*,

<sup>1</sup> v. Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*, I, p. 394 and note 3.

on the other hand, we find that one important change has taken place; Io is no longer represented as a heifer but as a horned maiden (612: κλύεις φθέγμα τᾶς βούκερω παρθένου;). That the other details of the myth are unchanged matters little in view of such a radical departure in this one feature from the old order.

The theory has been advanced by Engelmann (*l. c.*) that the earliest instances of the Io myth in Greek art represented her as a heifer, but that owing to the influence of the dramatists, especially Aeschylus, and the introduction of a maiden with horns on her forehead on the stage instead of a heifer, it was the fashion in later art to represent Io as a βούκερος παρθένος. That Engelmann's first contention is correct we have seen, since all the monuments earlier than the Persian wars represent Io as a heifer and never as a maiden. That the drama should have represented her as a maiden is of course natural, since it would have been contrary to all the ethics of Greek tragedy to represent a speaking animal on the stage. So far as we know, Aeschylus is the first to make such a change, but it remains to be seen whether the art of the period responded to it. In spite of the fact that Greek art was extremely conservative, it is at least permissible to draw this broad conclusion: that all monuments following the older version of the Io myth are earlier than the Prometheus, while those that represent her as a horned maiden are later. We must now decide whether the chronological division will hold in every case.

Since the excavations of the Acropolis in 1886 and the discovery of a large number of vase fragments, which, from their position, must have been earlier than 480 B.C., Greek ceramic art has received a fixed chronological point, and it is a safe assertion that vases which are later in style than any of the Acropolis fragments must be of a later date. Now of the monuments which we examined in the first half of this article, our hydria, the stamnos from the Castellani Collection, and the oxybaphon from Ruvo are all later in style than the Acropolis vases, the hydria and stamnos being practically contemporaneous, and the oxybaphon of a somewhat later date, perhaps ten or fifteen years. Certainly the date of the latter is not earlier than 470 B.C., while the two former cannot be later. While the hydria and stamnos follow the older version of the myth, the oxybaphon represents Io as a horned maiden. Moreover until the time of the Pompeian wall paintings, no monument

can be found which represents Io in any other way than as a maiden. Clearly then in vase-painting at least such a change takes place somewhere about 470 B.C.

Up to the present time two different dates are assigned to the *Prometheus* of Aeschylus. The earlier date is 478 B.C., since it is assumed that the eruption of Aetna described in the *Prometheus* is that mentioned by Thucydides (3, 116) for which the Parian marble gives us the date. This date is adopted by Gulick for the oldest stratum of the play (*Harvard Studies* X, pp. 110-114). We are not of course considering the question of the present form of the *Prometheus*, which Bethe has shown very plausibly (*Prolegg. z. einer Gesch. d. Theaters*, pp. 159 ff.) has been considerably amended from its original form. The later date, 468 B.C. is that adopted by von Christ (*Sitzungsberichte der Münchener Akademie* 1888, 1, p. 375) who thinks that Aeschylus may have written the *Prometheus* after his return from Sicily. The *Supplices*, which among the other tragedies most concerns us, is regarded by some authorities as the earliest Aeschylean drama though its date is unknown. It may be safely said, however, that Boeckh's date, 461 B.C., is much too late.

Less certain too is the date of the nineteenth ode of Bacchylides, which Kenyon is disposed to date shortly after the Persian wars.

A combination, therefore, of the literary and monumental sources of the Io myth shows us the following: first, an earlier version (Io as a heifer) which is illustrated by the *Supplices*, by the ode of Bacchylides, our hydria and the first four vases of the list cited above; secondly, a later version, illustrated by the *Prometheus*, the red-figured oxybaphon from Ruvo and vases mostly of the Southern Italian style (Overbeck, *op. cit.* pl. VII, 7, 8, 16, and 17). The two groups are sharply defined, and there is practically no point of contact between them.

It may perhaps be urged that this point in itself does not constitute evidence which cannot be refuted; that there is no reason why the *Prometheus* should not have been written even before our hydria was made, since the vase-painters' art was conservative, and that such a radical introduction of a maiden instead of a heifer could not have been generally accepted before contemporary art chose to utilize it generally. I admit this. But, on the other hand, since we are dealing with a question of probabilities, it is singular to find that the two groups

are so sharply defined, and that outwardly at least no point of contact exists. Using the argument *a fortiori*, it is far more natural to follow Engelmann's hypothesis and assume that it was the *Prometheus* which introduced the new theme, and that its effect on contemporary art was fairly rapid. If it could be shown that between our hydria — which we assume to be the latest of the earlier version — and those vases which reflect the new Aeschylean version a space of some two hundred years exists (as would be the case were the only vases which portray the new version of a Southern Italian origin), we might naturally hesitate; but seeing that the oxybaphon is not far removed from our hydria in point of style; that of the later vases just cited, the one in Overbeck VII, 16, may be as early as the beginning of the fourth century; finally, that after the Persian wars representations of mythological scenes on vases are far outnumbered by purely *genre* or secular themes, the theory just advanced for the later origin of the *Prometheus* is not without fairly substantial grounds.

To sum up, therefore, the following conclusions seem permissible. As both the ode of Bacchylides and the *Supplices* follow a version of the Io myth which is seen to be common on vase painting certainly as late as 475 B.C., they are undoubtedly earlier than that date, and the *Supplices*, in accordance with other internal evidence is the earliest Aeschylean drama which has come down to us. As the *Prometheus*, on the other hand, gives us a treatment of the myth diametrically opposed to the earlier form, which is followed by a vase belonging to a date certainly later than 475 B.C. and by all the later monuments, it can hardly have been written before 475 B.C. I should feel inclined, therefore, to assume that the date adopted by von Christ is the true one, and that the *Prometheus* was composed or publicly performed not much earlier than 468 B.C., — the same year in which the Mycenaeans, with whom Io was so intimately associated, were swallowed up by their envious neighbors, the Argives.



## GENERAL INDEX

---

- ab* in Horace, 249 ff.  
 syntax of, 255 ff.
- abitus*, use of, 248.
- ablego*, use of, 248.
- abnuo*, use of, 248.
- abs*, 249 f.
- Acropolis, old temple on, 319 ff.
- Acts of the Apostles, 300 ff.
- adiutorium*, 129.
- Aeschylus, *Prometheus* of, 335 ff.  
 syntax of, 330 f.
- ἀγάπη, management of the feast in Alexandria, 192 ff, 196.
- ALLINSON, F. G., Lucianea, 181 ff.
- ἀν, possible euphonic omission of, 145 f.  
 with subjunctive, III, 116.
- Anapaestic opening of iambic trimeters, 163.
- ἀναστροφή (ἀναδίπλωσις), 138.
- ἀναθρῶν, ἀθρῶν, 146 f.
- Animal food, 192 f, 198.
- Anticipatory subjunctive, 119, 315 f.
- Antigone* of Euripides, 267 ff.
- Aphaeresis (*elisis inversa*), 153 ff.
- ἀραῖος, 333.
- Argos, on a red-figured hydria, 335 ff.
- Aristarchus, 152.
- Aristophanes of Byzantium, 152, 268, 287 ff.
- Aristotle, 212 n.
- Astydamas, victorious with an *Antigone*, 276.
- Athens, old temple of, 319 ff.
- Athenian society, 219.
- Athens, Capuchin plans of, 221 ff.
- ἄθροισμα, 203.
- Augment, possible absence of in iambic trimeters, 154 ff.
- BABBITT, F. C., the use of μή in questions, 307 ff.
- Bacchus, Theatre of, 228 f.
- Bacchylides, 19th ode, 335 ff.
- BATES, W. N., Notes on the old temple of Athena on the Acropolis, 319 ff.
- Callias, alphabetical tragedy, 152.
- Capuchin plans of Athens, 221 ff.
- Catullus *vs.* Horace, 7 ff.
- Cicero, date of the oration *pro Roscio Comodo*, 237 ff.
- Clement of Alexandria, 191 ff.
- Close of μέτρον, a complete word, 151.
- Codex Urbinae 141, 69 ff.
- Commissurae of successive verses in iambic trimeters, 157 ff.
- Conington on the Augustan poets, 7 ff.
- Cratylus*, of Plato, 175 f.
- δαίμονες, 195.
- Dative case, in Sophocles, 158.
- deserveo*, use of, 248.
- δή, as ἤδη in Sophocles, 149 f.
- Dialogues of Plato and the Greek drama, 165.
- DYER, L., Plato as a playwright, 165 ff.
- ῆ and ῆν, forms of εἰμί, 148.
- ἤδη and δή in Sophocles, 149 f.
- ἐλεινόν, εἰλενόν, 164.
- elisis inversa* (aphaeresis), 153 ff.
- Ellipsis in some Latin constructions, 1 ff.
- Elmsley, on augment in iambic trimeters, 154.

## Emendations:

- Lucian *Char.* (22) 184 f.; (24) 185;  
*Jud. Voc.* (5) 183; *Mort. Per.*  
 (3) 188; (43) 190; *Somn.* (16,  
 17) 182; *Vit. Auct.* (14) 186.  
 Sophocles, *O. C.* (858 ff.), 157;  
 (1605), 157.  
*O. T.* (671 f.), 163.  
*Tr.* (1), 148; (171), 158; (564),  
 148; (759), 158; (1151), 159.  
*Fragm.* (423), 159.  
 ἐν, omitted for euphony, 148 f.  
 Enneacrunus, 222 ff.  
 εἶς, with and without ἄν in Sophocles,  
 146.  
 Ephorus, 213.  
 Epistle to the Hebrews, 194.  
 ἐπισυναλοιφή in Sophocles, 151 ff.  
 εἰκταῖος, in Aeschylus, 333.  
 εἶ φρονῶν, 141.  
 Euripides, *Antigone* of, 267 ff.  
 EVERETT, WILLIAM, Catullus *vs.* Horace,  
 7 ff.  
*Expecto quam mox*, use of, 247.  
*Extemplo*, use of, 247.  
 Fear, expressions denoting, in Aeschylus,  
 330 f.  
 Fearing, verbs of, 327 ff.  
 FLAGG, I., iambic composition of Sopho-  
 cles, 59 ff.  
*forsitan*, 119 f.  
 FOWLER, H. N., The origin of the state-  
 ments contained in Plutarch's Life  
 of Pericles, chapter xiii, 211 ff.  
 Fusion, of constructions, 122.  
 Future indicative, with verbs of fearing,  
 329 n. 4.  
 Ghosts in the Odyssey drinking the blood,  
 like eaters of animal food, 192 f.  
 GREENOUGH, J. B., On ellipsis in some  
 Latin constructions, 1 ff.  
 GULICK, C. B., On the Greek Infinitive  
 after Verbs of Fearing, 327 ff.

- HALE, W. G., The origin of subjunctive  
 and optative conditions in Greek  
 and Latin, 109 ff.  
 Hebraisms in S. Luke, 299 f.  
 Hedonistic calculus, the, in Plato, 201.  
 Heliodorus, metrician, 151.  
 Hephaestion, 151.  
 Hermann, on augment, 154.  
 Hermes, on a red-figured hydria, 336.  
 Historical Infinitive, 128.  
 HOPPIN, J. C., Argos, Io, and the *Pro-  
 metheus* of Aeschylus, 335 ff.  
 Horace and Catullus, 7 ff.  
 Quintilian's quotations from, 234 ff.  
 the preposition *ab* in, 249 ff.  
 HOWARD, A. A., Notes on a fifteenth  
 century manuscript of Suetonius,  
 261 f.  
 HOWES, G. E., The use of μή with the  
 participle, 277 ff.  
 Hydria, a red-figured, 335 ff.  
 Hyginus, source of version of *Antigone*,  
 272 ff.  
 Iambic composition of Sophocles, 59 ff.  
 Iambic trimeters, Sophocles's and Aes-  
 chylus's, 160.  
 unaugmented verbs in, 154.  
 Infinitive, after verbs of fearing, 327 ff.  
 epexegetic, in Sophocles, 144.  
 Io, 335 ff.  
 Isocrates, on repetition of sounds, 138.  
*iussio*, 129.  
*καὶ δὴ* in Sophocles, 150.  
*κινδύνος*, with infinitive, 329 f.  
*Laws*, of Plato, 207.  
 Luciana, 181 ff.  
 Lucretius, relation of, to Plato, 201 ff.  
 use of *ab* in, 251.  
 Luke, an observation on the style of,  
 299 ff.  
 Lutoslawski's chronology of Plato's dia-  
 logues, 166.



- Marriage and family life, contrast in teaching of Musonius and Clement, 196.
- μή*, use in conditions, 111.  
with participle, 277 ff.  
use in questions, 307 ff.  
direct, 307 ff.  
indirect, 314 ff.  
with verbs of fearing (explanation), 317.  
with independent subjunctive (explanation), 317.  
moods with, 315 ff.
- μέσφ*, always with *ἐν* in Sophocles, 148.
- Messengers' speeches in tragedy, 155 f.
- μῶν*, in questions, 310 ff.
- MOORE, C. H., Notes on the tragic hypotheses, 287 ff.
- MORGAN, M. H., *Miscellanea*, 231 ff.
- Munro's Lucretius, 7.
- Musonius in Clement, 191 ff.
- Mystical philosophy, traces of, in Clement, 194 ff., 200.
- μυθοποια*, 269 f.
- novellus*, 133.
- novissimus*, use of, 246 f.
- noviter*, 132.
- ὁ* to indicate Vocative, 126.
- Oath taken by Greeks before Plataea, 321.
- ῶν*, ellipsis of, 144 f.
- Optative conditions in Greek and Latin, 109 ff.
- ὡς*, ellipsis of, 140, 142.  
'since,' followed by *ὡς*, 'that,' 143.  
= *ὥστε*, c. inf., 143.
- ὡς ἀνιαρῶς*, *ὡσαύτως*, 140.
- ὡσαύτως*, ablative of *τὸ αὐτό*, 140.
- ὡς ἐτέρως*, *ἄλλως*, 140.
- ὥστε* and *ὡς*, 142 ff.
- Paedagogus*, of Clement of Alexandria, 191 ff.
- PARKER, C. P., Musonius in Clement, 191 ff.
- Participles, *μή* used with, 277 ff.
- παθεῖν*, used as substantive, 333.
- PATON, J. M., The *Antigone* of Euripides, 267 ff.
- paullulum compendii facere*, use of, 246.
- Pericles and Phidias, 214 ff., 218 ff.
- Peripatetic doctrine, 193, 200.
- Persians, towns burned by, 322.
- petitor*, 'candidate,' 231 f.
- Phidias, 215 ff.
- φυλάττομαι*, in Aeschylus, 331.
- Plato, anticipates Epicurus, 202.  
as a playwright, 165 ff.  
Lucretius, 201 ff.
- Platonism, traces of, in Clement, 194 f.
- Plautus, *a*, *ab*, and *abs* in, 249.  
'plural of reserve,' 141.
- Plutarch's *Life of Pericles*, sources of, 211 ff.
- Pnyx, 222.
- Potential subjunctive, 119.
- πρὶν*, omission of *ἄν* with, 146.
- Protagoras*, of Plato, 170 ff.
- Pythagorean doctrine, traces of, in Clement, 192 ff.
- Questions, four forms of, in Greek, 307.  
introduced by *μή*, 307 ff.  
rhetorical, 312 ff.  
moods in, 315 ff.
- quia*, 127.
- quin* with the subjunctive in questions, 232 ff.
- Quintilian's quotations from Horace, 234 ff.
- ROLFE, J. C., The preposition *ab* in Horace, 249 ff.
- ROPES, J. H., An observation on the style of S. Luke, 299 ff.
- Rules for recovering the text of Musonius from Clement, 200.

- Scholia, on the *Aves* of Aristophanes in  
Codex Urbinas 141, 72 ff.  
of Terence, 125 ff.  
*scriptio plena*, elision not indicated, 156.
- SHOREY, P., Plato, Lucretius, and Epicurus, 201 ff.
- SMITH, C. L., A Preliminary Study of certain Manuscripts of Suetonius' Lives of the Caesars, 19 ff.
- Socrates, in Plato, 165, 168.  
*sodes*, 126, 134.  
Σοφόκλειον, τὸ εἶδος, 151 ff.
- Sophocles, euphonic ellipses in, 137 ff.  
iambic composition of, 59 ff.
- Sound, duplication of, in Sophocles, 140 n.
- Stesimbrotus, 215 and n.
- Subjunctive and optative conditions in Greek and Latin, 109 ff.
- Suetonius, a fifteenth century manuscript of, 261 ff.
- Suetonius, Lives of the Caesars: division into books, 38; into chapters, 39; Greek passages in, 38; manuscripts, 19 ff.; cod. Memmianus (*A*), 19, 23, 40 f., 48; cod. Gudianus II (*G*<sup>2</sup>), 41 ff., 48; cod. Monacensis (*Mon*), 22, 41 ff., 48; codd. Medicei I, III (*M*<sup>1</sup>*M*<sup>3</sup>), 21, 46 ff., 48; codd. Medicei II, IV, V (*M*<sup>2</sup>*M*<sup>4</sup>*M*<sup>5</sup>), 21 f., 48 ff.; cod. Lat. Reg. Suec. 833 (*R*<sup>1</sup>), 21, 47 f.; cod. Vaticanus 1904 (*V*<sup>4</sup>), 20, 23, 44 ff., 48; codd. Vaticani 1860, 7310 (*V*<sup>0</sup>*V*<sup>1</sup>), 20, 23, 48 ff.; cod. Vaticanus 1905 (*V*<sup>5</sup>), 20, 54 ff.; codd. Parisini 6116, 5802, 49 n.; Memmianus group, 48; Medicean group, 48; Florentine group, 53; Urbinas group, 54; value of fifteenth century manuscripts, 57 f.
- tantum laborem capere*, use of, 246.
- Temple of Apollo at Abae, 320.  
at Elataea, 322.  
at Eleusis, 323.  
at Rhamnus, 324.  
at Sunium, 324.
- Temple keys, in Greek art, 337.
- Temples, symbolically represented on vases, 340.
- Terence, scholia to *Hecyra* v, 4, 126.  
scholia to *Phormio*, 126 ff.  
use of *ab* in, 251.
- θαυεῖν, used as substantive, 333.  
*that*, 137.
- Theopompus, 212 n.
- Theseum, 222.  
*Timaeus*, of Plato, 204 ff.
- Towns burned by Persians, 322.
- Tragic hypotheses, 268 ff., 287 ff.
- Trimeter, in Sophocles, 59 ff.
- Tzetzēs, Greek notes of, on the *Aves* in Codex Urbinas 141, 69 ff.
- Unaugmented forms of verb, denied in iambic trimeters, 156.
- ὕπερ, compounds of, in Sophocles, 147.
- versus hypermetri*, 152 f.
- Virgil, use of *ab* in, 251.
- Volitive subjunctive, 113 and n.
- WARREN, M., Unpublished Scholia from the Vaticanus (C) of Terence, 125 ff.
- Wendland, Paul, 191 ff
- WHEELER, J. R., Notes on the so-called Capuchin plans of Athens, 221 ff.
- WHITE, J. W., Tzetzēs's Notes on the *Aves* of Aristophanes in Codex Urbinas 141, 69 ff.
- Word-elision, in Sophocles, 139 ff.
- Word-groups split between verses, 157 ff.
- WRIGHT, J. H., Studies in Sophocles, 137 ff.

## INDEX OF IMPORTANT CITATIONS

---

- Acts* (1-14), 304.  
 Aeschines (3, 64), 236.  
 Aeschylus, *Agam.* (308), 163; *Cho.* (177), 316; (595), 145; *Pers.* (313), 155; (468), 155; (506), 155, 163; (510), 143; *P. V.* (216), 163; (848f.), 163; (959), 312; *Sept.* (1), 162; (267), 163; (707 ff.), 327 ff.; *Suppl.* (292), 310; (297), 340 f.  
 Alcman, fragment, 139.  
 Antipho (5, 14), 315.  
 Aristophanes, *Ach.* (418), 311; *Aves* (1716), 152; *Eccles.* (351), 152; *Nub.* (493), 329, n. 4; *Pax* (605), 218; (746), 311; (1292), 315; *Ran.* (526), 313.  
 Callimachus (*Epigr.* 42), 151.  
 Catullus, (11), 13; (34), 11.  
 Cicero, M. T.,  
     *Cael.* (43), 248; *Cat.* (1, 22), 2;  
     *Cluent.* (*passim*), 245; *Imp. Pomp.* (*passim*), 245; *Legg.* (1, 14), 234; *Mil.* (100), 248; *Mur.* (44), 231; *Off.* (3, 75), 109; *Planc.* (7), 231; *Quinct.* (13), 237; *Rep.* (6, 14), 234; *Rosc. Com.* (*passim*), 237 ff; *Tusc.* (1, 115), 3; *Verr.* (2, 10, 56) 118.  
 Cicero, Q., *Comm. Pet.* (18, 25, 42, 45), 231.  
 Dio Chrysostom (402 R.), 217, n. 3.  
 Diodorus (11, 29, 1), 321.  
 Euripides, *Bacch.* (1273-6), 274; *Cycl.* (657), 143; *Hec.* (768), 332 f.;  
     *Her.* (481), 314; *Ion* (1564 f.), 332; *I. T.* (551), 312; *Med.* (1251 ff.), 332; *Orest.* (209), 314; *Frag.* (128), 333; (167-9), 271; (176), 271.  
 Eustathius *ad Hom.* (Ξ 265), 152.  
 Hephaestion (p. 16 Westph.), 151.  
 Herodotus (8, 33; 8, 35; 8, 50; 9, 65), 322.  
 Herondas (1, 2), 315.  
 Homer, *Iliad* (3, 52), 118; (8, 206), 152; (9, 701), 117; (10, 100), 316; (18, 306), 118; (22, 252), 118.  
     *Odyssey* (4, 345), 118; (5, 300), 317; (5, 356), 316; (5, 415), 316; (6, 199), 307; (11, 37), 198; (22, 39), 329.  
 Horace, *C.* (1, 12, 41), 234 ff.; (1, 21), 11; (1, 25), 16; (1, 37), 4; *Ep.* (1, 1, 73), 235; *S.* (1, 4, 11), 235; (2, 5, 18), 2.  
 Hygin. *Fab.* (72), 272.  
 Hypotheses, Aesch. (*Agam.*), 293.  
     *Eur.* (*Hel.*), 297; (*Ion*), 289; (*Med.*), 295 f.; (*Phoen.*), 269; (*Troad.*), 290.  
     *Luc.* (*Ocypr.*), 289.  
     *Soph.* (*Ant.*), 268, 270; (*O. C.*), 291; (*O. T.*), 291 f.  
 Inscriptions, *C. I. A.* (ii, 973), 276.  
     *C. I. L.* (ii, 5439), 232.  
 Isocrates (4, 156), 325.  
 Lucian, *Char.* (12), 184; (16), 184; (22), 184; (24), 185; *Jud. Voc.*

- (5) 183; *Mort. Per.* (3), 188; (11), 189; (43), 190; *Somm.* (2), 181; (9), 181; (16), 182; (17), 182; *Timon* (57), 312; *Vit. Auct.* (14), 186; *V. H. B.* (1), 187.
- Lucilius *ap. Non.* (300, 27), 233; (425, 32), 233.
- Lucretius (1, 798), 233; (2, 845 ff.), 204; (3, 358), 210; (4, 376), 207; (5, 325), 207; (5, 973), 209.
- Luke (1, 4), 304.
- Lycurgus (81), 319 f.
- Lysias (12, 44) 236 f.
- Ovid, *Her.* (7, 131), 120; (10, 77), 109, 119.
- Pausanias (1, 1, 5), 323; (10, 35, 2), 320, 323.
- Plato Com. *παιδάριον*, 310.
- Plato, *Ap.* (24 D, 25), 308; (28 D), 312; (37 D), 313; *Crat.* (418 D), 209; (425 B), 315; *Crito* (44 E), 310; *Laws* (660 A), 207; (677), 207; *Phaedo* (64 C), 316; (91 D), 316; *Theaet.* (184 C), 210; *Tim.* (50 E), 204.
- Plautus, *Mil.* (426), 232.
- Plutarch *Peric.* (13), 33; (17), 321.
- Ps. Apollodorus *Bibl.* (3, 56), 293.
- Scholia, Aristoph. *Av.*, 69 ff.; *Pax* (605), 217 n 1.  
 Hom. (Ω 331), 152.  
 Soph. (*Antig.* 1350), 268.  
 Stat. (*Theb.* 12, 510), 292 f.
- Sextus Empiricus (*Math.* 7, 350), 210; (3, 697), 295.
- Solon, (13, 71), 149.
- Sophocles, *Aj.* (678 f.), 161; (760 f.), 146; (791), 311; (846 f.), 163; (1236), 147; (1310-12), 147; (1398 f.), 161.  
*Ant.* (9), 141; (82), 147; (162), 67; (278), 314; (291), 143; (316), 140; (447-455), 144; (557), 141; (705), 142; (726), 150; (891), 65; (904), 141; (1168), 117; (1253), 314.
- El.* (1), 63; (61), 145; (313), 148; (461), 161; (603), 162; (899), 145; (975), 62; (1354), 62.
- O. C.* (11), 162; (17), 152; (23), 150; (252), 146 f.; (451), 162; (562-565), 142; (656), 162; (728), 60; (858 ff.), 157; (917), 162; (947), 140; (1025), 142; (1164), 152; (1502), 313; (1605), 157; (1624), 155.
- O. T.* (1), 64; (26), 163; (29), 152; (332), 151 f.; (380), 66; (671), 163; (707), 162; (794), 162; (900), 148; (1223), 60; (1224), 152; (1400 f.), 162.
- Phil.* (75), 144; (361), 142; (438), 161; (605), 162; (764), 146; (1285), 164.
- Tr.* (1), 148; (148), 146; (171), 158; (265), 142; (314), 146; (380), 163; (388), 146; (473), 145; (564), 148; (626), 142; (675), 158; (759), 158; (783), 142; (1151), 159.
- Strabo (9, 395), 217, n. 2, 323.
- Suetonius, *de Vita Caesarum (passim)*, 31 ff., 42.
- Tacitus, *Ann.* (4, 11), 233.
- Terence, *Eun.* (811), 233; *Phorm.* (1015), 232.
- Theopompus (*Frag.* 167), 325.
- Vitruvius (7 praef. 16), 323.
- Xenophon, *Mem.* (4, 2, 10), 309; *Oec.* (4, 4), 316; (12, 1), 309; *Symp.* (8, 25), 236.





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