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# HARVARD STUDIES

IN

# CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

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

VOLUME XV

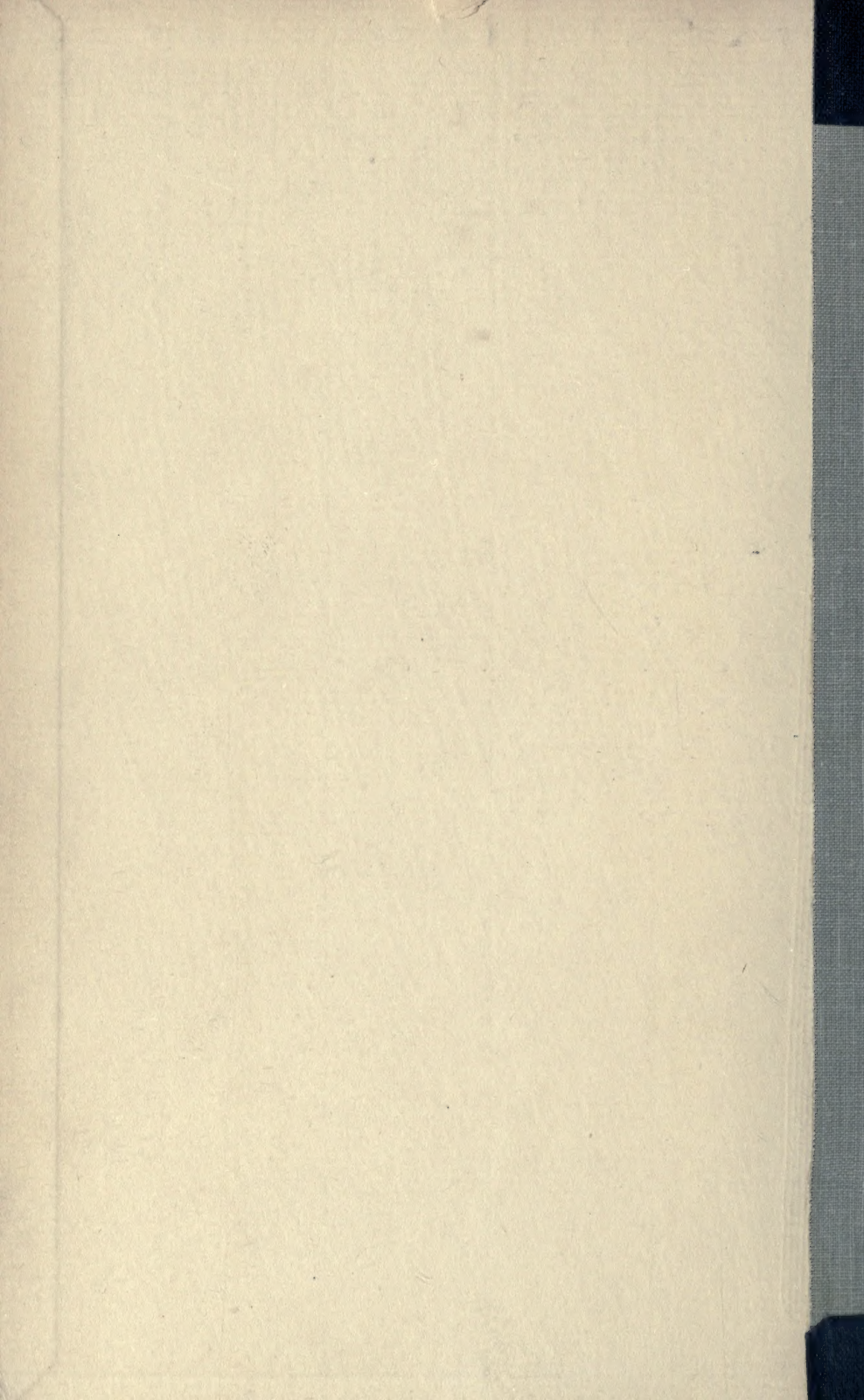
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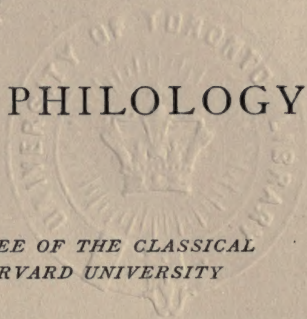
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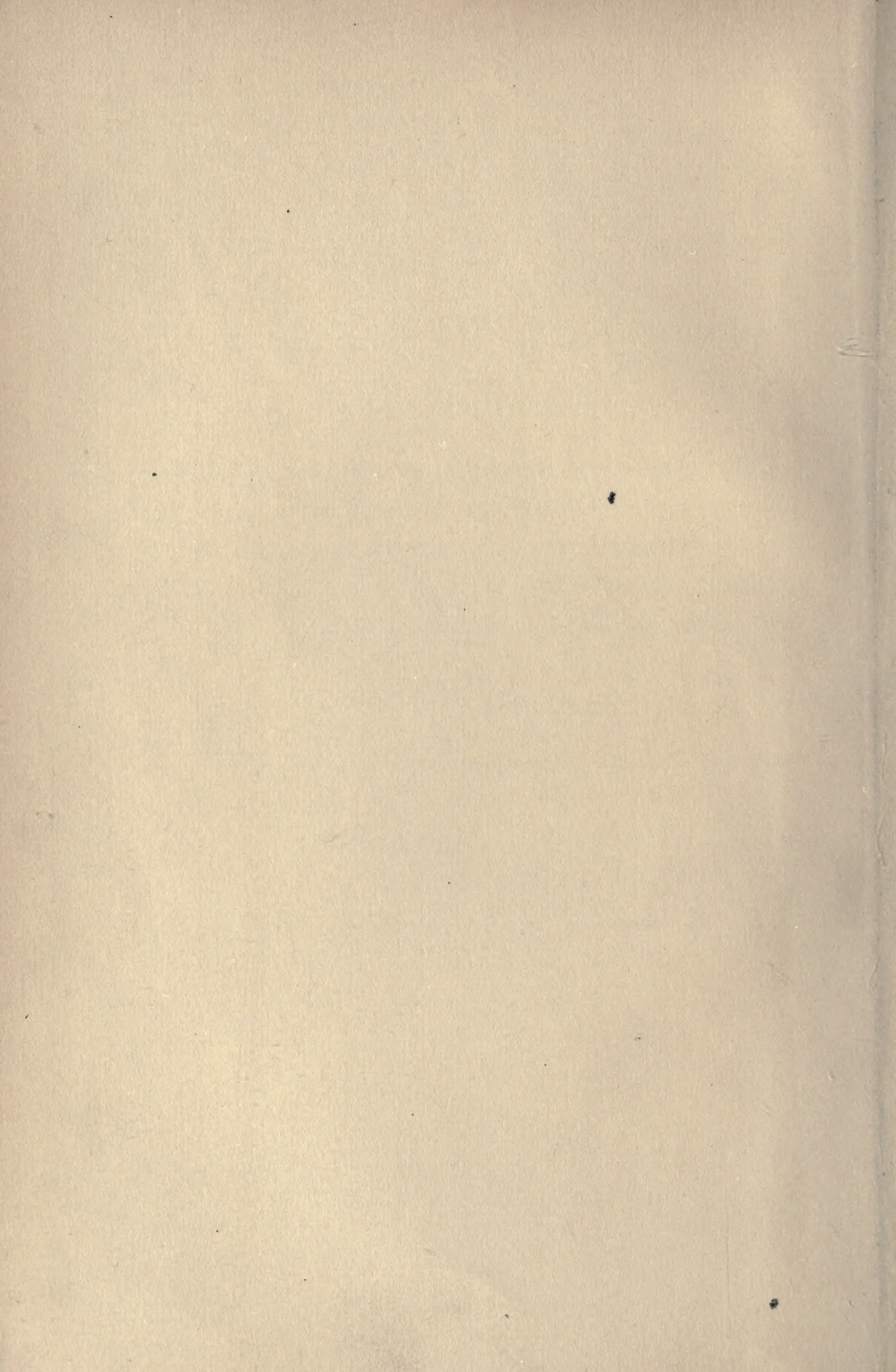


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## PREFATORY NOTE

THESE Studies are published by authority of Harvard University and are contributed chiefly by its instructors and graduates, although contributions from other sources are not excluded. The publication is supported by a fund of \$6000, generously subscribed by the class of 1856.


HERBERT WEIR SMYTH,  
ALBERT ANDREW HOWARD,  
CLIFFORD HERSCHEL MOORE, } EDITORIAL  
COMMITTEE.





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ON THE COMPOSITION OF BOETHIUS' CONSOLATIO  
PHILOSOPHIAE

BY EDWARD KENNARD RAND

HERMANN USENER, whose justly admired interpretation of the *Anecdoton Holderi*<sup>1</sup> has done more than any single publication toward restoring Boethius to his rightful place among the Christian theologians, suggests in this work a theory with regard to the composition of the *Consolatio*, to which nobody hitherto has devoted the consideration it deserves. After showing that the old question as to the relation of Boethius to Christianity is meaningless, that a Christian theologian may well have written such a work as the *Consolatio*, not to express his own views but to give Philosophy's answers to the chief problems of thought, he further declares, to make this point self-evident, that the very sources from which Boethius drew are apparent in his work. Developing a suggestion of Ingram Bywater's,<sup>2</sup> namely that Boethius may have borrowed from Aristotle's *Protreptikos*, Usener finds that what are to him the finest chapters in the *Consolatio*<sup>3</sup> are nothing but a recast of Aristotle's dialogue.<sup>4</sup> The sections following, however,—the rest of the book, it would seem—betray just as clearly a Neoplatonic source. In fact, Boethius' performance here is on a par with that of Iamblichus in his *Protreptikos*, which, as Bywater demonstrated, is a mere cento from Aristotle and Plato—each furnishing a continuous third of the work—plus the trivial reflections of the writer himself.<sup>5</sup> Usener, to be sure, admits that Boethius treats his original in a more independent spirit,<sup>6</sup> yet the

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<sup>1</sup> *Anecdoton Holderi, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Roms in ostgothischer Zeit*, Bonn (Leipzig, Teubner), 1877.

<sup>2</sup> *Four. Philol.* II (1869), p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> 2, pr. 4, 38 (Peiper), *Quis est enim* . . . 4, pr. 6, 20, *Vi libet, inquam*.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 51.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 66. Accepted by Usener, *Rhein. Mus.* XXVIII (1873), p. 400, n. 1, and by Diels, *Arch. f. Gesch. der Philos.* I (1888), p. 489.

<sup>6</sup> *Rhein. Mus.* XXVIII, p. 401.

difference seems one of degree rather than kind; both are compilers.<sup>1</sup> What is more, Boethius did not use Aristotle at first hand, but followed a later abridgment; in fact, he may not even deserve the credit of combining the Aristotelian with the Neoplatonic portions — that may have been done for him already by some writer of the type of Iamblichus.<sup>2</sup>

Usener's analysis of the *Consolatio*, then, would be as follows. He would allow Boethius himself, apparently, a kind of introduction to his compilation,<sup>3</sup> and the verse is likewise his. Indeed Usener argues it is precisely the difference between his verse and his prose that leads us to suspect the nobler lineage of the latter; two different voices are speaking; now we hear a child of the sixth century, now a thinker of the greater past.<sup>4</sup> These sorry poems are scattered at judicious intervals, to emphasize and recapitulate the main points in the argument, and, apart from the introduction, are the only element in the *Consolatio* that Boethius might call his own. For the last two thirds of his work consist of the recasts from Aristotelian and Neoplatonic treatises, which, as we have seen, he may not even have combined. No wonder, then, that Usener, in another connection, refers to the *De Differentiis Topicorum*, not to the *Consolatio*, as Boethius' "comparatively most independent work."<sup>5</sup>

This suggestive theory of Usener's, strangely enough, has elicited no further discussion. Dräseke, in an interesting article,<sup>6</sup> the purpose of which is to interpret Usener's results to general readers, repeats the latter's ideas with commendation, adding emphatically that it is as absurd to impute a philosophical system to Boethius as to Cicero.<sup>7</sup> Stewart, too, in declaring that the *Consolatio* is "intensely artificial," and "smells of the lamp," seems to have Usener's assertion in mind.<sup>8</sup> Georg Schepss, whose untimely death prevented him from reaping the fruit of many labors in Boethian fields, accepted Usener's general position, and declared the *Consolatio* a combination of excerpts and trans-

<sup>1</sup> *Rhein. Mus.* XXVIII, p. 400.

<sup>3</sup> 1, pr. 1 to 2, pr. 4, 38.

<sup>2</sup> *Anecd. Hold.*, p. 52.

<sup>4</sup> *Anecd. Hold.*, p. 51.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>6</sup> *Jahrb. f. protest. Theol.* XII (1886), p. 324.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 327.

<sup>8</sup> *Boethius, an Essay*, Edinburgh, 1891, p. 106.

lations from various Greek consolatory treatises.<sup>1</sup> In a contribution to the *Commentationes Wölfflinianae*,<sup>2</sup> he suggests various works which Boethius may well have followed, particularly the treatise *παραμυθητικός πρὸς Ἀπολλώνιον* ascribed to Plutarch. Among Schepss' literary remains, now in the possession of the Patristic Commission of the Vienna Academy, there is at least the outline of an article on the sources of the *Consolatio*, which, however, makes no substantial addition to what Schepss had already published.<sup>3</sup> Schepss' influence, to be sure, is seen in a recent examination of the sources of Boethius' poetry by the late Heinrich Hüttinger,<sup>4</sup> who acknowledged a general indebtedness to Schepss,<sup>5</sup> and sought by several parallel quotations to substantiate the latter's theory as to the importance of the *παραμυθητικός πρὸς Ἀπολλώνιον* as a source of the *Consolatio*.<sup>6</sup> Of American publications, the recent manual of H. N. Fowler<sup>7</sup> reaffirms the main points in Usener's theory as though they were established beyond cavil. But this is all. Besides such restatements as the last, one or two possible sources not mentioned by Usener have been surmised, but no minute discussion of his general proposition has yet appeared. Perhaps we may hope that August Engelbrecht, who succeeded Schepss as editor of the *Consolatio* for the Vienna *Corpus*, may, in spite of a recent resolution to restrict himself to the criticism and history of the text,<sup>8</sup> find time after all to discuss the important problems pertaining to the sources of this work.

The object of the present paper is not to attempt an ultimate determination of the various writings from which Boethius drew inspiration, but merely, as a precursor to such a study, to discuss Usener's theory regarding the composition of the *Consolatio*. Naturally we may

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<sup>1</sup> *Wochensch. f. klass. Phil.*, 1894, c. 409.

<sup>2</sup> Leipzig, 1891, p. 280.

<sup>3</sup> See A. Engelbrecht, *Die Consolatio Philosophiae des Boethius*, in *Sitzungsber. der k. Akad. der Wissensch. in Wien*, CXLIV (1902), p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Studia in Boetii carmina collata*. Gym. Progr., Regensburg, I (*pars prior*), 1900; II (*pars posterior*), 1902 (published posthumously).

<sup>5</sup> p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> p. 30. The coincidences here noted are certainly not very striking.

<sup>7</sup> *Hist. of Rom. Lit.*, New York, 1903, p. 279.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

best approach our subject by examining in turn the four elements into which Usener analyzes this work — the poetry, the prose introduction, the chapters from Aristotle's *Protreptikos*, and the Neoplatonic section.

## I

Few modern critics would accept the verdict of a ninth century scholiast that Boethius was a second Virgil,<sup>1</sup> or, with the elder Scaliger, would call his verse "divine."<sup>2</sup> Its philosophic content, if we are to follow Usener, does not rise above the level of sixth century thought; in its form, if Sitzmann's assertion<sup>3</sup> and Peiper's collection of parallel passages<sup>4</sup> are evidence, it is hardly more than a cento of lines from Seneca. But the justice of this latter criticism has rightly been called in question,<sup>5</sup> and, again, while some of the little poems are certainly trivial,<sup>6</sup> others, particularly those that reflect Boethius' experience in any way, show a certain sombre earnestness not unallied to imagination; if not the highest poetry, they are at least impressive and sincere.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Peiper's edition, p. xxxi, 14, and xxxiii, 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Poetices*, liber 6 (*Hypercriticus*), chap. 4: at quae libuit ludere in poesi, divina sane sunt, nihil illis cultius, nihil gravius: neque densitas sententiarum venerem, neque acumen abstulit candorem.

<sup>3</sup> See Fabricius, *Bibl. Lat.* III, c. 15, vii, note b: nullum fere esse versum in Boethio qui non a Seneca desumptus videatur, Sitzmannus in epistola ad Putschium testatur.

<sup>4</sup> In his edition, p. 228 ff.

<sup>5</sup> By Hüttinger, *op. cit.* I, p. 23; II, pp. 7, 18, 27. See also Stewart, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-80, where a discriminating estimate of Boethius' verse is given. Charles Plummer, *Life and Times of Alfred the Great*, Oxford, 1902, p. 179, thinks that Stewart's admiration is too mild. Saintsbury, *Hist. of Criticism*, I, p. 390, speaks of the "beautiful metre of *Vela Neritii ducis*" (4, m. 3).

<sup>6</sup> E. g., 1, m. 4; 2, m. 6; 3, m. 5, m. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Among such I would place the first three poems and 2, m. 7. Simcox, *Hist. of Lat. Lit.*, New York, 1883, II, p. 454, and Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 162, note independently that this last poem is an anticipation of Villon's *Ballade des Dames du Temps Jadis*; that the conception of fame here set forth is distinctly mediaeval and unclassical. But apart from the fact that this poem, reflecting the spirit of the preceding prose chapter, goes back for its sentiment to Cicero and doubtless Aristotle (see below, p. 11), the idea of the mortality of fame is a commonplace in classical literature. Cf. Juvenal, 10, 146, and other references given by Peiper in his edition of Ausonius, pp. 84 and 450.

Boethius' skill as a versifier is generally recognized; may it not be that a poet who invented eleven varieties of strophe<sup>1</sup> shows occasional originality of phrase and conception as well?

But to refute Usener's assertion it is not at all necessary to declare Boethius a great poet. One need only point to the obvious fact that several of the poems contain matter of philosophical importance and interest. Such is 3, m. 9, serious and stately verse, which Sitzmann rightly described as a kind of epitome of Plato's *Timaeus*. Such are 3, m. 11, and 5, m. 4, which embody the Platonic doctrine of *ἀνάμνησις* — the latter containing, also, a criticism of the Stoic epistemology. Such is 5, m. 1, which adds a fresh illustration to the Aristotelian doctrine of chance discussed in the preceding prose. Finally in 5, m. 3, the antinomic nature of human knowledge is set forth and explained by the help of the theory of *ἀνάμνησις*. None of these philosophical poems is a mere recapitulation of the preceding prose: indeed, with the exception of 5, m. 1, they form important steps in the argument. However one may estimate them as poetry, they are certainly the product of a penetrating thinker, who, while pondering on the great ideas of the past, has wrought for them a new expression, applied them to a new purpose, and thereby made them his own. Certainly it is something more than sixth century barbarism that finds utterance here.

A very cursory examination of Boethius' poems, then, should satisfy one that they are not on the same mediocre level. Some of them are indeed mediocre — some are very significant. My point is that they present no such absolute contrast to the prose sections as Usener would maintain. The latter, in fact, have their inequalities too; to my mind the very poorest passages in the *Consolatio* — at once truistic and specious — occur in the "Aristotelian" chapters on magistracy, royalty, and glory.<sup>2</sup> Boethius has his ups and downs, but the former are not all in his prose nor the latter all in his verse.

## II

The opening sections of the *Consolatio* — to 2, pr. 4, 38 — constitute according to Usener, it would seem, a kind of introduction with which we may accredit Boethius himself. One might suspect at the start that

<sup>1</sup> See Peiper, p. 226.

<sup>2</sup> 3, pr. 4, 5, 6.

the admission of so long a preface is rather dangerous for Usener's theory, especially if the passage contain original or significant thought. In the main, quite naturally, this introduction is autobiographical and pictorial, yet not altogether so. Boethius describes the coming of Dame Philosophy, who routs the Muses from his cell; he details for her benefit the miseries which have befallen him, but thereby, also, he starts the question with which the metaphysical plot of this treatise begins — the nature of fortune, the ultimate principle which permits a good man to suffer. There are, then, in this opening passage, matters of philosophical concern, from which, no less than from the following discussions, we may judge of the writer's temperament and speculative powers.

Of the earlier sections of the first book, the third is perhaps as impressive as any. Boethius, the clouds of his mind dispelled, recognizes his ancient nurse, Philosophy. In answer to his reproaches for her desertion in the hour of his need, she reminds him that he is not the first to suffer for the truth. Socrates, whose heritage the Epicurean and Stoic pretenders so sorely mistreated, Anaxagoras, Zeno, among Greeks, Canius, Seneca, Soranus, among Romans were martyrs for philosophy — why should Boethius, her very foster-child, shrink from such a fate? There follows a fine and thoroughly characteristic passage on the contempt of evil, a kind of translation into metaphysics of the Horatian despite of the *profanum vulgus*, to which latter sentiment, too, Boethius is no stranger.

'So then, there is no reason for thy wonder, if in this sea of life we are tossed by the blasts that blow about us, seeing that it is our chief purpose to win the hatred of wicked men. And though, perchance, the host of the wicked is many in number, yet is it contemptible, since it is under no leadership, but is hurried hither and thither at the blind driving of mad error. And if at times they set in array against us, and fall on in overwhelming strength, our leader (i. e. Reason) draws off her forces into the citadel, while they are busied in plundering useless baggage. But we from our vantage ground, safe from all this wild work, laugh to see them making prize of the most valueless of things, protected by a bulwark which riotous folly may not aspire to reach.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I follow in the main the excellent translation of the *Consolatio* by H. R. James, London, 1897, with occasional changes, some of these suggested by the translation of W. V. Cooper, London, 1902.



Note here the effective imagery by which a common metaphysical notion — the inorganic character of evil — has been transformed. Note also in the preceding passage an idea fundamental in Boethius' conception of the history of philosophy. To him, Plato and Aristotle form a kind of philosophical orthodoxy, of which the later schools had appropriated mere broken lights. It is, indeed, this Roman passion for order, authority, which led Boethius to form his great idea of reconciling Plato and Aristotle.<sup>1</sup> Had he lived to achieve this end, he might well have gone farther, as his theological writings already indicate, and anticipated St. Thomas in harmonizing Plato, Aristotle, and Christian doctrine in one imposing system. The idea of such a harmony, at any rate, is as clearly expressed in Boethius as in St. Thomas;<sup>2</sup> it cannot be too often repeated that Boethius was the first of the scholastics. Now the recognition of this fact, to which the present passage partially helps us, is a clue to the spirit and aim of the *Consolatio*; no greater mistake could be made than to compare Boethius' intellectual methods with those of Cicero.

The succeeding section (pr. 4) enumerates Boethius' services to the state and dwells on the injustice of his degradation. How is it that the good can fall so low, he ponders, while wicked men flourish like the green bay-tree; there is indeed, he complains (m. 5), a great contrast between the world of nature, which obeys a just and unalterable law, and the world of man, which tosses in the perpetual and irrational changes of Fortune. This arraignment of the universal order starts the whole problem, for which, however, Philosophy has a solution ready. Her method, first of all, is to arouse in her patient a better mind, a spirit capable of receiving the cure which she can impart. She speaks of a "gentler remedy" which she will first apply,<sup>3</sup> and catches at Boethius' persisting belief in a Providence — whose ways, to be sure, seem very dark — as the one last spark from which his former ardor may be revived (pr. 6). The closing poem of the book pictures the clouded mind, from which the light of reason should drive all the passions away.

<sup>1</sup> *Com. in Arist. περὶ ἐμπνεύσεως*, ed. sec., p. 80, Meiser.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> I, pr. 5, 38: nondum te validiora remedia contingunt. Itaque lenioribus paulisper utemur.

The first book, then, is the opening act in a metaphysical drama; it presents, in a pictorial form, a speculative problem which the following books are to solve. Here we have the real introduction to the *Consolatio*; the sections in the second book which, according to Usener's theory should also form part of the introduction, belong rather with the second act of the drama, the preliminary explanation of the problem just raised; for at the very opening of the second book, Philosophy propounds her gentler remedy.

The first book is also significant in that it clearly sets forth the nature of the entire work. It is by no means the ordinary *προτρεπτικός εἰς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν*; it likewise is not the ordinary *Consolatio*. Curiously, writers who discuss either of these literary species in the large have little to say of the work of Boethius.<sup>1</sup> This is because it is a mixture; it is in form a *consolatio*, but in content a systematic theodicy — a subject which has appealed at various times in the course of history to the imprisoned or the afflicted, as Dracontius, Sir Thomas More, and the blind Milton witness. Thus on the one hand the work of Boethius is something more than the brilliant moralizing of Seneca's consolations; it includes the passion for the dry light of reason, which Boethius had already declared was his greatest solace in life.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, it is something more than an Aristotelian exhortation to the study of philosophy; rather it is a *προτρεπτικός εἰς τὸν θεόν* — in short, a theodicy.<sup>3</sup>

With the second book, then, begins the "gentler remedy."<sup>4</sup> This consists of an exposition of the essentially fickle nature of Fortune whose only law is that of constant mutability. What was he to expect? Fortune's slave must follow Fortune's will; in fact, her very mutability is just cause for his hoping now (pr. 1 and 2). But this specious reasoning — which Philosophy had in fact characterized as *rhetoricae*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. C. Buresch, *Consolationum a Graecis Romanisque scriptarum Historia Critica*, Lipsiae, 1886, p. 121; P. Hartlich, *De Exhortationum a Graecis Romanisque scriptarum Historia et Indole*, in *Leipziger Studien*, 11 (1889), p. 209.

<sup>2</sup> *De syll. hyp.* Migne, 64, c. 831: cum in omnibus philosophiae disciplinis ediscendis atque tractandis summum vitae solamen existimem.

<sup>3</sup> See Zeller, *Phil. der Griech.* 1903<sup>4</sup>, III, 2, p. 927.

<sup>4</sup> 2, 1, 18: Sed tempus est haurire te aliquid ac degustare molle atque iucundum quod ad interiora transmissum validioribus haustibus viam fecerit.

*suadela dulcedinis* (2, pr. 1, 21) — fails to satisfy. She adds, thereto, the suggestion that the memory of past success should be a solace, and that if Boethius but lump his experience he will find more total good than total bad (pr. 3). The philosopher replies sadly in the words which Dante, as some think, repeated in a famous passage,<sup>1</sup> that the memory of happier things is of miseries most miserable. But Philosophy enumerates the blessings that remain — his wife, his sons, and Symmachus — and by this simple appeal to human affection draws from Boethius the admission that some anchors still hold despite the storm.

Thus far Philosophy has treated the gifts of Fortune as absolute entities, absolute goods or ills. Encouraged by the symptoms of convalescence in her patient, she now advances a point in the argument; examining the so-called goods in turn, she proves that felicity is merely relative. This in fact is part of the "stronger remedy" — and just where this thought is introduced (2, pr. 4, 38) begins, according to Usener, the recast of Aristotle's *Protreptikos*.

Glancing back at the preceding section, then, we note first of all that it contains more than an introduction; the latter is furnished by the first book, whereas the first part of the second book represents the initial stages in the argument — the "gentler remedy." Of necessity, much autobiographical matter is included in these opening chapters, but an intelligent interest in various philosophical problems is also apparent and the whole is most skilfully composed. In the nature of the case, the stream of speculation does not yet flow in its full strength, any more than the *dénouement* is announced in the first act of a play. But there is certainly no marked inferiority of either conception or arrangement in this section as compared with those that follow.

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<sup>1</sup> *Inferno*, 5, 119: Nessun maggior dolore, | Che ricordarsi del tempo felice | Nella miseria; e ciò sa il tuo dottore. Dante was of course familiar with Boethius and may have thought, incidentally, of the present passage, but most modern commentators are quite right in explaining *dottore* as Virgil. They are wrong, however, in thinking the allusion is merely to the contrast of Virgil's lot on earth and in the limbo, having forgotten, seemingly, what Boccaccio distinctly pointed out, that the present lines in thought and phrasing are modelled closely on *Aeneid*, 2, 1-13.

## III

The stronger remedy, as already stated, consists, first of all, in the proof that goods have merely relative, not absolute value. This truth is illustrated in a general fashion at the beginning of the "Aristotelian" section (2, pr. 4, 38-95) and in the following chapter (pr. 5), Philosophy, announcing now the *fomenta validiora*, proceeds to analyze various of the goods in turn — riches, aesthetic enjoyment, office (pr. 6), fame (pr. 7) — with the result that all these are relative, depending for their significance on the personality with which they are connected. Fortune in fact is kind only when her fickleness shows the true nature of temporal gifts (pr. 8), discloses false friends, and thus, negatively at least, points the way to abiding human friendship and to the universal principle of love, the only source of absolute good (m. 8). This argument marks the outlines of the stronger remedy, which is explained with more detail in the third book.

The latter part of the second book, at any rate, presents a distinct advance in the argument, and *a priori* might well represent some new text to which Boethius has turned. In that case, however, one would rather set the beginning of such a source at pr. 5, where the transition is well marked,<sup>1</sup> than in the middle of pr. 4. The latter half of this section, to be sure, summarizes most of the points which the later discussion takes up in detail, yet for this very reason shows it is meant as preface. In the same way, the "Neoplatonic" section is provided with an introduction (4, pr. 6, 1-20) which Usener would probably attribute to the compiler. At all events, the allusion in our present passage to Boethius' imprisonment proceeded from his own hand.<sup>2</sup>

But this detail aside, it is clear that in case Boethius readapted Aristotle here, he did not make a simple translation, for reminiscences of other authors, unknown to Aristotle, occur. A glance at Horatian imagery and conception appears in the statement that treasures of

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<sup>1</sup> Sed quoniam rationum iam in te mearum fomenta descendunt, paulo validioribus utendum puto.

<sup>2</sup> Pr. 4, 54. Quam multos esse coniectas qui sese caelo proximos arbitrentur, si de fortunæ tuæ reliquiis pars eis minima contingat? Hic ipse locus quem tu exilium vocas, incolentibus patria est.

gold, *effundendo magis quam coacervando melius nitent*,<sup>1</sup> while a passage at the end of the same section<sup>2</sup> shows us that Dante,<sup>3</sup> unlike Chaucer,<sup>4</sup> appropriates a famous line of Juvenal<sup>5</sup> at second-hand. In this passage, also, Boethius again reverts to his own experience. Farther on (pr. 6, 34) we find Regulus used to point a moral. These successive Roman touches indicate that while Boethius may perhaps have turned to some new authority here, he has reworked his original in an independent fashion.

Especially interesting is the splendid passage on the evanescence of fame (pr. 7). Usener<sup>6</sup> has made it evident that the substance of this passage formed part of Aristotle's *Protreptikos*; he believes, however,<sup>7</sup> that Boethius did not use Aristotle directly — otherwise he would not mention him (in 3, pr. 8, 21) — but depended on some later, probably Neoplatonic, adaptation of his work. *A priori* it would seem quite possible that Boethius was also familiar with the two works of Cicero in which the *Protreptikos* is laid under contribution — the *Hortensius* and the *Somnium Scipionis* — especially as the latter treatise had gained a wide vogue by reason of Macrobius' commentary thereon; and this possibility is clinched, moreover, by a citation in the present passage from the very portion of the *Somnium Scipionis* which shows the influence of the *Protreptikos*.<sup>8</sup> Again, however, the fact that Cicero is named is decisive for Usener that Boethius did not pattern this section on him directly — a fact which is also apparent from a comparison of the two passages.

But why need we, in a situation like this, assume some late third

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<sup>1</sup> Pr. 5, 7. Cf. Horace, *Carm.* 2, 2, 1-4; 3, 3, 49; 4, 5, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Pr. 5, 95. Tu igitur qui nunc contum gladiumque sollicitus pertimescis, si vitae huius callem viator intrasses, *coram latrone cantares.*

<sup>3</sup> *Convito*, 4, 13, 107. Two other citations from the present chapter are given in this section of the *Convito*, Boethius being mentioned in both cases.

<sup>4</sup> *Tale of the Wyf of Bath*, v. 1192.

<sup>5</sup> *Sat.* 10, 22.

<sup>6</sup> *Rhein. Mus.* XXVIII, p. 398.

<sup>7</sup> *Anecd. Hold.*, p. 52.

<sup>8</sup> Pr. 7, 28: Aetate denique Marci Tullii, sicut ipse in quodam loco significat, nondum Caucasum montem Romanae reipublicae fama transcenderat. Cf. Cic., *de repub.* VI, 20: num aut tuum aut cuiusquam nostrum nomen vel Caucasum hunc, quem cernis, transcendere potuit?

source which Boethius directly translated, in the main, interpolating only a few references to higher authorities? Is it not as reasonable to assume a modicum of originality on the author's part, to credit him with a general plan and theory of his own, which he illustrates by citation or adaptation from various works familiar to him? Clearly he has not slavishly copied Cicero; he turns to him merely for an illustration. His account differs from Aristotle's, also, in several details. To one of these Usener has called attention, namely, the comparison of the present moment, not to the *magnus annus*, but to eternity;<sup>1</sup> another consists in a reference to the astronomer, Ptolemy, with whose works Boethius was intimately acquainted, as he had translated a part at least of them.<sup>2</sup> The genesis of this chapter, it seems to me, may be traced without any resort to an unknown late source, or even to Aristotle at all. Boethius, pondering on the nature of fame, remembers the famous discussion in the *Somnium Scipionis*, some of the details of which naturally suggest his favorite Ptolemy. He phrases the idea in language of his own, with an innovation at the end, where he substitutes eternity for the *magnus annus*. I am far from denying that he may also have had Aristotle in mind; but the assumption that he substantially reproduced Aristotle or a later adaptation of his works seems to me quite unwarranted. Even in that case the author should be credited with some originality for resetting the details of a *Protreptikos* into the framework of a theodicy.

The third book develops in positive form the reasoning which the second has negatively suggested. The opening sections, however, merely repeat the method previously employed. The various goods are again examined, with more detail, to be sure, than in the second book. In pr. 2 they are discussed in general, while in the succeeding chapters

<sup>1</sup> *Rhein. Mus.* XXVIII, p. 402. Boethius implies that the *magnus annus* of his predecessors is itself an insignificant conception, contrasted with eternity. "One may calculate the relation of a small number to any very large one — ten thousand, for instance — but not to infinity" (l. 50 ff.). Usener notes that the *magnus annus* of Cicero and Aristotle must consist of 12,000, not 10,000 years, and thinks that either Boethius has rounded off this sum or some scribe has changed *duodecim* to *decim*. Macrobius, following certain *physici* (*Com. in Somn. Scip.* 2, 11, 15), gives 15,000 as the amount. Why could not Boethius have followed still another account here?

<sup>2</sup> Cassiodorus, *Var.* I, 45, 4: Translationibus enim tuis Pythagoras musicus, Ptolemaeus astronomus leguntur Itali.

each is considered in turn — wealth (pr. 3), office (pr. 4), kingship (pr. 5), glory, nobility (pr. 6), carnal pleasures (pr. 7). The general conclusion follows (pr. 8) that the understanding of the false goods will lead us to the true. Now, although the method displayed in this exposition is characteristic of Boethius, who understands the value of repeating an idea under various forms, yet there is a certain clumsiness in the presentation here; the repetition is in some cases too direct: the chapters on wealth, office, glory (pr. 3, 4, 6) suggest too closely the discussions in the previous book (pr. 5, 6, 7), without making any very significant additions.

One might easily be tempted to the supposition that it is here that a new source is introduced and pretty closely followed, which goes over part of the ground already covered: Boethius reinforces his own exposition with this extract from a higher authority. Certainly traces of Aristotle are apparent. Besides the general tone of the argument,<sup>1</sup> and the direct citation of his words,<sup>2</sup> which Bywater<sup>8</sup> shows are taken from the *Protreptikos*, the references to Euripides (pr. 6, 2; 7, 15), so great a favorite with Aristotle,<sup>4</sup> are significant. Engelbrecht also has pointed out a peculiar use of *motus* = ὄρμη (pr. 7, 3) which may indicate the influence of some Greek source.<sup>5</sup> If any part of the *Consolatio* is composed in the mechanical fashion assumed by Usener, it might well be these opening chapters of the third book.

However, one must at once qualify such an hypothesis in the face of certain added details which could not have appeared in Aristotle. We find Epicurus mentioned and his doctrine of the *summum bonum* briefly discussed (pr. 2, 46); Catullus is named and quoted (pr. 4, 6); Decoratus serves as an illustration from Boethius' own times (pr. 4, 11); the Roman praetorship is discussed (pr. 4, 39);<sup>6</sup> Nero, Seneca,

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<sup>1</sup> E. g., the discussion of the *summum bonum* (pr. 2).

<sup>2</sup> Pr. 8, 21: Quod si, ut Aristoteles ait, Lyncei oculis homines uterentur.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 59.

<sup>4</sup> See Bywater, p. 66.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 36. Boethius' style, however, had been so thoroughly flavored with Grecisms of various sorts — a subject still awaiting investigation — that it may not be necessary to refer the present peculiarity to some special source.

<sup>6</sup> Peiper's absurd *praefectura*, though found in certain manuscripts, had been wisely rejected by previous editors and will not appear in Engelbrecht's forthcoming text. See *op. cit.*, p. 42.

Papinianus, Antoninus are passed in review (pr. 5, 27); the argument is colored with personal touches,<sup>1</sup> including a delicate compliment to the philosopher's wife and sons.<sup>2</sup> In short, an analysis of this section points to the results previously observed, namely, that Boethius, while dependent on various thinkers of the past—here Aristotle notably—for some of his conceptions, has combined diverse elements in an independent fashion and fused the whole with his own personality.

The positive part of the "stronger remedy" is introduced in pr. 9 and developed through the rest of the third book. The goods are subjected to a fresh analysis, this time to show their essential unity and their dependence on the ultimate principle of good: *sufficientia*, *potentia*, *claritudo*, *reverentia*, *laetitia* have value, and are worthy objects of human ambition, but only because they present different aspects of the *summum bonum*, the goal to which they lead. Man, therefore, should strive directly for this final idea of good, and not for the broken lights of it. Now this source of all goods may be approached only by the way of prayer. There follows then (m. 9) Philosophy's prayer to the Highest Good. The succeeding sections are devoted to an analysis of the *summum bonum*, wherein are demonstrated its existence, its perfection, its unity, its inherence in God (pr. 10, 11). Thus the idea of Good is identified with God (pr. 12, 23), though it is clear from the following description that the converse proposition does not follow; for the underlying conception of the divine nature is not idealism but personal theism—a step that neither Aristotle nor Plato (except for pictorial purposes in the mythological *Timaeus*) could quite take.<sup>3</sup> But this God, though *omnium potens* (pr. 12, 70), is incapable of one thing, namely evil, which is pronounced non-existent. Dropping this utter-

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<sup>1</sup> Pr. 3, 14-27: *Primum igitur te ipsum qui paulo ante divitiis affluebat, interrogo, etc.*

<sup>2</sup> Pr. 7, 11: *Honestissima quidem coniugis foret liberorumque iucunditas, sed nimia e natura dictum est nescio quem filios invenisse tortorem: quorum quam sit mordax quaecumque condicio, neque alias expertum te neque nunc anxium necesse est ammonere.* It is strange that Engelbrecht, *op. cit.*, p. 51, retains Peiper's *tortores*, including the far more effective and amply substantiated *tortorem* among the errors of the best class of manuscripts.

<sup>3</sup> See Nitzsch, *Das System des Boethius*, Berlin, 1860, p. 50; Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 83.



ance as a seed of further inquiry, Philosophy closes the book with a song on the "lucid source of good," illustrating her theme by a somewhat perverted application of the story of Orpheus and Eurydice.

In this entire passage the influence of Plato is much more prominent than that of Aristotle; he is mentioned and quoted several times, once from the *Phaedo*,<sup>1</sup> twice from the *Timaeus*,<sup>2</sup> a dialogue which not only had close affinities with Christian theology, but also had been popularized through the translation and commentary of Chalcidius. In fact, the ninth poem, as several scholars have observed, is a kind of epitome of the *Timaeus* in verse.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, Boethius transcends both Plato and Aristotle, as we have seen, in his acceptance of a personal theism; the resort to prayer, also (pr. 9, 97), which implies the principle of faith, certainly does not strike one as Aristotelian. He invokes the authority of Plato, to be sure, for the necessity of invoking the divine aid before undertaking an important metaphysical inquiry, but while Plato calls on θεοῦς τε καὶ θεάς, Boethius prays to the very being which he is undertaking to prove, seeming to assume that faith in the divine existence must precede the attempt to demonstrate the same. Certainly there is nothing in the *Timaeus* like the prayer itself, even though its elements constitute an epitome of that dialogue. ///

Philosophy's stronger remedy has now been administered: she has shown her patient that the source of all goods, and hence of the best fortune, is still at his disposal. There are some difficulties, however, still untouched — one in especial at which Philosophy has hinted in the closing section of the third book. How can evil exist in the presence of a Personal Good which is at once benevolent and omnipotent? At the opening of the fourth book, Boethius at once attacks this problem, which has been his chief perplexity all along, and the discussion of the nature of evil occupies the greater part of this book. Just how Philosophy demonstrates that the good are always rewarded and the wicked always punished, how in fact the latter virtually cease to exist, we need not examine here. It is finally the fact of mere brute chance which

<sup>1</sup> Pr. 12, 1, cf. *Phaedo*, 76 A.

<sup>2</sup> Pr. 9, 94, cf. *Timaeus*, 27 C; pr. 12, 103, cf. *Timaeus*, 29 B.

<sup>3</sup> Sitzmann in the Leyden edition, 1671, *ad loc.*; Nitzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 49; Stewart, p. 83.

intrudes after moral evil has been comfortably explained,<sup>1</sup> that leads to larger issues, and, necessarily, to a new turning-point in the argument. The new question is hydra-headed, Philosophy declares (pr. 6, 8) : the proper answer to it involves the discussion of five distinct problems—the simplicity of providence, the chain of fate, chance, divine cognition and predestination, freedom of the will. With the words *Tum velut ab alio orsa principio ita disseruit* (pr. 6, 20), she approaches the first of these matters—precisely at this point Usener sets the beginning of the Neoplatonic text.

Not much may be inferred on the surface as to the sources of the opening sections of the fourth book. The discussion of the respective shares of good which good men and bad attain (pr. 2) suggests Aristotle; in the same section, however, Plato is quoted and discussed (130), and there is one personal reference, not without a slight touch of grim humor.<sup>2</sup> In general, it might be questioned whether an elaborate discussion of the problem of evil, while indispensable for Boethius' purpose here, would form part of a *Protreptikos* at all.

The preceding analysis shows, it seems to me, that the section from 2, pr. 4, 38, to 4, pr. 6, 20, is too subtly composed to be a mere reworking from a late adaptation of Aristotle's *Protreptikos*. The latter work has certainly been used, so, doubtless, have other writings of Aristotle. Plato's influence is no less marked, and Zeller<sup>3</sup> declares the greater part of the third book to be Stoic in character. But whatever the sources, they are all adjusted to the original scheme of this work, which Boethius sets forth clearly in his first book and develops systematically and skilfully from start to finish.

#### IV

*Tum velut ab alio orsa principio*—these words might indicate, as Usener thinks, that Boethius here takes up a fresh source; they might, however, simply mean that at this important turn in the reasoning a new method or line of thought is approached. Philosophy has been

<sup>1</sup> A frequent phenomenon in the discussion of this problem. See the striking passage in Royce, *Spirit of Modern Philosophy*, p. 465.

<sup>2</sup> Philosophy asserts (l. 119) that men are capable of doing evil things. To this, Boethius, with his own experience ever in mind: *Vtinam quidem, inquam, non possent.*

<sup>3</sup> *Phil. der Griech.* III, 2, p. 929, n. 1.

discoursing on human and physical evil; now, neglecting this aspect for the moment, she starts at the other end, at the divine simplicity where the thought of evil is out of question. Indeed, when we find Cicero using the same words in a similar situation,<sup>1</sup> it becomes clear that Boethius is merely following his example. At all events, Philosophy now considers the first two of the problems above mentioned, devoting to them the remainder of this book. It is after all really one problem, for the "simplicity of the divine providence" is but the inner aspect of which the "chain of fate" is the outer expression. Providence conceives, fate executes; providence is simple, stable, eternal; fate is composed of multifold agencies, acts and shifts constantly, and is subject to time. Fate includes weather and the fortunes of men, which are thus of divine appointment. All, therefore, is done well, even by the wicked, of whose moral temper only the all-seeing judge can be certain—this point is reinforced by a clever application of Lucan's apothegm.<sup>2</sup> God gives to each, good and bad alike, exactly the medicine that his cure demands—perhaps the prison, Philosophy implies, is exactly what Boethius needed.<sup>3</sup> One may leave the order in which he is set, but only to fall into another order. Love rules all, and nothing can exist unless it return to this love that gave it being (m. 6). Thus all fortune is good, and the sage should be as eager for his trial as the soldier is for battle (pr. 7). Every Hercules has his labors, but if he endures, heaven is his reward (m. 7).

If the last third of the *Consolatio* is a transcription of some Neoplatonic text, it is reasonable to look for Neoplatonic doctrine in its contents. What are the signs of it here? The problems here examined—providence, fate, chance, predestination, freedom—are of course not the peculiar province of Neoplatonism: it must be that Neoplatonic solutions are given in every case. Now it is obvious that as regards the questions discussed in the fourth book, the treatment is by no means peculiarly Neoplatonic. The conception of a simple God, remote from

<sup>1</sup> *De div.* 2, 49, 101: tum ego rursus quasi ab alio principio sum exorsus dicere.

<sup>2</sup> Pr. 6, 123: et victricem quidem causam dis, victam vero Catoni placuisse familiaris noster Lucanus ammonuit.

<sup>3</sup> This passage, by the way, answers the question raised in pr. 5, showing that Boethius has at least thought out a connection between his Aristotelian and Neoplatonic texts.

his universe, the immovable mover, from whom order, causes, and the visible world proceed, is of course Aristotelian.<sup>1</sup> Boethius, however, has conceived of a first principle more personal and dynamic than this. His distinction, moreover, between an inner essence, providence, and an outer manifestation, fate, is a skilful reconciliation of Stoic and Aristotelian thought, whereby he both discards the mundane qualities of the former's divinity and endows the latter's with energy.<sup>2</sup> But, further, this conception of Boethius', though akin to certain aspects of Neoplatonism,<sup>3</sup> involves a criticism of that philosophy.

Boethius states that fate is an expression of providence; he names also various agencies which come under this category of fate. *Sive igitur famulantibus quibusdam providentiae divinis spiritibus fatum exercetur seu anima seu tota inserviente natura seu caelestibus siderum motibus seu angelica virtute seu daemonum varia sollertia seu aliquibus horum seu omnibus fatalis series textitur*, he declares,<sup>4</sup> the sum total of fate is the manifestation of providence. Now these terms are all significant in Neoplatonic teaching. *Noî, ψυχῆ, φύσις* — these constitute important gradations in Plotinus' scheme of the supersensual world,<sup>5</sup> and are here suggested by *spiritibus*,<sup>6</sup> *anima, natura*. Plotinus, also, in discussing the world of sense, assigns a special function to the stars (*sidera*)<sup>7</sup> and peoples the space between earth and heaven with *daemones*.<sup>8</sup> *Angelica virtus*, too, is not a specifically Christian reference, as angels play a prominent part in the systems of Iamblichus<sup>9</sup> and Proclus.<sup>10</sup> Now the most striking feature of the present discussion is that Boethius refuses to place these agencies in any systematic hierarchy.

<sup>1</sup> E. g., *Met.* 12, 6-8.

<sup>2</sup> See Nitzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 48, 61.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 19. Boethius may have taken a suggestion, likewise, from St. Augustine's discussion of Seneca's theory of *fatum*; *de civ. dei*, 5, 8.

<sup>4</sup> Pr. 6, 48.

<sup>5</sup> See Zeller, *op. cit.*, III, 2, pp. 583, 588, 595.

<sup>6</sup> Unless this is merely a general and inclusive term here.

<sup>7</sup> Zeller, *ibid.*, p. 621.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 625.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 753.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 868. Stewart errs (*op. cit.*, p. 87) in regarding this reference to angels as a trace of Christian influence. See Nitzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

He declares in a general, Aristotelian fashion that the farther off an object is from the inner circle of providence, the more it is subject to the thrall of fate,<sup>1</sup> but he is not concerned with grading or even defining the different manifestations of fate. "Whether of this or that or some of them or all, the chain of fate<sup>2</sup> be woven, *illud certe manifestum est immobilem simplicemque gerendarum formam rerum esse providentiam, fatum vero eorum quae divina simplicitas gerenda disposuit mobilem nexum atque ordinem temporalem*. Clearly, the important fact for Boethius is the distinction between providence and fate, not that between various grades of the latter.<sup>3</sup> Elements of this conception of fate, as just stated, appear in Neoplatonism, but it is applied to various subordinate divisions of the universe.<sup>4</sup> The intimate association of fate with the providence of the deity, as well as the wholesale levelling of the Neoplatonic hierarchy are tantamount to an attack on a cardinal feature of this system.

This criticism is involved in another more important still. The denial of the elaborate system of mediation characteristic of Neoplatonism, is likewise a protest against the conception of a deity that needs an intensely mediated revelation. The deity, in the Neoplatonic system, represents not the fulfilment of reason but the transcendence of it; of this ultimate principle neither thought nor will nor being itself may be predicated<sup>5</sup>; into such a mystery the thinker may rise only when he himself has transcended thought. Now of such a conception there is not one trace in the *Consolatio*; it is contradicted, indeed, in the present passage by the fact that providence, the highest type of

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<sup>1</sup> Pr. 6, 69: *simili ratione quod longius a prima mente discedit maioribus fati nexibus implicatur*.

<sup>2</sup> *Series*, which I translate 'chain,' connotes not a series of orders running from high to low, but merely the causal nexus inherent in the idea of fate. Cf. Cicero, *de div.* 1, 55, 125, *fatum est ordo seriesque causarum*; Gellius, 6, 2, 1, *fatum est sempiterna quaedam . . . series rerum et catena* (this from Chrysippus); Augustine, *de civ. dei*, 5, 8 (discussing Seneca), *omnium connexionem seriem causarum . . . fati nomine appellant*. Is it perhaps a Stoic term?

<sup>3</sup> Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 82, speaks of his "complete indifference" on this latter point.

<sup>4</sup> Zeller, *op. cit.*, pp. 761 (Iamblichus), 872 (Proclus).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 529 ff.

intelligence, is grounded in the very nature of the deity.<sup>1</sup> Personal theism, on which Boethius insists from first to last, certainly has little connection with the faith of Proclus and Plotinus. Even Nitzsch who, in his careful survey of Boethius' theology, makes as much as possible of the latter's tendencies to Neoplatonism in order to prove him not a Christian,<sup>2</sup> admits that the transcendental features of that system are *bedeutend ermässigt oder fast aufgehoben* in the *Consolatio*.<sup>3</sup>

At the opening of the fifth book we find Philosophy rather coquetishly changing the subject. The stronger remedy is now administered. Boethius has been turned from the false goods to the true good, has seen that moral evil does not exist, and that even the shifts of fortune are part of the divinely appointed order of fate. What need of further argument? Still, though morally cured, the philosopher is not yet mentally illumined as to the remaining questions bound up in the problem of fate, and insists now on the answers to these. With the discussion of chance, predestination, and freedom, the theodicy, and with it the full consolation, is brought to a close.

If Boethius borrowed his doctrine of chance from a Neoplatonist, the latter took it straight from Aristotle. Philosophy denies first of all that chance is the absence of law, for as nothing comes from nothing, then chance would be nothing. Rather it is due to the conflict of laws; obeying fixed laws the Tigris and the Euphrates carry down logs to their (imaginary) confluence, but chance determines the collisions between individual logs (m. 1). This original and effective illustration Boethius adds to that of Aristotle in his *Physics* (the digger who finds a pot of gold) which he quotes and refers to its source (pr. 1). Now the reason why Boethius probably did not take this doctrine at third hand is that he discusses it carefully in one of his early works. He had written either a commentary on Aristotle's *Physics* or, after mastering Aristotle,

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<sup>1</sup> Pr. 6, 30: *Nam providentia est ipsa illa divina ratio in summo omnium principe constituta quae cuncta disponit.*

<sup>2</sup> The list of "Neoplatonic" expressions given, *op. cit.*, p. 59, includes nothing that is really characteristic—*prima divinitas, inaccessa lux, simplicitas, immobilis*; for all these terms now must be read in the light of Boethius' own theory. A better account of the vestiges of Neoplatonism in the system of Boethius is given by Zeller, *op. cit.*, p. 927, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 58. See also Zeller, *op. cit.*, p. 927.

an original treatise on the same subject<sup>1</sup>; this work he refers to in his second commentary on Aristotle's *περὶ ἔρμηνείας*,<sup>2</sup> and then proceeds to a lengthy discussion of chance; he comes finally<sup>3</sup> to the Peripatetic theory, and gives the same illustration of the digger and the pot of gold. The passage is strikingly similar to that in the *Consolatio*, yet the latter is not an exact reproduction of it — an instructive instance of Boethius' methods of composition; we can trace here how he goes back to something he has previously read or written, and culls, from memory doubtless, what suits his purpose.

Philosophy approaches the problems of prescience, predestination, and freedom — which naturally are connected in the treatment — with no little skill. She insists first of all on the fact of human freedom. There are grades of freedom, to be sure; spirits that enjoy the contemplation of divinity are more free than those that are shackled in the body,<sup>4</sup> and especially those that are further bound by sin. In spite, however, of these distinctions, the fact of freedom remains. The old paradox, therefore, at once presents itself; human freedom is not free if God foresees it, and if God cannot foresee it, his knowledge is mere opinion. The explanation that all things must be foreseen, but not all things foreseen must happen, hardly helps the matter; a necessity is involved in either case. The divine knowledge must be sure, surer at least than that of Teiresias — Philosophy unbends a moment to quote Horace<sup>5</sup> — who could aver

*Quidquid dicam aut erit aut non.*

Well then, human freedom cannot exist, and the expected consequences follow, involving the same separation of God and man that extreme

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<sup>1</sup> See Brandt's instructive article, *Entstehungszeit und zeitliche Folge der Werke von Boethius*, in *Philologus*, LXII (1903), p. 237.

<sup>2</sup> P. 190, 12, Meiser.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 194.

<sup>4</sup> Pr. 2, 17: minus vero cum dilabuntur ad corpora minusque etiam, cum terrenis artubus colligantur. Nitzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 73 f., and Zeller, *op. cit.*, p. 927, regard this as the Neoplatonic doctrine of the double corporality of the soul (see *ibid.*, pp. 635, 707).

<sup>5</sup> *Sat.* 2, 5, 59.

libertarianism would effect; a God to whom no prayer can come is not at one with his world (pr. 3).<sup>1</sup>

How can such antinomies exist? The human mind must know, and yet must be ignorant. Perhaps of that clear insight into the one and the many that it once had in its heavenly home, it now retains only the certainty of the one; the many it pieces out from time to time as its memory revives. This argument, which assumes the Platonic *ἀνάμνησις*, is given in the third poem, which thus is no mere artistic pendant, but an important link in the reasoning.

Philosophy, referring to Cicero's difficulties with this ancient puzzle in his *de divinatione* and indicating that her own solution is a novel one, now approaches the problem again by resuming the explanation already rejected, namely that all things are foreseen but that all do not happen of necessity. The fault in human attempts at a solution lies in our inability to rise to the divine simplicity. Cognition depends not on the qualities of the known but on the capacity of the knower, and may be either *sensus, imaginatio, ratio, or intelligentia*—an ascending scale (pr. 4).<sup>2</sup> Certainly the Stoic epistemology is at fault with its *tabula rasa*, which takes no account of the apperceptive power of the mind (m. 4). Much more, then, is the divine mind apperceptive; it alone has "intelligence," and just as we humans transcend "sensitive" insight, so its intelligence rises above our reason (pr. 5, m. 5). To examine, then, the nature of the divine cognition, God is "eternal," that is constantly and instantaneously apperceptive, transcending time, while the world in distinction is "perpetual," existing from the beginning, yet moving in time and always subject to the eternal deity. This, Philosophy maintains, is Plato's doctrine in the matter, not—as various thinkers misconceive him—that the world is both coeval and coördinate with God. In virtue, then, of this time-transcending apperception, what to our notion is *praevidentia* becomes to the deity *providentia*, and is as compatible with human freedom as is our present knowledge with present free acts. Thus freedom, hope and prayer remain, under the eye of a judge who seeth all (pr. 6).

There is nothing particularly Neoplatonic in Boethius' solution of

<sup>1</sup> *Deo colloqui* (l. 102) would certainly be rank blasphemy on a Neoplatonist's lips.

<sup>2</sup> On these terms cf. Aristotle, *de anima*, 3, 3.



this difficult problem. Plotinus, indeed, insisted on both freedom and providence, but providence as an attribute of a first principle to which neither will nor existence may be ascribed, falls far short of the dynamic conception of Boethius; it becomes in fact a mere kind of teleology for the universe in general.<sup>1</sup> The problem is therefore transferred by Neoplatonists to one of the minor orders, as  $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ ,<sup>2</sup> or to the gods, who loomed large in their system. Proclus speaks of the intelligence of the gods in much the same language that Boethius applies to God.<sup>3</sup> The matter is not of great significance to a Neoplatonist, whereas Boethius is as much concerned about it as a Church father would be—this is because his ultimate principle is a personal deity, the antipodes of the Neoplatonic postulate. The problem of freedom had interested Boethius before; he includes a lengthy discussion of the Peripatetic and Stoic notions regarding it, in his second commentary on Aristotle's  $\pi\epsilon\pi\lambda\iota\epsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota$ ,<sup>4</sup> without, however, reaching the explanation which we find in the *Consolatio*. Zeller<sup>5</sup> thinks he followed Stoic sources for pr. 3, and certainly he has used Cicero's *de divinatione* to some extent.<sup>6</sup> He may well have taken a suggestion from Proclus, too,<sup>7</sup> but the development of the idea in a fundamentally different theology is his own.

Another conception which seems to date from Boethius' later thought is the distinction between the eternity of God and the perpetuity of the world. This formulation enables Boethius as a Christian theologian to keep his doctrine of creation within the orthodox definition, and yet avoid the *aliquid ex nihilo* which philosophy had abhorred.<sup>8</sup> The conception had already been clearly expressed in one of his theological tractates,<sup>9</sup> which were, as I believe, a product of his later years,<sup>10</sup> but

<sup>1</sup> Zeller, *op. cit.*, p. 614 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 591 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 857.

<sup>4</sup> P. 195–198, Meiser.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 928, n. 3.

<sup>6</sup> See above, pp. 17, 19, 22. I have found no striking connections with the *de divinatione* other than that noted on p. 17.

<sup>7</sup> See Nitzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

<sup>8</sup> 5, pr. 1, 23.

<sup>9</sup> *Opusc. Sacr.*, p. 158, 62 ff. It still seems to me, in spite of Hildebrand, *Boethius und seine Stellung zum Christenthume*, 1885, p. 132, etc., and Brandt, *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1902, c. 148, that Boethius' attitude in this matter is best described by Nitzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 64 f.

<sup>10</sup> See *Jahrb. f. klass. Philol., Supplementbd. XXVI* (1901), p. 436 f. Brandt, *Philologus*, LXII (1903), p. 268, accepts this hypothesis with some hesitation (Die vier *Opuscula Sacra* liegen vielleicht auch in diesem Zeitraum).

passages in several works which had not long preceded this tractate show that the idea was at that time unformed.<sup>1</sup> In the present passage he is especially concerned with proving that Plato had meant to emphasize this distinction, whereas certain thinkers had falsely supposed him to aver that the world is both coeval and coördinate with God.<sup>2</sup> Who are these "certain ones"? The Neoplatonists, who had made the very misconception — if it is a misconception — of which Boethius speaks. The specific reference is to Proclus' commentary on the *Timaeus*.<sup>3</sup>

In a word, the fourth and fifth books are not a reworking of a Neoplatonic text, but a criticism of Neoplatonism and the most original part of the *Consolatio*. It would be strange indeed if the great system of the centuries preceding should find no echo in the philosophy of Boethius; but stranger still is its failure to make any vital impression on his thought. We may or may not accept his solution of the problem of freedom<sup>4</sup> and his distinction between earthly and divine everlastingness, but at all events it is no Neoplatonist who leads up step by step to the splendid words which crown the structure of his thought — *magna vobis est, si dissimulare non vultis, necessitas indicta prohibitatis, cum ante oculos agitis iudicis cuncta cernentis*. An *Urwesen* with eyes is a contradiction in terms.

## V

If the preceding analysis is correct, Usener's hypothesis regarding the composition of the *Consolatio* does not explain the elaborate character of this work. We have seen, first, that there is no marked difference of quality between the poetry and the prose, so far as the thoughts expressed are concerned; Boethius may not be a great poet, but his verse no less than his prose shows him a thinker. This fact is likewise revealed in the introductory prose sections of the *Consolatio*, which by hypothesis must be referred to the author himself; they do not broach so many problems as the later books, naturally, for the argument must

<sup>1</sup> See *Jahrb.*, p. 438. Brandt, *op. cit.*, p. 267, does not accept this.

<sup>2</sup> Pr. 6, 30 ff.

<sup>3</sup> 85 A.

<sup>4</sup> Boethius saves one human quality, freedom of the will, by sacrificing another — the sense of time.

be developed gradually, yet they lay the foundations carefully. Further, the section which Usener regards as an incorporation of a later reworking of Aristotle's *Protreptikos* is composed of too many elements to fit this definition, while the "Neoplatonic" text that follows is rather a carefully reasoned criticism of Neoplatonism. From first to last the work bears the impress of originality; Boethius turned, in memory at least, to many sources (which some investigator, it is to be hoped, will point out), but he elaborated all such suggestions into a form consistent with his general plan. The doctrines set forth in the *Consolatio* may not be novel, but the structure into which they are fitted is the author's own; this and the criticism of Neoplatonism—a remarkable event when one considers the course of preceding and contemporary speculation—are the distinctly original elements in this work. Surely, it is something more than a patchwork of borrowed texts.

The fact that the *Consolatio* is an original work tells us something of the spirit in which it is conceived. It was no mere pastime, the diversion of an idle hour. Usener, and others, concerned with proving Boethius a Christian and the author of the theological tractates, have carried their argument too far. On the one hand, they assume that the tractates are a youthful production (because Nitzsch had, for his purposes, pronounced them crude); on the other, they belittle the importance of the *Consolatio* as a personal document. Thus, when both the theology and the philosophy of Boethius are reduced to a safe insignificance, the thinker himself, robbed of his characteristics, may well be called both Christian and philosopher or fitted into any scheme. But one who ponders the careful structure of the *Consolatio* and the feeling with which it throbs, must recognize, other considerations aside, that this is a work of conviction—

*Et veris elegi fletibus ora rigant.*

The lonely thinker starts with a real fact, his bitter experience, and with that constantly in view works out a satisfying theodicy.<sup>1</sup>

If then Nitzsch and the scholars who preceded him are right in finding a system in the *Consolatio*, must it not follow that Boethius, whatever his outward ecclesiastical affiliations, was Pagan at heart after

<sup>1</sup> Stangl, *Pseudoboethiana*, has a good note on this matter (*Jahrb. f. klass. Philol.*, 1883, p. 285). This is quoted by Dräseke, *op. cit.*, p. 327.

all? Certainly there is no direct reference in the *Consolatio* to Christian creed, no citation of Christian scripture;<sup>1</sup> immortality, angels, prayer, and purgatory are anticipated in the Pagan systems, and even the doctrine of personal theism, which is more complete than in the mythology of the *Timaeus*, may be constructed from the materials furnished by that dialogue. The attempt of Catholic theologians to show that Boethius deliberately meant to set forth certain doctrines of the Christian faith must be termed a failure.<sup>2</sup>

What then is the purport of this last work of Boethius, which is at once Pagan in contents and systematic in design? And in what relation does it stand to the theological tractates? We can form an intelligible conception of Boethius' life, character, and ambitions up to the very last years of his life. We see in him a Roman philosopher, steeped in the systems of the Greeks, one who has reacted, however, against current philosophy and reverts to Plato and Aristotle as his supreme authorities. Later thought must, of course, influence his own views to some extent, but his chief aim is to go back of Stoicism, Epicureanism, and the Neoplatonic system as well, to the pure doctrine of the Academy and the Lyceum.<sup>3</sup> He plans to translate the works of his two masters with accompanying comment, and after thus setting forth their views, to reconcile them. It has long been matter of debate as to whether Boethius is more Platonic than Aristotelian, but though the Aristotelian commentaries loom large in Boethius' works, the moment that he turns from logic to theology, Plato's influence is more prominent.<sup>4</sup> Recognizing, further, the importance of personal theism in his latest thought we

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<sup>1</sup> The coincidence of 3, pr. 12, 59, *Est igitur summum inquit bonum quod regit cuncta fortiter suaviterque disponit* with *Wisdom of Solomon*, 8, 1, *Attingit ergo a fine usque ad finem fortiter et disponit omnia suaviter*, seems purely accidental.

<sup>2</sup> E. g., Cally's exegesis of 5, pr. 2. See Nitzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

<sup>3</sup> It is part of the Neoplatonic program to harmonize Plato and Aristotle, but Boethius, like Themistius (who may have influenced him here), includes Neoplatonism among the later accretions. See Zeller, *op. cit.*, p. 801.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. besides the theology of the *Consolatio*, the discussion of form and matter in the first *Tractate* (p. 153, 47 ff.). We have seen that much of this Platonic influence comes by way of the *Timaeus*. Had Boethius translated this dialogue and is this fact alluded to in the letter of Theodorich to him? Theodorich declares: *Plato theologus, Aristoteles logicus Quirinali voce disceptant*. See Cassiodorus, *Var.* 1, 45, 4.

see that the reconciliation would have been effected in terms of this doctrine — that is, would also have been in harmony with Christian theology.

For we must not forget that Boethius was a Christian, not only a member of the body ecclesiastic, a friend and kinsman of theologians, but a writer on Christian doctrines himself. The whole problem has been cleared by the fact that now, after Usener's publication, we positively know that the *Opuscula Sacra* are genuine. They date, moreover, if I am right, from Boethius' maturer years, and in any case are most important contributions to theology.<sup>1</sup> They show us, then, that this Roman philosopher applied the methods he had acquired from Plato and Aristotle to problems important in Christian thought. The principle, too, which permitted such a procedure, he has made plain. The distinction between faith and reason is as clearly set forth in Boethius as in St. Thomas himself. The doctrines of faith — we of course cannot estimate just what Boethius included here — are abundantly substantiated of themselves, he declares; yet it is the thinker's privilege to contribute what he can to their support. The attempt may succeed — in that case the credit belongs to the source of all reason, not to the reasoner; or it may fail — and then weak humanity must be pardoned for trying to soar too high.<sup>2</sup>

In the light of this principle so clearly pronounced by Boethius in his tractates, must his final work be judged. The *Consolatio* does not, like the *Opuscula Sacra*, deal directly with problems of Christian theology, but it is the work of a Christian theologian who holds fast the distinction between *fides* and *ratio*. There are naturally no traces of Christian doctrine in the *Consolatio*, for the reason that Philosophy speaks and not Faith. Boethius is trying by the unaided effort of the reason to establish a theodicy for which revelation has its own proofs, and for this reason, inevitably, recurs to the utterances of the schools and not the councils. But, be it noted, the solution at which he arrives,

<sup>1</sup> Even Nitzsch would admit this of the fifth *Tractate*. See *op. cit.*, p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> *Tractate* 1, p. 163, 29: Quod si sententiae fidei fundamentis sponte firmissimae opitulante gratia divina idonea argumentorum adiumenta praestitimus, illuc perfecti operis laetitia remeabit unde venit effectus. Quod si ultra se humanitas nequivit ascendere, quantum inbecillitas subtrahit, vota supplebunt. Cf. also *Tract.* 2, p. 167, 64, and *Tract.* 5, p. 217, 88 ff.

though expressed consistently in terms of Philosophy, is at one with the conclusion of Theology: reason could not prove something contradictory of faith.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes we meet a doctrine that would not have been accredited by St. Thomas (that of the world's perpetuity, for instance), because it had not been definitely excluded from orthodoxy when Boethius wrote.<sup>2</sup> Sometimes Boethius includes what would doubtless have been dangerous in contemporary theology, as, for instance, the Neoplatonic imagery in 5, pr. 2. But these are matters of detail. The general scheme of the *Consolatio* is in harmony with Christian theology. Nor need we ponder why Boethius chose a philosophical rather than a theological consolation in his last hours. Schröckh remarks,<sup>3</sup> "Unwürdig waren sie (i. e. philosophische Trostgründe) doch eines christlichen Gelehrten nicht. Es sind sehr nahe mit seiner Religion verwandte Gründe; es ist der letzte und edelste Erfolg seiner vieljährigen philosophischen Untersuchungen." The fundamental aim of the work is to make the language of philosophy approach as closely as possible to the meaning of faith; for Boethius was neither a Pagan, nor a cold eclectic, nor a dilettante reviser of others' texts, but the first of the scholastics.

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<sup>1</sup> This point is clearly expressed in an admirable discussion of this matter by Schröckh, *Christliche Kirchengeschichte*, 1792, Theil 16, p. 99 ff., a work quoted by Nitzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 33, and Dräseke, *op. cit.*, p. 327, and deserving still wider recognition by students of Boethius.

<sup>2</sup> See *Jahrb., Supplementb.* XXVI, p. 427.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 118.

## NOTES ON SOME USES OF BELLS AMONG THE GREEKS AND ROMANS

BY ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE

THE history and uses of bells have formed the subject of not a few books and articles in periodicals, but although these contain much valuable material, no sufficiently comprehensive and accurate treatment of the bells of the classical period has yet appeared. Dr. Heinrich Otte in his *Glockenkunde* (2d ed., Leipzig, T. O. Weigel, 1884) gives a useful bibliography of some of the works upon the subject, but in nearly all of these the interest has centered rather in the bells of the Middle Ages than in those of the Greeks and Romans. In this article it is my purpose to discuss and criticise a book by M. l'Abbé L. Morillot, Curé of Beire-le-Châtel, entitled *Étude sur l'Emploi des Clochettes chez les Anciens et depuis le Triomphe du Christianisme* (Dijon, Damongot et Cie., 1888).

This work is probably the best of those undertaking to deal with the bells of the classical period, and contains an accumulation of valuable facts and references. But while the literary side of the evidence has been more or less exhaustively collected, its interpretation is in several places superficial, faulty, or altogether lacking, and the monumental evidence, when one considers the large amount of it obtainable, is too often meagre. My researches into the subject have convinced me of the extreme difficulty of presenting anything like an absolutely complete treatment of the monumental evidence, but what material and conclusions I have obtained I shall introduce here in the form of a supplementary comment upon this work of M. Morillot, following rather closely the order of topics adopted by that author.

Some passages which occur in philosophical writings and are of a very general nature are not referred to by M. Morillot, who perhaps has considered them as lying outside the field of his work. The most important of these passages is by Iohannes Alexandrinus of Caesarea, called Philoponus, bishop of Alexandria, who lived probably about the

beginning of the sixth century of our era (Krumbacher, *Gesch. d. Byz. Litt.*, 2d ed., p. 581). In his work, *De Anima*, p. 355, 13, Hayd., he says: τὰ δὲ ἤχεϊα καὶ τὰ κύμβαλα πληττόμενα ἐπίμονον ποιεῖ τὸν ψόφον, τοῦτο δὲ διὰ τὴν κοιλότητα. ἀπολαμβάνεται γὰρ ὁ ἀὴρ ἐν τῇ κοιλότητι, ὅς εἰλούμενος ἐπὶ πολὺ περὶ τὸ κοίλωμα ἐξελθεῖν μὴ δυνάμενος παρατείνει τὸν ψόφον. καὶ ἐν τοῖς κυρτοῖς δὲ ἑαυτοῦ μέρεσι πληττόμενος ὁ κώδων ἐπὶ πλείονα χρόνον ἤχει, ὅταν ἀπὸ τινος λεπτοῦ ἱμάντος ἀπηρητημένος ᾖ. ἢ δὲ αἰτία ἢ αὐτὴ· πληττόμενος κινεῖται, κινούμενος δὲ κινεῖ τὸν ἐν τοῖς κοιλώμασιν ἐναπειλημένον ἀέρα, ὅς πάλιν ἐπὶ πολὺ εἰλούμενος καὶ τῷ χαλκῷ προσκρούων παρατείνει τὸν ψόφον. . . . τοῦτο δὲ διότι μὴ κινούμενον τὸ ἤχειον οὐ κινήσει τὸν ἐντὸς ἀέρα. With this compare Theophrastus, *Sens.* 9, where he is speaking of the doctrines of Empedocles: τὴν δ' ἀκοὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ξέωθεν γίνεσθαι ψόφον· ὅταν γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς φωνῆς κινήθῃ ἤχειον ἐντὸς. ὥσπερ γὰρ εἶναι κώδωνα τῶν ἔσω ἤχων τὴν ἀκοὴν ἦν προσαγορεύει σάρκινον ὄζον. κινουμένην δὲ παίειν τὸν ἀέρα πρὸς τὰ στερεὰ καὶ ποιεῖν ἤχον.

Among the names by which bells were called (p. 3), M. Morillot gives little or no attention to the following. In Greek χαλκόν, in Latin *aes* is used as the name of a sonorous instrument or instruments. The ambiguity of these words often makes it impossible to determine exactly what one of various instruments is meant. The diminutive form κωδώνιον is twice mentioned by Herodian in lists of words (περὶ καθολικῆς προσφῶδας, I, p. 361, 23; 364, 9, Lentz), and in Iohannes Alexandrinus (*De Anima*, p. 356, 20 and 25, Hayd.). ἤχειον is a term used in several places (e.g. Plut. *Crass.* 23) and may perhaps sometimes refer to bells, though in Vitruvius the reference is to another thing (see M. Morillot, p. 11). λέβης sometimes means a resonant body, probably more or less bell-shaped, but without a tongue, and struck either by some sort of a hammer (Apollod. *Fr.* p. 402, Heyne, from Schol. ad Theocr. 2, 36, to be quoted later; Hdt. 6, 58; probably the same idea also in Strabo, 7, p. 329, *Fr.* 3), or by concussion with another of its own kind (Suidas, *s.v.* Δωδωναῖον Χαλκείον; Eustath., p. 1760, ad Hom. *Od.* 14, 327). Compare with this use of λέβης the Latin word *cacabulus*, of which I shall have more to say later on. The earliest possible mention of the much-disputed word *nola* is in Avianus, *Fab.* 7, 8 (of the fourth or fifth century), where some read the form *nolam*. But as the quantity of the *o* in *nola* makes a difficulty in the metre (which Ellis in



his edition admits, but tries to explain away), and if *nolam* be read the next line is tautological, it seems probable that some other word should be read here, perhaps *notam*, which is read by Lachmann and Fröhner. The *discus*, a disk-shaped piece of bronze suspended vertically on an axis, the ends of which were, in their turn, suspended, was an instrument similar in its use to the bell. Some have been discovered, but it is not my purpose to treat of them here any more than of cymbals and drums. Of course, in addition to the terms mentioned, periphrases are occasionally used for the idea of *bell* (e. g., perhaps, *ποίημα χάλκεον*, *Luc. Syr. Dea*, 29), but these periphrases are at times as ambiguous as the terms *χαλκόν* and *aes*.

M. Morillot entirely ignores the question whether the ancients used bells hung upon lateral pivots like our church bells. The usual method of hanging them was doubtless by a cord or thong, as in the passage already quoted from Iohannes Alexandrinus — *ἀπό τινος λεπτοῦ ἱμάντος ἀπηρτημένως*. And practically all the bells of which we have ancient illustrations or existing remains are intended to be thus hung. Yet the statement has been made that bells upon lateral pivots were used. The contention rests upon a scene on a fountain in the hippodrome at Constantinople (*Rev. Arch.*, 1845, pl. 29). This scene represents two posts, joined by a cross-piece at the top. Between them is swung, undeniably upon lateral pivots, an urn which, to judge from the size of men standing beside it, is about two and one-half or three feet high. Its shape is spherical, flaring somewhat at the mouth, which is turned downward and from which a small round ball is just falling. At the left of the framework stands a man who with his left hand turns the jar around, and at the right another who strikes it with a flail. Ch. Texier, the author of the article in the *Rev. Arch.*, says (p. 147): “Je vois en effet dans le second sujet deux hommes qui frappent un vase d’airain, une cloche d’une forme particulière suspendue dans son châssis. . . . L’homme de gauche est chargé de faire tourner sur son axe le vase dans lequel sont répandues des boules de bronze, l’une vient de tomber. L’autre homme frappe sur la surface avec un fléau pour augmenter le bruit de l’airain. C’est pour annoncer l’ouverture des courses.” The race course with the *metae* and a *quadriga* is sculptured close by this scene. But this would be a strange sort of bell in which the substitute for a tongue consisted only of little balls which were almost sure to

tumble out of the wide mouth of the jar every time it was turned upside down. Another suggestion is given by G. Fougères, *La vie publique et privée des Grecs et des Romains*, p. 60, fig. 410, namely, that this may be a method of drawing lots for the positions of the different *quadrigae* in the races, and that the balls represent lots. While this is not a very satisfactory explanation, it is better than the other. The fact, also, that there seems to be no other undoubted case of bells upon lateral pivots goes far to contradict the theory that such a bell is here shown.

Having discussed the names and forms of bells, M. Morillot divides the uses into profane and religious. The first point under the former heading is concerned with doorbells. The author states (p. 7) that the ancients placed bells at the doors and in the interiors of their houses, and he cites the well-known passage in Suetonius (*Aug.* 91). But this question cannot be so easily dismissed. Where and how was the doorbell hung? By whom was it rung? And to summon whom? The two most probable theories are: (1) that the bell was rung by the visitor outside the house as a signal to the *ostiarus* to open the door; (2) that the visitor knocked or kicked on the door, or shouted to the *ostiarus* to open it, and that the *ostiarus*, who was chained to his post, rang the bell to call the *atriensis* or some other slave to conduct the visitor within and announce his arrival to the master of the house. It is hard to believe that sometimes there was no one to attend to the door, and that the visitor announced himself by rapping or using a knocker and then entered, yet this can be gathered from the following passage from Plutarch, *De Curios.*, 3, p. 516 E, F: *καίτοι μὴ κόψαντά γε θύραν εἰς οἰκίαν ἀλλοτριάν οὐ νομίζεται παρελθεῖν· ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν εἰσι θυρωροί, πάλαι δὲ ῥόπτρα κρουόμενα πρὸς ταῖς θύραις αἰσθησιν παρείχεν, ἵνα μὴ τὴν οἰκοδέσποιναν ἐν μέσῳ καταλάβῃ ὁ ἀλλότριος ἢ τὴν πάρθενον, ἢ κολαζόμενον οἰκέτην ἢ κεκραγυίας τὰς θεραπαινίδας.* The *ianitor* is first mentioned in Plaut. (*Men.* 673), but too little is stated about him for us to be sure of his duties. Later, however, we find that he was chained at the door, probably just inside. (The *ante foras* in Tibull. 1, 1, 56 might mean nothing more than that the doorkeeper was facing the door. If it be objected that this passage from Tibullus is untrustworthy because it is entirely metaphorical, the reply may be made that if the description be not true to life then the whole force and vividness of the metaphor is gone.) Passages which

indicate that the *ianitor* was chained are the following: Columella, 1, *praef.* § 10; Afranius in Festus, *s.v. tintinnire*; Ov. *Am.* 1, 6, 1; Suet. *De Clar. Rhet.* 3. In the last passage cited the custom of chaining the *ianitor* is called a *vetus mos*. Now certain passages indicate that the *ianitor* was a person to be conciliated by one who wished to obtain admission into the house (Plat. *Protag.* 314 D; Columella, *l. c.*; Hor. *C.* 3, 14, 23-24; and perhaps there is a hint of this in Hor. *C.* 3, 11, 15-16). Many times also the visitors call out to the *ianitor* (e. g. Ov. *Am.* 1, 6, 1-2; Plaut. *Stich.* 308). Now that all this should have gone on between persons so far apart or separated by such obstacles that a bell was necessary to call the attention of one to the other seems improbable. Besides these reasons, Marquardt shows (*Privatleben*, p. 235, note 5) that it was customary for the main door of the house to stand open during the daytime. Hence there appears to be nothing to hinder the theory that the *ianitor* was so stationed that he could easily speak to all comers and be addressed by them. When addressed, if he saw fit, he admitted them within and rang a bell to call the *atriensis* who in earlier times, before the introduction of the *ianitor*, may have been the one to respond to knocks upon the door. Plaut. *Asin.* 382-3:

i puere, pulsa

Atque atriensem Sauream, sist intus, evocato huc.

In Petronius, *Cena Trimalch.* 73, the *atriensis* rescues two tipsy fellows who have been so scared by the dog at the door that they have fallen into a *piscina* close by. This would not indicate that the *atriensis* acted as doorkeeper, but rather that he had a general oversight of that part of the building and therefore naturally hurried to the spot where anything was going wrong. That the *ianitor* did not conduct the visitor within or announce his arrival is plain from the fact that he was chained. Yet even in the period when *ianitores* were employed, it is probable that there were households which did not possess them. Especially would this be the case with poor citizens and with those living in the country. Indeed Varro says (*R. R.* 1, 13) that the room of the *vilicus* should be near the door so that he may know who is coming in or going out at night, and that this is especially necessary when there is no *ostiarius*. We know that bells were sometimes used, however, in

country houses, since in the remains of the villa near Bosco Reale a bell has been found in place. It is a small bell of bronze and is hung *inside* the door. "Ma il curioso è, che non fu trovato a terra, ma aderente al muro ed all' altezza di un uomo, per la qual cosa si suppose che avesse servito per segnare alla porta" (A. Pasqui in *Monum. Antichi*, VII (1897), p. 404; Villefosse in *Monum. et Mémoires*, V, p. 20). Now it is a perfectly possible supposition that in houses in which there was a *ianitor* he rang this bell and summoned the *atriensis*, but that where there was no *ianitor* the visitor passed through the open outer door and rang it himself. How early bells were used for this purpose, I think we cannot determine. For their use at the doors of town houses we have several bits of evidence. Mau, in the *Bullettino*, XVI (1901), p. 332, describes "eine 0.09 (=  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in.) hohe Bronzeglocke, mit einem eisernen Nagel im Henkel," found in a house in Pompei on March 15, 1900 (cf. *Not. d. Sc.*, 1900, p. 98). This bell, though not actually in position, Mau considers to have been the doorbell of the house. Again, Mau in *Bullettino*, XIII (1898), p. 58, describing a house in Pompei—*Insula* VI, 15—"Im Eingange fand man das eiserne Thürschloss und am Fusse des r. Pfostens eine bronzene Glocke (h. 0.106 [=  $4\frac{3}{16}$  in.]); es ist wohl kaum zu bezweifeln . . . dass man an ihr läutete um Einlass zu verlangen." For other such bells see Mau, *Bullettino*, XVI (1901), p. 363 (cf. *Not. d. Sc.*, 1901, p. 204); *Bullettino*, XIII (1898), p. 30. In *Bullettino*, XIII (1898), p. 22, we have mention of a bronze bell 0.105 m. [ $4\frac{1}{4}$  in.] high, found in *Insula* VI, 15, at Pompei, *inside the posticum*.

The statement of M. Morillot, on p. 8, that bells have been found at Pompei and Herculaneum still in place inside rooms is tantalizing by absence of any evidence cited by the author for his statement. I find no certain indication of this custom, though bells have been found inside houses, generally not in place, and these may have been used as *hand-bells* for one purpose and another, as, for instance, at meals as a signal for changing the courses, or to call servants. A passage in Seneca may perhaps refer to this (*Brev. Vit.* 12, 5).

In the passage quoted by M. Morillot, on pp. 7-8, from Lucian, *De Merc. Cond.* 24, it is quite possible that this rising bell was not used to wake the whole household, but merely the dependents and slaves. Cf. also § 31 of the same work.

On p. 9, M. Morillot says: “. . . si l'on en croit le dernier traducteur du *Ration. div. Officiorum* de Durand de Mende (T. I<sup>er</sup>, p. 356), on aurait trouvé dans les thermes de Dioclétien en 1548 une clochette de bronze sur laquelle on lisait: *Firmi balneatoris.*” This statement may be traced farther back than the author has done. In the appendix of Fulvius Ursinus to the work of P. Ciacco, *De Triclinio*, pp. 130–131 of the edition of 1664, we read: “*Ipsa vero lavandi hora indicabatur sonitu tintinnabuli, ut conjici potest ex versibus Martialis, quos infra ponemus, et ex aereo item tintinnabulo, quod extat apud me, cum inscriptione FIRMI BALNEATORIS repertum in Esquiliis anno M.D.XLVIII. in ruinis thermarum Diocletiani Imperatoris.*” The words *apud me* I take to mean ‘in my private collection.’ Fulvius Ursinus was born in 1529 and died in 1600. This work was first published in 1588. See P. de Nolhac, on *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini*, p. 3, in *Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes Études*, LXXIV (1887). The discrimination, accuracy, and reliability of Orsini are testified to in the work of Nolhac on pp. 33–34, 36; and on p. 53, note 2, it is stated that this bell is found at the end of the inventory of the collections of Orsini.

For the fish-market bell (M. Morillot, p. 10) see also Sext. Empir. *adv. Math.* 8, 193, to be quoted later.

It is difficult to see why M. Morillot classes the use of bells upon the tomb of Porsenna (p. 11) among profane usages. On the contrary, I should be strongly inclined to assign them to some religious or prophylactic use. May they not be connected with the bells upon the car which carried the body of Alexander the Great (M. Morillot, p. 49), with the numerous bells found in tombs (see M. Morillot, p. 50, and my comment on that passage), and perhaps even with the bells hung by Augustus upon the temple of Iupiter Tonans (M. Morillot, pp. 57–58)? Undoubtedly the sound of bronze was believed to have purifying powers. The scholiast on Theocritus, 2, 36, says: ἐπειδὴ ἐνομιζέτο καθαρὸς εἶναι (sc. ὁ χαλκὸς) καὶ ἀπελαστικὸς τῶν μiasμάτων. Cf. Tibull. 1, 8, 21–22; *Annali*, 1875, pp. 59 ff. Now that dead bodies, as well as living, needed protection from malignant influences, such as the evil eye, seems to be indicated by the bells found *inside* tombs, often accompanied by other articles of supposed prophylactic powers. May not these bells upon the outside of a tomb have been merely a more conspicuous and perhaps, therefore, a more effective way of warding off evil influences?

In speaking of bells upon the necks of dogs, Morillot fails to mention the passage in Avianus, to which I have already referred. It occurs in *Fab. 7 (De Cane)*, 7-10:

Hunc dominus ne quem probitas simulata lateret,  
 Iusserat in rabido gutture ferre † nolam. [notam]  
 Faucibus innexis crepitantia subligat aera,  
 Quae facili motu signa cavenda darent.

Even if *nolam* must be replaced by *notam* the meaning is plain enough. The gloss from Albinus which Ellis in his edition of Avianus quotes, on p. 64 of his commentary, does not seem apposite. It is: "Crepitacula dicit: ea vero domini etiam furtivis appendebant ut quaqua irent a villico audiri possent." This would apply to cows, but plainly not to dogs. The bell here mentioned is, of course, to give warning to people: *cave canem*. Froehner, *Cat. des Antiq. du Mus. de Marseille*, No. 1254, mentions a gray terra-cotta dog, seated, with a bell on his neck. The figure is .096 m. ( $3\frac{7}{8}$  in.) high.

For bells upon horses (Morillot, pp. 12-13) we find additional information by Bruzza, in *Comment. Phil. in hon. Theod. Mommseni*, p. 559, where he says that at Ascoli, in Picenum, were found some bands to be used upon the breasts of horses. From one of these, which has been taken to Holland, hang, at intervals of 3 cm. ( $1\frac{3}{16}$  in.), a little axe, fruits, and, among other things, eight bells, square at the base, elongated in shape, and without tongues. These articles plainly suggest a superstitious purpose for bells upon horses, and I believe that many such bells are to be thus interpreted. A more doubtful case is described in the *Compte Rendu* for 1865, p. 11. Near the village of Steblejevka, in the tomb of a so-called priestess of Demeter, with earrings, rings, representations of Demeter, Kore, and Herakles, were found thirty-eight little bells. See pl. V, 7. L. Stephani thinks they were bells of horses, that two are missing, and that originally four horses (why four?) had ten bells each. This is, of course, mere conjecture. See also Stephani, *Compte Rendu*, 1876, p. 115, for a bronze bell from South Russia, probably intended to be attached to a horse's harness.

In regard to bells upon flocks and herds (M. Morillot, pp. 13 f.), the gloss of Albinus cited a few lines above may be noted. A passage in

Sidonius also refers to this use: "inter greges tintinnabulatos per depasta buceta reboantes" (Sid. *Ep.* 2, 2, 14). Many bells are discovered of whose uses we cannot be certain, and some of these were probably intended for use upon flocks (e. g. one mentioned in *Not. d. Sc.*, 1879, pp. 24, 233). Another bell mentioned in this same reference seems less probable, inasmuch as it was discovered in the atrium of a house at Pompei. It is described, however, as "campana per bestiam a base elliptica, alta mill. .97 ( $3\frac{7}{8}$  in.)."

In the *Monumenta Matthaciana* (Rome, 1779), I, pp. 10-11, and pl. XIII, Bacchus is represented as riding upon an ass to whose neck a bell is attached. Cf. Barré and Roux, *Musée Secret*, pl. LV, for Pan upon an ass wearing a bell. The *Annali*, 1834, p. 38, mention three bells found in a tomb near Ruvo, in Apulia, which are similar to those used upon the necks of mules, but it would seem more advisable to consider them as not differing in *purpose* from other bells found in tombs.

An especially unsatisfactory portion of M. Morillot's book is that which deals with bells upon the necks of elephants. For such bells appearing upon coins of the Caecilian gens, I give a fuller description than that of Morillot. The examples I shall cite are taken, for the most part, from the following books: (1) Fulvio Orsini, *Familiae Romanae*, Rome, 1577; (2) C. Patin, *Familiae Romanae . . . ex Bibliotheca Fulvii Ursini*, Paris, 1663; (3) J. Vaillant, *Nummi Antiqui Familiarum Romanarum*, 2 vols., Amsterdam, 1703; (4) *Thesaurus Morellianus*, arranged by A. Morelli, with commentary by S. Havercamp, 2 vols., Amsterdam, 1734; (5) G. Riccio, *Le Monete delle antiche Famiglie di Roma*, Naples, 2d edition, 1843. The figures vary in these different works, so I shall tabulate them for greater convenience. Of one or two coins, not appearing in these works, I shall give a more detailed treatment a little later on. Not all the figures show bells upon the elephants' necks. I have indicated with asterisks the places where bells are shown. A, B, and D also should really be indicated with asterisks in Morelli, for, though they do not appear with bells in the figures, Havercamp says in his comment, Vol. I, p. 49, b: "Notari vero debet, in denariis gentis Caeciliae meliuscule servatis passim illud tintinnabulum, ut adverti in nummis Tab. I, num. 1, 2, 5, ubi a Morellio non expressa sunt."

	ORSINI	PATIN	VAILLANT	MORELLI	RICCIO
A	p. 37, [fig. 1]	*p. 48, [fig. 1]	pl. XXVIII, 12	Vol. II. <i>Caecilia Gens</i> , pl. I, fig. 1	pl. IX, fig. 2
B	p. 37, [fig. 2]	*p. 48, [fig. 2]	pl. XXVIII, 13	Vol. II. <i>Caecil.</i> pl. I, fig. 2	pl. IX, fig. 1
C <sup>1</sup>	*p. 37, [fig. 3]	*p. 48, [fig. 4]	*pl. XXIX, 24	Vol. II. <i>Caecil.</i> pl. I, fig. 4	pl. IX, fig. 3
D	p. 37, [fig. 4]	p. 48, [fig. 5]	pl. XXIX, 15	Vol. II. <i>Caecil.</i> pl. I, fig. 5	*pl. IX, fig. 5
E		*p. 50, [fig. 4]	*pl. XXVIII, 14	*Vol. II. <i>Caecil.</i> pl. II, fig. 4	*pl. IX, fig. 4

The descriptions of these coins I take from Havercamp. Remarks enclosed in square brackets are my additions.

- A. *Obverse*: ROMA. Caput dei Triumphi, cum adposita denarii nota. . . .  
*Reverse*: M. METELLVS, Q. F. Caput elephantinum in umbone clypei Macedonici, qui laurae inclusus est. [Bell on neck of elephant.]
- B. *Obverse*: Similis est superiori, sed pro capite dei Triumphi Romae galeatum caput exhibet.  
*Reverse*: [Very similar to A.]
- C. *Obverse*: Romae caput galeatum cum denarii nota.  
*Reverse*: C. METELLVS. Figura virilis, in bigis elephantorum, cui advolans per aërem Victoria sertum porrigit. [A bell on the neck of the nearer elephant.]
- D. *Obverse*: Caput Romae galeatum cum denarii nota.  
*Reverse*: ROMA. Roma hastata et armata in citis bigis, subtus elephantii caput est. [With bell on its neck.]
- E. *Obverse*: Caput . . . Iovis Capitolini cum nota semmissis.  
*Reverse*: ROMA. Prora navis cum nota eadem, desuper elephantii caput est cum tintinnabulo dependente ex collo.

M. Morillot says (p. 16) that the elephant with a bell appears as a frequent emblem on the coins of the Caecilian gens, but if he had

<sup>1</sup> See also Gysbert Kuiper (Cuperus), *Liber de Elephantis in nummis obviis* (1719), p. 115.



inquired into the reason he would not have made the statement that he makes immediately afterward: "Il sera question des éléphants sacrés de l'Inde et de leurs clochettes traditionnelles." Several passages in ancient authors show the reason for the representation of these elephants, though unfortunately not for their bells. Eutropius, 2, 24: "L. Caecilio Metello, C. Furio Pacilo coss. [i. e. 251 B.C.] Metellus in Sicilia Afrorum ducem cum cxxx elephantis et magnis copiis venientem superavit, xx milia hostium cecidit, xxvi elephantos cepit, reliquos errantes per Numidas, quos in auxilium habebat, collegit et Romam deduxit ingenti pompa, cum cxxx elephantorum numerus omnia itinera completeret." Substantially the same account appears in other writers, but with variations in the number of the elephants (e. g. Orosius, 4, 9, 15 — 104 in the triumph; Livy, *ex lib.* 19 — 120 in the triumph; Dion. Hal. 2, 66 — 138 in the triumph; Plin. *H. N.* 8, 16 — 140 or 142 in the triumph. See also Front. *Strateg.* 1, 7, 1, for transportation of elephants from Sicily to Italy). P. Armandi, in his *Histoire Militaire des Éléphants* (1843), proves that the elephants of the Carthaginians were not imported from Asia, but were obtainable within comparatively easy reach of Carthage (see Appian, *Bell. Pun.* 9, 13; Front. *Strateg.* 4, 7, 18; Hannon, *Peripl.* ap. Hudson, *Geogr. Min.* I; Diod. Sic. 3, 10; Strabo, 17, 2; and other references given in Armandi, pp. 14 ff.).

Although elephants were at the time of Metellus a very unusual sight to the Romans, yet he was not the first to use them in a triumph. Plin. *H. N.* 8, 16: "Elephantos Italia primum vidit Pyrrhi regis bello, et boves lucas appellavit in Lucanis visos anno urbis quadringentesimo septuagesimo secundo, Roma autem in triumpho septem annis ad superiore numerum additis, eadem plurimos anno quingentesimo secundo victoria L. Metelli pontificis in Sicilia de Poenis captos; centum quadraginta duo fuere aut, ut quidam, cxl transvecti ratibus, quas doliorum consertis ordinibus imposuerat." Seneca, *Brev. Vit.* 13, 3: "Primus Curius Dentatus in triumpho duxit elephantos." See also the references in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.* II, p. 538, note 68. Armandi, *op. cit.*, p. 122, gives the pedigree of these elephants of Pyrrhus, which were really Asian elephants. They had come from the East in two lines of descent, one through the possession of Seleucus Nicator (called in Athen. 6, 261 B, 'ἐλεφαντάρχου') and Ptolemaeus Ceraunus, the other through those of Antigonus and Demetrius Polior-

cetes. Ptolemaeus Ceraunus gave some elephants to Pyrrhus, and Pyrrhus captured some from Demetrius.

Other representations of elephants carrying bells are the following: In the necropolis of Myrina, in Mysia, was found a terra-cotta elephant 0.12 m. ( $4\frac{3}{4}$  in.) high, with a howdah on his back, a driver upon his shoulders, and a bell hanging from his neck. He is about to trample upon a Galatian soldier (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* IX (1885), pp. 485 ff., pl. XI; G. Fougères, *La Vie publique et privée des Grecs et des Romains*, fig. 516; Daremberg and Saglio, II, fig. 2623). This elephant, say the authors of the article in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, MM. E. Pottier and S. Reinach, is plainly of the Indian type, and they show conclusively that the soldier being trampled upon is a Galatian. From Tölken, *Verzeichniss d. ant. Steine* (1835), p. 402, No. 26, I quote a description of another representation: "Gelbe antike Paste. Ein Elephant trägt auf dem Rücken seinen Führer und eine Bürde, und am Halse eine Glocke; mit dem Rüssel umwindet er ein Bäumchen, um es auszureissen." (This gem belonged to the collection of Herr von Stosch, and is described as being in the Antiquarium of the Royal Museum at Berlin.) A copper coin found in Etruria and figured in Imhoof-Blumer and Keller's *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen*, pl. IV, No. 3, shows an elephant with a bell on his neck. T. E. Mionnet, *Description de Médailles antiques*, I, p. 103, No. 60, seems to describe a coin of this same type. He gives no illustration of it. He states that a certain mark which is seen between the legs of the elephant is a Phoenician character. When, however, this mark is consulted in a plate in Vol. VII of his work (plate XX, No. 48), it is found to be merely a crescent-shaped sign which might be almost anything. Imhoof-Blumer and Keller treat it merely as a crescent. The head of a Moor on the obverse of the coin, however, probably connects this elephant and his bell with Africa. Mionnet goes so far as to say that the coin was struck in Africa. In the *Catalogue des Bronzes ant. de la Bibl. Nationale*, pp. 680-682, a mina from Antioch, in Syria, is described. It is of bronze, square, 120 mm. ( $4\frac{3}{4}$  in.) on a side, weighs 1069 grams (2.35 lbs.), and is perhaps of the year 57 B.C. Around it on one side runs this inscription: ΑΓΟΡΑΝΟ|ΜΟΥΝΤΩΝ|ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΚΑΙ|ΠΟΤΑΙΟΥ, and in the centre this: ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΘΗΣ|ΜΗΤ[ΡΟΠΟ]ΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ|ΙΕΡΑΣ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ|ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ. On the other side the

first inscription is repeated and we have in addition: ΕΤΟΥΞ | ΕΒΔΟ-  
ΜΟΥ | ΔΗΜΟΞΙΑ | ΜΝΑ. In the centre on each side is an elephant  
with a bell upon his neck. For this bronze see also A. de Longperier,  
*Oeuvres réunies*, II, p. 211 f. In *Rev. Arch.* IX (1887), pl. X, on a  
rectangular Roman coin, we find an elephant, perhaps with a bell.

So much for the evidence. What was the purpose of this custom?  
Armandi dismisses the question by saying that ornaments rendered the  
elephants 'fiers et joyeux.' The article in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* IX (1885),  
pp. 485 ff., says the bell was to excite the elephant, and S. Reinach, in  
his article *Elephas* in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.*, takes this  
same view (Vol. II, p. 540 b), citing Plut. *Eum.* 14, to prove it. I find  
nothing in that passage to justify this view. (For his statement that  
bright-colored objects excited them he has good authority in Plut.  
*Conj. Praecepta*, p. 144 E.) That little bells like these should have  
been used with any intention of terrifying the enemy is almost prepos-  
terous. The two most reasonable theories are these: (1) that this  
bell has, like so many others, some superstitious significance; (2) that  
its purpose is entirely practical, namely, to give warning to people of  
the elephant's approach, that they may not be trampled upon. To  
decide this point it would be of value to know from what country the  
custom came. That the bells which M. Morillot has referred to Indian  
customs are directly traceable to Africa, I have shown, but I have not  
in this been attempting to argue against the possibility of their also  
occurring upon animals coming from the East. Indeed, the cases cited  
above from Myrina and Antioch probably have an Eastern origin, though  
they are late enough to show signs of influence from the West. It  
might be thought that there is a connection between the Caecilian  
coins and a statement in Zonaras (*Ann.* 7, 21, Dindorf), where he  
describes the triumph of M. Furius Camillus: *καὶ κώδων ἀπήρτητο καὶ*  
*μάστιξ τοῦ ἄρματος, ἐνδεικτικὰ τοῦ καὶ δυστυχήσαι αὐτὸν δύνασθαι,*  
*ὥστε καὶ αἰκισθῆναι ἢ καὶ δικαιοθῆναι θανεῖν. τοὺς γὰρ ἐπὶ τινι ἀτο-*  
*πήματι καταδικασθέντας θανεῖν νενόμιστο κωδωνοφορεῖν, ἵνα μηδεὶς βαδί-*  
*ζουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐγχερίπτομενος μάσματος ἀνατίμπληται.* It might be held  
that these Caecilian coins point back not so much to a general custom  
of placing bells on the necks of elephants, as to such a custom in time  
of a triumph, for all these coins refer, not so much to the victory of  
Metellus, as to his formal triumph. But this explanation gives no solu-

tion of the question of the Antioch and Myrina elephants, which surely can have had no connection with any Roman triumph, and the occurrence of this custom in places as widely separated as Rome (Carthage?), Syria, and Ceylon (see M. Morillot, pp. 47-48) leads me to believe that the purpose of this bell is merely the practical one I have stated. If it be objected that elephants used in war were *intended* to trample upon the enemy, and that it would therefore be absurd to have their approach thus advertised, two answers may readily be given: (1) that the approach of a *crowd* of elephants would surely be known by the enemy, even if there were no bells to apprise them of the fact, while single elephants, accidentally let loose and wandering about their own camp, might easily do damage if no warning was given of their approach; (2) that the elephants were not intended merely to trample upon single soldiers of the enemy, but rather to break through whole lines, where escape would be difficult or impossible, and to throw whole squadrons into disorder. In the light, then, of what evidence we at present have, I see no satisfactory explanation for this custom along any other lines than those of practical utility.

A *spathalium* (see M. Morillot, pp. 23-24) is described by P. de Cessac in *Rev. Arch.*, 1874, 2, pl. XXVII, pp. 348 ff. In a tomb of the first or second century of our era, at Védignac, commune of Ars, was found a bracelet of solid gold, made of wire joined at the ends by repeated windings (for this form of bracelet see G. de Mortillet in *Rev. Arch.*, 1866, 2, pp. 417 ff.). The diameter of the bracelet is .046 m. ( $1\frac{3}{4}$  in.), its small size being due to the fact that the tomb is that of a small infant. To the bracelet is attached an oval ring .015 m. ( $\frac{5}{8}$  in.) long and .012 m. ( $\frac{1}{2}$  in.) wide, to which, by a somewhat strap-shaped ring, the bell is fastened. It has straight vertical sides, and its diameter is .016 m. ( $1\frac{1}{8}$  in.). At its top is a dome-shaped protuberance from which springs the ring, uniting it to the next larger ring. Its height is .011 m. ( $\frac{7}{16}$  in.). The tongue is of silver and projects a good deal below the body of the bell. "Les côtés de cette clochette semblent avoir été rebattus au marteau, car tout son pourtour porte les marques de cet outil." This bell was found in 1874.

At Alfadena was found on October 17, 1877, in a tomb, upon the breast of a skeleton, "un ornamento di ferro, di due campanuli a cono allungato e terminati in anello, e i due anelli ricongiunto da un terzo

anello mobile." (*Not. d. Sc.*, 1877, p. 278.) And on October 19, 1877, in another tomb, at the same place, "tra le osse dello scheletro erano quattro fibule, due campanuli di ferro tenuti insieme da un anello mobile." (*Not. d. Sc.*, *l. c.*) Froehner, *Cat. des Ant. grecques et romaines du Mus. de Marseille* (Paris, 1897), No. 866, mentions seven bells, "ayant servi de pendants de colliers." In the *Rev. Arch.*, 1877, 1, p. 4, G. C. Ceccaldi describes as coming from a tomb at Curium, in Cyprus, "Pendeloques de cou (amulettes) consistant en . . . orbite en or d'un oeil qui devait être en émail ou en pierre et qui n'existe plus. Trois chaînettes y sont appendues, à chacune attiennent deux clochettes coniques et goderonnées." It is very likely that some of the rings, which have been found joined loosely to other rings, may have been originally intended to support bracelet or necklace bells.

Examples of bells used upon tympana will be found in Zahn, *Ornements de Pompei, d'Hercule, et de Stab.*, II, pl. 17; III, 64. See also references in F. Wieseler, *Das Satyrspiel*, p. 108, foot-note.

M. Morillot's discussion of the bells used in camps (pp. 25 ff.) shows a failure to note an important distinction between two very different customs. The first, and apparently the more common, custom was as follows: a watchman, or patrol, made the rounds of the camp, ringing a bell, and the sentries replied to him by shouting or in some other way. If they did not reply, he suspected that they were asleep and investigated the matter. *Ar. Av.* 841-2 (and schol.), 1160-62; *Plut. Arat.* 7; *Harpoer. s.v. διεκωδώνισε*. Also *Hesych. s.vv. κωδωνίσαι, κωδωνοφορῶν*, and *Phot. s.v. κωδωνοφορῶν*. The second custom was for a bell to be sent around the circuit of the camp, each patrolman carrying it over his beat and delivering it to the next patrol, till it made the rounds and came back to the commander. If any patrolman, through sleepiness or absence from his beat, failed to appear to take the bell from his neighbor, the bell was sent back again in the same fashion to the commander, who at once inquired into the reason for the patrolman's failure to appear. See *Thuc.* 4, 135, and G. Boehme and S. Widmann on the passage. In this custom the bell was hardly different from any other symbol. In fact, a *σκυταλῆς* was sometimes used in the same way (*Aen. Tact.* 22, 27). The scholium on *Ar. Av.* 1160 mentions the use of the bell in watches, but does not state which custom is meant. However, as the passage on which it is a scholium seems to refer to the first method, it is probable that the scholium does also.

On pp. 33-34, M. Morillot refers to a bell bearing the inscription :

TOI COM MAC IN ‡  
VTTO TET AΓM AI ‡

(i. e. τοῖς ὄμμασιν ὑποτέταγμα). For a discussion of this bell see the *Annali* for 1875, pp. 50 ff. ; also *Arch. Zeit.* XXXIII (1876), pp. 55-6 ; Kaibel, *Insc. Gr. Sic. et Ital.*, No. 2409.5 ; Bruzza, in *Comment. Phil. in hon. Theod. Mommseni*, pp. 555 ff. The little palm branches which appear at the ends of the two lines of the inscription are believed by Bruzza to have been not without a prophylactic significance. There seems to be no parallel for the use of the verb ὑποτέταγμα in this inscription.

In addition to this inscribed bell of the *Annali* of 1875, in the article by Bruzza in *Comment. Philol. in hon. Theod. Mommseni*, pp. 555 ff., other such bells are described. One published by O. Bocchi (*Saggi di Dissert. dell' Acad. di Cortona*, III, pl. XI, p. 84, a book I have been unable to find) is really not a helmet, as was once thought, but a hemispherical bell. It bears the inscription :

ΕΥΤΥΧΗC Ο ΦΟΡΩΝ

A similar inscription upon a cameo is quoted by Bruzza : εὐτυχῶς ὁ φορῶν ζήσης πολλοῖς χρόνοις. This bell came from Adria. A bell in the collection of Dr. Henzen, from an unknown source, has inscribed in two lines :

‡ ΕΙCΑΠῘΩΝ  
ΝΕΟΦΥΤ ΝΕΙΚΑ (ΝΕΟΦΥΤ = Νεόφυτον)

And another (= Brunati, *Mus. Kirch.*, p. 48 ; Garrucci, *Graffiti di Pompei*, p. 41) has this :

‡ ΕΙCΑΠῘΩΝ  
‡ ΠΡΩΤΟΓΕΝΗΝΙΚΑ

The marks at the beginning of the lines are palm branches, such as appear on the τοῖς ὄμμασιν ὑποτέταγμα bell described above. Bruzza advances the interesting theory that these last two bells bearing the names of Εἰσαπέων and others were amulets, not for the drivers of race horses, but for the horses themselves, and that the proper names are those of the horses. (See p. 36 of this article for amulet bells on horses.)

Since the victory is sought over but one competitor, he thinks that these are not intended for horses driven in *bigae* or *quadrigae*, but for those driven singly by *desultores* or *culetes*. It is to be noted that the two bells mentioned by Morillot (pp. 38-39) were found in a tomb. The places of discovery of these other three bells I have not been able to ascertain. All five bells might have been intended for horses to wear (even, I think, the one inscribed ΕΥΤΥΧΗC Ο ΦΟΡΩΝ). That they could not all have been worn by drivers seems by no means certain, though the real victory would of course be that of the horses rather than that of the jockeys. For these bells see also Kaibel, *Insc. Gr. Sic. et Ital.*, No. 2409.1 ff.

On p. 43 Morillot raises the question whether the instrument rung by the priest of the Syria Dea (*Luc. Syr. Dea*, 29), at his post upon the phallus-shaped pillar, was a real bell or some sort of a gong. The phrase τὸ ἀεῖδει μέγα καὶ τρηχὺ κινεούμενον points to some resonant instrument, but the description ποίημα χάλκεον is very ambiguous. If this had been a bell proper we might have expected it to be called κώδων or perhaps χαλκίον. The vagueness of the ποίημα may indicate either that Lucian did not know just what it was, or that it was neither a bell nor a gong but something a little different, for which there was in Greek no precise name. One difficulty rests in κροτέει, which may be interpreted either as 'strike' or as 'rattle' (as is seen in the deriv. κρόταλα). M. Morillot's belief that this was a bell-shaped vessel without a tongue (i. e. a λέβης) may perhaps derive some support from Hdt. 6, 58, where the phrase λέβητα κροτέουσι occurs. But whether we understand this instrument to have been a κώδων or a λέβης or some other sort of resonant bronze vessel probably makes little difference in the question of its purpose in the ceremony. It was used, I believe, to call the attention of those present to the prayer, that they might utter no words of ill-omen, or perhaps to drown out any such words that might by chance be spoken. The purpose of the bell rung at the elevation of the Host in the service of the Catholic church probably presents a parallel to this usage.

On p. 48 M. Morillot says: "Apollodore dit qu'à Athènes l'hierophante ou prêtre de Proserpine avait coutume d'agiter un ἡχείον: nous avons dit, à propos des théâtres, ce que désignait ce mot." Now, if the ἡχείον is the jar without a tongue described on p. 11 of M.

Morillot's work as having been used in theatres to increase the sound, it would not have made any noise at all by being shaken ('agiter'), but would have had to be struck, which, in fact, is indicated by the Greek verb ἐπικρούειν used in the passage (Apollod. *Fr.*, p. 402, Heyne, from Schol. ad Theocr. 2, 36). It seems, then, to have been some sort of λέβης.

Morillot gives a short discussion (beginning on p. 48) of bells in connection with death and burial. A use of the λέβης which he does not mention is that at Sparta, when a king died, women went through the city striking a λέβης. This, says Herodotus, was a signal that from each household a man and a woman should put on mourning (Hdt. 6, 58; Apollod., *l. c.*). This use appears to have been a practical one in the main, though there may have been superstitious reasons for choosing the bell rather than any other instrument.

Morillot gives few references to bells found in tombs. I add a list of some of which I have found descriptions or mention.

*Notizie degli Scavi:*

- 1876, pp. 106 (Bologna), 135 (Siena), 247 (Bologna);
- 1877, pp. 7 (between Narni and il Castello di Capitone), 107 (Bologna), 278 (Alfadena);
- 1881, pp. 42 (Isola della Scala), 182 (Carignano — a bronze bell 12 cm. (4¾ in.) high and 5 cm. (2 in.) wide at the mouth).

Zannoni, *Scavi della Certosa di Bologna* (Bologna, 1876), p. 137 and pl. LXXXIX (Bologna).

*Annali:*

- 1829, p. 204 (Volterra);
- 1878, p. 82 (Chiusi, along the Via Cassia in a late Roman tomb, a bell on the neck of a skeleton).

*Répertoire Arch. de la France, Dept. de la Seine-Inférieure:*

- Column 112, from a Gallo-Roman cemetery at Les Loges, near Havre (1851), a bronze bell, now at Museum of Rouen.
- Column 349, in Canton de Pavilly, at Earentin à la Torterelle, in a grave (June, 1858) was found an iron bell of S. I/II of our era.

*Revue Archéologique:*

- 1859-60, p. 714. A small bronze bell from tomb at Beaubec-le-Rosière (arrondissement de Neufchâtel). Others from Neuville-la-Pollet (in 1845) and Vérinne, near Melle, in les Deux-Sèvres.
- 1876, I, p. 225. From tombs at Olympia, arms of bronze, various instruments, bells, Greek and Roman coins and pottery.



See also, F. Wieseler, *Das Satyrspiel*, p. 108, foot-note; O. Jahn, in *Annali*, 1857, p. 125.

Why were bells thus placed in tombs? M. Morillot says that it was done in order to please their former owners even after death, but this seems an inadequate explanation of the large numbers of *evident amulets* of one sort and another which have been found in tombs. Bruzza (*Annali*, 1881, p. 291) says that the inscriptions ΕΥΤΛΑΟΙ and ΤΙΡΕΤΤΙΚΟΙ show that the bells on which they occur were placed in tombs for superstitious reasons. This is hardly a sound inference (it seems to me), for though they were doubtless placed there for some superstitious use, yet *these inscriptions* seem to refer rather to a horse-race or some such contest, and to have been inscribed with that in mind, and only later, when the owner died, placed in a tomb. Again, to suppose that these objects had some connection with the occupation of the deceased is difficult, for with very few occupations would bells be naturally associated, and in almost none of these would they be the most significant symbol that might be chosen. Now, if one less significant from the point of view of the occupation were selected, it would be probable that there was some emphasis laid upon the bell as an amulet. That these bells were amulets worn by the person in his lifetime it is in many cases absurd to suppose. How could the 38 bells (large enough to be bells used on horses) cited above from the *Compte Rendu* of 1865 be thus explained? Or the bell, 4 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches high, from a tomb at Isola della Scala (*Not. d. Sc.*, 1881, p. 42)? I believe that we must, as a general rule, regard these bells as having been used either for practical or for superstitious uses during their owners' lifetime, but to have been more or less indiscriminately appropriated for a superstitious significance when placed in tombs. I say more or less indiscriminately, for if there had been any principle in their selection, why do we not find a greater approach to uniformity among them, and, still more, if they were made to be used in tombs, why was such a splendid opportunity lost for inscribing upon some of these bells phrases of good omen which should have distinct reference to their use *in connection with the dead*? Bruzza believed (*Comm. Phil. in hon. Theod. Mommseni*, p. 559) that the mere shape of the bell, apart from its sound, had a prophylactic influence. This idea he seems to support by no evidence, except, perhaps, by the fact that so many bells without tongues are

found. (But the tongues might easily have disappeared, as we know that in many cases they have done, by the oxidation of the rings or fastenings that held them in.) We may, however, add the argument that any influence such bells could have had while remaining motionless in tombs must have come from their form and not from any sound, and also the argument that the other amulets found in company with bells in tombs (nuts, figs, and other such shapes) must have depended for their efficacy chiefly upon their shape.

I believe, then, that the bells we find in tombs were made for various purposes, practical or superstitious, and placed in tombs as a protection for the deceased against evil influences from without. To determine what these influences were and what results they would produce, in case they were not thwarted by amulets, I am at present unable.

I shall at this point in the discussion venture to point out an interesting association of these objects designed to protect the tomb or its occupant with a deity who had the same function assigned to him.

The bell mentioned by M. Morillot, on pp. 61-62 (from the Mus. Kircheri), bears this inscription, according to Montfaucon, *Antiq. Expliq.* III, p. 106, pl. 55 :

CHOVS ARTEMIS EPHISTION AIR MENI

That this is an attempt to represent in Latin characters Greek words is evident. The meaning is difficult. P. Bonanni is said by Montfaucon to interpret the first four words as referring to the four elements, earth, water, fire, and air. This is hard to believe, because EPHISTION (= Ἐφαιστίων) as equivalent of Ἐφαιστος seems unparalleled. Nor is such a mixture of names of gods with names of elements unfiguratively used a natural one. Moreover, MENI, which is taken to mean μένει, would, in the singular, make no sense in this connection. M. Morillot makes CHOVS and AIR refer to Athene and Tyche, but this is open to the same objections. Bruzza (*Comm. Phil. in hon. Theod. Mommseni*, p. 555) says that EPHISTION refers, not to Hephaestus, but to a friend of Alexander the Great, deified and worshipped by him (*Luc. de Calumn.* 17). But this gives us no help. To give a satisfactory explanation of all the words I am as yet unable, but some suggestions may point to a correct interpretation. If we take MENI as equivalent, not to μένει, but to Μηνί, the deity corresponding to the Latin god

Lunus, we get a new starting point. In a number of inscriptions we find Μῆν associated with Artemis Anaitis. (For references see J. H. Wright, *Harv. Stud. in Class. Phil.* VI, pp. 55-74, where he describes a votive tablet to Artemis Anaitis and Mên Tiamu in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.) The god Mên was also conceived of as the protector of sepulchres. For this there are a number of pieces of evidence, among which these may be noted: J. S. Sterrett, *Papers of Am. Sch. of Class. Stud. at Athens*, III (1884-5), p. 174, No. 284:

[Ἡ δείνα] Ἀραμόου ἑαυτῇ καὶ ἀνδρὶ μνήμης χάριν ἐν[ο]  
 ρκίζόμεθα δὲ] Μῆνα καταχθόνιον εἰς τοῦτο μνημεῖον μη|  
 δένα εἰσελθεῖν

Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 146, No. 251. Also *Bull. Cor. Hell.* X (1886), p. 503, an inscription from Iconium:

[γν]-  
 γαικί . . . [μνή]-  
 μης χάριν.  
 Ἐάν τις τὴν στήλην  
 ἀδικήσει, χειρολω-  
 μένον ἔχοιτο  
 Μῆνα καταχθό-  
 νιον

(For ἔχοιτο it has been suggested that we read ἔχοι τὸν.)

Having shown the connection of Mên with tombs, I shall now suggest that the inscription in hand be divided differently from Montfaucon's arrangement. (This we are free to do as it runs in a line around the bell, if we may judge from his illustration of it.) We should read, then,

MENI CHOVS ARTEMIS EPHISTION AIR

χοῦς is then brought next to Μηνί. And with it, I believe, it should be joined, for it means 'heaped up earth.' The noun χῶμα, with a similar original meaning, comes to mean a 'sepulchral mound,' and Hesychius explains χοῖ by χῶματι. (The statement, however, made by lexicons that χοῦς in the LXX. means 'tomb,' is incorrect and is due to a misunderstanding of a gloss of Suidas.) The five words of our inscription, I believe, constitute more than one clause, and to fill out the first clause MENI CHOVS we might supply such a word as μέλει,

or, if this be a wish, *μῆλοι*. To fill out the second clause, in which Artemis is to occupy a position corresponding to that of Mên in the first clause, I am unable, because I do not know the meaning of EPHISTION. But the coincidence of Mên and Artemis, elsewhere associated, upon this one bell, and the striking fact that Mên is a protector of tombs, and that we constantly find bells used in connection with tombs, seems to leave little doubt that the true explanation of this bell is to be sought along this line of argument.

It is of interest here to mention a bell described by Caylus, *Rec.* VII, p. 203 and pl. LII, 5. This bell hangs on a ring which is surmounted by a bust of Lunus, the points of his crescent appearing above his shoulders. The tongue is still in place. (Total height a little over three inches, that of the bell being about one inch.)

For bells upon ithyphallic objects, some of them grotesque animal combinations, see Barré and Roux, *Musée Secret*, plates 46, 47, 51, 52. From each of these figures are suspended by long chains and rings two or more bells, sometimes round-conic, sometimes of a conic type with a square base and round knobs at the four corners of the base. Pl. 49 shows an object which has four holes, presumably for the attachment of four bell-chains. These objects are intended to be themselves suspended by chains, and I believe that they are similar in purpose to the Mercury figures, of which a description follows in M. Morillot (pp. 52-3), and were probably intended to be hung up in some holy place. Though all these objects are so large as to make it rather certain that they were not intended to be worn (one Mercury is  $13\frac{1}{8}$  in. high), they are yet so small that they would have been insignificant ornaments for a temple. Though it is not absolutely certain that they may not be *ex voto* offerings for temples, it seems to me likely that they were suspended in houses, perhaps in *lararia*.

The Mercuries described by M. Morillot are two in number. The first (which, in addition to R. Mowat's article in the *Gaz. Arch.*, 1883, is also described in Babelon: *Bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, pp. 159-160) comes from Orange. It is  $13\frac{1}{8}$  inches high. The second comes probably from Vienne, in Dauphiné. It is .13 m. ( $5\frac{1}{8}$  in.) high. Another analogous bronze will be found in *Collection Auguste Dutuit, Bronzes antiques*, Series I (Paris, 1897), p. 26 and pl. XXXVII, showing Mercury with a winged *petasus*, in which is a ring

for the support of the image, and a cornucopia upon each shoulder. Suspended around the breast are 5 square-based bells, tongueless, and of various sizes. The total height of the object is .23 m. ( $9\frac{1}{8}$  in.). Another similar Mercury is figured in Lorenz Beger, *Thesauri Regii et Electoralis Brandenburgici* (1696), III, p. 234, and described in K. Friederichs, *Berlins antike Bildwerke (Kleinere Kunst und Industrie im Alterthum, 1871)*, p. 390, No. 1833 a, from which I quote: "Schöne Büste des Merkur, der Petasus war beflügelt, aber der eine Flügel ist aus- der andere fast ganz abgebrochen. Oben aus dem Petasus springt ein Schwanenkopf hervor, der sich so anbiegt, dass ein Oehr entsteht. Die Brust wird begränzt durch zwei Akanthusranken, aus denen rechts und links an jeder Schulter ein Füllhorn heraustritt, ein Motiv, das in Bronzen und namentlich in Gemmen nicht selten ist und oft nur formelle Bedeutung hat, hier aber doch auch materielle an seinem Platze ist, da das Füllhorn zu den zwar selteneren aber doch selbstverständlichen Attributen des Merkur gehört. Hinter bemerkt man je zwei Oesen, mit welchen die Büste an einem Geräth befestigt war. In die durch den Schwanenkopf gebildete Oeffnung kann ein Henkel eingegriffen haben. Aus dem Besitz Bellori's." Nothing is here stated as to the source of this Mercury. The two former ones, however, were both Gallo-Roman, and this also may well have been. Caesar speaks (*B. G.* 6, 17) of the worship of Mercury in Gaul: Deum maxime Mercurium colunt. Huius sunt plurima simulacra, hunc omnium inventorem artium ferunt, hunc viarum atque itinerum ducem, hunc ad quaestus pecuniae mercaturasque habere vim maximam arbitrantur. Post hunc Apollinem et Martem et Iovem et Minervam, etc. (Cf. Tac. *Germ.* 9, for the German worship of Mercury.) In Barré and Roux, *Musée Secret*, pl. 46, we have a phallic caricature of Mercury, intended to be suspended, with seven bells hanging from various parts of his figure. This is, of course, an entirely different conception of the god from the dignified one I have just been describing, but it shows the association of bells with Mercury. Other cases in which the bell and the phallus are associated are these: *Compte Rendu*, 1868, p. 152, where we find a bronze ithyphallic herm of Priapus, holding in his outstretched right hand a bell. Also Caylus, *Recueil*, IV, p. 230, pl. LXXII, 4 and 5, a figure (of doubtful antiquity) of a man with strangely dressed hair standing half-naked upon a pedestal, holding in his outstretched

left hand a bell. Again, Ménard, *Histoire des Antiquités de la Ville de Nismes et de ses environs* (Nismes, 1832), pl. opp. p. 93, No. 4: the trunk, hind legs, and tail of a winged animal from whose extended phallus hangs a bell (cf. with this Barré and Roux, *Musée Secret*, pl. 52). Another case of the connection of the bell with phallic rites is found in *C. I. L.* II, 4963, 8. I quote the entire description: "Tessera plumbea rotunda duobus exemplis servata, altero Lucenae reperto et servato apud Garciam de la Torre olim, nunc Matriti in bibliotheca publica, altero Hispali apud Eduardum Sanchez. Litterae sunt liberae rei publicae. In antica: iuvenis nudus, monile tantum ex margaritis in colle habens, currens et ex vasculo quod manibus ambabus tenet liquorem in solum effundens; ante eum phallus alatus (qui deest in ex. Hisp.) ad pedes scopae; adscriptum utrinque:

Q · CO                      I I I · Q

et sub eo intra quadratum

IVSO

Marginem cingit corona laurea cum bacis. In postica: femina nuda currens, s. tenens tintinnabulum, dextro humero impositum gerens baculum supra largiorem gubernaculi instar; adscriptum est utrinque:

Γ                                      S

et in baculi parte superiore (in solo ex. Matr.):

FRVM

Marginem cingit corona laurea sine bacis." See also a less detailed description in *C. I. L.* I, 1559. The name is perhaps Q. COILI(VS) Q (· FILIVS). As to the meaning of these tesserae I have nothing to suggest, unless it be that they perhaps represent some custom in the worship of Bacchus.

In the *Catalogue of Bronzes of the British Museum*, No. 318, is mentioned a bell dedicated to the Cabiri. It is 2½ inches high, and was found at their temple in Thebes. It has a ring at the top. The tongue is lost. Around the bell, in punctured characters, runs the inscription:

ΤΥΡΙΑΞ ΚΑΒΙΡΩΙ ΚΑΙ ΓΑΙΔΙ

On p. 55 M. Morillot speaks of a relief in the Louvre showing trees adorned by bells. He gives no reference to any publication upon the

subject. Some such objects which I have found illustrated seem to resemble bells, but others are much flatter and suggest cymbals. For instance, in Barré and Roux, *Musée Secret*, pl. 27, 1, we see two flattish disks hanging from a tree. Many of these objects are shown in Bötticher, *Baumkultus* (figs. 5, 7, 11, 13, 14, 17, 19—mostly taken from De Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture* (Louvre)). They vary in shape from campaniform to flat. Some are merely plate-shaped disks with a large round hole in the centre, through which are inserted the strings by which they are hung. They appear in connection with the worship of Cybele, Bacchus, Silvanus (fig. 17 in the *Baumkultus*), and an uncertain female divinity (*Monuments et Mémoires*, V, p. 181, fig. 44, of a lamp in the old Barone collection, coming from the region of Bosco Reale, near Pompei). Similar bells upon a pillar are shown in *Museo Borbonico*, II, pl. LIX (= Baumeister, *Denk.*, pl. 1932 = pl. 2390), in a scene representing Hera visiting Zeus upon Mt. Ida, a mountain noted for the worship of Cybele (Verg. *Aen.* 3, 1111-1113). That these objects are really bells I cannot believe, for the pictures I have cited show a gradation from the campaniform to the flat shape, and the best reproductions do not show the tongues which appear in some of the poorer drawings. Moreover, the fact that they in every case appear, not singly or in odd numbers, but always in pairs, and with the two members of the pair usually suspended upon the two ends of the same cord, is a strong argument in favor of the theory that they are cymbals.

A bell with a Latin inscription is mentioned in Bruzza, *Comm. Phil. in hon. Theod. Mommseni*, p. 560. It belonged to Sig. Luigi Costa and came either from the Esquiline or from the Monte della Giustizia. It is of bronze, round, 35 mm. (1 $\frac{3}{8}$  in.) high, and has a ring at its top. The inscription it bears is this:

F · C · IVL·DOMAXIMO · N · C

This Bruzza believes to be a mistake for F · C · IVLIO · MAXIMO · N · C.

The F and the N · C are new and unknown signs. The bell, according to Bruzza, was probably intended to be hung in a *lararium*—a custom practised with various other articles upon the birthdays of members, friends, or dependents of the family. The proposed interpretation is: "Feliciter Caio Iulio Maximo Natalia Centum," a formula said to be much used to-day in Southern Italy.

Another bell with a Latin inscription is to be found described by E. Hübner in the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, VIII (1899), pp. 447-8. It is a bronze bell, found at Tarraco, 12 cm. ( $4\frac{3}{4}$  in.) high and 45 cm. ( $17\frac{3}{4}$  in.) in circumference. Its tongue still exists. Around the bell runs a second century inscription :

CACABVLVS S SACRIS S AVGVSTIS S VERNACLVS · NVNTIVS S MAIOR S  
SECVLVM · BONVM S S · P · Q · R · ET · POPVLO S ROMANO S FELIX · TARRACO S

This seems to be the earliest mention of the word *cacabulus*, the diminutive of *cacabus*, 'pot.' Here it apparently means 'bell,' and from it are thought to come the Span. '*cascabel*'; Pg. '*cascavel*'; old Prov. '*cascavel*'; later Prov. '*cascaveu*.' The use of λέβης, 'pot,' in Greek is somewhat comparable to this. This bell has to do with the worship of the emperor (*sacris Augustis*). No satisfactory explanation has been proposed for the words *vernaclus nuntius maior*. The *et Populo Romano* after *S · P · Q · R ·* is plainly a repetition. How this bell was to be used in the religious ceremonies is not clear, but I believe that it may perhaps have been rung just before or even during the prayer to attract the attention of the people and prevent words of ill-omen in a manner analogous, perhaps, to the instrument used by the φαλλοβάτης of the Syria Dea, despite the fact that Hübner thinks it is too small to have been so used.

To attempt to give a full treatment of the uses of bells in the worship of Dionysus would exceed the limits of this paper. An article by O. Jahn, in *Annali*, 1857, p. 125, gives a useful collection of material upon the subject. A few points, however, I may mention. Strabo, 15, p. 712, says: Διονυσιακὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ συνδοφορεῖν καὶ τὸ μτροῦσθαι καὶ μυροῦσθαι καὶ βάπτεισθαι ἄνθινα καὶ τοὺς βασιλέας κωδωνοφορεῖσθαι καὶ τυμπανίζεσθαι κατὰ τοὺς ἐξόδους. In Ovid, *Metam.* 4, 391-3, *tinnula aera* are mentioned in connection with the transformation of the Minyides into bats for their disregard of the worship of Dionysus. In figures in Wieseler's *Denkmäler* (XLII, 522; XLIII, 539) bells are shown in Bacchic scenes. In the *Monumenta Matthaiana* (Rome, 1779), I, pl. XIII, and pp. 10-11, Bacchus is shown riding upon an ass wearing a bell. The bell attached to the *thyrsus* seems to have been not infrequent. On coins, in the *British Museum Catalogue*, XIII, p. 17 f., Nos. 50-58, from Amisus, in Pontus,



of the time of Mithridates Eupator (B.C. 121-63), we see on the obverse the head of Dionysus, on the reverse, among such Dionysiac symbols as the *cista mystica*, a *thyrsus* with a fillet and a bell. See also Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, II, pl. XXXVIII, fig. 442 (= Baumeister, *Denk.*, 919), and Inghirami, *Monum. Etrusc.* IX, pl. K, fig. 5 (= S. Reinach, *Peintures des Vases antiques recueilliés par Millin et Millingen* (1891), p. 93), a vase, in the Museum of Naples, showing on one side Lycurgus, on the other Dionysus seated, holding a *thyrsus*. At his right is a female figure, perhaps a Maenad, with a *patera* and a *thyrsus* from which hangs a bell. She is preparing to pour a libation into a large crater. Behind Dionysus is a Bacchante with a *tympanon*, at his right a satyr with a *thyrsus*. A bibliography of this vase is given by Reinach. Fabretti, *Inscr.*, p. 425, gives the monument of a young boy who had died early in the service of Dionysus. In the upper left-hand corner of the inscription a bell seems to be indicated.

That noisy instruments were used in the worship of Cybele is well known. Aelian, *V. H.* 9, 8, speaks of someone as *μητραγυρτῶν καὶ κρούων τύμπανα*. A fragment of Lucilius is preserved in Nonius (p. 490, 23, Müller, under the heading *olerorum pro olerum*, = Lucil. 15, 438, Lachmann): "tintinnabulum abest hinc surpiculique holerorum." On which Lachmann remarks: "Instrumentum, nisi fallor, gallorum, nam τίς οὐκ ἀπαρχὰς ὀσπρίων τε καὶ σίτων ἀγνώ φέρον δίδωσι τυμπάνῳ ῥείης; (Babr. 126, 8). Pindar (*Fr.* 79, Bergk) speaks of the *κύμβαλα* and *κρόταλα* in connection with the worship of Cybele.

An inscribed bell, which is plainly a sham, is to be found in Muratori, *Novus Thesaurus Veterum Inscriptionum* (Milan, 1742), 1989, 6. The inscription reads TINTINABVLVM (*sic*) and MAGNO SACERDOTI. In addition to this the bell is adorned with many symbols, arranged in a most improbable fashion, but in a way that might easily have imposed upon the unlearned.

Of M. Morillot's lengthy discussion of the bells upon the robe of the Jewish High Priest I cannot enter upon any criticism, for lack of knowledge of Semitic antiquities. I shall, therefore, append at this point some mention of a few customs which M. Morillot has overlooked.

In Sext. Empir. *adv. Math.* 8, 193, we find these words: ὁ γὰρ ἀνατεινόμενος πυρσός τισι πολεμίῳν ἔφοδον σημαίνει, τισὶ δὲ φίλων ἀφίξειν δηλοῖ. καὶ ὁ τοῦ κώδωνος ψόφος οἷς μὲν ὄψον πράσεώς ἐστιν,

οἷς δὲ τοῦ δειν ραιεῖν τὰς ὁδοῦς. To show that the custom of sprinkling dust was not unknown among the Romans, I. A. Fabricius, in his note on this passage, cites Suet. *Calig.* 43, and Phaedr. 2, 5. In both of these places the custom is spoken of as though it were something of a luxury, but by the time of Sextus Empiricus it may have become more usual. The passage may imply that the streets had to be sprinkled by the abutters. Whether they did it, or it was done by a special set of workmen, the time for sprinkling was indicated by the ringing of a bell.

A curious use of the bell or some similar instrument is reported by Varro (*R. R.* 3, 16, 29-30) who, having remarked that when bees were swarming some of them gathered outside the hive and buzzed loudly, waiting for the others to come and join them, continues: "A mellario cum id fecisse sunt animadversae, iaciundo in eas pulvere et circumtinniendo aere perterritae, quo volunt perducere, non longe oblinunt erithace (just what this was is uncertain) atque apiastro ceterisque rebus quibus delectantur." Cf. Verg. *Georg.* 4, 149 sqq., and Plin. *H. N.* 11, 20, § 68: "Gaudent plausu atque tinnitu aeris, eoque convocantur."

The custom of testing the spirit of horses, by seeing whether they were frightened by the sound of bells, is mentioned in several places. Hesych. *s. v.* κωδωνοφορῶν. φασὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἵππους τοῖς κώδωνι ἐξετάζεσθαι. Cf. also *Et. Mag.*, p. 267, *s. v.* διακωδωνισθέντες. εἰώθασιν γὰρ οὕτω δοκιμάζειν τοὺς γενναίους ἵππους, εἰ μὴ καταπλήσσονται τὸν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ θόρυβον, τοὺς κώδωνας ψοφοῦντες. Fighting quails were also tested in the same fashion. Hesych., *l. c.*, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ὀρτύγων ἡ κρίσις. τοὺς γὰρ ὑπομείναντας τοῦ κώδωνός φασιν ἐπιτηδείως ἔχειν πρὸς μάχην. Cf. Harpocr. *s. v.* διεκωδώνισε. From these customs arose the figurative use of κωδωνίζω and its compounds — *Et. Mag.* 325, 21 = ἐκωδωνίζοντο (from Lysias); see also Ar. *Ran.* 79, 724; *Lysist.* 485; *Fr.* 288, Dind., preserved in Poll. 10, 173. The ἐκκωδωνισθῆναι of Athen., p. 219 B, seems, however, to have the meaning 'bruit abroad.'

Velleius Paterculus, 1, 4, 1, speaks of the fleet which carried the founders of Cumae: "Huius classis cursum esse directum alii columbae antecedentis volatu ferunt, alii nocturno aeris sono, qualis Cerealibus sacris cieri solet." If this *aeris* really means 'bell,' which is far from certain, the whole account is so mythical that we can put no confidence in it.

An illustration which has been variously explained is that found in the following places: Millingen, *Anc. uned. Mon.* I, pl. 1-3; *Brit. Mus. Cat.* II, B, 130; Inghirami, *Monum. Etruschi*, VII, pp. 364 f., pl. XXXIV. It is on an *amphora* found at Athens in 1813 and now in the British Museum. A man in a chariot is driving two prancing horses; with his right hand he seems to be holding the reins, with his left he holds a long rod, the end of which is crooked into a spiral and has two small, lozenge-shaped objects hanging from it. Inghirami thinks they were of metal and designed by their sound to increase the spirit of the horses, and S. Reinach, *Répertoire des Vases peints grecs et étrusques*, I, p. 214, No. 5, goes so far as to call them bells. The shape, however, is not like that of any bells I have seen pictured, and I think it more likely that the whole thing is a whip of some kind, perhaps with tassels on the end, or perhaps with small metal objects to increase the effectiveness of its stroke. (It is hardly probable that these are the bells described in the process I have discussed, called *κοδωνίλειν*!)

The bell appears a few times upon coins as a symbol whose significance I have not discovered. E. g. in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Coins*, Nos. 4 sqq., of Patraos, in Paeonia, show on the obverse Apollo, on the reverse a prancing horse, and behind him, as a mere emblem in the field, a bell. These coins date from about 340-315 B.C. Again, on a silver coin of Parium, in Mysia (B.C. 400-300 or later), in *B. M. Cat.*, Parium, No. 18, is shown on the obverse the Gorgon's head, on the reverse a bull looking backward, and above him a bell. A coin of Catana (*B. M. Cat.*, Catana, No. 35 = Gerhard in *Arch. Zeit.*, 1854, pp. 250 f., and pl. LXIX, 7) shows on one side a crowned head, and in front of it what has been variously understood as a string of bells, or a knotted fillet with a bell on the end. Others, however, believe that it represents a knotted fillet with a tassel upon the end, and to this view I incline.

Many bells have been found concerning the use of which we cannot decide for want of evidence. As I have come across a considerable number of references to such bells in the course of my investigation, I append a list of them. Descriptions of the sizes, shapes, and places of discovery of the bells may be found by consulting the passages cited, but little, I think, which can cast light upon their uses.

Montfaucon, *Ant. Expliq.*: III, pl. 55.

Ceci, *Piccoli Bronzi del Museo Naz. di Napoli*: pl. IX, Nos. 21-25.

J. Smetus, *Antiquitates Neomagenses* (1678): pp. 120, 154.

*Cat. des Bronzes antiq. de la Bibliothèque Nationale*: p. 638, Nos. 1859-1864; Nos. 1865-1866 (cf. Caylus, *Rec.* VI, p. 288, pl. XC, 5); Nos. 1867-76 (cf. Caylus, *Rec.* VII, p. 267, pl. LXXV, 5); Nos. 1877-79; Nos. 1880-1881 (cf. Caylus, VI, p. 288, pl. XC, 6). See also Caylus, I, p. 235, pl. XCI, 5.

*Monumenti Antichi*, VII (1897), col. 552, Nos. 398, 399 (perhaps for use on horses).

*Notizie degli Scavi*:

1877, pp. 9 (perhaps an *ex voto* offering), 12, 62, 63, 77, 83, 84, 215.

1878, p. 37.

1879, pp. 24, 45, 69, 75, 241.

Mau, in *Bullettino*: XIII (1898), p. 47.

*Revue Archéologique*: 1857-58, pl. 322, 12, opp. p. 598.

Other cases in the literature where undeniable words for bell occur, but give no information of value, are these:

Dem. *cont. Aristog.* 1, p. 797, § 90.

Long. *de Subl.* 23, 4.

Arist. *de Sens.* p. 446, b. 22.

It must also be noted that the word *κώδων* is used in other senses than that of 'bell,' meaning the flaring bell-shaped part of trumpets and other such instruments (Poll. 6, 110; 10, 56; Soph. *Aj.* 17; Schol. ad Hom. *Il.* 18, 219), while in one other passage (Ar. *Pax.* 1079) its meaning is very uncertain, and some think that in connection with the word *ἀκαλανθίς* it means a kind of hound.

To arrive at a full understanding of some of the uses of bells is, with the scanty data available to us, impossible. In some cases, indeed, merely to state the evidence is the utmost that we can safely do. Though in several places I have suggested what seem to me to be possible interpretations of certain puzzling questions, it is largely with the purpose of collecting material on the subject that these notes have been brought together.

I greatly regret that it was not until this paper had been written and the type had been set up that there came into my hands the valuable

article of A. B. Cook, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXII, pp. 5-28, entitled: "The Gong at Dodona." This article starts with a discussion of the λέβητες at Dodona and treats of various topics with which I have attempted to deal. But inasmuch as Mr. Cook does not take up at all the practical uses of bells, and as I have collected on the superstitious uses not a little material which does not appear in his article, I trust that in presenting my results I am not to any great extent duplicating his excellent work.

For much assistance and advice I am indebted to Professor M. H. Morgan and to other members of the Faculty of the Classical Department.



## THE "NEMESIS" OF THE YOUNGER CRATINUS

BY EDWARD CAPPS

IN v. 521 of the *Birds* of Aristophanes Peithetaerus says:

Δάμπων δ' ὄμνυσ' ἔτι καὶ νυνὶ τὸν χῆν' ὄταν ἔξαπατᾶ τι.

The last part of the scholium on this passage reads:

ὅτι οὗτος χρησμολόγος· ἔζη δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν Ὀρνίθων διδασκαλίας, οὐχ, ὡς τινες, ἐτεθνήκει. πολλῶ γὰρ ὕστερον Κρατίνος ἐν τῇ Νεμέσει οἶδεν αὐτὸν ζῶντα, καὶ ταῦτα πολλῶ ὕστερον.<sup>1</sup>

The language of Aristophanes inevitably leads to the conclusion that Lampon was still alive in 414. But this inference had evidently been combatted. The author of this note, however, is able to advance conclusive evidence, as he thinks, in favor of his contention. Considered simply as an argument, the logic of his answer is sound if the *Nemesis* was brought out at a date "considerably later" than the *Birds*. But we know, as the ancient commentators on Aristophanes, with their unusually full information about Cratinus, must have known,<sup>2</sup> that

<sup>1</sup> The note is given twice in V, with punctuation after *χρησμολόγος*, *ἐτεθνήκει*, and *ζῶντα* in the first case, after *διδασκαλίας* also in the second. The note is wanting altogether in R, the controversial part (*οὐχ . . . πολλῶ ὕστερον*) in M, and the phrase *οὐχ ὡς τινες ἐτεθνήκει* in Γ. The variations in G and in the Princesps are unimportant. The signature in E that contained this verse is lost.

I am greatly indebted to Professor John Williams White for the use of the final proofs of his Scholia on the *Aves* and to him and Professor A. Körte for suggestions.

<sup>2</sup> The starting point was Aristophanes' jesting allusion to his "death" in *Pax* 700 ff., which Anon. π. κωμ. II Kaib. and most modern writers have taken literally. But though we cannot conclude from this that he was dead in 421 (see Cobet, *Observ. crit.*, p. 87 f. and especially Müller-Strübing, *Jahrb. f. Phil.* CXLI (1890), p. 513 ff., on the "invasion of the Laconians"), yet it by no means follows that he lived long after 421, as Zielmski, *Rhein. Mus.* XXXIX (1884), p. 302, and Müller-Strübing contend. We need not doubt the essential accuracy of *Macrobioi* 25 (= Apollodorus; cf. Jacoby, *Apollodor's Chronik*, p. 35) μετ' οὐ πολλὸ ἐτελεύτη (i. e. after the *Pytine*, 422), at the age of 97. But the most explicit evidence, overlooked by Müller-Strübing, is after all the picture of the aged Cratinus in Ar. *Eq.* 531 ff.—The scholia date three plays of Cratinus, *Eunidae* (ad *Eq.* 530), *Pytine* (ad *Eq.* 400), and *Panoptae* (ad *Nub.* 961).

Cratinus died soon after 422/1. If this were the only difficulty involved in the scholium, undoubtedly the simplest and most obvious solution would have been adopted from the beginning, *viz.* that, since there was a younger comic poet Cratinus, the reference to Lampon was in a play by him. But this solution has never even been suggested, for the *Nemesis* is once quoted by Plutarch in such a way that it must, to all appearances, have been brought out during the lifetime of Pericles. Accordingly, all modern scholars have not unreasonably rejected the statement of the scholiast as irreconcilable with an established fact.<sup>1</sup>

To one who examines in a mass the didascalical material embodied in the scholia to Aristophanes this conclusion seems less acceptable. The ancient commentators on his plays were possessed of a very extensive fund of information as to the literary activity of the tragic and comic poets to whose works they had occasion to refer, and this information was derived ultimately from the best of all possible sources—the official records of the dramatic contests at Athens. The frequent references to the principal writers of antiquity who dealt with didascalical matters—and this term may properly include not only the exact date of the production of a particular play, but also the chronological relation of one play to another as shown in allusions or parodies, or the relation of a play to an historical event, such as the death of a poet—suffice to convince us that the best hand-books were drawn upon by those who had a part in the compilation of this vast body of invaluable commentary. The “Didascaliae,” with and without the name of Aristotle, Callimachus, Eratosthenes, Aristophanes, “Carystius,” Crates, and other collectors of such material, are often cited and their opposing views set against each other with convincing clearness.<sup>2</sup> We are not entitled to deal with this kind of information with so free a hand as in the case of

<sup>1</sup> The verdict of Meineke, *Hist. crit.*, p. 44, is thus expressed: quod falsissimum esse vel ex eo intelligitur, quod *Nemesis* fabula post Periclis obitum doceri vix potuit.

<sup>2</sup> See the Index to the scholia under these names. Ad *Nub.* 552 Eratosthenes shows that Callimachus is not justified in complaining of the *Διδασκαλῆαι*; Lycophron is corrected ad *Plut.* 1194 on the strength of the *Didascaliae*, cf. ad *Ran.* 146; ad *Av.* 348, 424, Asclepiades is corrected in the same manner, and other commentators ad *Vesp.* 1326. And all but the first of these cases involve simply a parody or the first use of a word. The scholia are also able to identify athletic victors at Olympia, Delphi, and the Panathenaea, evidently by the use of similar records going back to Aristotle and other compilers of such material.



certain other classes of comment, in which the ultimate sources were far from contemporary (e. g. prosopographical notes), or where, as in certain branches of antiquities (e. g. the theatre and its terminology, customs, etc.), changed conditions are necessarily reflected in the notes of different periods. A brief examination of the facts in this particular will convince one of the correctness of this point of view.

Something over 50 tragedies and comedies are dated either approximately or exactly in the scholia, omitting, of course, the hypotheses and the prolegomena. The exact dates are a little less than a third of the whole number. In a number of cases we possess other evidence by which these statements can be controlled, and yet in only four instances,<sup>1</sup> so far as I am aware, has the testimony of the scholia been seriously questioned or its authority rejected. One error is corrected in the comment on another play: ad *Nub.* 604 a parody of the *Hypsipyle* is detected, but ad *Ran.* 53, which came after the *Clouds* in order of comment, we are told that this play of Euripides was brought out not long before the *Frogs*. The note ad *Thesm.* 32 has been looked upon with suspicion; we are there told about Agathon, ἤρξατο διδάσκειν τρισὶν πρὸ τούτων ἔτεσιν. This play can be assigned by a certain combination<sup>2</sup> to the year 412/11, but Agathon's well-known victory (ὅτε τῇ πρώτῃ τραγωδίᾳ ἐνίκησεν, Plat. *Symp.* 183 a) was won at the Lenaea, in the archonship of Euphemus, 417/6 (Ath. 5, 217 a), or five years before the *Thesmophoriazusae*. The scholiast's statement, however, is in all probability, when rightly considered, not an error, as those have thought who have proposed to correct τρισὶν to πέντε.<sup>3</sup> According to the usage of the chronographers ἤρξατο διδάσκειν, as well as πρῶτον ἐνίκησε, always refers to the Dionysia and not to the Lenaea.<sup>4</sup> We

<sup>1</sup> Not counting, of course, the misstatements of one commentator which are corrected by another by reference to didascalical data; cf. p. 62, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Schol. *Thesm.* 162 and 190.

<sup>3</sup> Clinton, *Fast. Hell.* II, p. xxxiv, note y. Rutherford's <δὸ ἦ> τρισὶν does not help matters. Welcker, *Griech. Trag.*, p. 981, n. 3, thought it a lapse of memory on the part of the scholiast.

<sup>4</sup> One who referred to the *Διδασκαλῆαι* would in most cases have found two different dates both for the first competition and for the first victory, one for each festival. A choice had to be made, and it was made in favor of the greater festival. For proof of the statement, which goes back to Clinton but which has not been given due recognition, cf. *Am. Jour. Phil.* XXI (1900), p. 41 and p. 61.

may therefore assume in this case that, while Agathon won his first Lenaean victory in 416, his first competition at the Dionysia was in 414. In a third instance, the note in R is manifestly corrupt. Aristophanes, *Pax* 698, speaks of Sophocles as an old man, and the scholiast asks: μετὰ τὰ ζ' ἔτη βεβίωκεν· πῶς οὖν γέρον; The writer, of course, did not forget the date of Sophocles' death, but the numeral sign has become corrupt in transmission. Read with Bergk μετὰ ταῦτα ιζ' ἔτη βεβίωκεν. The fourth instance is the note ad *Av.* 521, which is the subject of the present discussion.

It will be conceded that this showing constitutes a very remarkable record for accuracy, and that we may well hesitate to impeach the direct and explicit testimony of the scholiast with reference to the *Nemesis*. We are at any rate bound to look for a possible explanation of the apparent misstatement—a unique instance of error of this particular kind in the whole body of comment, so far as we know. Unhappily our external means of control are slight and may prove insufficient to justify a positive conclusion. But we approach the question with a well-grounded predisposition in favor of the defendant and may not render a verdict against him so long as there is a reasonable doubt.

The *Nemesis* is referred to 16 times, always under the name of "Cratinus." Eratosthenes, the first writer to mention it, gives an outline of its plot. Athenaeus mentions it five times as authority for a word or usage, Pollux twice in the same way, the scholia to Theocritus, Stephanus of Byzantium, Herodian, and Priscian once each for a word, the scholia to Aristophanes three times, with reference twice to persons, once to a word,<sup>1</sup> and Plutarch once for an epithet of Pericles. The allusions to Lampon and to Pericles are the only citations which give any sort of indication of date; the other quotations are entirely indifferent in that regard. Plutarch and our scholiast are, therefore, our only direct witnesses as to the authorship of the play.

Three possible explanations on the side of the scholium suggest themselves. The text, in the first place, may be corrupt. Van Leeuwen, for example, assumes that a clause has dropped out after ἐρεθνήκει in which reference was made to the colonization of Thurii.<sup>2</sup> This event,

<sup>1</sup> Kock omits Schol. *Pax* 1244, which should be added to frag. 116.

<sup>2</sup> Ad *Av.* 521. The mention of Cratinus, he thinks, grammaticos Alexandrinus

and not the didascalia of the *Birds*, would then be taken as the point of departure for πολλῶ γάρ. But the scholiast, according to this view, would not be giving a proof of his assertion that Lampon was alive in 414. Further, there is no indication in any MS. of a lacuna in the note; the text seems sound and the argument, as an argument, complete. Nor is it possible, in the second place, by a change in punctuation to dispose of the causal clause, so essential to the argument, which causes all the difficulty. It should be noted, however, that the repetition of the phrase πολλῶ ὕστερον is striking. Those who read it twice give it the same function in both clauses, πολλῶ γάρ ὕστερον supplying the reason for the assertion ἔζη ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν Ὀρνίθων διδασκαλίας. καὶ ταῦτα πολλῶ ὕστερον then becomes simply an emphatic, and useless, reiteration. This construction is necessary in the text of Γ, which omits the intervening clause οὐχ, ὡς τινες, ἐτεθνήκει. But in the full form of the note it is possible to differentiate the second πολλῶ ὕστερον from the first by construing πολλῶ γάρ ὕστερον with οὐχ ἐτεθνήκει = πολλῶ γάρ ὕστερον ἀπέθανεν. This seems to have been Meineke's<sup>1</sup> earlier view, which he later abandoned for Dindorf's text, which omits the clause καὶ ταῦτα πολλῶ ὕστερον. The proposed punctuation has the distinct advantage that it leaves the καὶ ταῦτα clause as an essential part of the argument.<sup>2</sup> But even so, we have made no progress toward the solution of the difficulty, for ταῦτα cannot mean "all this in the *Birds*."<sup>3</sup> To prove his point that Lampon was not dead in 414 the writer must cite a play, in which he was mentioned as alive, at least as late as the *Birds*; otherwise his argument is left hanging in the air.

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sapit. The lacuna he fills as follows: οὐχ, ὡς τινες, ἐτεθνήκει· ζῆμαζε μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν πδ' Ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ τῆς εἰς Θούριον ἀποικίας ἐπὶ Πραξιτέλους αἴτιος ἐγένετο. ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐπεβίω, > πολλῶ γάρ ὕστερον κτέ.

<sup>1</sup> FCG II, p. 85 (1839), and V, p. xxxvii (1857). Dindorf's edition of the scholia appeared in 1836. Meineke's interpretation of the main note was not modified by his punctuation, for he remarks *fallitur* and refers back to his previous discussion; cf. p. 62, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> So Professor White in his edition, reading οὐχ, ὡς τινες, ἐτεθνήκει, πολλῶ γάρ ὕστερον· Κρατίνος <οὐν> ἐν τῇ Νεμέσει κτέ.

<sup>3</sup> A meaning which must be admitted ad *Nub.* 691, where, however, καὶ ταῦτα is followed by μὲν οὐν. Compare also, for this kind of criticism in the scholia, ad *Ran.* 146, where the language is very similar, and ad *Vesp.* 1326.

We shall have to find our explanation, consequently, not by manipulating the text<sup>1</sup> or departing from its obvious interpretation, but by facing the positive statement which the note contains.

In the third place, the elder and the younger Cratinus may each have written a comedy entitled *Nemesis*. While there is always likely to be confusion and uncertainty as to the distribution of titles between two poets of the same name, yet no especial tendency is noted for a son or grandson to follow his ancestor in the selection of titles and subjects. It is true that both Meineke and Kock assign a *Cheirones* to the elder and a *Cheiron* to the younger Cratinus, but their decision is open to grave suspicion. And Nicostratus wrote a *Plutus*, and the ancients were in doubt as to whether he or Philetaerus was the son of Aristophanes. But there seems to have been a second poet of the name,<sup>1</sup> and, besides, *Plutus* is not an unusual title, as is *Nemesis* (Archippus, Πλοῦτος, Cratinus, Πλοῦτοι). The younger Philemon did not, so far as we know, adopt any of his father's (or grandfather's) titles. Furthermore, all but two of the nine quotations from the *Nemesis* seem to belong to the same play, and these two are indifferent, so that, according to this hypothesis, we should have one verse certainly by the elder poet, one allusion certainly to the younger, all the other citations belonging either to the one or to the other. For these reasons it seems altogether unlikely, in the absence of allusions to two different plays of the name, that each Cratinus wrote a *Nemesis*.

Either, therefore, the scholiast is utterly wrong in his statement or the error is to be found in Plutarch. In *Vita Periclis* 3, Plutarch speaks of Pericles' unshapely head, which led the sculptors generally to represent him wearing a helmet. He then adds :

<sup>1</sup> Wilamowitz, *Observ. crit.*, p. 43, suggests an error in the title, and Müller-Strübing, *l. c.*, p. 534, actually proposes Σεριφλου for Νεμέσει. But this is imputing to the scholiast precisely the kind of error he is least likely to have committed, considering the documentary character of his source. Zielinski's solution, a second exhibition of the *Nemesis*, is utterly untenable, as Müller-Strübing has demonstrated.

<sup>2</sup> *CIA* II, 977 g, and *Bull. corr. hell.* VII (1883), p. 107, the former in the last decade of the fourth century, the latter of the year 280; they are evidently the same. That the Delian Nicostratus was a comic poet, as I conjectured, *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* XXXI (1900), p. 123, has since been made certain by Mr. David Robinson, who last year examined the stone and easily made out the heading ποιηταί κωμωιδῶν. There may have been two Nicostrati, one of the Middle, the other of the New Comedy.

οἱ δ' Ἀττικοὶ ποιηταὶ σχινοκέφαλον αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν· τὴν γὰρ σκίλλαν  
 ἕστιν ὅτε καὶ σχῖνον ὀνομάζουσι. τῶν δὲ κωμικῶν ὁ μὲν Κρατῖνος ἐν  
 Χείρωσι

Στάσις δὲ (φησί) καὶ πρεσβυγενῆς Κρόνος ἀλλήλοισι μιγέντε  
 μέγιστον τίκτετον τύραννον,

ὃν δὴ κεφαληγερέταν θεοὶ καλέουσιν. (M. II, 147; K. I, 86)

καὶ πάλιν ἐν Νεμέσει·

μόλ', ὦ Ζεῦ ξένιε καὶ μακάριε (M. II, 85; K. I, 49)

Τηλεκλείδης δὲ . . . καθῆσθαι φησιν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει καρηβαροῦντα,  
 ποτὲ δὲ

μόνον ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἑνδεκακλίνον θόρυβον πολὺν ἐξανατέλλειν. (M.

II, 373; K. I, 220)

ὁ δ' Εὐπόλις ἐν τοῖς Δήμοις . . .

ὅτι περ κεφάλαιον τῶν κάτωθεν ἤγαγες. (M. II, 458; K. I, 93)

Plutarch here unmistakably ascribes the verse in question to the elder Cratinus, the contemporary of Pericles. It can hardly be imagined that a poet of the generation after Pericles referred to him in this manner. There are, however, two chances of error to be reckoned with. There may be a mistake in the name of the play—possibly *Νεμέσει* is an error for *Νόμοις*, a well-authenticated play of the elder Cratinus. Wilamowitz has urged exactly the counterpart of this error, *Νόμοις* for *Νεμέσει*, in a quotation in Bekker's *Anecdota* (Kock, I, 52), and such errors are by no means uncommon. But on the whole it is simpler to assume another kind of confusion. It will be noted, in the first place, that there is a certain lack of concinnity in the way in which these quotations from the comic poets are introduced by Plutarch. He begins by saying that the Attic poets call him *σχινοκέφαλος*, and the next sentence is introduced τῶν δὲ κωμικῶν ὁ δὲ Κρατῖνος, as if he meant to give an illustration for the preceding statement. He gives, however, no such illustrations, but only jests involving the word "head." This is the more remarkable since the famous passage from the *Thraittae* of Cratinus was ready to hand—the one perfect illustration of his statement about the epithet *σχινοκέφαλος* and of the fact that the sculptors were wont to represent Pericles helmeted. This quotation is reserved for chap. 13, where the subject illustrated is simply Pericles' connection with the Odeion. In the second place, while the quotations from the

*Cheirones* of Cratinus, the *Demi* of Eupolis, and the play of Telecleides are witty and well deserve to be quoted with reference to Pericles' deformity, it would never have been suspected that the verse from the *Nemesis* made allusion to this subject had it not been quoted with that implication. As it is, it seems singularly inferior to the others, though perhaps we should not venture to call it pointless. No better proof of this fact is needed than the history of the text. The MSS. give *μακάριε* and *κάριε*. Xylander (Venet. 1560-70) was satisfied with neither and proposed *μακροκάρηγε*, which supplies the point if it does not satisfy the metre (if it is iambic trimeter). Coraes and later editors take pains to explain the pun in *μακάριε* = *μα* + *κάρα*.<sup>1</sup> In recent times refuge has been taken in a gloss of Hesychius:<sup>2</sup> *Καραῖος Ζεὺς· παρὰ Βοιωτοῖς οὕτω προσαγορεύεται, ὡς μὲν τινὲς φασι, διὰ τὸ ὑψηλὸν εἶναι, ἀπὸ τοῦ κάρα*, which has led to the reading *Καραῖε*, adopted by Meineke<sup>3</sup> and others. Kock, however, is dissatisfied with all these puns and proposes a double play, *κεράνιε* for *κεραύνιε*, which, as he thinks, would suggest at the same time *κάρα*. He very properly objects to the obscure Boeotian epithet of Zeus on the ground that it was very uncommon and likely not to be understood by the majority of the Athenian audience. The other epithet, *ξένιε*, has also caused not a little trouble. Zündel (Meineke, *CGF* V, p. xxxvi) thought it referred to Pericles' solicitude to have his own law restricting the privileges of citizenship repealed in favor of his own bastard sons, and this interpretation has been thought to fix the date of the *Nemesis* in the year 330. The suggestion of the French editor, Perrin, is equally ingenious, that the word carries a thrust at Pericles' hospitable attitude toward such

<sup>1</sup> The word which originally stood in the text, whether *μακάριε* or *κάριε* or *Καραῖε* or *κεράνιε*, sadly needed a gloss if it really was a joke on Pericles. See Sintenis' note on *μακάριε*, who doubts if the word admitted of such a pun. It is notable that Pollux, when cataloguing words referring to the head, mentions *καρηβαρικόν* with the name of Telecleides under the caption *τὰ κεφαλῆς νοσήματα* and under *τὰ ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς ὀνόματα* the word *ἐχινokέφαλος*, crediting it to Cratinus; but he does not register this word from the *Nemesis*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Photius: *Κάριος Ζεὺς· ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ καὶ Βοιωτίᾳ*. No illustration or explanation of the word is offered in Roscher's *Lexikon*.

<sup>3</sup> Meineke finds a play on this epithet in the frag. adesp. Kock II, p. 54, *Ζεὺς Καπαῖος*; see *CGF* III, p. 58.

foreigners as Anaxagoras and Aspasia.<sup>1</sup> But Blass frankly admits that the allusion is obscure. Rather than resort to emendation, however, to make the supposed jest in μακάριε suit the context in which it is quoted, or to force intolerably the natural meaning of ξένη, is it not easier to imagine that the verse was not intended originally to refer to Pericles at all?

It is not to be supposed that Plutarch drew from his own reading all his quotations from the comic poets of the period, any more than that on matters of chronology and institutions he himself looked up the documents, inscriptional and otherwise, which he quotes or refers to. For the latter he had such books as Craterus and Apollodorus; for the persons who were the butt of comic jests he had the hand-books of the Alexandrians *περὶ τῶν κωμωδομένων* or *κωμωδούμενα*. From such a source he doubtless gathered the principal quotations in the *Vita Periclis*. It is noticeable that he does not always cite the title of the play from which a quotation is taken; the omission in the case of Telecleides in our passage is striking. The reason may be here that in his source-book the title was omitted, because in the Didascalie the play was indicated simply by *κωμωδία*, as we know was done even in the case of plays brought out after 440,<sup>2</sup> or else this substitute for the title was in the source and Plutarch omitted it as meaningless. In any event, it is likely that the titles of plays would have been given by him had he himself gleaned the quotation from them. In the many allusions to Pericles by contemporary comic poets, the most striking epithets, which became his standing designations in later writers, were Ὀλύμπιος and Ζεύς. Now, Blass<sup>3</sup> has shown that the passage (chap. 8; cf. *Cons. Apoll.* 118 e) in which Plutarch inquires into the origin of the

<sup>1</sup> Adopted by Holden in his edition.

<sup>2</sup> *IGSI*, No. 1097.

<sup>3</sup> In the Siefert-Blass edition of the *Vita Periclis*, p. 63: "Aber es ist schwer zu glauben dass Plutarch diese Sammlungen aus der Komödie selber gemacht, da bei ihm sonst, von Aristophanes abgesehen, durchaus keine Kenntniss dieses Zweiges der Litteratur hervortritt, und da andere vor ihm, die Grammatiker nämlich, dies Feld schon gründlich nach allen Seiten durchforscht hatten." He then points out in detail the close dependence of Plutarch, in speaking of Aspasia, upon a scholium to the *Menexenus*, and, regarding Anaxagoras, upon a scholium to the *Alcibiades* and upon the comment of Didymus.

epithet "Olympian" is exactly in the manner of the scholiasts, and he demonstrates that in a number of passages in the *Vita Periclis* he uses the precise language of extant scholia to Plato and of Didymus as quoted by Hesychius. In view of this fact, so significant for the methods of Plutarch, and of his uncritical use of his sources in general, fully demonstrated by Sauppe<sup>1</sup> for this particular Life, what is more natural than that the verse beginning μόλ', ὦ Ζεῦ, vouched for as contemporary by the name of "Cratinus," who had called Pericles ὁ σχινοκέφαλος Ζεὺς in one play and "the son of Cronus" in another, both quoted in this Life, should have been erroneously classed with the other quotations illustrating the witticisms directed by the comic poets against Pericles? We are not in a position to determine whether Plutarch himself committed the mistake or his source. Considering the scanty literary apparatus which the former had at his disposal in the little Boeotian town, it is perhaps more probable that it is to be charged to him. The possibility of taking μακάριε or κάριε as a reference to the unshapely head assisted, undoubtedly, in the mistaken identification of the Ζεὺς ξένιος with the familiar Zeus-Pericles. Or, if the original read Καραίε, was the Boeotian biographer somewhat over-keen, as the modern interpreters have been, to credit the poet with a subtle allusion to the Boeotian god? And, finally, it is remarkable that, if the *Nemesis* was written entirely with a view to malign Pericles and Aspasia, as modern scholars have thought, neither Plutarch nor the eager Alexandrian collectors of satirical references to great men in the comic poets found no other passage from the play worth quoting in this connection.

It is not at all against this hypothesis that the *Nemesis* is never referred to as by the younger Cratinus. The ancients, in quoting from or in referring to the works of authors of the same name, not infrequently omit the designation which will enable the reader to determine which one is meant. A good illustration is furnished by the two Apollodori, one a Geloan, the other from Carystus. The former is cited five times

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<sup>1</sup> "Die Quellen Plutarchs für das Leben des Perikles" (1867), *Ausg. Schr.*, p. 481 ff. On p. 505 he says about Plutarch's use of the comic poets: "Eigene Sammlungen gaben ihm die Stellen der Komiker . . . an die Hand." Blass's refutation of this view is convincing.



by his name and *ethnicon*, the latter twelve times, while 33 citations are given with simply "Apollodorus." And the same play is explicitly attributed to both. The modern collectors of fragments, whose business it is to decide conflicting claims of this sort, where possible, have been disposed to seize eagerly upon any bit of evidence which seems to give an indication, and, in default of this, to assign doubtful fragments and titles to the better known poet. Undoubtedly, the same confusion and source of possible error existed in antiquity, and a word or verse might easily come to be employed to illustrate a matter for which, on chronological grounds, it was inappropriate or erroneous. But we are generally not in a position to correct errors of this kind.

Let us glance at the remains of the younger Cratinus. Meineke and Kock assign eight plays to him without question. Six of these are explicitly cited as by ὁ νεώτερος Κρατῖνος, while two are judged to belong to the Middle Comedy by the nature of their contents. Both editors strongly suspect that a ninth, the *Busiris*, quoted only once and as by "Cratinus," was written by the younger, since the story of Heracles and Busiris was a favorite theme of the Middle Comedy (Antiphanes, Ephippus, Mnesimachus). One of the six plays regarded as certain is once cited as by "Cratinus" (*Pseudhypobolimaëus*); as to a second, the *Cheiron*, Meineke remarks: nisi disertis verbis ὁ νεώτερος Κρατῖνος commemoratur, nemo sane dubitaret quin notissima Cratini maioris Χείρωνες inscripta laudaretur. Finally, a third play is not free from suspicion, the *Omphale*, because a scholium to Plato says that "Cratinus in the *Omphale* calls Aspasia *τύραννος*," and we know from Plutarch that "she was called by the comic poets Ὀμφάλη νέα." But the *Omphale* story is also of the nature of the Middle Comedy (Antiphanes), and so the two citations which mention "the younger Cratinus" have cast the deciding vote.<sup>1</sup>

Just as modern critics have assigned too few plays to the younger Cratinus, so they have given too many to the older. Anon. π. κωμ. II Kaib. and Suidas agree in the statement that the plays of the elder were 21 in number, which no doubt means that only 21 were known to the Alexandrians. Whether he wrote only 21, or only so many were pre-

<sup>1</sup> See Meineke, *Hist. crit.*, p. 412.

served, it is most unlikely that a larger number should be known to a later age. In the case of no other comic poet, so far as can be determined, is it true that a larger number of well-authenticated titles are mentioned than the number of plays accredited to him by the Alexandrians. A few examples, mainly from the Old Comedy, will illustrate :

Pherecrates 18 Anon. II and Anon. III; 17 Suidas; 18 titles preserved, 4 of them doubtful.

Phrynichus 10 Anon. II; 10 Suidas; 10 titles preserved, 1 of them doubtful.

Eupolis 14 Anon. II; 17 Suidas; 19 titles preserved, 3 of them doubtful.<sup>1</sup>

Aristophanes 44 Anon. II and Vita<sup>2</sup>; 44 Suidas; 44 titles preserved, 4 of them doubtful.

Theopompus 17 Anon. III; 24 Suidas; 20 titles preserved, 1 of them doubtful.

Strattis 17 Anon. III; 15 (titles) Suidas; 19 titles preserved, 3 of them doubtful.

Plato 28 Anon. III; 28 Suidas; 30 titles preserved, 2 of them doubtful.

Philemon<sup>3</sup> 97 Anon II; 90 Suidas; 75 titles preserved, 11 of them doubtful.

When, therefore, we observe that Meineke and Kock give 26 titles to the elder Cratinus (25, omitting the *Busiris*; Meineke 24, omitting this and the *Dionysalexandrus*), we are further confirmed in the opinion that, if we possessed more explicit information than the unqualified name "Cratinus" concerning the plays not vouched for by didascalic evidence (seven) or by indisputable internal evidence (*ca.* eleven), at least four of the titles which Kock assigns without query to the elder poet would be transferred to the younger. Of course, without further evidence, such as the newly found hypothesis to the *Dionysalexandrus* may furnish, we may not hope ever to reach definitive conclusions concerning the majority of these plays. We should certainly feel, however, that the absence of the designation  $\delta$  νεώτερος in the references to the *Nemesis*, for example, should not stand in the way of our acceptance of the statement of the scholiast to Aristophanes. And that is all we desire to learn at present from the above figures. We proceed now to the internal evidence on the *Nemesis*.

We chance to be unusually well informed as to the leading motive of the plot of the *Nemesis*. Eratosthenes, *Catast.* 25, relates, quoting

<sup>1</sup> Hence the  $\iota\delta'$  in Anon. is probably an error for  $\iota\zeta'$ .

<sup>2</sup> Four of these attributed to Archippus in antiquity.

<sup>3</sup> Following Dietze, *De Philemone comico*, Göttingen, 1901.

Κρατῖνος ὁ ποιητῆς<sup>1</sup> as his authority, that Zeus, enamoured of Nemesis and unable to approach her because of her many transformations, himself assumed the likeness of a swan and violated her at Rhamnus. Nemesis bore an egg which, as Hyginus adds, was brought to Sparta by Hermes and put in charge of Leda. From this egg Helen was hatched.<sup>2</sup> We have here a sketch of a mythological travesty such as became typical of the period of the Middle Comedy. For such burlesques of the legends of mythology the amours of Zeus in particular offered a rich field to the comic poets of this period. We possess no less than sixteen titles of plays of this type,<sup>3</sup> four of which deal with the Leda story, and of these the other three are by fourth-century poets, Eubulus, Alexis, and Sophilus. It is a notable fact that Hermippus is the only one of the poets distinctively of the Old Comedy who employs any of these themes. After him come Plato, Archippus, Sannyrion, and Apollophanes, all of whom belong more to the Middle Comedy than to the Old; the rest of them are distinctively of the Middle Comedy. Certainly we may say that, but for the misleading allusion to the *Nemesis* in Plutarch, this play would by common consent have been confidently attributed to the younger Cratinus on the strength of the plot alone.

Five and possibly six of the fragments bear directly upon the plot as outlined by Eratosthenes. Not one of them lends any countenance to the interpretation which has found so much favor with modern commentators since Bergk,<sup>4</sup> who saw in every mention of Zeus an allusion to Pericles, and an allusion to Aspasia in every reference to Nemesis. It is hard to see how, in a whole play devoted to a burlesque upon the familiar Leda myth, it would be possible for such an idea to be carried

<sup>1</sup> Κρατῖνος in mss., Cratinus tragoediarum scriptor in Hyginus.

<sup>2</sup> For the full references in the mythographers to the story as told by Cratinus, see Meineke, *FCG* II, p. 81, and Kock, *CAF* I, p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> **Alcmene:** *Amphitryon*, Archippus, Νῦξ μακρά, Plato; **Danaë:** *Danaë*, Sannyrion, Apollophanes; **Europe:** *Europe*, Plato, Eubulus, Hermippus; **Io:** *Io*, Plato, Sannyrion, Anaxilas; **Leda:** *Laconians* or *Leda*, Eubulus, *Tyndareus* or *Leda*, Sophilus, *Tyndareus*, Alexis; **Semele:** *Διονύσου γοναί*, Polyzelus, Anaxandrides, *Semele* or *Dionysus*, Eubulus.

<sup>4</sup> *Reliq. com. Att.*, p. 130. Zielinski rightly protests against this view; Müller-Strübing supports it, but ineffectually.

through. The egg, the sending of it to Sparta, the hatching of it by Leda (cf. fr. 108), the chick Helen — all these details properly belong to a mythological travesty, but surely not to a personal satire. And in a play on this theme, such as the younger Cratinus wrote, there would be many a conceivable situation into which the verse quoted by Plutarch could have been introduced. For example, Nemesis herself in her great distress, and utterly ignorant that it was Zeus himself who was her persecutor, may have uttered the pathetic appeal, "Blessed Zeus, protector of strangers," — a fine parody of the irony of the tragic poets.

This solution is not opposed in any way to what we know about Lampon. Thuc. 5, 19 and 24 shows that he was an important personage in 421. He was probably a young man when he went out to found Thurii in 444. The allusion in the *Birds* would be sufficient warrant for our believing that he was alive in 414. So far as our scholiast is concerned, he need not have lived a great while after this. That *πολλῶ ὕστερον*, in the language of the scholia, does not necessarily imply a long term of years is shown by the note ad *Nub.* 591, where the date of Aristophanes' allusion to the *Maricas* is said to be "considerably later" compared with the first edition of the *Clouds*. The first *Clouds* was brought out in 423/2, the revision was made perhaps as late as a year after the *Maricas*, which was brought out in 422/1. Lampon, therefore, need not have lived beyond *ca.* 410, so far as the language of the scholiast is concerned, and at that time he would probably have been not more than 65 years of age.<sup>1</sup>

The only information which we have had about the time of the younger Cratinus is furnished by his allusion to Plato in the *Pseudhybolimaeus* (K. II, p. 292), to the parasite Corydos (K., p. 291), and to the Pythagoreans in two plays, attributed to him because of this fact by Meineke (*Hist. crit.*, p. 411). The allusion to Lampon now enables us to fix his date somewhat more definitely; he must have begun to exhibit sometime before the end of the fifth century. The allusion to Plato would be appropriate to any period from the early part of the fourth century. We are now able to understand for the first time the title of one play referred to by Athenaeus as by "the younger Cratinus," viz.

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<sup>1</sup> Professor Körte thinks that he has independent proof, as he kindly writes me, that Lampon survived the year 410.

the *Theramenes*. Meineke, *Hist. crit.*, p. 411, was in doubt as to what person of the name could have furnished the title to this play, thinking that chronological grounds were against the assumption that it was the famous "Cothurnus."<sup>1</sup> But we now see that the title may receive its obvious interpretation. The play was brought out before Theramenes' death in 404, some years later than the *Nemesis*. Since the elder Cratinus is said to have died about the year 421, at the age of 97, the chances are that the younger Cratinus was his grandson, as Kirchner, *Prosop. Att.* I, p. 591, thinks.

To summarize: The text of the scholium ad *Av.* 521 is sound. To assume a lacuna (van Leeuwen) does not relieve the difficulty. The absolute trustworthiness of the didascalic scholia is against the assumption of a mere error of statement (Meineke). The scholiast was protected, further, from an error of memory (Wilamowitz, Müller-Strübing) by his documentary sources. The suggestion of Σεριφίους for Νεμέσει (Müller-Strübing) is supported only by the vaguest conjectures as to the date of the former. Besides, any solution which rests upon the assumption that Cratinus was alive after 414 contradicts the didascalic notice concerning the *Pytine* as his last play and the testimony of Aristophanes to his extreme old age in 424. It is not likely that the older and the younger Cratinus each wrote a *Nemesis*. The error is probably in Plutarch's assignment of the play to the former. A possible cause of the error was Plutarch's method of gathering comic quotations for his biographies. Deceived by the name "Cratinus," he hastily identified with Pericles the Ζεύς μακάριος of the quotation. The mythographers, who knew the *Nemesis* well, did not dream of Pericles and Aspasia under the masks of Zeus and Nemesis. The play was a mythological travesty, incapable of sustaining a satirical allegory such as Bergk imagined. Typical in plot of the Middle Comedy, it is to be assigned to the younger Cratinus. The omission of the epithet νεώτερος in references to this play, while it has served to perpetuate the error of Plutarch, is common enough in the case of homonymous poets. The younger Cratinus was active before the death of Theramenes; Lampon was alive at least as late as 410. The *Nemesis* may well have been brought out between 410 and 404.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 275, he suggests that the name "Theramenes" was taken to represent the type of the historical character, to ridicule "Atheniensium levitatem et inconstantiam."



## SOME PHASES OF THE CULT OF THE NYMPHS

BY FLOYD G. BALLENTINE

IT seems to be generally believed to-day that the Greeks and Romans thought of the nymphs as connected especially with springs, rivers, mountains, trees, and meadows, but as possessing little power, and that they did not honor them in any fixed cult as deities who aided men in certain definite ways. Bloch alone, in Roscher, *Lex. s. v. Nymphen*, has shown to some extent that the nymphs presided over certain provinces, but he has said very little concerning their cult, and has scarcely attempted to show at what times the various forms of their worship existed.

Wissowa, in the preface of his *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, rightly insists on the necessity, in the treatment of Greek and Roman religion, of first getting the facts in the religion of each people, and, in doing so, of carefully distinguishing between the evidence which is Greek and that which is Roman, and of fixing the time during which the various cults or phases of the same cult existed. This I have attempted to do in this paper on the cult of the nymphs, in which I have endeavored to show that they were worshipped by both the Greeks and Romans as goddesses of water, of marriage, and of birth. To this I have added a list of the names of the nymphs.<sup>1</sup>

### THE NYMPHS AS WATER-DEITIES AMONG THE GREEKS

There is little evidence that the nymphs were regarded as rain-deities among the Greeks. The first fact which deserves notice in this connection is that the Hyades were from early times called nymphs. They are so called by Hesiod, *Fr.* 181. In Dodona especially they seem to have been considered nymphs at least from the fifth century B.C., as we learn from Pherecydes quoted by Hyginus, *Astr.* 2, 21. Other passages

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<sup>1</sup> This paper, originally presented as a thesis for the degree of Ph.D. at Harvard University, was read in part at the meeting of the American Philological Association held at New Haven in July, 1903, and an abstract of it appears in the *Proceedings of the Association* for that year, p. vi.

in which they are called nymphs are Pseudo-Apollod. 3, 4, 3, 7; Schol. Hom. *Il.* 18, 486; Mythogr. I, *Fab.* 120; Ovid, *Met.* 3, 314; Hyg. *Fab.* 182; Schol. Germ. *Arat.*, p. 75. Further, since they are the daughters either of Oceanus, as we learn from Hyg. *Fab.* 182, or according to another tradition, of Aethra, or Pleione, the daughters of Oceanus (as is stated in Athen. 11, 490; Schol. Ap. Rh. 3, 226; Ovid, *Fast.* 5, 171; Hyg. *Fab.* 192, and still other places), they are Oceanides, who were very closely connected with the nymphs. Now it is well known that the Greeks believed that when the stars called Hyades rose or set, rain generally followed, but there is no further evidence that the Hyades were ever regarded as rain-deities. Yet since the stars were commonly associated in this way with rain, it at least seems probable that the Greeks at some time believed that the Hyades were nymphs who were connected with the giving of rain.

In the next place, concerning the nymphs as rain-deities, should be mentioned an Attic inscription which was found on a well-curb before the Dipylon gate at Athens, and which is given by F. Lenormont, in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. Ant.* s. v. *Eleusinia*, p. 573; cf. *Monogr. de la Voie Sacrée*, p. 86:

Ο ΠΑΝ Ο ΜΗΝ ΧΑΙΡΕΤΕ ΝΥΜΦΑΙ ΥΕ ΚΥΕ ΥΤΕΡΚΥΕ

The inscription belongs, roughly speaking, to the Roman period and seems to be an invocation to Pan, Men, and the nymphs asking for rain and fertility of the soil.<sup>1</sup>

Another inscription found on a small terra cotta figure from Cyprus is published by Cesnola, *Salaminia*, p. 199. The figure is that of a nymph reclining on a rock from which water is flowing. On the base is cut this inscription:

ΘΕΑ Η ΟΜΒΡΙΟΣ<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is at least a simpler and more natural interpretation than that which connects the inscription as a mystic formula with the celebration of the Eleusinian Mysteries, cf. Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. Ant.* s. v. *Eleusinia*, p. 573. The nymphs were believed to give fertility to the soil and to assist growth, cf. Bloch, Rosch. *Lex.* s. v. *Nymphen*, p. 515, and an invocation to these deities in a prayer for rain and fertility of the soil would be fitting and natural. The Orphic Hymn 51, 17-18, quoted on p. 81, in which the nymphs are prayed to for water that the soil may be made fertile, well supports this interpretation of the inscription.

<sup>2</sup> S is given in the inscription on the figure, p. 199, but Σ on p. 200.



The date of this terra cotta Cesnola puts in the first century of our era. If it be genuine we have, then, certain proof that some nymph was worshipped in Cyprus in this century as a rain-deity. Unfortunately, the terra cotta seems to be a forgery. Mr. Robinson, director of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, tells me that the whole appearance of the figure is against its genuineness. Further, according to Pottier et Reinach, *La Nécropole de Myrina*, I, p. 172, we do not have from ancient times any such terra cotta figures with inscriptions which describe the figure. Moreover, in no other place do we find the epithet *δμβριος* applied to any one except Jupiter.<sup>1</sup> This inscription, therefore, cannot be used as certain evidence that the nymphs were ever rain-deities.

That it was the custom, however, in at least one Greek state to pray to a certain nymph for rain, we learn from Paus. 8, 38, 4, who says that at the spring of the nymph Hagno, in times of drought, *ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Λυκαίου Διὸς προσευξάμενος ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ θύσας ὅποσα ἐστὶν αὐτῷ νόμος, καθίει δρυὸς κλάδον ἐπιπολῆς καὶ οὐκ ἐς βάθος τῆς πηγῆς· ἀνακινήθεις δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος ἄνευσιν ἀχλὺς εἰοικῖα ὀμίχλη· διαλιποῦσα δὲ ὀλίγον γίγνεται νέφος ἢ ἀχλὺς, καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν ἄλλα ἐπαγομένη τῶν νεφῶν, ὑπερὸν τοῖς Ἀρκάσιον ἐς τὴν γῆν κατιέναι ποιεῖ.* The nymph Hagno according to this account, and not Jupiter, was certainly called upon.<sup>2</sup> This nymph, it may be added, holds an *ἰδρία* in the picture cut on a table which Paus. 8, 31, 4 describes. As to the time at which this custom existed and the extent to which it was practised, Morgan, *l. c.* p. 95, rightly says: *We have no evidence that this rite was practised in Arcadia in classical times or that anything like it was ever practised by other than Arcadian Greeks.*

This is all the evidence which I can find concerning the nymphs as rain-deities. One fact only seems to be certain, that Hagno was so worshipped in Arcadia at least in the second century of our era. If the Attic inscription has been rightly interpreted as an invocation to the nymphs in connection with a prayer for rain it points to a belief among the Athenians that the nymphs were goddesses of rain. If the inscrip-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lycophr. 160; Strabo, 718; Plut. *Mor.* 158 D; Paus. 1, 32, 2.

<sup>2</sup> So Bloch, in Rosch. *Lex. s. v. Nymphen*, p. 515; M. H. Morgan, *Greek and Roman Rain-Gods and Rain-Charms*, in the *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* XXXII (1901), p. 95.

tion from Cyprus be genuine, which is doubtful, it shows that a similar worship of some nymph existed in that island. Since, however, the Greeks believed that the nymphs furnished water in other ways, and the Romans believed that they presided in general over the granting of water, as will be shown further on in this paper, it certainly seems probable, if we take into consideration what has been noted in regard to the Hyades, that the nymphs were at some time believed by the Greeks to be also rain-deities.

It was from springs, however, more than from any other source that the Greeks secured their water. It is, therefore, not at all strange that they believed that the nymphs of these springs provided their water, and that they honored them especially in this way as water-deities. The first one to conjecture that this was the case was Morgan, *l. c.* p. 108: *It appears to me very probable that in times of drought both Greeks and Romans were in the habit of praying to the divinities of the well-springs, fountains, and sources of streams, and of the streams themselves, rather than to Zeus or Jupiter or any other god, for rain,—that is, that they offered vows and prayers to the Nymphae or Lymphae and similar divinities.*

Already in the time of Homer it seems probable that the nymphs of springs were believed to provide water for them, and that vows and prayers were made to them to do so.<sup>1</sup> In a certain cave from which flowed ὕδατ' ἀερόντα (*Od.* 13, 109) were κρητῆρές τε καὶ ἀμφιφορῆες . . . λάινοι. That these were offerings made to the nymphs is the explanation of the scholiast to verse 105, and, I think, the correct one: οἱ δὲ λίθινοι κρατῆρες καὶ ἀμφιφορῆες ἀναθήματα νυμφῶν χειροποίητα· οἰκείον δὲ πρὸς Νηϊάδες τὰ τοιαῦτα δοχεῖα τοῦ ὕδατος.<sup>2</sup> For what reason, then, were these cups given to the nymphs if it was not believed that they had provided this water? That this is the true explanation is well shown by Porphyrius, *De Ant. Nymph.* 14: λίθινοι δὲ κρητῆρες καὶ ἀμφιφορεῖς ταῖς προστώσαις τοῦ ἐκ πετρῶν ἐξιόντος ὕδατος νύμφαις οἰκειότατοι. To them also Odysseus sacrificed many oxen, and made many other offerings.

Concerning this cult of the nymphs we find another passage in Homer, *Od.* 17, 205-211:

<sup>1</sup> So Morgan, *l. c.* p. 108.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also the scholiast on v. 347.

καὶ ἐπὶ κρήνην ἀφίκοντο  
 τυκτὴν καλλίροον, ὅθεν ὑδρεύοντο πολῖται  
 . . . κατὰ δὲ ψυχρὸν ῥέεν ὕδωρ  
 ἰψόθεν ἐκ πέτρης· βωμὸς δ' ἐφύπερθε τέτυκτο  
 νυμφάων, ὅθι πάντες ἐπιρρέζουσιν ὀδίται.

It was the custom, therefore, for travellers to offer sacrifice to the nymphs of the spring, and it can hardly be doubted that the explanation of the custom lies in the fact that the nymphs were believed to provide and care for the water of the spring. This is, indeed, the explanation of the scholiast, who connects the nymphs with water as he connects Dionysus with wine: Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι σύνηθες ἦν καὶ τοῖς μεθ' Ὀμηρον βωμοὺς ἰδρύειν ταῖς νύμφαις καὶ μάλιστα, ὡς εἰκὸς, ταῖς Νηίσι. λέγεται οὖν Ἀμφικτύων, βασιλεὺς Ἀθηναίων, βωμὸν ἀναστήσας Διονύσῳ καὶ ἕτερον βωμὸν δείμασθαι ταῖς νύμφαις ἐγγὺς αὐτοῦ, ὑπόμνημά, φασι, θέμενος τοῖς χρωμένοις κράσεως οἴνου πρὸς ὕδωρ.

The Orphic Hymn 51, 17-18, if it may be placed at an early date, shows clearly that men at an early time believed that the nymphs furnished the water of springs:

ἔλθετ' (Νυμφῆας) ἐπ' εὐφήμοις ἱεροῖς κεχαρηότι θυμῷ  
 νᾶμα χέουσ' ὑγιεινὸν ἀξέιτρόφοισιν ἐν ὄραις.

The words ἀξέιτρόφοισιν ἐν ὄραις perhaps show that the nymphs have been asked for rain; since, however, I can find only one place where νᾶμα means 'rain,'<sup>1</sup> and since it very often has the meaning of 'spring,' I believe that here the nymphs are asked to give water through springs.

I next cite three epigrams which are perhaps to be ascribed to Plato, and which merely point to the belief that the water of springs belongs to the nymphs. In the first, Bergk, *P. L. Gr.* II, 306, *Ep. Plat.* 22, some satyr speaks as follows:

εἰμὶ δὲ ταῖς Νύμφαισιν ὁμέψιος· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ πρὶν  
 πορφυρέου μέθους λαρὸν ὕδωρ προχέω.

Much the same as this is the following, 23:

εἰμὶ μὲν εὐκεράοιο φίλος θεράπων Διονύσου,  
 λείβω δ' ἀργυρέων ὕδατα Ναϊάδων,

<sup>1</sup> Plat. *Leg.* 8, p. 844 B.

and finally, 5 :

τὸν Νυμφῶν θεράποντα φιλόμβριον ὑγρὸν αἰδόν,  
τὸν λιβάσι κούφαις τερπόμενον βάτραχον  
χαλκῷ μορφώσας τις ὄδοιπόρος εὐχος ἔθηκεν,  
καύματος ἐχθροτάτην δίψαν ἀκεσσάμενος,  
πλαζομένῳ γὰρ ἔδειξεν ὕδωρ κτλ.

Since here a frog, the servant of the nymphs, has shown some traveller by his croaking where he might find water, probably that of a spring, the poet seems to conceive of the water as belonging to the nymphs.

The next evidence which I find concerning this cult comes from writers of about the beginning of the third century B. C. At this time lived Leonidas of Tarentum who, in the *Anth. Pal.* 6, 154, calls upon the nymphs as follows :

ἀνθ' ὧν εὐδρον Νύμφαι τόδε δῶμα γέροντος  
αὔξετε, Πᾶν γλάγερον, Βάκχε πολυστάφυλον.

Here the nymphs are clearly asked to give to the house an abundance of water, by which probably a spring is meant.<sup>1</sup> It is to be noted that just as Pan is asked for milk, Bacchus for wine, so the nymphs are asked for water. This epigram has been imitated by Sabinus who lived possibly in the time of Hadrian ; cf. *Anth. Pal.* 6, 158 :

δαίμονες ἀλλὰ δέχοισθε κεχαρμένοι, αὔξετε δ' αἰεὶ  
Πᾶν ἀγέλην, Νύμφαι πίδακα, Βάκχε γένος.

Another similar prayer of Leonidas we find in the *Anth. Pal.* 9, 329 :

Νύμφαι ἐφνδριάδες, Δώρου γένος, ἀρδεύοιτε  
τοῦτον Τιμοκλέους κᾶπον ἐπεσσύμεναι·  
καὶ γὰρ Τιμοκλῆς ὕμμιν, κόραι, αἰὲν ὁ καπεὺς  
κάπων ἐκ τούτων ὄρια δωροφορεῖ.

In this passage the reference may be to rain, yet it seems more probable that water given through springs is meant (cf. *Anth. Pal.* 9, 327).

In a third passage from this same writer, *Anth. Pal.* 9, 326 :

πέτρης ἐκ δισσηῆς ψυχρὸν κατεπάλμενον ὕδωρ,  
χαίροις, καὶ Νυμφέων ποιμενικὰ ξόανα,

<sup>1</sup> So Bloch, Rosch. *Lex.* s. v. *Nymphen*, pp. 507-8.

πίστραι τε κρηνέων, καὶ ἐν ὕδασι κόσμα ταῦτα  
 ἕμέων, ἃ κούραι, κούρια τεγγόμενα,  
 χαίρετ'· Ἄριστοκλῆς δ' ὄδ' ὄδοιπόρος, ᾗπερ ἀπῶσα  
 δίψαν βαψάμενος τοῦτο δίδωμι κέρας.

It is practically certain that gifts have been presented to the nymphs of the spring because of the water which they have provided. The fact that the gifts are cups, increases the probability that in the passages from Homer already quoted the cups were given to the nymphs of the spring out of gratitude for the water they have bestowed. So in Nicarchus, *Anth. Pal.* 9, 330, we read of κρυστάλλινα Νυμφῶν δῶρα at a spring of the nymphs, and in other passages found in *Anth. Pal.* 9, 327; 9, 328; 16, 264, we learn that they were presented with the same gifts, presumably because they provided the water of these springs.

In still another epigram, written early in the third century B.C. by Anyte of Tegea, it is clear that a gift has been made to the nymphs because they have given water to some one; cf. *Anth. Pal.* 16, 291:

φριξοκόμῃ τόδε Πανὶ καὶ αὐλιάσιν θέτο Νύμφαις  
 δῶρον ὑπὸ σκοπιᾶς Θεύδοτος οἰονόμος·  
 οὐνεχ' ὑπ' ἄζαλέου θέρεος μέγα κεκμηῶτα  
 παῦσαν, ὀρέξασαι χερσὶ μελιχρὸν ὕδωρ.

Here, without much doubt, the water of some spring is meant. From this evidence of Leonidas and Anyte it seems safe to conclude that at the beginning of the third century B. C. the nymphs were asked to give water through springs.

In the latter part of this century we find evidence pointing to the same cult in Ap. Rh. 4, 1411-1421, where the thirsty Orpheus implores the nymphs to show him a spring:

δαίμονες ᾧ καλαὶ καὶ εὐφρονες, ἴλατ', ἀνασσαι,  
 εἴτ' οὖν οὐρανίαις ἐναρίθμοι ἔστε θεῆσιν,  
 εἴτε καταχθονίαις, εἴτ' οἰοπόλοι καλέεσθε  
 νύμφαι· ἴτ' ᾧ νύμφαι, ἱερὸν γένος Ὀκεανοῖο,  
 δείξατ' ἐελδομένοισιν ἐνωπαδὶς ἄμμι φανείσθαι  
 ἢ τινα πετραίην χύσιν ὕδατος, ἢ τινα γαίης  
 ἱερὸν ἐκβλύοντα, θεαί, ῥόον, ᾗ ἀπὸ δίψαν  
 αἰθομένην ἄμοτον λωφήσομεν· εἰ δέ κεν αὐτίς  
 δῆ ποτ' Ἀχαιίδα γαίαν ἰκώμεθα ναντιλίησιν,

δὴ τότε μυρία δῶρα μετὰ πρωτῆσι θεῶων  
λοιβάς τ' εἰλαπίνας τε παρέξομεν εὐμένεοντες.

Then in Nicander, who lived near the middle of the second century B.C., we find the tradition, which perhaps goes back to an ancient time, that the nymph Langia furnished Perseus (cf. Schol. on the passage) with water through her spring, *Alex.* 104-105 :

ἔνθα τε Νύμφη  
Λαγγείη πόμα κείνο Διὸς τεκμήρατο παιδί . . .

This nymph, as will be noted later, is mentioned also by Statius and Lactantius.

Next I cite a passage from Antipater of Sidon, who lived in the second half of the same century, in which again the power of providing water through springs is ascribed to the nymphs, — *Anth. Pal.* 9, 417 :

θηρευτὴν Λάμπωνα Μίδον κύνα δίψα κατέκτα,  
καίπερ ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς πολλὰ πονησάμενον.  
ποσὶ γὰρ ἔρυσσεν νοτερόν πέδον, ἀλλὰ τὸ νοθεῖ  
πίδακος ἐκ τυφλῆς οὐκ ἐτάχυνεν ὕδωρ·  
πίπτε δ' ἀπαυδήσας· ἢ δ' ἔβλυσεν. ἦ ἄρα, Νύμφαι,  
Λάμπωνι κταμένων μῆνιν ἔθεσθ' ἐλάφων.

Then near the end of the first century B.C. we find the nymphs possessing the same power, according to Diod. 5, 3, 4 : ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰμέραν μέρεσιν, ἐν οἷς τὰς μὲν Νύμφας χαριζομένας Ἀθηναῖ τὰς τῶν θερμῶν ὑδάτων ἀνεῖναι πηγὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἡρακλέους παρουσίαν.

So the spring Arethusa has been given to men by the nymphs, Diod. 5, 3, 5 : ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν νῆσον ταύτην ἀνεῖναι τὰς Νύμφας ταύτας χαριζομένας τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι μεγίστην πηγὴν τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ἀρέθουσαν.

Again, in the following century, Dio Chrysostomus, 286, shows that the nymphs were believed by the Greeks to preside over the water of springs just as Dionysus presided over wine : οὐκοῦν εἰς τὰ συμπόσια δήπου οἱ μὲν τινες ἀφικουῦνται τοῦ πιεῖν ἔνεκεν καὶ οὐθὲν ἄλλο πράττουσιν, ὥσπερ οἱ διψῶντες τῶν ὀδοιπόρων, ἐπειδὰν ἔλθωσιν ἐπὶ κρήνην τινὰ πίνουσι ἐπικρύψαντες. ἀλλὰ ἐκείνοι μὲν ἐμπλησθέντες καὶ τὸ δίψος ἀποσβέσαντες ἡσυχῇ ἀπαλλάττονται, οὔτε πράξαντες οὔτε τι εἰπόντες ἄτοπον. οἱ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ δυσχερῆ ἐνίστε καὶ λέγουσι καὶ δρῶσιν. οὐ

γὰρ ὁμοίως ὑποδέχονται τοὺς δεομένους αὐτῶν αἶ τε Νύμφαι καὶ ὁ Διόνυσος.

Somewhat later, Aelian attributes the want of springs to the wrath of the nymphs; cf. *Fr.* 152 (Suidas s. v. Νύμφη): μῆνις δὲ ἐδόκει καὶ Νυμφῶν δι' ἀπορίαν ναμάτων.

In Porphyrius, who lived near the middle of the third century of our era, we find a Hymn to Apollo, which is perhaps of ancient date,<sup>1</sup> in which the nymphs are said to send forth springs from the earth, and Porphyrius himself states that the nymphs preside over springs, *De Ant. Nymph.* 8: ὅτι δὲ καὶ ταῖς νύμφαις ἀντίθεσαν ἄντρα καὶ τούτων μάλιστα ταῖς ναΐσιν, αἶ ἐπὶ πηγῶν εἰσι κὰκ τῶν ὑδάτων, ἀφ' ὧν ναοῦσι ῥοαί, ναΐδες ἐκαλοῦντο, δηλοῖ καὶ ὁ εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα ὕμνος, ἐν ᾧ λέγεται

σοὶ δ' ἄρα πηγὰς νοερῶν ὑδάτων  
τέμον ἄντροις μίμνουσαι γαίης  
ἀτιταλλόμεναι πνεύματι μούσης  
θέσπιν ἐς ὀμφήν.

Then in Hesychius, who lived about the fourth century of our era, we find s. v. ἄστν νυμφέων: τὴν Σάμον Ἀνακρέων ἐπεὶ ὕστερον εὐνδρος ἐγένετο. This passage, if we may explain it in the light of the other passages which concern the nymphs as water-deities, probably shows that the nymphs were believed to have provided Samos with many springs. Whether Anacreon himself, however, so styled the city for this reason, we do not know.

Finally, several passages may be mentioned concerning this phase of the cult of the nymphs which are of uncertain date. First to be noted is the information concerning the nymph Langia which Lactantius gives us in his comment on *Stat. Theb.* 4, 717: *Langia fons est, qui postea vocatus est Archemorus. Et huic consecratus est fons et Nympha cuius famam postea Argivi accepto beneficio extulerunt, quia non perdiderat aquam. Iuxta hunc fontem agon celebratur in honorem Archemori consecratus et in Nymphae beneficium.* According to the story of Statius, *Theb.* 4, 683 ff., when the Argives were making their expedition against Thebes, Bacchus besought the nymphs to dry up every source of water in the land, springs, rivers, and pools, that the whole army might perish from thirst. Every source of water was then dried

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bergk, *P. L. Gr.* III, 684.

up by the nymphs except one spring the water of which Langia, the nymph of the spring, preserved, and from this spring the Argives secured water through the kind assistance of Hypsipyle.

Lactantius shows in the passage just quoted, if he may be believed, that there was a tradition among the Greeks that the Nemean games had been established partly in honor of the nymph Langia because of her kindness in preserving the water of her spring. This same tradition is given by Statius, as we see from *Theb.* 4; 720-722 :

Manet ingens gloria Nympham  
Cum tristem Hypsipylen ducibus sudatus Achaeis  
Ludus et atra sacrum recolit trieteris Ophelthen.

These, however, are the only passages where this kind deed of the nymph Langia and her relation to the Nemean games are mentioned. Since Statius and Lactantius relate the story, it seems very probable that it was known among the Greeks also, especially since, as the testimony of Nicander has shown, there was a tradition in his century that this nymph had once shown Perseus the water of her spring. At what time, however, this tradition about Langia was current among the Greeks we do not know. The possibility that it went back to an early time is increased by the fact that Aeschylus informs us that the Nemean games were established in honor of Archemorus (cf. Nauck, *Tr. Gr. Fr.* p. 49). This tradition, if it did exist among the Greeks, shows clearly that the nymphs were believed to preserve and care for the water of springs. Moreover, if the account given by Statius of the prayer of Bacchus is really a version of a Greek tradition, it points with equal clearness to a belief among the Greeks that the nymphs, since they provided the water of springs, rivers, and pools, could also take it away.

In an epigram of uncertain date and authorship gifts are made to the nymphs because of the discovery of a spring, and they are asked to bestow upon some house an abundance of water, *Anth. Pal.* 9, 327 :

Νύμφαι ἐφνδριάδες, ταῖς Ἑρμοκρέων τάδε δῶρα  
εἶσατο, καλλιάνου πίδακος ἀντιτυχών,  
χαίρετε, καὶ στείβοιτ' ἔρατοῖς ποσὶν ὕδατόεντα  
τόνδε δάμον, καθαροῦ πιμπλάμεναι πόματος.

Again, since the nymphs pour forth a stream which probably arises from some spring, offerings are made to them, *Anth. Pal.* 9, 328 :



Νύμφαι Νηιάδες, καλλίρροον αἶ τόδε νᾶμα  
 χεῖτε κατ' οὐρέιον πρωνὸς ἀπειρέσιον,  
 ὕμμιν ταῦτα πόρεν Δαμόστρατος Ἄντίλα υἱὸς  
 ξέσματα, καὶ δοιῶν ῥινὰ κάπρων λάσσω.

Still again we find a prayer that the nymphs may grant springs which will never cease to flow, *Anth. Pal.* 16, 264\*:

ταῖς Νύμφαις τόδ' ἄγαλμα· μέλει δ' αὐταῖσιν ὁ χώρος.  
 ναὶ μέλοι, ὡς κρήναις ἄφθιτα ῥεῖθρα ῥεοί.

A tablet is consecrated to the nymphs, without doubt, as a thank-offering for some ever-flowing spring, *Anth. Pal. App.* 1, 217:

σοὶ πλάκα τήνδ' ἀνέθηκα, κόρη Διὸς ὕδατόεσσα,  
 πηγῇ Νυμφάων ἄφθιτε, νᾶμα φίλον·  
 ἔνθα πάλαι βασιλῆες ἀπὸ πολέμοιο καμόντες  
 ἔγχεα καὶ κόρυθας κάτθεσαν ἵππολόφους.

Finally, according to another writer, springs are filled by the nymphs, *Anth. Pal. App.* 1, 313:

πλησθείσαις πηγαῖς ὑπὸ Νυμφῶν.

Compare also Bergk, *P. L. Gr.* III, 681:

Νυμφᾶν τ' οὐρειᾶν, αἶ νάματα κάλ' ἐφέποντι

the author and time of which are uncertain, and again Paus. 1, 40, 1, where the water which flows into an aqueduct from a spring, probably one belonging to the nymphs Sithnides, is said to belong to these nymphs: καὶ ὕδωρ ἐς αὐτὴν ῥεῖ καλούμενον Σιθνίδων νυμφῶν.

This is all the evidence I have been able to gather concerning the cult of the nymphs as deities of springs. It is clear, I think, that at least from the beginning of the third century B.C. down to the third or fourth centuries of our era they were believed to give water through springs, and prayers and thank-offerings were made to them in this connection. From the Homeric passages it seems almost certain that the same cult existed at that time. If an early date may be ascribed to the passage from the Orphic Hymn we have still further evidence for the early existence of this cult. From the fifth century we have only the evidence of the uncertain Platonic epigrams, yet in the light of all the facts concerning the nymphs as water-deities, it seems safe to

conclude that they were worshipped as deities of springs also in the fifth and fourth centuries.

There is no evidence that the nymphs were called upon to provide water through rivers, yet one passage might be noticed in this connection from a late writer, Quintus Smyr. *Posth.* 4, 9-11 :

Νύμφαι δὲ περίβλυσαν ἱερὸν ὕδωρ  
ἀενάου ποταμοῖο, τὸν εἰσέτι φύλ' ἀνθρώπων  
Γλαῦκον ἐπικλείουσι ἐύρροον.

The river Glaucus is situated in Lycia.

According to the evidence of two inscriptions the nymphs were associated with aqueducts, *C. I. G.* 1081 (from Fourmont) :

τείχεα δ[εῖ]μα[το κ]αὶ [πόρ]ον ἔμπε[δ]ον [ῶ]πα[σ]ε Νυμφ[ῶν],  
an inscription of the fourth century B. C. found in Megara, which refers to an aqueduct ; the second is of uncertain date, *C. I. G.* 5649 h :

βαῖον ἐμὲ Νύμφαις ἔργον κάμ[εν],

the ἔργον being an aqueduct in Catania.

That the nymphs were believed to provide water is further shown by an inscription from Rhodes, *In. Gr. Ins. Mar. Aeg.*, I, 928 :

Νυμφῶν κροννοῖσι δ' ἀγάλλομαι, ὅττι γελῶ[σαι]  
[ἀ]εναῖς ὀχετοῖς [γῆν? ἐ]πέβλυσαν ὄλαι,

an inscription of the third century of our era, the meaning of which seems to be that the nymphs have made the land fertile by means of irrigating ditches.

The nymphs were often associated with bathing establishments and some evidence is found tending to show that they were believed not only to care for them but to be closely connected with providing water for them. Pindar, for example, *Ol.* 12, 19, calls the baths of Himera *θερμὰ Νυμφῶν λουτρά*, and, in an epigram of uncertain date, entitled *Εἰς Λουτρόν*, the poet certainly ascribes to the nymphs the power of giving and taking away the water of baths, *Anth. Pal.* 9, 814 :

Νύμφαι Νηιάδες μετανάστιοι, οὐχ ἅμα πάσας  
εἴξεν ωἰόμην χεύμασιν ἡμετέροις.<sup>1</sup>  
εἰ δὲ τόσην τὸ λοετρόν ἔχει χάριν, οὐδὲν ὀνήσει  
ὁ φθόνος, εἰ, Νύμφαι, πᾶν ἀπέλειπεν ὕδωρ.

<sup>1</sup> This has been emended, and probably rightly, to *ὑμετέροις*.

Compare also another epigram, of late date, *Anth. Pal.* 9, 627 :

θερμὸν ἐκείθεν

Νύμφαι Ἐρωτιάδες λουτροχοεύσιν ὕδωρ.

and, further, *Anth. Pal.* 9, 639 ; *C. I. G.* 457.

Finally, there are several passages which point to the belief that the nymphs presided in general over the granting of water. The first passage is of uncertain date, Orphic Hymns, *Fr.* 160, 1-3 :

Ἐρωῆς δ' ἔρμηνεὺς τῶν πάντων ἄγγελός ἐστι,

Νύμφαι ὕδωρ, πῦρ Ἡφαιστος, σίτος Δημήτηρ.

Here, as will be shown later to hold true for the Romans, the nymphs are associated with water in precisely the same way in which Hephaestus is associated with fire and Demeter with grain.

Again, near the middle of the third century, they are said by Porphyrius to preside over water, *De Ant. Nymph.* 10 : Νύμφας δὲ Ναΐδας λέγομεν καὶ τὰς τῶν ὑδάτων προεστῶσας δυνάμεις ἰδίως. So also 12 : Νύμφαις τε ὑδάτων προστάτισιν, and 17 : Νύμφαις Ὑδριάσι παρατίθεται εἰς τὸ ἄσηπτον τῶν ὑδάτων ὧν ἐπιστατοῦσι. Somewhat later, Eusebius, *Praef. Ev.* 3, 111, says concerning them : καὶ αἱ μὲν τῶν γλυκῶν ὑδάτων μερικαὶ δυνάμεις Νύμφαι, αἱ δὲ τῶν θαλασσίων Νηρηίδες κέκληνται· τοῦ δ' αὖ πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν προσειπόντες Ἡφαιστον, where again the nymphs are connected with water just as Hephaestus with fire. So, finally, Photius speaks of them, s. v. *νυμφεύτρια*, where *νύμφη* is explained as follows : καὶ ἡ θεὰ ἡ ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων (so also *Eudoc.* 307 ; *Schol. Hom. II.* 6, 420).

This completes the evidence which I have been able to find concerning the cult of the nymphs as water-deities among the Greeks. There is no direct evidence that they were, during the fifth and fourth centuries, prayed to for rain, but, as has already been stated, it seems very probable that during this and possibly an earlier period they were regarded as rain-deities. It is evident, however, that from the time of Homer, possibly, down to the third or fourth centuries or our era the nymphs were believed to provide the water of springs and were worshipped accordingly. Some evidence has also been found pointing to the belief that they were connected with the water of aqueducts, irrigation ditches, and baths, and presided in general over water. Yet it was

as the givers of the water of springs that they were especially worshipped. They were asked to provide water in this way, and offerings were made to them from gratitude for the water which they had bestowed.

#### THE NYMPHS AS WATER-DEITIES AMONG THE ROMANS

That the *Lymphae* and *Nymphae* were water-deities among the Romans has been recognized by several scholars, for example, Bloch, in Rosch. *Lex.* s. v. *Nymphen*, p. 540: *So sind den Römern die Nymphen ausschliesslich Wassergottheiten gewesen,*" and Wissowa, *ibid.* s. v. *Lymphae*: *"Italischer Name von Wassergottheiten, nachher mit den griechischen Νύμφαι identifiziert.* Few, however, seem to have perceived and no one heretofore, so far as I know, has shown that the Romans from a time before the classical period down to at least the third century of our era actually honored the *Lymphae* or *Nymphae* as goddesses who gave water to men through rain or springs or rivers. How little this has been understood is well shown in the recent characterization of the nymphs by Wissowa in his *Rel. u. Kult. d. Röm.*, p. 182: *Die Verehrung gilt oft auch den 'fontes' in der Mehrzahl oder den 'Lymphae,' die als Gottheiten der befruchtenden und heilenden Kraft des Wassers verehrt wurden, und später den griechischen Nymphen Platz machten.* The existence of any general cult of the nymphs as water-deities was first conjectured by Morgan in the words which I have already quoted (p. 80).

The earliest evidence that the Romans prayed to the *Lymphae* for water is found in Varro, *R. R.* 1, 1, 6, where, at the beginning of his work, in invoking various deities, he says: *Nec non etiam precor Lympham et Bonum Eventum quoniam sine aqua omnis arida ac misera agri cultura, sine successu ac bono eventu frustratio est, non cultura.* *Lympha*, in this passage, seems certainly to be a goddess who bestows water for agriculture, and, since in *aqua* the reference would most naturally be to rain, we have here pretty sure evidence that at least as early as the first half of the first century B. C. *Lympha* or the *Lymphae* were prayed to for rain. Still better proof that the *Lymphae* were regarded as rain-deities we obtain also from Varro, through St. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, 4, 22, who says here that we ought to know what each god furnishes: *Ex eo enim poterimus, inquit (Varro), scire quem cuius-*

*que causa deum invocare atque advocare debeamus, ne faciamus, ut mimi solent, et optemus a Libero aquam, a Lymphis vinum.* So also, *ibid.* 6, 1, and 4, 34, he clearly shows that Varro and those of his time held that just as Liber should be asked for wine, Ceres for bread, and Vulcan for fire, so the Lymphae should be asked for water. Vitruvius also, it should be noted, informs us that in the first century temples were built for the worship of the Lymphae, *De Arch.* 1, 2, 5: *Veneri Florae Proserpinae Fonti Lymphis Corinthio genere constitutae (aedes) aptas videbuntur habere proprietates.* It is evident, therefore, that already near the beginning of the first century B.C. Lympha and the Lymphae were honored by the Romans as water-deities.

The cult of the nymph Iuturna (older Diuturna; cf. *C. I. L.* 6, 3700) clearly shows that as early as the middle of the third century B.C. the nymphs were believed to provide water, and were worshipped especially as water-deities. The date of the public establishment of the cult of Iuturna we get with some certainty from Servius on Verg. *Aen.* 12, 139: *Iuturna fons est in Italia. . . . Huic fonti propter aquarum inopiam sacrificari solet; cui Lutatius Catulus primum templum in Campo Martio fecit; nam et Iuturnas ferias celebrant qui artificium aqua exercent, quem diem festum Iuturnalia dicunt.* Aust, *De aed. sacr. pop. Rom.*, p. 17, rightly, I think, maintains that this temple of Iuturna<sup>1</sup> was vowed by Catulus in the naval battle at the Aegatian Islands in 241 B. C.

What, then, was the nature of this cult? That the temple was built in honor of Iuturna as a water-goddess is evident, I think, from the fact, as Aust rightly observes, that it was probably built in fulfilment of a vow made in a naval battle. Servius, moreover, *l. c.*, informs us that one part of her cult was a festival<sup>2</sup> celebrated in her honor as a water-goddess by those who used water in their business.

Ovid, *Fast.* 1, 463 ff., shows that this festival existed in his time and was celebrated on the eleventh of January. From this reference to the festival by Ovid, and from Servius' use of *nam*, it is almost certain that when the latter speaks of this festival he does not refer to his own but

<sup>1</sup> That Iuturna was a nymph appears from Varro, *De L. L.* 5, 71; Serv. Verg. *Aen.* 12, 139; Verg. *Aen.* 12, 142.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wissowa-Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, III, p. 568.

to an ancient time, probably that of the building of the temple by Catulus. The Iuturnalia, therefore, was celebrated probably from about the middle of the third century B. C. especially by those *qui artificium aqua exercent*,—that is, Iuturna was honored in this festival as the goddess to whom men were indebted for the water which they used in their business.

The correctness of this interpretation is made the more certain by Servius' preceding remark: *Huic fonti propter aquarum inopiam sacrificari solet*. Servius here again, no doubt, refers to that time when Catulus built the temple of Iuturna, or possibly to a still earlier time,<sup>1</sup> and shows that in times of drought sacrifice was made to Iuturna, the nymph of the spring, for water. That the nymph is here a rain-goddess can scarcely be doubted.

Still further evidence that Iuturna was honored as a water-deity is found in her connection with the Vulcanalia, a festival which was celebrated to avert the danger of fire and to secure aid in case of fire, as we learn from *C. I. L.* 6, 826, and Vitruvius I, 7, 1.<sup>2</sup> In the Fasti of the Arval Brothers for the twenty-third of August, the day of the Vulcanalia, we find concerning this festival an inscription, *C. I. L.* 6, 2295, the date of which falls between 11 B. C. and 16 A. D., and which has been restored by Mommsen as follows:

[Vulcanalia Feriae] Volcano [Volcanus in Circo Flam(inio). Iuturnae et Nymph]his in Campo. Opi Opifer[i]. Quir[inō],

In this restoration Mommsen, I believe, is right in connecting the expression [*Nymph*]his in Campo with the temple of Iuturna built by Catulus in the Campus Martius.<sup>3</sup> This temple of the nymphs is mentioned by Cic. *Har. Resp.* 57; *Par.* 4, 31; *Cael.* 78; *N. D.* 3, 43.

What, now, was the way in which Iuturna and the nymphs were connected with this festival? Cicero informs us that they gave help in time of fire, *Har. Resp.* 57: *Sed etiam inaudita sacra inexpliabili scelere pervertit idemque earum templum inflammavit dearum quarum ope etiam aliis incendiis subvenitur*. Since, therefore, it was the custom

<sup>1</sup> So Preller, *Röm. Myth.* II, p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wissowa-Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverw.* III, p. 9, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Eph. Ep.* I, 35. Aust, however, *op. cit.*, p. 29, holds that the temple of the nymphs was an entirely different one from that of Iuturna.

to sacrifice to Iuturna *propter aquarum inopiam*, and since those celebrated the Iuturnalia *qui artificium aqua exercent*, Iuturna and the nymphs were honored in this festival without doubt as the deities who gave the water<sup>1</sup> to be used in extinguishing fires.<sup>2</sup>

At how early a time Iuturna and the nymphs were connected with this festival is not known. It was at least before 56 B. C., the date of the *De Haruspicum Responso*, and probably at a very early period, since the Vulcanalia was an ancient<sup>3</sup> festival and the temple of Iuturna dates back to nearly the middle of the third century B. C.

With Iuturna as a goddess of water two<sup>4</sup> inscriptions lately discovered at Rome are perhaps to be associated. They may be found in the *Notizie degli Scavi* for 1900, p. 292 :

M. Barbatus Pollio | Aed. Cur. | Iuturnae sacrum. rest. | puteal,<sup>5</sup>  
and *ibid.*, p. 293 :

Iuturnae sa(crum)

The first of these inscriptions was found on a well near a spring, shrine, and altar which were connected with the worship of the nymph, the second on a shrine. The name of M. Barbatus Pollio fixes the date in the time of Julius Caesar.<sup>6</sup>

Again, Iuturna is said to preside over ponds and rivers in Verg. *Aen.* 12, 139-140.

Finally, as to the cult of this nymph, it is perhaps significant that according to Arnobius 3, 29, she was the mother of Fons, on the day of whose festival wells were crowned with chaplets to secure abundant water.<sup>7</sup>

This evidence proves, I think, that Iuturna and the nymphs were worshipped by the Romans as water-deities from about the middle of the third century B. C. to at least the end of the first century B. C.

<sup>1</sup> As to the use of water by the Romans in putting out fires, cf. Petr. *Sat.* 78; Juv. *Sat.* 3, 198; 14, 305; Plin. *Ep.* 10, 33.

<sup>2</sup> So Wissowa, *Rel. u. Kult. d. Röm.*, p. 185.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 210.

<sup>4</sup> To these a third is perhaps to be added, *C. I. L.* 6, 3700.

<sup>5</sup> Compare a similar inscription in Dessau, *Inscript. Lat. Sel.* II, 1, 3861.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Cic. *Phil.* 13, 3, and *Revue Arch.* XXXIX, p. 147.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Varro, *De L. L.* 6, 22; Fowler, *Rom. Fest.*, p. 240.

The restoration<sup>1</sup> of her temple in 2 B. C. marks the revival of the cult in the age of Augustus.

Passing now from Iturna, we have next to cite concerning the nymphs as water-deities Hor. *Serm.* 1, 5, 97-98:

dein Gnatia Lymphis  
Iratris exstructa dedit risusque iocosque,

explained as follows by Porphyrio: *Per haec quoque oppidulum significat penuria aquae labore.* By the words *Lymphis iratris* the poet seems to mean, as Porphyrio says, that the town was suffering from the want<sup>2</sup> of water, — that is, most probably, of springs, because of the wrath of the Lymphae. If this is the real meaning of the passage, we have here further proof that Romans of the time of Horace believed that the Lymphae provided water. If it be purely a poetic creation, it is still evidence of an earlier belief and one probably common in his own day. The explanation of Porphyrio, at any rate, points to a belief in his time, perhaps the fourth century of our era, that the Lymphae or Nymphae provided water.

We next find in Ovid, *Fast.* 3, 273-275, that the nymph Egeria furnishes the water of a certain river:

Defluit incerto lapidosus murmure rivus:  
Saepe, sed exiguis haustibus inde bibi.  
Egeria est quae praebet aquas, dea grata Camenis.

The passage in Statius, *Theb.* 4, 683 ff., to which reference has already been made, p. 85, deserves to be recalled here since, if Statius and Lactantius are not using a Greek tradition in the story of the prayer of Bacchus and the kindness of Langia, this whole account is evidence, not of a Greek, but of a Roman belief in the power of the nymphs to bestow water. It seems probable, however, that the account was drawn from a Greek source.

Several inscriptions of a later time show that it was customary when new springs were discovered to make offerings to the Nymphae or Nymphae Novae; cf. *C. I. L.* 10, 4734, an inscription from Sinuessa of the first century of our era:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Aust, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Aelian, *Fr.* 152, a passage I have cited on p. 85.



Nymphis sanct. Novis repertis | in villam Surdinianam Amempti | Caes.  
et Orciviae Phoebeo et Rhodini lib. | Deduct. ad eam villam . . .

Compare also *C. I. L.* 3, 3116, an inscription from Dalmatia of the second century of our era :

Nymphis Aug. sacrum.

Graecius Leo aquam quam nullus antiquorum in civitate fuisse memin-  
erit iuventam impendio . . .

There can be little doubt that these shrines were dedicated and offerings made to the nymphs not merely because they dwelled in or near the springs, but because they provided them with water. This is made more certain by another inscription, *C. I. L.* 5, 3106, of uncertain date and found in Cis-Alpine Gaul :

Nymphis Lymphisq(ue) | Augustis ob reditum | Aquarum | P. Pompo-  
nius Cornelianus C · I · | ut vovit.

Pomponius has asked the Nymphae and Lymphae to bring back some supply of water, and the reference is in all probability to the water of a spring.

Next may be cited an inscription composed of five hexameters and dating probably from the first half of the third century of our era,<sup>1</sup> from Lambaese, a city of Numidia, *C. I. L.* 8, 2662 :

Numini Aquae Alexandrinae.

Hanc aram Nymphis exstruxi, nomine Laetus,  
. . . quod fascibus annus  
Is nostri datus est, quo sancto nomine dives  
Lambaesem largo perfudit flumine Nympha.

Since no river is found near this city, nor any trace of an aqueduct to which this inscription may be referred, and since the words *largo perfudit flumine* cannot well refer to a spring, it seems practically certain that Laetus reared this altar to the nymphs for having caused a bountiful rain to fall upon the city.<sup>2</sup> This inscription must, therefore, be added to the passage from Servius already quoted (p. 91), where we learn that it was the custom to sacrifice to Iuturna, the spring-nymph, for rain.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *C. I. L.* 8, 2659.

<sup>2</sup> This is the interpretation given by Dar. et Sagl. *D. A. s. v. Fontes.*

The nymphs seem also to have been associated with aqueducts and their water, as is evident from several inscriptions. The first is from Picenum, of the beginning of the first century of our era, *C. I. L.* 9, 5744 :

Nymphis Geminis | Sacrum | C. Fufius Gemini L. | Politicus | idem  
aquam perduxit.

A later inscription is from Casinum and was cut on a rock over which ran an aqueduct, *C. I. L.* 10, 5163 :

Numphis Aeter | nis Sacrum | Ti. Cl. Praec. Ligar. | Magonianus per |  
Praecilium Zoticum | patrem aqua(m) induxit.

Another comes from the ruins of an aqueduct in Gaul, *C. I. L.* 12, 1093 :

Numphis V · S · L · M.

Another, also from Gaul and late, Orelli, 7148 :

In H · D · D · deabus Nimphis signa et aram C. Carantinius Maternus  
praefectus aque V · S · L · M.

And finally an inscription from Rome, *C. I. L.* 6, 551 :

Nymp. sanc. sac. Epictetus aquarius Aug. N.

To these should be added an inscription, *C. I. G.* 4616, concerning a certain Nymphaeum which was found near an aqueduct in Syria and which belongs to about the beginning of the second century of our era.

The comparison of all these inscriptions, which do not seem to have been generally understood,<sup>1</sup> makes it clear, I think, that the nymphs, to whom belonged the sources of water, were believed to aid men in obtaining water through aqueducts as well as in other ways, and that vows and offerings were made to them in this connection.

Finally, as evidence that the nymphs were honored as water-deities, it is to be noted that *Nympha* is often explained by late writers and scholiasts as *dea aquarum*; cf. *Corp. Glos. Lat.* 4, 125, 1; 4, 262, 10; 5, 467, 63; 5, 313, 46; 4, 124, 55; 5, 314, 1; *Isid. Ep.* 8, 11, 96; and also Ovid, *Am.* 2, 14, 13-14.

In the light of all this evidence it is clear, I think, that the *Lymphae* were believed by the Romans to be water-deities and were honored as such from at least the beginning of the first century B.C.; that the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ihm, *Jahrb. d. Vereins f. Alterth. im Rheinl.* LXXXIV, p. 94.

nymph Iuturna held an especially prominent place as a water-deity from about the middle of the third century B.C.; and that the nymphs both in general and individually, as Iuturna, Egeria, or the nymph of some spring, from at least the middle of the third century B.C. to about the middle of the third century of our era, were believed to bestow water in various ways, and in the Roman religion of the time held the place of water-deities.

THE NYMPHS AS DEITIES OF MARRIAGE AND BIRTH AMONG  
THE GREEKS

I shall now take up a second phase of the cult of the nymphs and endeavor to show that the nymphs were believed by both the Greeks and Romans to preside over marriage and birth and were in this connection honored in an actual cult by both peoples.

It has been stated in a general way by several writers that the nymphs were associated by the Greeks with marriage and birth,<sup>1</sup> but scarcely any evidence in support of the statement has been produced, and no one has attempted to show, so far as is possible from the evidence, the extent, the time, and the manner in which they were worshipped as deities of marriage and birth.

That their cult was closely connected with marriage is clearly shown by the comment of Mnaseas, an Alexandrine scholiast of the third century B.C., on Pind. *P.* 4, 104: οὔτε γάμος οὐδεὶς ἄνευ Νυμφῶν συντελεῖται, ἀλλὰ ταύτας πρῶτον τιμῶσι, μνήμης χάριν, ὅτι εὐσεβείας τε καὶ ὀσιότητος ἀρχηγοὶ ἐγένοντο.

The nymphs are also, without doubt, called upon as deities of marriage by the women, in Ar. *Thes.* 973 b-981:

Ἦραν δὲ τὴν τελείαν  
μέλωμεν ὥσπερ εἰκός,  
ἢ πᾶσι τοῖς χοροῖσι συμπαῖζει τε καὶ  
κλῆδας γάμον φυλάττει,  
Ἐρμῆν τε νόμιον ἄντομαι  
καὶ Πᾶνα καὶ Νύμφας φίλας ἐπιγέλασαι προθύμως  
ταῖς ἡμετέροισι  
χαρέντα χορείαις.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Preller, *Gr. Myth.*, p. 721; Bloch, Rosch. *Lex. s. v. Nymphen*, pp. 516-517.

They were evidently honored in various ways by those about to marry. In Boeotia, for example, a part of the ceremony, called by the Greeks *προτέλεια*,<sup>1</sup> which took place either one day or possibly several days<sup>2</sup> before marriage, was, according to Plutarch, *Am. Nar.* 772, a sacrifice offered to the nymphs: *ἕως ἢ κόρη κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἐπὶ τὴν Κισσόεσσαν καλουμένην κρήνην κατῆει ταῖς Νύμφαις τὰ προτέλεια θύσουσα*. The story, moreover, of the marriage of Medea and Jason, which is given by Apollonius of Rhodes, adds to the probability that this custom was practised outside of Boeotia.<sup>3</sup> Medea, according to the account of Apollonius, 4, 1217-1219, and the scholiast on v. 1217, constructed two altars in a temple of Apollo, one to the Nymphs, the other to the Fates, and offered sacrifice to both on the occasion of her marriage:

Μοιράων δ' ἔτι κείσε θύη ἐπέτεια δέχονται  
καὶ Νυμφέων Νομίω καθ' ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος  
βωμοί, τοὺς Μήδεα καθίσσατο.

On v. 1217 the scholiast has the following: *Τίμαιος περὶ τῆς θυσίας ιστορεῖ, ἔτι καὶ νῦν λέγων ἄγεσθαι κατ' ἐνιαυτόν, Μηδείας πρῶτον θυσίας ἐν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερῷ*. From Pollux, 3, 38, we learn further that this sacrifice was offered both by the bride and bridegroom: *ἡ δὲ πρὸ γάμων θυσία προτέλεια καὶ προγάμια . . . προτελεῖσθαι δὲ ἐλέγοντο οὐ μόνον αἱ νύμφαι ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ νύμφιοι*.

The bride also prayed to the nymphs, according to Porph. *De Ant. Νυμφῆ*. 12: *ὅθεν καὶ τὰς γαμουμένας ἔθος ὡς ἂν εἰς γένεσιν συνεξευγμένας νύμφας τε καλεῖν*.

This evidence points clearly to a custom of sacrificing to the nymphs at the time of marriage which must have existed long before the time of Apollonius of Rhodes, but how widely the custom was practised we do not know.

That the cult of the nymphs was connected with marriage is further shown by the fact that from an early time it was customary for bride and bridegroom, on the day on which they were to be married, to bathe in water brought from some neighboring spring.<sup>4</sup> The bath was called the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pollux, 3, 38; Schol. Ar. *Thes.* 973; Hesych. s. v. *γάμων ἔθη*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Schömann, *Gr. Alt.* II<sup>4</sup>, 583.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Becker, *Char.* III, 363.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Hermann, *Lehrb. d. Gr. Alt.* III, 241.

νυμφικὰ λουτρά<sup>1</sup> and the person who brought the water from the spring, the λουτροφόρος.<sup>2</sup> The first passage to be cited in this connection is Harp. s. v. λουτροφόρος: ἔθος ἦν τοῖς γαμοῦσι λουτρά μεταπέμπεσθαι ἑαυτοῖς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ γάμου ἡμέραν, ἔπεμπον δ' ἐπὶ ταῦτα τὸν ἐγγύτατα γένους παῖδα ἄρρενα, καὶ οὗτοι ἐλουτροφόρον. The names of Dinarchus and Philostephanus, from whom this information is drawn, show that this custom existed before the middle of the second century B.C. Further evidence that the bridegroom bathed and proof that this custom existed as early as the time of Aeschylus we obtain from Aesch. *Prom.* 566, Ar. *Lysist.* 378 and the scholia, also from Eur. *Phoen.* 347 ff. on which the scholiast says<sup>3</sup>: εἰώθασι γὰρ οἱ νύμφιοι τὸ παλαιὸν ἀπολούεσθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ποταμοῖς καὶ περιρραίνεσθαι λαμβάνοντες ὕδωρ τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ πηγῶν, συμβολικῶς παιδοποιῶν εὐχόμενοι. It was also the custom for bride and bridegroom to sprinkle themselves with water, as we learn from the passage just quoted. That the bride also bathed is clear from E. M. s. v. Ἐννεάκρονος: κρήνη . . . ἀφ' ἧς τὰ λουτρά ταῖς γαμουμέναις μετῴσι, and from Porph. *De Ant. Nymph.* 12: ὄθεν καὶ τὰς γαμουμένας . . . λουτροῖς καταχεῖν ἐκ πηγῶν.

From the passage just quoted from Harpocration it would seem that the bridegroom and possibly the bride also each sent for the water the boy who was most closely related to each of them respectively. This, however, is the only passage where the λουτροφόρος is a boy.<sup>4</sup> A girl, on the other hand, bears this name in Pollux, 3, 43: καὶ λουτρά τις κομίζουσα λουτροφόρος. Moreover, on several vases girls are represented as carrying water, evidently for this purpose, from the well-known spring Καλλιρρόη; cf. Gerhard, *Auser. Gr. Vasenb.* IV, 307, and Brönsted, *Description of Thirty-two Ancient Greek Vases*, pl. 27. So the λουτροφόροι of those who died without having married were girls, according to Demosthenes, in *Leoch.*, pp. 1086 and 1089; Pollux, 8, 66; schol. on Hom. *Il.* 23, 141. From this evidence it seems probable that a boy may have been λουτροφόρος for the bridegroom, while a girl performed this service for the bride. At any rate, Becker

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pollux, 3, 43; Hes. s. v. νυμφικὰ λουτρά.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Pollux, 3, 43; Harp. s. v. λουτροφόρος.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also Plut. *De Daed.* Plat. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Becker, *Char.* III, 364 ff.

is right in holding, *Char.* III, 366, that there is little ground for believing that boys were never λουτροφόροι.

The water of the spring Καλλιρρόη, afterwards called Ἐννεάκρονος, was especially used for this purpose by the Athenians in the time of Thucydides, when the custom was already an ancient one, as we learn from Thuc. 2, 15: Καλλιρρόη . . . καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου πρότε γαμικῶν καὶ ἐς ἄλλα τῶν ἱερῶν νομίζεται τῷ ὕδατι χρῆσθαι, and also from Et. M. s. v. Ἐννεάκρονος; Pollux, 3, 43.

That it was customary sometimes to go to the nearest river to bathe is clear from the scholiast on Eur. *Phoen.* 347, already cited, and again from this same scholium: ἔθος ἦν τοῖς παλαιοῖς, ὅτε ἔγγημέ τις, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ποταμοῖς ἀπολούεσθαι.

The recent excavations of the cave at Vari on Mt. Hymettus have shown that here at least—and the custom must have existed elsewhere in Greece—votive miniature lutrophori were offered to the nymphs from whose spring the water for the nuptial bath was taken.<sup>1</sup> In this cave, where Pan, Apollo, the Graces, and especially the Nymphs were worshipped and in which was a spring, the fragments of some thirty such lutrophori were found, some of which belong to the fifth century. There can be no doubt that these miniatures of the vases in which water for the nuptial bath<sup>2</sup> was carried were offerings to the nymphs, who presided not only over springs but also over marriage and birth, as will be shown later, since in this cave, which contained a spring to which the λουτροφόροι evidently came for water, the nymphs were especially worshipped.<sup>3</sup> It is reasonable to suppose that these offerings were made when the water was taken from the spring.

Now, inasmuch as the nymphs, who presided over springs and rivers, were goddesses of birth, and since miniature lutrophori were offered, at least at Vari, to the nymphs of the spring from which the water for the nuptial bath was taken, it can scarcely be doubted that the special purpose of bathing at the time of marriage was to honor the nymphs<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *American Journal of Archaeology*, VIII (1903), p. 322 ff

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Miss King, *Am. Journ. Arch.*, l.c.

<sup>3</sup> Other reasons for connecting the nymphs with these offerings have been advanced by Miss King, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

<sup>4</sup> Preller, *Gr. Myth.*, p. 721, and Bloch, Rosch. *Lex.* s. v. *Nymphen*, p. 516, also connect the nymphs with this custom.

of the spring or river that they might make the marriage fruitful in the begetting of children. That this is the real explanation of the custom is well shown by Porph. *De Ant. Nymph.* 12: *Ναΐδες οὖν νύμφαι αἰ εἰς γένεσιν ἰοῦσαι ψυχαί. ὅθεν καὶ τὰς γαμουμένας ἔθος ὡς ἂν εἰς γένεσιν συνεξευγμένας νύμφας τε καλεῖν καὶ λουτροῖς καταχεῖν ἐκ πηγῶν ἢ ναμάτων ἢ κρηνῶν ἀνάων εἰλημμένοις*, and by the scholiast on Eur. *Phoen.* 347: *συμβολικῶς παιδοποιῶν εὐχόμενοι*,<sup>1</sup> where it seems almost certain that prayers to the nymphs are meant.

The nymphs seem also to have been honored in a third way at the time of marriage through the offering to them by the bride of some of her hair. In Delos, at least, in the fifth century B. C., brides offered before their marriage a lock of their hair to the Hyperborean maidens, Hyperoche and Laodice, according to Herodotus, 4, 34: *τῆσι δὲ παρθένουσι ταύτησι τῆσι ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων (Hyperoche and Laodice) τελετησάσῃσι ἐν Δήλῳ κείρονται καὶ αἱ κόραι καὶ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Δηλίων· αἱ μὲν πρὸ γάμου πλόκαμον ἀποταμύμεναι καὶ περὶ ἄτρακτον εἰλίξασαι ἐπὶ τὸ σῆμα τιθεῖσι . . . αὐταὶ μὲν δὲ ταύτην τιμὴν ἔχουσι πρὸς τῶν Δήλου οἰκητόρων*. Another reference to the same custom we find in Callim. *Carm. in Del.* 296-299:

ἢ τοι Δηλιάδες μὲν, ὅτ' εὐήχης ὑμέλαιος  
ἤθεα κοινῶν μορμύσσειται, ἤλικα χαίτην  
παρθενικαί, παῖδες δὲ θέρος τὸ πρῶτον ἰούλων  
εἶρενες ἡιθέουσιν<sup>2</sup> ἀπαρχόμεναι φορέουσιν,

and again in Paus. 1, 43, 4: *καθέστηκε δὲ ταῖς κόραις χοὰς πρὸς τὸ τῆς Ἰφινόης μνήμα προσφέρειν πρὸ γάμου καὶ ἀπάρχεσθαι τῶν τριχῶν καθὰ καὶ τῇ Ἑκαέρῃ καὶ Ὠπιδί αἱ θυγατέρες ποτὲ ἀπεκείραντο αἱ Δηλίων*, where, however, Hecaërge and Opis, who were also Hyperborean maidens (Paus. 5, 7, 7), are mentioned. The connection of these Hyperborean maidens with marriage is further shown by the fact that Eileithyia is associated with them in Paus. 1, 18, 5.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Attention, however, should be called to that which follows: *ἐπελ ζωποῖον τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ γόνιμον*. Rather amusing is the second explanation: *ἵνα κατὰ ῥοὴν αὐτοῖς τὰ πρὸς τὸν βίον χωρῆ*.

<sup>2</sup> Probably rightly emended to *ἡιθέουσιν* by Schneider, I, 325.

<sup>3</sup> See further, Schneider, Rosch. *Lex.* s. v. *Artemis*.

Now, that Hecaëрге and Opis were nymphs is shown by Nonn. *Dion.* 5, 491; 48, 332. They are, moreover, called Nereids by Verg. *Aen.* 11, 588, and Serv. *ad v.* 532; *Georg.* 4, 343; Hyg. *Fab. praef.* Herodotus also says (4, 35) that Arge and Opis, Hyperoche and Laodice had come from the Hyperboreans under the same circumstances.

It seems very probable, moreover, that it was not only in Delos that brides offered before marriage some of their hair to the nymphs, but also in other parts of Greece, since at Athens and generally in Greece, and later among the Romans, brides made this offering to the various deities connected with marriage, Hera, Juno, Artemis, Diana, and Minerva. For this custom, cf. Schömann, *Gr. Alt.* II, 220; Hermann, *Lehrb. d. Gr. Alt.* III, 242; Iahn, on Pers. *Sat.* 2, 70 (p. 138); and especially Deschamps et Cousin, *Bul. d. Cor. Hell.* XII, 479 ff. In this connection a passage ought also to be cited from Hesych. s. v. γάμων ἔθῃ: τὰ προτέλεια καὶ ἀπαρχαὶ καὶ τριχῶν ἀφαιρέσεις. Since, as has already been shown, one part of the προτέλεια was a sacrifice offered to the nymphs, and since both bride and bridegroom were accustomed to honor the nymphs just before marriage by the act of bathing, it becomes very probable that the custom of offering some of the bride's hair to them was also a general one, especially since, as will be shown later, the Greeks commonly believed that the nymphs were birth-deities.

Then, concerning the nymphs as deities of marriage a passage in Cedren. I, 610, might be noticed, where we learn that there was a house at Constantinople called a Nymphaeum: ἐν ᾧ περ οἱ γάμοι ἐγίνοντο τῶν οὐκ ἐχόντων οἴκους.

The last evidence I have to offer for this phase of the cult of the nymph is the fact that traces of this cult exist in Greece to-day. In many parts of Greece the Nereids are associated with marriage, and young girls make offerings to them that they may find husbands as soon as possible.<sup>1</sup>

The nymphs were also believed by the Greeks to preside over birth. Two nymphs should first be mentioned who were evidently worshipped as birth-deities. Leucothea seems almost certainly to have been a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. B. Schmidt, *Volksl. d. Neugr.*, p. 128, n. 1; Ross, *Erinn. u. Mith. aus Gr.*, p. 57.



goddess of birth, since the Romans, near the end of the republic, identified Leucothea and their own Mater Matuta who was a goddess of women and of birth.<sup>1</sup> Still further evidence is found in Plut. *Q. R.* 16, where the temple of Leucothea in Chaeronea is compared with that of Mater Matuta at Rome because of a similarity in ceremony. Moreover, the goddess of the Pyrgi, a people dwelling in Etruria, who is called *Εἰλείθνια* by Strabo 5, 226, is called *Λευκοθέα* by Arist. *Oecon.* 1349 b; Polyæn. 5, 2, 21; Aelian, *V. H.* 1, 20.

That Leucothea was a nymph, or rather a Nereid, we learn from the following passages: Pind. *P.* 11, 2; Eur. *Iph. T.* 270; Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 2, 51; *Ety. M.* 561, 45 (so Hesych. s. v.; Eudoc. 276); Hyg. *Fab. praef.* She is called a nymph by Ovid, *Met.* 4, 244.

The nymph Opis also, to whom we have already referred (p. 101), seems to have been honored as a goddess of birth, at least in Delos. Artemis, who was often called Opis,<sup>2</sup> received this epithet possibly because of the belief that she gave aid at the time of birth; cf. Schol. Callim. *Carm. in Art.* 204: *Ὀὔπις ἐπίθετον Ἀρτέμιδος· ἢ παρὰ τὸ ὀπίσσειν τὰς τεκτούσας αὐτήν.* From this epithet of Artemis arose in all probability the name of the nymph Opis.<sup>3</sup> Therefore since, as has been shown, brides in Delos offered on the occasion of their marriage some of their hair to Opis, and since among the Romans she was honored as a goddess of birth (cf. p. 109), it is very probable that among the Greeks, in Delos at least, Opis was believed to preside over birth.

Further, the *Κωλιάδες* nymphs, who dwelt on Colias, a promontory in Attica, and who are mentioned by Aristaen. *Ep.* 1, 3, may well have been considered by the Greeks deities of birth, since *Κωλιάς*, the goddess of this promontory, was certainly a goddess of marriage and birth (cf. Roscher, Rosch. *Lex.* s. v. *Kolias*), and since the *Κωλιάδες* and *Γενευαλλίδες*, who also were goddesses of birth (cf. Roscher, *l. c.*), are said to be the same deities by Alc. 3, 11, and by Lucian, *Am.* 42.

Not only individual nymphs, however, were associated with birth among the Greeks, but the nymphs in general were honored in this way.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wissowa, *Rel. u. Kult. d. Röm.*, p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Schreiber, Rosch. *Lex.* s. v. *Artemis*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Schömann, *Op.* II, p. 239, n. 50.

Eileithyia herself, the goddess of birth, is found as a Nereid on a vase given by Kretschmer, *Gr. Vaseninsch.*, p. 202, where she is called Ἰλίθια (cf. Kretschmer, p. 156 ff.). In several passages the nymphs are clearly spoken of as deities of birth. Artemidorus, for example, who lived in the second century, in speaking of the functions of various deities, says, 38: ποταμοὶ δὲ καὶ Λίμναι καὶ Νύμφαι ἀγαθοὶ πρὸς παίδων γοιήν. So Porphyrius, *De Ant. Nymph.* 12, in a passage already quoted, p. 101. Cf. also 17: λαμβανομένου τοίνυν καὶ ἐπὶ καθαρμοῦ τοῦ μέλιτος καὶ ἐπὶ φυσικῆς σηπεδόνος καὶ ἐπὶ ἡδονῆς εἰς γένεσιν καταγωγῆς, οἰκείον σύμβολον καὶ νύμφαις Ὑδριάσι παρατίθεται εἰς τὸ ἀσηπτον τῶν ὑδάτων, ὧν ἐπιστατοῦσι καὶ τὴν κάθαρσιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν εἰς γένεσιν συνεργίαν, and 19: φέροιν <ἄν> οὖν τὰ κηρία καὶ αἱ μέλισσαι οἰκία σύμβολα καὶ κοινὰ Ὑδριάδων νυμφῶν καὶ ψυχῶν εἰς γένεσιν νυμφεομένων. Still further evidence is found in the scholiast on Eur. *Phoen.* 347 who says in regard to bridegrooms bathing before marriage: συμβολικῶς παιδοποιίαν εὐχόμενοι.

I come now to an important passage in Euripides, *El.* 623 ff., which shows conclusively that the nymphs were worshipped in the fifth century as deities of birth and were believed, moreover, to have under their protection young children. Orestes, informed that Aegisthus has set out from the city and is not far away, asks the old man who has given him the information, v. 624:

- OP. τί δρῶνθ'; ὄρῳ γὰρ ἐλπιδ' ἐξ ἀμηχάνων.  
 ΠΡ. Νύμφαις ἐπόρσον' ἔροτιν, ὡς ἔδοξέ μοι.  
 OP. τροφεία παίδων ἢ πρὸ μέλλοντος τόκου;  
 ΠΡ. οὐκ οἶδα πλὴν ἔν· βουσφαγεῖν ὠπλίζετο.

The poet here shows that it was customary to have a banquet, and, without doubt, also to offer sacrifice to the nymphs for two purposes, as we may infer from the expressions τροφεία παίδων and πρὸ μέλλοντος τόκου. That not only the husband but also the wife honored the nymphs in this way may be inferred from the expression of surprise on the part of Orestes that Clytemnestra has not accompanied her husband, — cf. v. 640-642:

- OP. ἢ τεκοῦσα δ' ἐστὶ ποῦ;  
 ΠΡ. Ἄργει· παρέσται δ' οὐδ' πόσει θοίνην ἔπι.  
 OP. τί δ' οὐχ ἄμ' ἐξωρμᾶτ' ἐμὴ μήτηρ πόσει;

The expression *πρὸ μέλλοντος τόκου* clearly shows that the nymphs were believed to preside over birth, and that parents offered sacrifice to them in behalf of children just before birth. The *τροφεία*, on the other hand, seems to have been a sacrifice made to the nymphs in return for their having safely brought up children to a certain age after birth. It was an expression of thanks for the care exercised by the nymphs over the child during the time since birth. The usage of the word *τροφεία* elsewhere shows that the reference is to care that has been given, not to that which is to be given; cf. Aesch. *Sept.* 472; Isoc. *Arch.*, p. 138; Plat. *Rep.* 520 B; [Lys.] *Andoc.* 49, etc.

Parents also sacrificed to the nymphs in behalf of young children. Concerning this fact we have the evidence of three writers in their accounts of the life of Plato. First, Aelian, *Var. Hist.* 10, 21, has the following: *ὅτι τὸν Πλάτωνα ἡ Περικτιόνη ἔφερεν ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις· θύοντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος ἐν Ὑμηττῷ ταῖς Μούσαις ἢ ταῖς Νύμφαις, οἱ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἱερουργίαν ἦσαν, ἡ δὲ κατέκλινε Πλάτωνα*, then Olympiodorus in his *Vit. Plat.*, p. 1: *καὶ γεννηθέντα τὸν Πλάτωνα λαβόντες οἱ γονεῖς, βρέφος ὄντα, τεθείκασιν ἐν τῷ Ὑμηττῷ βουλόμενοι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐκεῖ θεοῖς, Πανὶ καὶ Νύμφαις καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι Νομίῳ, θῦσαι*, and finally an Anon. *Vit. Plat.*: *ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ μετὰ τὸν τόκον λαβοῦσα αὐτὸν ἀνήγαγεν ἐν τῷ Ὑμηττῷ ὅρει θῦσαι βουλομένη Ἀπόλλωνί τε Νομίῳ καὶ Νύμφαις*. According to this account, therefore, the parents of Plato sacrificed to the nymphs on Mt. Hymettus<sup>1</sup> for him when an infant. Since the story seems to have been a common one, it shows at least that the nymphs were believed to watch over young children and were worshipped in this connection.

Longus perhaps affords further evidence of such a cult in his *Past.* 1, 6: *εὐχεται δὲ ταῖς Νύμφαις ἐπὶ τύχῃ χρηστῇ θρέψαι τὴν ἰκέτην* (a boy) *αὐτῶν*, and again, 1, 8: *θύσαντες τῷ τὰ πτερὰ ἔχοντι παιδίῳ παρὰ ταῖς Νύμφαις*. In these two passages, however, it must be taken into consideration that a shepherd is praying for a young boy who was found in a cave of the nymphs and that the nymphs especially were worshipped by shepherds.

<sup>1</sup> The recently excavated cave at Vari on this mountain, in which Pan, Apollo, the Graces, and the Nymphs were worshipped, was possibly the scene of this sacrifice, if it ever occurred; cf. *Am. Journ. Arch.*, VIII (1903), p. 287.

Finally, for the nymphs as deities of birth, cf. Callim. *Carm. in Del.* 255-257 :

αἱ δ' ἐπὶ μακρὸν  
 Νύμφαι Δηλιάδες, ποταμοῦ γένος ἀρχαίωιο,  
 εἶπαν Ἐλευθύνης ἱερὸν μέλος,

and Paus. 8, 41, 2 : ὡς γὰρ δὴ τεκοῦσαν τὸν Δία ἐκάθηραν ἐπὶ ταῖς ᾠδῶσιν αἱ Νύμφαι.

This evidence shows conclusively that from at least the fifth century the nymphs were actually worshipped as deities of marriage and birth and were believed to care for children. To them bride and bridegroom offered sacrifice before marriage; on the marriage day both honored the nymphs by the act of bathing that they might bless their union with children; in Delos, and probably in other parts of Greece as well, brides offered some of their hair to them before their marriage. Leucothea and probably, in Delos, Opis were considered birth-deities. Finally, the nymphs in general were believed to have the power of giving fruitfulness in marriage and of making less the pain of birth, and were so worshipped by the Greeks.

#### THE NYMPHS AS DEITIES OF MARRIAGE AND BIRTH AMONG THE ROMANS

Among the Romans also the nymphs were from an early time<sup>1</sup> regarded as goddesses of birth. That their cult, however, was associated with marriage, while very probable, can be shown by no direct and certain evidence. In the only important passage which I am able to cite in this connection it is not entirely certain that the reference is to nymphs, — Paul. Diac. *Ep. Fest.*, p. 63 : *Camelis virginibus supplicare nupturae solitae erant*, concerning which, however, Preller, *Röm. Myth.* II, p. 214, is right, I think, in saying : *Vermutlich eine Gruppe von Nymphen*. As to their relation to marriage, another passage might also be noticed, — Dracont. *Carm. Prof.* 7, 31-35 :

Et quatiant dulces Muse pectine chordas,  
 Et vocis textura sonet nervique loquaces,  
 Bybliadas Satyris iungant Nymphisque Hymenaeos.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. concerning the other deities among the Romans who presided over birth, Wissowa-Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverw.* III, p. 11.

Passing now to the consideration of the nymphs as deities of birth, we must first of all speak of Carmentis (Carmenta). That she was a nymph is shown by Verg. *Aen.* 8, 336 and Serv. *ad loc.*; Sext. Aur. *Or.* 5, 1; Dion. H. 1, 31; Strabo 5, 230; Isid. 1, 4, 1. Roman matrons honored her as a goddess of birth and of women in two festivals, one on the eleventh, the other on the fifteenth of January.<sup>1</sup> Further evidence that she was a deity of birth is found in Varro, *De L. L.* 7, 84; Ov. *Fast.* 1, 617-630; Gell. 16, 16, 4; Aug. *De Civ. Dei*, 4, 11; Plut. *Rom.* 21; *Q. R.* 56. It was also probably because she was a deity of birth that she was called Nona Decima from the two months in which especially births took place.<sup>2</sup>

Carmentis, moreover, was not worshipped in these two festivals only, for she had a temple at Rome standing near the porta Carmentalis.<sup>3</sup> Plut. *Rom.* 21, gives further evidence which tends to show that she was commonly worshipped by women: τὴν δὲ Καρμένταν οἴονται τινες μοῖραν εἶναι κυρίαν ἀνθρώπων γενέσεως· διὸ καὶ τιμῶσιν αὐτὴν αἱ μήτρες. Compare also *Q. R.* 56.

The antiquity of the festival shows that this cult goes back to an early period. From the *Fasti Praenestini* for the fifteenth of January, the day on which the second festival was celebrated (*C. I. L.* I, p. 312), it appears that this second festival was probably established near the middle of the fifth century B.C. (cf. *C. I. L.* I, p. 384). Since, moreover, the temple of Carmentis had a *flamen*<sup>4</sup> her cult must have been an ancient one. Plutarch then shows that the worship of this nymph by women still existed in his time.

The nymph Egeria was also a deity of birth, and women when pregnant offered sacrifice to her; cf. Paul. Diac. *Ep. Fest.*, p. 77: *Egeriae nymphae sacrificabant praegnantes, quod eam putabant facile conceptam album egerere.* This nymph is also connected by Strabo, 5, 239,<sup>5</sup> with the cult of Diana Nemorensis, who was a goddess of birth. If the passage of Paulus Diaconus goes back to Flaccus himself we have

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Fowler, *Rom. Fest.*, p. 290 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wissowa, *Rel. u. Kult. d. Röm.*, p. 180 and p. 213, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Sol. 1, 13; Serv. Verg. *Aen.* 8, 336 and 337; Gell. 18, 7, 2; Plut. *Q. R.* 56; Dion. Hal. 1, 31, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Cic. *Brut.* 14, 56; *C. I. L.* 6, 3720; *Eph. Ep.* 4, 759.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Wissowa, Rosch. *Lex. s. v. Egeria.*

evidence here that in the first century B.C. Egeria was worshipped as a birth-deity.

It seems very probable that the Camenae were deities of birth as well as muses, because of their close connection with Egeria<sup>1</sup> and Carmentis,<sup>2</sup> as has been conjectured by Wissowa, *Rel. u. Kult. d. Röm.*, p. 180. The question now arises as to whether the Camenae were nymphs. Wissowa, Rosch. *Lex. s. v. Camenae*, holds that they were regarded as nymphs at an early time, because of the fact that their cult was connected with springs. Since little further evidence has been advanced by anyone to show that the Camenae were nymphs, I have endeavored to find what other grounds, if any, there are for believing that they were so regarded. There are, I think, several facts of importance, in addition to the one mentioned by Wissowa, which go to show that they were at an early time regarded as nymphs and were, to some extent at least, thought of in this way down to a late period. In the first place, the Camenae are called nymphs by Varro in Serv. Verg. *Ecl.* 7, 21; Acr. Hor. *Carm.* 2, 19, 3; compare also Aug. *De Mus.* 3; Tertul. *Adv. Marc.* 1, 13.<sup>3</sup> Egeria and Carmentis, who as prophetesses were closely connected with the Camenae, were nymphs. Further, we find in Ovid, *Met.* 14, 434, a nymph Camena who must surely be connected with the Camenae. Moreover, of the Greek muses who were identified by the Romans with the Camenae, Clio is called a Nereid by Hyg. *Fab. pr.*; Oceanis by Verg. *Georg.* 4, 341; Thalia is a nymph according to Verg. *Georg.* 4, 338; *Aen.* 5, 826; Macr. 5, 19, 18; Clement. *Homil.* 5, 13, and a Nereid according to Hyg. *Fab. pr.* It seems also very probable that the Camenae were at some time at least regarded as nymphs, since the nymphs themselves were invoked as muses. Such is the case in the following passages: Verg. *Ecl.* 7, 21; 10, 1; 10, 10; *Cul.* 18-19; Ov. *Fast.* 1, 465-468; Calp. 9, 20-24;

<sup>1</sup> Egeria as a prophetess is associated with the Camenae in Ov. *Fast.* 3, 275; *Met.* 15, 482; Liv. 1, 21, 3; Mart. *Ep.* 6, 47; Sulpic. *Sat.* 67 ff.; and she is called a muse by Dion. Hal. 2, 60.

<sup>2</sup> Concerning Carmentis as a prophetess, cf. Verg. *Aen.* 8, 336; Ov. *Fast.* 1, 585; 635-636; 467; Mart. Cap. 2, 159, etc. She also is invoked as a muse by Ovid, *Fast.* 1, 465-468.

<sup>3</sup> The four daughters of the nymph Neda are muses according to a passage of doubtful reading, Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* 3, 21 (Creutzer).

Stat. *Silv.* 2, 3, 6-7; 1, 5, 1-30; cf. also Hor. *Carm.* 1, 1, 31; Dracont. *Carm.* Pr. 2, 1-2; Claud. 48, 1-8. Finally, the fact that among the Greeks also the muses were called nymphs supports the view that the Camenae were so regarded by the Romans. For the passages where the muses are called nymphs, cf. Bloch, Rosch. *Lex.* s. v. *Nymphen*, p. 518-519, to which should be added: Hesych. s. v. *Νύμφαι* and Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* 5, 9, p. 416 (Gsf.).<sup>1</sup> Further, of the ten muses, Thalia is a Nereid in Hom. *Il.* 18, 39; Erato is a nymph in Paus. 8, 4, 2; 8, 37, 11; a Nereid in Hesych. *Th.* 247; Pseudo-Apollod. 1, 2, 7; Urania is a nymph in Hom. *Carm. in Cer.* 424; an Oceanid in Hesych. *Th.* 350.

Since, therefore, it seems very probable that at least at an early time the Camenae were regarded as nymphs, and since the nymphs Egeria and Carmentis, who were so closely related to the Camenae, were birth-deities, the Camenae also without much doubt were originally nymphs who presided over birth, in addition to possessing the power of prophecy. There is no direct evidence, however, that they were so regarded in the classical period.

Opis, whom we have already shown to be a nymph (p. 103), was believed by the Romans, as well as by the Greeks, to be a birth-deity, according to Aug. *Civ. Dei*, 4, 11: *Opis, quae opem ferat nascentibus, excipiendo eos sinu terrae.*

Finally, as to this cult of the nymphs, a passage in Pliny should be cited, *N. H.* 31, 8: *In eadem Campaniae regione Sinuessanae aquae sterilitatem feminarum et virorum insaniam abolere produntur.* That the *Nymphae Sinuessanae* were commonly known is shown by Mart. *Ep.* 11, 82, 5-6. It is therefore probable that women believed that they also had the power of averting barrenness, yet it should be remembered that springs and rivers were held to possess this power; cf. Plin. *N. H.* 31, 10.

This completes the evidence I have been able to gather concerning the nymphs as deities of marriage and birth among the Romans. The only passage which would directly connect their worship with marriage is that concerning the Camelae maidens, but whether or not they were nymphs is uncertain. It is certain, however, that the nymphs presided

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Meinek. *Jhb.* LXXXIX, 56.

over birth. Carmentis was so worshipped from probably the fourth century and certainly through the later period of the Republic down at least to the time of Plutarch. Egeria was honored as a deity of birth, and possibly in the last century of the Republic, as is shown by the passage from Paulus. That the Camenae also presided over birth, at least in an early period, has been shown to be probable. From St. Augustine, finally, who must have been well acquainted with the former cults of Roman deities, we may conclude that Opis was a birth-deity.

The fact that among both the Greeks and Romans the nymphs were deities of birth is undoubtedly to be explained on the ground that the nymphs were preëminently water-deities connected with every source of water, and water gives fertility and life itself to everything which grows. They were, therefore, naturally believed to give fertility not only to everything growing from the ground but also to man.

#### THE NAMES OF THE NYMPHS

I shall now give a list of the names of all the nymphs and general classes of nymphs, citing at least one passage where each is so called. After those names which are almost certainly the names of nymphs, although no place can be found where they are so called, I have placed an interrogation mark. In the case, however, of the daughters of the river-god Asopus I have not done so, since they are shown to be nymphs by Eur. *Her. F.* 785, where the Ἄσσωπιάδες κόραι are called nymphs. Moreover, of his daughters, Οἰνώγη is a nymph according to Ov. *Her.* 5, 10; Luc. 9, 973, and Προνόγη is a Nereid according to Hesych. *Th.* 261. I have not given the names of springs where there is no reference to nymphs of these springs, although every spring probably had its nymph or nymphs who regularly had the same name as that of the spring.

The names of the Nereids have already been collected by Weizsäcker, Rosch. *Lex.* s. v. *Nereïden*. To his list of ninety-eight names, of which he finds seventy-seven in Homer, Hesiod, Pseudo-Apollodorus, and Hyginus, fourteen in Vergil, and seven on vases, I have added eighteen others.

The names of the Oceanids have also been given by Weizsäcker, Rosch. *Lex.* s. v. *Okeaniden*.



After deducting the repetitions in the names of the same nymphs or classes of nymphs, I have found the names of three hundred and forty-two nymphs and classes of nymphs among the Greeks, one hundred and ninety-seven among the Romans. Of the names of the Greek nymphs, sixty-four are found also among the Romans. As to these figures, it should of course be remembered that there must have been many nymphs who are not mentioned in any work that has come down to us from ancient times, and that still others are named without being called nymphs.

## THE NAMES OF THE NYMPHS

\*Αβα, E. M. 369, 54. 'Αβαρβαρέη, Hom. *Il.* 6, 22. 'Αγανίπη? Paus. 9, 29, 5. Aganippe? Serv. Verg. *Ecl.* 10, 12. 'Αγνώ, Paus. 8, 38, 3. 'Αγριάδες, Hesych. s. v. 'Αγρωστίναι, Hesych. s. v. Agylle, Sil. 5, 19. 'Αγχιάλη, E. M. s. v. 'Ιδαίοι. Anchiale? Varr. *At. Argon.* 1, 4. 'Αγχιρρόη ('Αγχιρόη)? Ps. Apollod. 2, 1, 4. 'Αδράστεια, Ps. Apollod. 1, 1, 6. Adrasteia, Hyg. *Fab.* 182. 'Αδρνάδες, Nonn. *Dion.* 2, 92. Adryades, Prop. 1, 20, 12. Aega, cf. Amaltheia. Αἴγειρος, Ath. 3, 78 B. Αἴγινα? Ps. Apollod. 3, 12, 6. Αἴγλη? Paus. 9, 35, 5. Aegle, Verg. *Ecl.* 6, 20. Αἰσύλη, Schol. Hom. *Il.* 18, 486. Αἴτην? Steph. Byz. s. v. Παλική. Aetna? Serv. Verg. *Aen.* 9, 581. 'Ακακαλλίς, Paus. 10, 16, 5. 'Ακμηναί, Paus. 5, 15, 6. Albula, Stat. *Silv.* 1, 3, 75 (Aequae Albulae Lympha, *C. I. L.* 14, 3911). Albunea? Serv. Verg. *Aen.* 7, 83. 'Αλκινόη, Paus. 8, 47, 3. Alcioppe, Myth. *Fab.* 2, 180. 'Αλσηίδες, Schol. Hom. *Il.* 20, 8. 'Αλφεισίβουα, Ps. Plut. *De Fluv.* 24. 'Αμαδρυνάδες, Schol. Hom. *Il.* 20, 8. Hamadryades, Serv. Verg. *Ecl.* 10, 62. 'Αμάθεια? Schol. Hom. *Il.* 21, 194. Amalthea, Hyg. *Fab.* 182 (Aega, Hyg. *Ast.* 2, 13). 'Αμαμήλιδες, Eustath. Hom. *Od.* 1, 14. 'Αμβροσία, Schol. Hom. *Il.* 18, 486. Ambrosia, Hyg. *Ast.* 2, 21. Ameu(cni?) Nymphis fontis, *C. I. L.* 2, 5084. 'Αμνισιάδες, Steph. Byz. s. v. 'Αμνισός. 'Αμνισίδες, Callim. *Car. in Dian.* 15. 'Αμπελος, Ath. 3, 78 B. Amyclaeae, Stat. *Th.* 10, 505. 'Αμνμώνη? Paus. 2, 37, 1. Amymone? Ov. *Met.* 2, 240. 'Αναξιβία, Ps. Plut. *De Fluv.* 4, 3. 'Ανθρακία, Paus. 8, 31, 4. 'Ανιγριάδες, Anth. Pal. 6, 189. 'Ανιγρίδες, Paus. 5, 5, 11. Anienicolae, Sil. 12, 751. Anna Perenna, Ov. *Fast.* 3, 653. 'Αντιόπη, Hom. *Od.* 11, 260. 'Αντριάδες, Phryn. in Bek. *An. Gr.* 1, 17, 5. 'Αξιόχη, Schol. P. *Ol.* 1, 144. 'Αονίαι, Nonn. *Dion.*

44, 144. Appiades? Ov. *Ar. Am.* 3, 452; cf. Plin. *N. H.* 36, 33. Appias? Ov. *Ar. Am.* 1, 82. Ἀργεΐα, Steph. Byz. s. v. Ὑλλεΐς. Ἄργγη, Ps. Plut. *De Fluv.* 16, 3. Ἀργιόπη, Paus. 4, 33, 3. Ἀργυρᾶ, Paus. 7, 23, 1. Ἀρέθουσα, Schol. Hes. *Op.* 144. Arethusa, Serv. Verg. *Ecl.* 10, 4; *Cor. Gl. L.* 4, 406, 16. Ἄρρη? Paus. 8, 8, 2. Ἀρπίννα, Diod. 4, 73. Arsinoe, Hyg. *Fab.* 182. Ἀσία, Eust. ad Dion. Per. 270. Asia, Varr. *L. L.* 5, 31. Ἄσκρα? Paus. 9, 29 1. Ἀσωπιᾶδες, Eur. *Herc. F.* 788. Ἀστακίδες, Nonn. *Dion.* 15, 170. Ἀστεροδεία, Ap. Rh. 3, 242. Ἄσωπις, Diod. 4, 72. Ἀτλαντεΐη, Ps. Apollod. 2, 1, 5. Atlantis, Ov. *Fast.* 3, 659. Αὐγή? *Annal. Arch.* XX, 332. Avernales, Ov. *Met.* 5, 540. Αὐλιάδες, *Anth. Plan.* 291. Αὐλωνιάδες, Orph. 51, 7. Ausoniae, Ov. *Met.* 14, 786. Ἀφναΐς, Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἄφνειον. Achaeae, Val. Flac. 3, 542. Ἀχελήτιδες, Schol. Hom. *Il.* 24, 616. Acheloides? Col. 10, 263. Ἀχελοΐς? Herodian. 1, 85 (*Lenz*). Ache-lois? Verg. *Cop.* 15. Ἄωρα, Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἄωρος.

Βακχίδες; Soph. *Ant.* 1129. Βάλανος, Ath. 3, 78 B. Βάλτη, Plut. *Sol.* 12. Βάσση, *Anth. Gr.* 9, 678. Βάτεια, Ps. Apollod. 3, 10, 4. Begoe, Serv. Verg. *Aen.* 6, 72. Βιθυνίς, Ap. Rh. 2, 4. Βιστόνναι, Mosch. *Id.* 3, 18. Βοιβίας, Schol. Pind. *P.* 3, 59. Βουρδαπηναί, *Bul. d. Cor. Hel.* XXI, 135. Βρεττία, Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἀβρεττήνη. Brigantia, *C. I. L.* 7, 875. Βριθώ, Tzetz. Hes. *Op.* 144. Βρίσαι, E. M. s. v. Βριτόμαρτις, Schol. Arist. *Ran.* 1356. Britomartis, Claud. 24, 251. Brome (Bromie), Hyg. *Fab.* 182; Serv. Verg. *Ecl.* 6, 15. Βρόμναι, Bergk. *L. Gr.* III, 644, *Skol.* 5. Βυβλίς, Nic. in Anton. Lib. 30. Byblis? Ov. *Met.* 9, 450. Βυζήη, Hesych. Mil. *Fr.* 4, 9 (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* IV, 148).

Galatea, Serv. Verg. *Ecl.* 7, 37. Γαλήνη, Reinach, *Rep. d. Vases Peints*, I, p. 150. Garamantis, Verg. *Aen.* 4, 198. Gargarii, aquarum fontiumque Nymphae, *Rugg.* I, 587. Geminae, *C. I. L.* 9, 5744. Γεραιστιᾶδες, E. M. s. v. Γλαύκη, Paus. 8, 47, 3. Γλυφῆναι, E. M. s. v. Γλύφιον. Griselicae, *C. I. L.* 12, 361.

Δαναΐδες, Schol. Callim. 5, 47. Δαναΐς, Tzetz. *Lyc.* 77. Δαυλίς, Paus. 10, 4, 7. Δάφνη? Paus. 10, 7, 8. Daphne? Hyg. *Fab.* 203. Δάφνις, Paus. 10, 5, 5. Deiopea, Verg. *Georg.* 4, 343. Δηλιάδες, Callim. *Carm. in Del.* 256. Dictaeae, Verg. *Ecl.* 6, 56. Dicte, Serv. Verg. *Aen.* 3, 171. Δίκτυννα, Callim. *Carm. in Dian.* 198. Διοπάτρα, Anton. Lib. 22. Δίρκη? Eur. *Phoen.* 827. Dirce? Ov. *Met.* 2, 239.

Dircetis, Stat. *Th.* 7, 297. Διώνη, Schol. Hom. *Il.* 18, 486. Dione, Hyg. *Ast.* 2, 21. Diuturna, cf. Iuturna. Domitianae, Orell. 5768. Δροσερά, Nonn. *Dion.* 544. Δρυάδες, Anth. Pal. 6, 176. Dryades, Lact. Stat. *Th.* 4, 254. Δρυμίδες, Callim. *Fr.* 354. Dryope, Verg. *Aen.* 10, 551. Δωδώνη, Steph. Byz. s. v. Δωδωνίδες, Schol. Hom. *Il.* 18, 486. Dodonides, Hyg. *Ast.* 2, 21.

Egeria, Verg. *Aen.* 7, 775. Ἡγητορία, Diod. 5, 57. Ἐκαέργη, Nonn. *Dion.* 5, 491; 48, 332. Hecaeerge, Claud. 24, 253. Elaune, dea Nympha, *Jahrb. d. Alt. im Rh.* XVIII, 239. Ἐλειαι, Long. *Past.* 3, 23. Ἐλειονόμοι, Schol. Hom. *Il.* 20, 8. Ἐλευθερά, Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἐλευθεραί. Ἐλίκη, Schol. Hes. *Op.* 144. Helice, Hyg. *Ast.* 2, 13. Helicon Nymphae colentes, Ov. *Met.* 5, 663. Heliconia Nais, Claud. *Carm. Min.* 38, 1. Ἐλικωνίδες, Soph. *O. R.* 1108. Heliconis, Stat. *Th.* 7, 756. Ἐλιχρύση, Ath. 15, 681 A. Ἐνδηίδες, Hesych. s. v. Hennaee, Stat. *Ach.* 2, 151. Ἐννησιάδες, Hesych. s. v. Ἐπίγειοι, Schol. Ap. Rh. 4, 1412. Ἐπιμηλίδες, Schol. Hom. *Il.* 20, 8. Ἐπιποταμίδες, Schol. Hom. *Il.* 20, 8. Ἐρανώ, *C. I. G.* 6854 E. Ἐράτω, Paus. 8, 4, 2. Erato, Hyg. *Fab.* 182. Ἐρεύα? Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἐρευάτης. Eriphia, Hyg. *Fab.* 182. Ἐρκύνα, Paus. 9, 39, 2. Erymanthiades, Stat. *Th.* 4, 329. Ἐρυσίχη, Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἐρωσιάδες, Anth. Pal. 9, 627. Hesperiae, Ov. *Met.* 2, 325. Evadne? Ov. *Am.* 3, 6, 41. Εὐαγόρα, Schol. Eur. *Hec.* 3. Εὐβοια, Nonn. *Dion.* 42, 411. Εὐδώρα, Schol. Hom. *Il.* 18, 486. Eudora, Hyg. *Ast.* 2, 21. Εὐθόη, Pher. in Schol. Hom. *Il.* 16, 718. Εὐνείκα, Th. *Id.* 13, 45. Εὐνόστη, Plut. *Mor.* 300 D. Εὐρυνόμη, Ps. Apollod. 3, 12, 6. Εὐρύτη, Ps. Apollod. 3, 14, 2. Εὐρώπα, *C. I. G.* 5984 A. Ἐφνδριάδες, Parth. *Er.* 14, 22. Ephyre, Hyg. *Fab.* 275. Ἐχεδωρίδες, Hesych. s. v. Ἐχέμα, E. M. 507, 56. Echemea, Hyg. *Ast.* 2, 16. Ἐχεναίς, Tim. in Parth. *Erot.* 29, 6. Ζεφυρίδες, Hesych. s. v. Ναΐδες. Ἠχώ? Long. 3, 23. Echo, Ov. *Met.* 3, 357.

Θαλάσσιαι, Schol. Ap. Rh. 4, 1412. Θάλια, Reinach, *Rep. d. V. P.* II, 285. Thalia, Macr. 5, 19, 18. Θεισία, Paus. 8, 38, 3. Θέλπουσα, Paus. 8, 25, 2. Θεσπια, Diod. 4, 72. Θεσσαλίδες, Callim. *Carm. in Del.* 109. Θήβη, Diod. 4, 72. Thebe, Ov. *Am.* 3, 6, 33. Θίσβη, Eustath. Hom. *Il.* 2, 502. Θούριδες, Hesych. s. v. Θώσα, Hom. *Od.* 1, 71. Θρwaί, Zenob. *Ant.* 5, 75. Thyene, Hyg. *Fab.* 182. Θυνιάς, Ap. Rh. 2, 485. Thyniades, Prop. 1, 20, 34.

Ἰάνθη, Furtw. *Vas.* 4220. Iardanis, Ov. *Her.* 9, 103. Ἰασις, Paus. 6, 22, 7. Ἰατροί, Hesych. s. v. Hiberæ, Sil. 1, 156. Ἰδαία, Ps. Apollod. 3, 12, 1. Ἰδαίοι, E. M. s. v. Ida, Serv. Verg. *Aen.* 3, 108. Ἰδῆ, Paus. 8, 47, 3. Idomena, Nicoc. in Cen. *Fr.* 10. Ἰεράπολις, C. I. G. 3909. Ἰθώμη, Paus. 4, 33, 1. Ἰμαλία, Diod. 5, 55. Ἰμέρα, Gardner, *Types of Gr. Coins*, Pl. 6, 2. Ἰππη, Orph. 47, 4. Ἰσμῆνη, Ps. Apollod. 2, 1, 3. Ἰσμηνίδες, Paus. 1, 31, 4. Ismenis, Stat. *Th.* 9, 319. Ἰσοσα? Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἰστώνη? C. I. G. 1875. Italides, Sil. 7, 428. Iturna, Verg. *Aen.* 12, 142 (Diuturna, C. I. L. 6, 3700). Ἰωνιάδες, Strabo, 8, 356. Ἰωνίδες, Paus. 6, 22, 7.

Καβειρίδες, Strabo, 10, 472. Καλαυνώ, Schol. Hes. *Op.* 144. Καλαυρία (Καλαύρεια), Ps. Plut. *De Fluv.* 4, 1. Καλή, Furtw. *Vas.* 2471. Καλιάδνη, Ps. Apollod. 2, 1, 5. Καλλιρρόη, Nonn. *Dion.* 40, 364. Calliroe, Schol. Pers. 1, 134. Καλλιστέφανοι, Paus. 5, 15, 1. Καλλιστῶ, Hesych. in Ps. Apollod. 3, 8, 2, 2. Καλλιφάεια, Paus. 6, 22, 7. Καλλιχόρα, C. I. G. 7591. Καλύβη, Ps. Apollod. 3, 12, 3. Καλυψώ, Hom. *Od.* 1, 14. Calypso? Ov. *Ex P.* 4, 10, 13. Καμαρίνα, Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 5, 1. Camena, Ov. *Met.* 14, 434. Camenæ, Varro, in Serv. Verg. *Ecl.* 7, 21. Canens, Ov. *Met.* 14, 433. Caparensis, C. I. L. 2, 883. Caparensium, Nymphae, *Bol. d. l. Real. Acad. d. l. Hist.* XXV, 148. Carmentis, Verg. *Aen.* 8, 336 (Maenalis, Ov. *Fast.* 1, 634). Κάρνα, Ath. 3, 78 B. Casinae, Sil. 12, 527. Κασσωρίς, Paus. 10, 24, 5. Κασταλία, Panyasis in Paus. 10, 8, 9. Κασταλίδες, Theoc. *Id.* 7, 148. Caucaseae, Val. Flac. 5, 381. Κελαινώ? Lenormant et de Witte, *Élite d. Mon. Cér.* II, pl. 64. Κέρκυρα, Ap. Rh. 4, 568. Κιθαιρωνίδες, Paus. 9, 3, 9. Κίρρα? Paus. 10, 37, 4. Cisseis, Hyg. *Fab.* 182. Κλαία? Paus. 3, 26, 8. Κλείδη, Diod. 5, 52. Κλεοδώρα, Paus. 10, 6, 1. Κλεοχάρεια, Ps. Apollod. 3, 10, 3. Κλεώνη, Diod. 4, 72. Κλονία, Ps. Apollod. 3, 10, 1. Κλυμένη, C. I. G. 8362 B. Κνωσσία, Ps. Apollod. 3, 11, 1. Κόμβη, Steph. Byz. s. v. Χαλκίς. Commotiae, Varr. *De L. L.* 5, 71. Κορωνίς, Hes. *Fr.* 181. Coronis, Ov. *Fast.* 1, 291. Coventina, Conventina, Covetina, Covontina, *Eph. Ep.* 3, 189 ff. Κράνεια, Ath. 3, 78 B. Κρηναία, Brunn, *Gesch. d. Gr. Künst.* II, 451. Κρηναίδες, Aesch. *Xan. Fr.* 168. Κρηνίδες, Schol. Hom. *Il.* 20, 8. Κρήτη, Reinach, *Rep. d. V. P.* I, 361. Cretides, Ov. *Fast.* 3, 443. Κριθής, Suid. s. v. Ὀμηρος. Κρίμισα, Steph. Byz. s. v. Crocale, Ov. *Met.* 3, 169. Κρονιτίδες, Orph. 51, 9. Cryseros

Nympiae, *C. I. L.* 11, 2691. Κρόμνη, Schol. Hes. *Op.* 144. Κυάνη, Nonn. *Dion.* 6, 128. Cyane, Ov. *Met.* 5, 412. Cyaneae, Prud. *Contr. Symm.* 1, 302. Cydippe, Verg. *Georg.* 4, 339. Κυκαίς, *C. I. G.* 6854 E. Κυλλήνη? Schol. Pind. *O.* 6, 144. Cyllene, Paul. Diac. s. v. *Cyllenius*. Κυματολήγη, *C. I. G.* 8354. Cymodocea, Verg. *Aen.* 10, 225. Κυμώ, *C. I. G.* 8353. Κυνόσουρα, Schol. Hom. *Od.* 5, 272. Cynosura, Hyg. *Ast.* 2, 2. Κυρήνη? Pind. *P.* 9, 79. Cyrene, Verg. *Georg.* 4, 321. Cyrotrophae, Serv. Verg. *Ecl.* 10, 62. Κωλιάδες, Aristaen. *Ep.* 1, 3. Κωρκία, Paus. 10, 6, 2. Κωρύκαι, Soph. *Ant.* 1127. Coryciae, Ov. *Ep.* 19, 221. Κωρुकίδες? Nonn. *Dion.* 9, 287. Corycides, Ov. *Met.* 1, 320.

Λαγγείη (Λαγγείης), Nicand. *Alex.* 105. Langia, Lact. Stat. *Th.* 4, 717. Λαμπετή, Hom. *Od.* 12, 132. Λαοδίκη,<sup>1</sup> Ps. Appollod. 2, 1, 1, 3. Lapithaona, Stat. *Th.* 7, 297. Lara, Ov. *Fast.* 2, 599. Latinae, Ov. *Met.* 14, 624. Laurentes, Verg. *Aen.* 8, 71. Λειβηθριάδες, Strabo, 10, 471. Libethrides, Verg. *Ecl.* 7, 21. Λιβήθριαι, Paus. 9, 34, 4. Λειμωνιάδες, Hesych. s. v. λειμωνιάς. Limonides, Serv. Verg. *Ecl.* 10, 62. Lelegeides, Ov. *Met.* 9, 652. Leontodame, Claud. 24, 249. Leuke, Serv. Verg. *Ecl.* 7, 61. Leukophryne, Zenon. in Arnob. *Adv.* 6, 6. Δήμναι, Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 13, 74. Λιβυσατίδες, Hesych. s. v. Δίλαια, Paus. 10, 33, 4. Διμνάδες, Theocr. *Id.* 5, 17. Διμναίαι, Schol. Ap. Rh. 4, 1412. Liriope, Ov. *Met.* 3, 342. Λοξώ, Callim. *Carm. in Del.* 292. Λουσιάδες, Ath. 12, 519 C. Lycaste, Claud. *Carm.* 24, 276. Lycianae, *C. I. L.* 2, 6288. Lucrinae, Stat. *Silv.* 1, 2, 264. Lympha, Varro, *R. R.* 1, 1, 6. Lymphae, *C. I. L.* 4, 815; 9, 4644. Lupianae, *C. I. L.* 2, 6288. Lotis, Ov. *Fast.* 1, 416 (Lotos, Serv. Verg. *Georg.* 2, 84). Λωτώ, *C. I. G.* 6784.

Maenaliae, Col. 10, 264. Maenalis, cf. Carmentis. Maeoniae, Claud. *Carm.* 35, 68. Μαινάδες, Hom. *Carm.* 25; Eustath. Hom. *Il.* 6, 136; *Mon. d. Inst.* IV, 56. Μακραίωνες, E. M. s. v. Μακρόβιοι, Hesych. s. v. Μαλís, Theoc. *Id.* 13, 45. Μαραθωνίδες, Nonn. *Dion.* 48, 960. Marica, Myth. Vat. 2, 50. Μέθη, Anth. Pal. 6, 257. Μεθυδριάδες, Anth. Plan. 226. Μελανίπη, Paus. 9, 1, 1. Μελίη, Ap. Rh. 2, 4. Melia, Serv. Verg. *Aen.* 5, 373. Μελίαι, Hes. *Th.* 187. Μελίσσαι, Schol. Pind. *P.* 4, 104. Μενδηίς, Com. *Narr.* 10.

<sup>1</sup> Τηλιδικη should perhaps be read.

Μένθη (Μίνθη), Strabo, 8, 344. Menthe, Oppian. in *Hal.* 3, 113. Μεσσηίς? Eckhel, *Doctr. Num. Vet.* II, 148. Μετώπη, Schol. Pind. *O.* 6, 143. Μαλιάδες, Soph. *Phil.* 725. Μηλίδες, Eustath. Hom. *Od.* 24, 340. Μιδεία, Paus. 9, 38, 9. Μορή, Nonn. *Dion.* 2, 86. Μούσαι, Hesych. s. v. Musae, Isid. *Ep.* 8, 11, 96. Μυκαλησσίδες, Callim. *Carm. in Del.* 50. Μυρτώεσσα, Paus. 8, 31, 4. Μύστις, Nonn. *Dion.* 9, 98. Μυχέαι, *Bul. d. Cor. Hel.* IX, 500.

Naides, Serv. Verg. *Ecl.* 10, 62. Ναΐδες, Schol. Hom. *Il.* 20, 8. Νακόλη, Steph. Byz. s. v. Νακόλεια. Napaea, Ven. Fort. 6, 1, 104. Napaea, Col. 10, 264. Νέαυρα, Schol. in Ap. Rh. 3, 242. Nebrophone, Claud. *De Stil.* 3, 250. Νέδα, Callim. *Carm. in Jov.* 33. Νεμέα, Paus. 5, 22, 6. Nemesiani, fontis Nympha, *C. I. L.* 12, 3103 ff. Nephele, Ov. *Met.* 3, 171. Νηιάδες, Anth. Pal. 9, 814. Νηρηίδες? Schol. Ap. Rh. 4, 1412; Soph. *Phil.* 1470 (νόμφαι ἄλλαι). Nereides, Myth. Vat. 2, 50; 3, 5, 3; Isid. *Or.* 8, 11, 97. Νικάια, Mem. *Fr.* 41, 4 (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* III, 547). Νικοστράτη, Plut. *Rom.* 21. Nicostrate? Serv. Verg. *Aen.* 8, 51. Νιτρῶδες, *C. I. L.* 10, 6786. Nitrodes, *C. I. L.* 10, 6786. Νόμια, Paus. 8, 38, 11. Nomia, Serv. Verg. *Ecl.* 8, 68. Nonacrinae, Ov. *Met.* 1, 690. Novae, *C. I. L.* 3, 1129. Νύσα, *C. I. A.* 3, 320. Nysa, Hyg. *Fab.* 182. Nyseides, Ov. *Met.* 3, 314. Νυσιάδες, Nonn. *Dion.* 35, 362. Nysiades, Ov. *Fast.* 3, 769. Νύσαι, Orph. 51, 14. Νύχεια, Theoc. *Id.* 13, 45.

Ξενία, Schol. Theoc. *Id.* 1, 65.

Ogulniae, aquae Nymphae, *C. I. L.* 11, 2097. Οιαγρίδες, Mosch. *Ep. Bion.* 17. Οϊνής, Arist. in Schol. Theoc. *Id.* 1, 3. Οϊνω, Diod. 4, 72. Οϊνόη, Paus. 8, 47, 3. Οϊνοίη, Ap. Rh. 1, 626. Οϊνώνη, Ps. Apollod. 3, 12, 6. Oinone, Ov. *Her.* 5, 10. Όλβία, Steph. Byz. s. v. Όρεά, Pher. in Ath. 3, 78 B. Όρειάδες (Όρεάδες), Schol. Hom. *Il.* 20, 8. Oreades, Lact. Stat. *Th.* 4, 254. Oreas? Ov. *Met.* 8, 778; Calp. *Ecl.* 4, 136. Όρεσιάδες, Eustath. Hom. *Od.* 1, 14. Ormenis, Ov. *Her.* 9, 50. Όρνέα, Eustath. Hom. *Il.* 2, 571. Όροδεμνιάδες, Hesych. s. v. Όρσηίς, Ps. Apollod. 1, 7, 3. Orseis, Vitruv. 4, 1, 3. Όρσινόη, Schol. Vat. Eur. *Rhes.* 36. Ούράναι, Schol. Ap. Rh. 4, 1412.

Pactolides, Ov. *Met.* 6, 16. Πανόπη, *Arch. Zeit.* XXIII, 104. Panope, Aus. *Mos.* 176. Παντίση, *C. I. G.* 4, 8439. Paramese, Censor. *Fr.* 12. Πάρεια, Ps. Apollod. 3, 1, 2. Παρνασσίδες, Schol. Soph. *Ant.* 1128. Παρνηθία, Suid. s. v. Κυνήγειος. Pedile, Hyg. *Ast.*

2, 21. Πείρηθοι (Πείριθοι?), Hesych. s. v. Πειρήγη, Diod. 4, 72. Penei, numina Nymphae, Dracont. *Carm. Pr.* 2, 102. Peneis, Ov. *Met.* 1, 504. Περιβοία, Ps. Apollod. 3, 10, 6. Περικλυμένη, Furtw. *Vas.* 2471. Perimele? Ov. *Met.* 8, 590. Perimelides, Serv. Verg. *Ecl.* 10, 62. Percernes, *C. I. L.* 12, 1329. Πηγαία, Paus. 6, 22, 7. Πηγαίαι, Porph. *De Ant. Νυμφη.* 13. Πηγασίς, Quint. Smyr. 3, 301. Πηλιάδες, Ap. Rh. 1, 550. Πηνελόπεια, Nonn. *Dion.* 14, 93. Phyto, Hyg. *Ast.* 2, 21. Πιδακίτιδες, Anth. Pal. 9, 556. Πλαταιά, Paus. 9, 1, 2. Πολυξώ, Apollod. 2, 1, 5, 7. Polyxo, Hyg. *Ast.* 2, 21. Ποταμίδες, Ap. Rh. 3, 1219. Potameides, Myth. Vat. 2, 50. Potamides, Lact. Stat. *Th.* 4, 254. Πραξιδικη, Steph. Byz. s. v. Κράγος. Πραξιθέα, Ps. Apollod. 3, 14, 6, 6. Πρεμνουσία, *C. I. G.* 8398. Προνόη? cf. Eur. *Herc. F.* 788. Προσεληνίδες, Hesych. s. v. Προύσης Νύμφαι, Anth. Pal. 9, 676. Psecas, Ov. *Met.* 3, 172. Πτελέα, Ath. 3, 78 B. Πυθαίδες, Anth. Pal. 9, 676. Πυρσανίδες, Hesych. s. v.

Rhanis, Ov. *Met.* 3, 171. Ρόδη, Schol. Hom. *Od.* 17, 208. Ρόδος? Pind. *Ol.* 7, 14; 7, 71, and Schol. *ad l.* Rhodos? Ov. *Met.* 4, 204. Ροαί, Eustath. Hom. *Od.* 7, 115. Romanenses, *C. I. L.* 4, 815.

Sagaritis, Ov. *Fast.* 4, 229. Σαλαμίς, Diod. 4, 72. Σαλμακίς? Strabo, 14, 656. Salmacis, Ov. *Met.* 4, 306. Sarmatica, Val. Fl. 8, 217. Σαώρα, Steph. Byz. s. v. Έλευθεραί. Sebethis, Verg. *Aen.* 7, 734. Σεμέστρη, Hesych. Mil. *Fr.* 4, 3 (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* IV, 147). Sidoniae, Stat. *Th.* 9, 709. Σιδνίδες, Paus. 1, 40, 1. Sicelidae, Ov. *Met.* 5, 412. Sinuessanae, Mart. 11, 82, 5. Σινώπη, Diod. 4, 72. Sinope, Val. Fl. 5, 109. Soucona? *Rev. Arch.*, 1903, p. 62. Σπάρτα, Paus. 3, 1, 2. Στίλβη, Diod. 4, 69. Συκή, Ath. 3, 78 B. Συλλίς, Paus. 2, 6, 7. Symaethis, Ov. *Met.* 13, 750. Συμαίθου, πατρός Νύμφαι, Anth. Pal. 6, 203. Συνάλλασις, Paus. 6, 22, 7. Syrinx, Ov. *Met.* 1, 691. Σφραγίτιδες, Plut. *Arist.* 11. Σωσώ, Nonn. *Dion.* 14, 89.

Τανάγρα, Diod. 4, 72. Taraconis, numini Nympharum, *Rev. Arch.* XI, 135. Ταρταρή, Nonn. *Dion.* 18, 261. Τέλφουσα, Steph. Byz. s. v. (Τιλωσσα, Strabo, 9, 411). Τελχινίαι, Diod. Sic. 5, 55, 2. Τηλιδικη, cf. Λαοδικη. Τηλόνησος, *C. I. G.* 6854 E. Τίασα, Paus. 3, 18, 6. Tiberinides, Ov. *Fast.* 2, 597. Τιθορέα, Paus. 10, 32, 9. Τρωωνίδες, Plut. *De Daed. Plat.* 6. Τρωιάδες, Coluth. *De Rapt. Hel.* 1.

Υάδες, Hes. *Fr.* 181. Hyades, Ov. *Fast.* 5, 172. Hyale, Ov. *Met.* 3, 171. Υδασπιάδες, Nonn. *Dion.* 32, 286. Υδατιαίαι, Hesych. s. v.

Ναΐδες. Ὑδριάδες, Schol. Hom. *Il.* 20, 8. Ὑλονόμοι, Paul. Silent. in Anth. Pal. 6, 57. Ὑπέρεια, Head, *Hist. Num.* 262. Ὑπερόχη, Hdt. 4, 35; Nonn. *Dion.* 5, 491; 48, 332.

Φαέθουσα, Hom. *Od.* 12, 132. Φαινώ, Hom. *Carm. in Cer.* 419. Φανόπη, Furtw. *Vas.* 2471. Ferentina? Liv. 1, 50; 1, 51. Feronia, Serv. Verg. *Aen.* 8, 564. Phiale, Ov. *Met.* 3, 172. Φιγαλία, Paus. 8, 39, 2. Φιλία, Diod. 5, 52, 2. Phoebeia, Stat. *Silv.* 2, 3, 60. Φοίβη, Ps. Apollod. 2, 1, 5, 4. Φρίξα, Paus. 8, 47, 3. Φρυγία, Philosteph. in Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἀτρήνη. Φυλλίς, Schol. Nic. *Al.* 149. Φυσάδεια? Callim. *Carm.* 5, 47.

Χαλκίς, Diod. 4, 72. Chania, An. Br. Exp. Verg. *Georg.* 2, 115. Charidia, Rufin. *Rec.* 10, 21. Χαρικλώ, Pher. in Ps. Apollod. 3, 6, 7, 1. Chariclo, Ov. *Met.* 2, 636. Χιόνη, Paus. 7, 4, 8. Chione, Plin. *N. H.* 5, 38. Chloris, Ov. *Fast.* 5, 195. Χρυσοπέλεια, Eumel. in Ps. Apollod. 3, 9, 1.

Ὠγύγια, Steph. Byz. s. v. Τρεμίλη. Ὠερόη, Herod. 9, 51. Ὠκεανίδες? cf. Weizsäcker. Rosch. *Lex.* s. v. *Okeaniden.* Ὠκυρόη, Ap. Rh. in Athen. 6, 283 E. Ὠπίς (Ὀπίς), Nonn. *Dion.* 5, 491; 48, 332. Opis, Claud. 24, 254.

Varcilene, *C. I. L.* 2, 3067. Venilia, Schol. Veron. Verg. *Aen.* 10, 76. Vires, Lymphae, *C. I. L.* 5, 5648. Volpinae, *Jahrb. d. Alt. im Rh.* LXXXIV, 63.

#### NEREIDS

\*Ἄλτις,<sup>1</sup> Δελτίον ἀρχαολ, Aug., 1892, p. 77. Ἀῦρα, Δελτίον ἀρχαολ, Aug., 1892, p. 77.

Γλύκη (Γλαύκη?), *Journ. Phil.* VII (1877), Tab. A, B.

Δοσώ, Dumont et Chaplain, *Ceram. d. l. Gr. Pr.*, Tab. 9.

Helle, Stat. *Ach.* 1, 24.

Thetis, Cat. 64, 28.

Ἰλίθνα, Kretschm. *Gr. Vas.*, p. 202.

Καλή, *C. I. G.* 8406. Κυμαθεία, *Cat. of Vases of Brit. Mus.* III, E, 73.

Λευκοθεία, Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 2, 51. Λευκοθείαι, E. M. 561, 45.

Πανόπηα, *C. I. G.* 6784. Πλωτώ, Kretschm. *Gr. Vas.*, p. 202.

Ποντομεδεία, Dumont et Chaplain, *Ceram. d. l. Gr. Pr.*, Tab. 9.

<sup>1</sup> Kretschmer, *Gr. Vasen.*, p. 202, thinks that Ἄλτις is a nymph.



Ὑδατοσύδνη, Callim. *Fr.* 347.

Φιλύρα, Pind. *P.* 6, 21; Ap. Rh. 2, 1232 and schol.

Χόρα? Kretschm. *Gr. Vas.*, p. 202.

Ψαμάθη, Reinach. *Rep. d. Vas. Peints*, I, p. 485. Ψεμάθη, *Bul. Neap.* N. S. V, Tab. 2.



## DE COMICIS GRAECIS LITTERARVM IVDICIBVS<sup>1</sup>

QVAESIVIT

GVILIELMVS WILSON BAKER

QVAMQVAM complures iam antea de iudiciis poetarum in comoe-  
diis Aristophanis undecim quae exstant repertis quaesiverunt,  
nec non obiter saepe fragmenta nonnulla et illius et aliorum comicorum  
tractaverunt, de his absolute nemo, quod sciam, disseruit. Hoc igitur  
in libello exponere mihi proposui, quid de se ipsis et de aliis scriptoribus  
iudicarent comici Graeci, ita tamen ut eorum cum de poetis iudicia, tum  
de oratoribus et saepe de musicis — quippe qui ad litteras pertinerent  
— includerem. Maximam tamen partem, ut necessario aliorum, sic  
Aristophanis consulto, fragmenta sola sunt consideranda, nec fragmenta  
quidem omnia. Ea enim, — secundum Atticae comoediae licentiam  
minime scilicet rara, — quae corpus vultumque, vitam, genus, mores  
derident poetarum, neque ad opera omnino pertinent, prorsus sunt  
neglegenda.<sup>2</sup> Non enim in animo habeo de poetis scriptoribusque aliis  
qui reprehendebantur laudabanturve dicere, sed magis cognoscere atque  
exponere quomodo quatenusque comici de litteris ac rebus ad litteras  
spectantibus iudicia fecerint.

Ac pauci mihi haec suscipienti viam aliqua ex parte monstraverunt,  
ipsi ea paulum progressi. Quo in numero sunt<sup>3</sup> Thérius, *Histoire des*

<sup>1</sup> Hoc opusculum tres abhinc annos, specimen quod vocatur eruditionis, Ordini Academico huius Vniversitatis oblatum, ut sic ad gradum Doctoris Philosophiae admitterer, nunc aliquanto perfectius, ut spero, multis quidem mutatis, multis adiectis, edidi. Occasione autem data, gratias palam agere eis volui quibus tantum debeo, doctoribus et amicis meis, professoribus Harvardianis, atque imprimis et Morris Hicky Morgan, qui me primus adduxit ut iudiciis antiquis ad litteras pertinentibus studerem, mihi que scribenti saepe consilium dedit et Alberto Andreae Howard, qui huic volumini edendo praefectus, cum iam extremam operi manum imponerem, ipse haec perlegens magno mihi multis modis erat auxilio.

<sup>2</sup> Egger vero, in libro *Hist. de la Crit.*, de scriptis scriptoribusque iudicia a comicis facta saepe in unum confundit; cf. infra, p. 153, adn. I.

<sup>3</sup> Mazzarella librum (*Della Critica Libri tre: I, Storia della Critica*, Genova, 1866) non vidi. Vitiosum tamen opus eum iudicant Gayleius et Scottus, *Methods and Materials of Literary Criticism*, Boston, 1899, p. 69.

*Opinions Littéraires chez les Anciens et chez les Modernes*<sup>2</sup>, Paris, 1848, I, pp. 107 sqq.; Egger, *Essai sur l'Histoire de la Critique chez les Grecs*<sup>2</sup>, Paris, 1886, pp. 1-89; Saintsbury, *A History of Criticism and Literary Taste in Europe, from the earliest texts to the present day*, Edinburgh, 1900, I, pp. 1-28. Breviter rem tetigerunt Patinus, *Études sur les Tragiques Grecs: Euripide*<sup>7</sup>, Paris, 1894, II, 415-428, et Couatus, *Aristophane et l'Ancienne Comédie Attique*<sup>8</sup>, Paris, 1902, 313-356; nec praetermittendus est Sandysius, *A History of Classical Scholarship, from the sixth century B.C. to the end of the Middle Ages*, Cambridge, 1903, pp. 52-57. Petersius, *Aristophanis iudicium de summis suae aetatis tragicis*, Monasterii, 1858, pp. 63 sqq., de tribus illis praeclaris tragicis iudicia collegit; ea quae breviter scripsit Jaspas, *Des Aristophanes Urtheil über die drei grossen Tragiker Athens*, Altona, 1863, ad *Ranas solas spectant nec hic sunt consideranda*. Roemer, *Ueber den litterarisch-aesthetischen Bildungsstand des attischen Theaterpublikums (Abhandl. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss. XXII, p. 1)*, et Froehdius, *Beiträge zur Technik der alten attischen Komödie (Berliner Studien, N. F. III, 1)*, finem longe aliam sibi proponentes multa tamen fragmenta tractaverunt. Denique de Aristophane solo disseruerunt Hamelus, *De la Critique Littéraire chez Aristophane (Mémoires de l'Acad. R. d. Sc., Inscr., et Belles-Lettres de Toulouse, 3<sup>e</sup> série, I, pp. 169-201)*, et Settius, *La Critica Letteraria in Aristofane*, Pisa, 1877 (*Annali d. Reale Scuola Norm. sup. di Pisa, Filosofia e Filologia, III, pp. 139-222*). An Harwardtus opusculi sui, *De Aristophanis irrisionibus earumque fide et usu*, tertiam partem ad poetas et philosophos pertinentem ediderit, quam ipse priores dicit secuturam (*ibid.* Particula I, Regimonti Borussorum, 1883), nescio. Multi certe qui litterarum Graecarum scripserunt historias hanc rem quoque aliqua ex parte respexerunt; quorum nomina percurrere vix operae est pretium. Kocki libris, *Comicorum Atticorum fragmenta*, Voll. I-III, Lipsiae, 1880-1888, et eiusdem numeris uti, si quis comicos Graecos investigat, fere necesse est. Si quis autem illis tantummodo utitur, nec Meineki quoque opera pretiosissima, *Fragmenta comicorum Graecorum*, Voll. I-V, Berolini, 1839-1857, legit, multa eum fugiunt. Hunc igitur saepe adii, semel atque iterum secutus sum. In Epicharmo et Lorenzius, *Leben und Schriften des Koers Epicharmos nebst einer Fragmentensammlung*, Berlin, 1864, et Kaibelus, *Comicorum Graecorum fragmenta*, Vol. I,

fasc. prior, *Doriensium comoedia, mimi, phlyaces*, Berolini, 1899, magno erant usui.

At ipso in principio de huius quaestionis genere perobscuro et dubio nonnulla praefari oportet. Cum enim fragmenta saepe corruptiora sint quam quae sanari posse videantur, immo etiamsi a vitiiis sunt libera, nihil tamen certi de absoluta poetae sententia e paucis versibus, nedum uno versu aut verbo, colligi potest. Praeclare enim Symondsus, *Studies of the Greek Poets*<sup>3</sup>, London, 1893, II, pp. 200–201: Vt viri in maris litore algas saepe scissas et con fractas magno labore colligant, neque omnino ad illas magnas quasi silvas algarum in profundo crescentes appropinquare possint, sic qui hanc nostram rem tractent quasi oblivionis mare circumeuntes nihil aliud facere posse quam mutila fabularum fragmenta et casu servata conquirere. Planissima igitur quae sunt iudicia, tali nomine hac una de causa appellare licet, quod saltem ceteris paulo sint planiora. Nam versibus propinquis amissis, persona quae loquitur ignota, fieri potest ut quae verba laudem continere videntur, haec olim culpam acerbam praebuerint; quae olim cum ironia sunt dicta, nunc vera simpliciaque esse videantur. Nec semper autem ea quae poetae in fabulis scripserunt sententiae verae ipsorum sunt habendae: haud enim raro per ora personarum dicunt non ea quae ipsi sentiunt, sed quae alios sentire putant, et ipsi fortasse postea repugnaturi sunt. Quo autem modo detorqueri possit ac prave intelligi vis sententiae de loco proprio demotae, hoc e *Nubibus* Aristophanis, v. 1366, exemplum ostendit:

ἐγὼ γὰρ Αἰσχύλον νομίζω πρῶτον ἐν ποιηταῖς.

Hunc versum unum si nullis aliis adiectis traditum haberemus, haud dubie Aeschylum ab Aristophane arbitraremur effuse laudari. Proximo tamen quoque versu perlecto, statim pro laude evadit obtrectatio:

ἐγὼ γὰρ Αἰσχύλον νομίζω πρῶτον ἐν ποιηταῖς,  
ψόφου πλέων, ἀξύστατον, στόμφακα, κρημνοποιόν.<sup>1</sup>

Nec his quidem duobus certiores fimus de poetae ipsius sententia; nam a Phidippide quodam, iuvene novis praeceptis Socraticis imbuto neque

<sup>1</sup> Sic MSS.; nonnulli ordinem versuum permutant. Murrayus autem, *On Parody and Paratragoedia in Aristophanes, with especial reference to his scenes and situations*, Berlin, 1891, p. 1, in priore versu veram poetae ipsius sententiam contineri arbitratur.

omnino ipsi Aristophani similia sentiente, haec verba dicuntur. Quare haud raro nos de vi fragmentorum esse deceptos credibile est. Aliquando certe scriptor vetus cum fragmentum tradit, tum narrat et qua significatione et a qua persona olim in fabula perfecta dictum sit. Multo tamen saepius, praesertim cum apud grammaticum de rebus metricis sive grammaticis agentem verba inveniuntur, caute pedetentimque progredi necesse est. Itaque tam dubiis in rebus versanti mihi oportet lectorem ignoscere, si saepius verbis utar dubitationis. Non tamen infitendum est haec eadem fragmenta, tam parvas magnarum fabularum reliquias, ipsa etiam maximam nobis scientiae copiam suppeditare.

Genera vero iudiciorum duo sunt distinguenda: alterum eorum quae aut in fragmentis exprimuntur, aut saltem a poeta olim scripta et nunc amissa, testimoniis tamen eruditorum veterum, indicibus fabularum ipsis aliqua ex parte restituuntur atque intelliguntur; alterum eorum quae ne litteris quidem a poeta tradita, artis tamen eius ratione diligenter examinata, colligi possunt. Hac igitur divisione facta, comicis singulis secundum temporis ordinem dispositis, cuiusque poetae primum illius generis, deinde huius, iudicia proferam. Illa autem sic partiar et dividam ut primo loco ea ponam quae de Homero, de Hesiodo, de ceteris antiquioribus sunt facta; secundo, quae de poetis tragicis; tertio, de comicis; quarto, de ceteris scriptoribus et litteris omnibus, exceptis tamen eis sententiis quas de se suaque arte poeta dixit; quintum enim in locum has reservabo. Deinde eiusdem poetae certa alterius generis iudicia sunt excutienda, primum quae usitatis indicibus, deinde quae imitatione aliorum poetarum sive seria sive ridicula, tum quae iteratis et in eadem et in alia fabula verbis versibusque, postremo quae fabulis emendatis iterumque editis significantur.

Priori vero generi iudiciorum prooemium non opus est, sed de hoc posteriore, tum postea quoque de iudiciis apud scriptores comicos antiquiores repertis, priusquam fragmenta ipsa quae collegi profero, complura disserere velim.

Indices igitur comoediarum, ut ab his incipiam, saepe iteratos esse nemo certe nescit. *Κιθαρωδός* enim est nomen fabulis novem, *Ἄδελφοί*, *Θησαυρός* septenis, *Ἀταλάντη*, *Δίδυμοι*, *Διώνυσος*, *Ἐπίκληρος*, *Κένταυρος*, *Παρακαταθήκη*, *Σαπφώ* senis. Eodem autem indice tam frequenter utuntur poetae complures ut cum fabulae comicae Atticae nobis notae sint omnino fere MCCCCLXXV, indices sint diversi modo ad

DCCCXV. Itaque apparet pro comoediis ternis binos indices fuisse, ac trientem fabularum omnium indicibus appellatum esse iam usitatis.<sup>1</sup>

Vt autem eisdem, sic similibus poetae indicibus utuntur. Verissima enim sunt ea quae dicit Athenaeus, 13, 567 c: *πολλὰ δράματα ἀπὸ ἑταιρῶν ἔσχε τὰς ἐπιγραφάς*. Huius vero generis fabulae sunt numero fere quinquaginta.<sup>2</sup> Alteri autem generi, in quo tredecim sunt omnino fabulae, a septem poetis scriptae, indices sunt nomina deorum quibus additur verbum *γωναί*.<sup>3</sup> Huc accedit tertium genus, et id magnum, eorum indicum qui de Homericis poematibus ducuntur.<sup>4</sup> Quae cum ita sint, constat poetas, eisdem similibusque saepe indicibus usos, aliquo modo alium alium imitatos esse, et simul de indicibus usurpatis quasi sententiam dixisse. Quae tamen haud scio an sint magni momenti et ponderis. Nam fortasse indices superiorum fabularum nihil aliud esse putaverunt nisi partem materiae artis comicae sibi traditae, quam libere et quasi de more sicut histrionum personas usurparent. Quocirca parum esse videtur iudici hac in re, nisi unius poetae forte aut duorum imprimis indicibus aliquis utitur.

Vt autem indices, sic verba et argumenta aliorum poetarum comici mutuantur. Enimvero quamquam causa huius rei perdubia est, de re ipsa non dubitandum est. Bergkii scilicet, *Commentationum de reliquiis comoediae Atticae antiquae libri II*, Lipsiae, 1838, p. 420, cum

<sup>1</sup> Nec aliter in tragoediis fit, quarum indices qui inter se differunt sunt circiter CCLXXXV, fabulae DC. (cf. Nauck. *Trag. Gr. frag., Ind. fabularum*, pp. 963 sqq.). Sed apud poetas Britannicos veteres qui fabulas scripserint dissimilis exstat ratio; pauci enim aliorum indices iterant (cf. Hazlitt., *A Manual for the Collector and Amateur of Old English Plays*, London, 1892, ubi, si calculos subdlexeris, invenies fabulis CLXXI ab littera *a* incipientibus esse indices paene totidem, CLVI. Rarius tamen etiam complures eodem nomine appellantur fabulae: quinque enim fabulis est nomen *Nero*, quattuor, *Caesar and Pompey*).

<sup>2</sup> Athenaeus enim *loc. cit.* fabulas septem enumerat; Nauck. *Ar. Byz.* 277-8, adn. 11, alias viginti octo; Kockii in adnotationibus ad fragmenta singula additis commemoratas alias ipse conquisivi tredecim quarum haec sunt nomina: Cephisodori *Ἀντιλαΐς*, Antiphani *Φιλῶτις*, Epicratis *Ἀντιλαΐς*, Alexidis *Ἄγωνις*, *Γαλάτεια*, *Ἰσοστάσιον*, Πολύκλεια, Epigenis *Βακχίς*, Hipparchi *Παννουχίς*, Callippi *Παννουχίς*, Apollodori *Νεμέα*, Euphronis *Ἀσχρα*, Alexandri *Τριγόνιον*. Denis. *La Comédie Grecque*, Paris, 1886, II, 376, aliarum etiam octo mentionem facit.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Meinek. *Frag. Com. Gr.* I, 279. Eis indicibus quos ibi collegit, addendi sunt Polyzeli *Ἀφροδίτης γωναί* et Anaxandridis *Διονύσου γωναί*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Sengebusch. *Hom. dissert. prior.*, pp. 174 sqq.

Platoni tum multis mediae comoediae poetis obiecit quod quae alii poetae scite et eleganter scripsissent, ea hi in suum usum converterent; ac Clemens Alexandrinus notissimo loco de furtis Graecorum, *Strom.* 6, 737 sqq., multa exempla apud poetas, oratores, philosophos, historicos reperta laudavit. Cobetus tamen, *Observationes criticae in Platonis comici reliquias*, Amstelodami, 1840, pp. 63 sqq., utriusque verba confutare ac Platonem aliosque furti crimine absolvere conatus est. Dicit enim Clementem illo ipso in libro alterius scripta compilantem, nihil aliud nisi absurdas calumnias scripsisse; “impudentis furti criminationem” a Bergkio in Platonem coniectam atrocissimam esse;<sup>1</sup> lepida fortasse et audacia inventa aliquando a comicis esse arrepta; verba tamen ipsa nisi inscienter numquam.

Neque est dubium quin aliquam partem rectae sint Cobeti opiniones. Paucis tamen in rebus inter eum Bergkiumque media via est tenenda. Nam primum, cum aliter quam nos de rebus ad litteras spectantibus Graeci arbitrarentur, nec furti nomine eadem notabant quae nos, nec legibus ullis prohibuisse videntur quominus ab aliis scriptoribus alii furarentur. Multa igitur sunt apud Graecos scriptores quae, cum illi saltem furta non existimaverint, nos sine dubio eo nomine appellemus. Deinde fieri potest ut comici qui earundem partium fuerunt omnes,<sup>2</sup> qui eosdem semper viros deriserunt,<sup>3</sup> qui easdem fabulas recentes in tonstrinis foroque auditas narraverunt, propter eam ipsam causam etiam paene inviti alius alium imitati sint. Vt Gallicus scriptor urbanus,<sup>4</sup> *Leur répétitions, leur redites, leur plagiats apparents étaient un des défauts inévitables de l’Ancienne Comédie, comme de toute polémique*. Quae verba cum nonnullorum iteratorum rationem lucide explicent, restat tamen ut alia multa excutiamus. Nam aut grammatici antiqui in versibus afferendis multo erant neglegentiores ac perversiores quam adhuc credimus vel etiam credere possumus aut saepenumero poetae comici,

<sup>1</sup> Kockius, I, pp. 616 et 655, adn. in Platonis fragg. 56 et 190, idem sentire videtur quod Cobetus.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Denisi *La Comédie Grecque*, II, 141-142; Mahaffi *History of Classical Greek Literature*<sup>3</sup>, I, II, 214.

<sup>3</sup> Hyperbolus enim, quem exempli causa nomino, a Cratino, Eupolide, Aristophane, Platone, Hermippo, Leucone, Polyzelo deridebatur; Melanthius a Pherecrate, Eupolide, Aristophane, Platone, Archippo, Callia, Leucone; alii saepe compluribus a poetis.

<sup>4</sup> Denis. *La Comédie Grecque*, II, 142.



ut verbis Cobeti, *Obs. Plat.*, p. 67, utar, *dictiones et versiculos et tritas sententias ab aliis suffurabantur*. At “id vero antiquis Atticorum poetis,” inquit, “adeo indignum est, ut nemo eorum huiusmodi sterilitatem ingenii in iis, quos oderat et spernebat, vel suspicari potuerit.” Quid ergo? De re ipsa num eo magis dubitandum est? Quid tandem dicat Cobetus quod indices fabularum etiam atque etiam, ut supra demonstravi, iterabantur, tamquam si alii inveniri non possent? Quid quod dictiones et versiculos et tritas sententias poetae ipsi qui eas scripsissent, non solum comici sed etiam tragici alique,<sup>1</sup> quasi suffurabantur, hoc est, quod versus suos ipsorum locutionesque, non duabus solum aut pluribus in fabulis, sed saepe in eadem fabula iterabant? Nonne hoc quoque poetis Atticis esse indignissimum respondere cogatur? At minime de ingenio illorum oportet disceptare; id enim omnes fere miremur necesse est.<sup>2</sup>

Quid igitur? Quae tandem res praeclarissimos poetas impulit ut aemulorum scripta hoc modo imitarentur? Primum fortasse quod quibus notissimae erant Ilias et Odyssea versusque earum saepe iterati, eis optimum et usitatissimum videretur idem facere. Deinde, quia illorum secundum opiniones nostris admodum dispares, hoc erat praeceptum haud leve:<sup>3</sup> τὸ καλῶς εἰπεῖν ἀπαξ περιγίγνεται, δις δὲ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται. Quare Jebbiius, *Att. Orat.* I, p. lxxii, crebras tales apud oratores imitationes respiciens — ‘cogitata quamvis levia, si quando perfecte et absolute litteris tradita sunt, statim pars fiunt communis rerum pulchrarum copiae.’ Graeci igitur si hoc verum esse arbitrati sunt, iustissime, ut sibi videbatur — de nostrae enim aetatis opinionibus non opus est disserere — et sua et aliena verba nonnumquam iterare poterant; neque id vero propterea fecerunt quod ignaviae pravae sunt dediti, sed quod, pulchritudinis summae vel minimis in rebus semper studiosi, quae pulchra iam essent scripta, negligere nolebant.

Huc accedit quod Graeci, harum omnium rerum fortasse negligentiores quam nostri scriptores memoriaque tenaciores, verba aliena aut conscii

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Schroeder. *De iteratis apud tragicos Graecos*, Argentorati, 1882.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Denis. *ibid.*, p. 145.

<sup>3</sup> Est quidem a Theone scriptore rhetorico qui aetate multo recentiore vixit et commemoratum et repudiatum: v. eius προγυμνάσματα, I (Spengel. *Rhet. Graec.* II, 62, ll. 11–12). Simile est Quintiliani iudicium, 10, 5, 5; sed cf. Cic. *de or.* I, 154.

aut inscii usurpabant neque operae pretium esse putabant quaerere cuius esset versus quem usurpassent. Hae omnes causae, ut mihi videtur, aut singulae aut coniunctae poetas ad imitandum excitabant.

Sit vero causa imitationis quaelibet, bene profecto scripta esse comici plerumque iudicaverunt ea quae scientes imitati sint. Etiam si enim verbis aliorum quibusdam, aut in theatro auditis aut in libris perlectis, quasi per negligentiam usi sunt, nihilominus in usu inest quaedam approbatio, multoque magis, cum consulto ac de industria hoc factum est.

Aliquanto tamen incertiores res nunc attingimus, cum ea imitationis genera tractare incipiamus quae, Graecis verbis usi, parodiam paratragoediamque<sup>1</sup> appellemus. Quibus vero fere omnis aetatis comoediae Graecae sunt confertae. Verba enim olim ab Homero, a poetis dithyrambicis, a tragicis graviter usurpata, et omnibus paene spectatoribus interdum notissima, cum in comicam sententiam subito detorta essent, maxime ludicra fiebant. Vt vero comici saepenumero seria iocis tegebant, sic nonnumquam sub ludicris rebus severa iudicia celabant. Nec semper cum Aeschylis Sophoclisve versus afferunt, iudicium de meritis eorum facere volunt sed magniloquentiam plerumque tragicam deridere quo maiores spectatorum risus moveant. Sed Euripidis, qui imprimis, ut ita dicam, hoc telo petitur,<sup>2</sup> verba non solum iocis causa sed etiam culpationis semel atque iterum afferre illi videntur. Fere semper tamen ut iucundas et perspicuas facerent parodias, verba detorquere solebant quae populo iam erant notissima<sup>3</sup> aut quae semel hoc modo commemorata statim recognoscerentur. Quos igitur versus e tragoediis eligebant, hos taciti nonnumquam gratos esse vulgo iudicabant. Nam

<sup>1</sup> Paratragoedia id genus parodiae volo dicere quo non singulos versus tragicos inrideat poeta sed universum imitetur tragicum genus dicendi.

<sup>2</sup> Nec hoc telo tantum petitur. Ex omnibus enim fragmentis quae hoc in libello laudavi — sunt certe, ne ea quae *ἀθέσμορα* vocantur numerem, fere CCLXV — XXVIII, hoc est plus decima parte, ad illum pertinere videntur. Cf. ex antiqua comoedia, Cratin. 307; Telecl. 39, 40; Eupol. 363; Phryn. 33; Ar. 130, 290, 327, 376, 471, 580, 581, 638, 676 b; Plat. 30; Calliae 12; Stratt. 1; Theopomp. 34; ex media, Antiph. 191, 207; Eubul. 26, 27; Nicostrat. 28; Alex. 126; Axionic. 3; ex nova, Philemon. 130; Diphil. 60, 73; Philippid. 18. Quorum quamquam multa certe Aristophanis sunt, longe tamen erravit Wilamowitzius qui scripsit, *Obs. crit. in com. Gr.*, Berolini, 1870, p. 4, adn. 6, ceteros paene ad unum omnes comicos huic parcere.

<sup>3</sup> Aliam tamen de hac re sententiam et in qua aliquid quidem veritatis inesse puto, proposuit Roemer, *Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.* XXII, 65 sqq.

re vera in parodiis haud raro latet laudatio et honor. Vt Britannicus ille, qui acute de litteris scripsit, Chestertonius ait, parodia est saepe cultus quidam heroum ac veneratio, quamquam qui venerantur ipsi simul ludunt.<sup>1</sup> Cuius rei qui non obliviscetur facilius forsitan comprehendet cur Aristophanes non ludibundus tantum sed serio etiam Euripidis verba graviter imitari possit. Itaque quae sit ratio imitandi singulis in locis nobis est decernendum: ita tamen ut memoria teneamus comicos de versibus tragoediarum qui plane splendidi nobilesque sint, nihil nisi bonum irrisione iudicasse; eos autem qui vel triti vel inanes vel tumidi sint, nota quadam atque ignominia condemnasse. Saepe tamen in medio res erit relinquenda. Sed cum alii multi in hac quaestione diligentissime elaboraverint,<sup>2</sup> obiter tantum modo rem tractabo.

De versibus autem apud singulos poetas iteratis — quam rem supra tetigi, — haud multa dicere necesse est. Nam persimilis est haec iteratio illius imitationis operum alienorum: et fere easdem propter causas est facta nec aliud plerumque significat. De qua re Bergkius, *Comm. de reliquiis com. Att. ant.*, p. 322: *quae poeta commodius aptiusve se dicere*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. autem Ribbeck. *De usu parodiae apud comicos Atheniensium*, Berolini, 1861, p. 5; van Leeuwen. *De Aristophane Euripidis censore*, Amstelaedami, 1876, p. 116. De eadem re scripsit Johnsonius (edit. Oxford., 1825, V, 419-420), sed tanta vi ut aliquanto, ut aiunt, praeter casam.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Täuber. *De usu parodiae apud Aristophanem*, Berolini, 1849; Ribbeck. *De usu parodiae apud comicos Atheniensium: pars prima* (continens epicorum parodias), Berolini, 1861; eiusdem *Die Parodien bei den Attischen Komikern: Zweiter Theil* (sc. Parodien aus lyrischen Dichtern), *Zeit. f. d. Gymnasialwesen*, XVII, 321; eiusdem *Die dramatischen Parodien bei den Attischen Komikern: Die Acharner des Aristophanes*, Anhang, Leipzig, 1864, 267; Stanger. *Über die Nachahmungen des Aristophanes*, *Blätter f. d. Bayer. Gymnasialschulwesen*, II, 204; Sihler. *De parodiis eis quibus exprimitur a comicis Graecis iudicium seu censura*, Lipsiae, 1875; Bakhuysen. *De parodia in comoediis Aristophanis*, Traiecti ad Rhenum, 1877; Murray. *On Parody and Paratragoedia in Aristophanes, with Especial Reference to his Scenes and Situations*, Berlin, 1891. De natura autem et ratione parodiae Aristophaneae scripsit Passowius, *De Aristophane defendendo contra invasionem Euripideam: pars prior, de terminis parodiae*, Hirschberg i. Schles., 1897. Alia ratione rem investigaverunt Scherransius, *De poetarum comicorum Atticorum studiis Homericis*, Regimonti, 1893, et Rankius, *Periplecomenus sive de Epicuri, Peripateticorum, Aristippi placitorum apud poetas comicos vestigiis*, Marpurgi, 1900. Hoc vero opusculum, quod nunquam vidi, breviter recensuit Holzinger, *Burs. Jahresh.* CXVI, 308-309.

*posse desperabat, integra vel parum immutata repetebat.* Sic igitur sua carmina poeta approbare et laudare poterat et tacite sed haud minus vere de se ipso iudicium proferre. Inscii tamen sine dubio nonnumquam — saepius est enim confitendum — scriptores verba sua iterabant. At dixerit quispiam: in fragmentis saltem errore neglegentiave saepe decipimur duorum grammaticorum vel scribarum qui alter ex altera fabula perperam eadem verba afferant, nosque nimis utrique confisi, male et huic et illi fabulae fragmentum incertum attribuimus. Nec dubium est quin partim vera sit haec sententia. Sed hac de causa certiores fimus eos scriptores quorum parvas reliquias solas habeamus quae ipsi scripsissent solitos esse repetere, quod idem faciunt complures eorum, et antiqui et recentiores, quorum scripta exstant multa: commemorandi enim sunt inter multos alios Aristophanes, Euripides, Lucretius, Vergilius, Shaksperius.<sup>1</sup> Cum certe apud grammaticos parvae auctoritatis vel ad errores pronos huiusmodi versus inveniuntur, plerumque in numero incertorum habentur, sed talibus quidem neglectis, complures supersunt de quibus nihil dubitari potest.

Non autem verbis solum, verum etiam rebus, iterum uti solebant comici. Quo tamen usu non semper sese declarant maxime ad comoediam aptas eas res iudicavisse. Consilia enim bona vulgo dare, praesertim veteres comici, de industria saepe conati sunt, quamquam, ut apud Lucretium,

. . . pueris absinthia taetra medentes  
cum dare conantur, prius oras pocula circum  
contingunt mellis dulci flavoque liquore,

sic hi seria ludicris tecta gratiora faciebant. Atque ipse Aristophanes, *Ran.* 389 sq.:

καὶ πολλὰ μὲν γέλοιά μ' εἰ-  
πεῖν, πολλὰ δὲ σπουδαῖα.

Haud igitur raro, eodem magistratu eodemve vitio populari petito, non

<sup>1</sup> De hac re recenter scripserunt aut breviter aut plenius Harius, *Proc. Am. Phil. Asso.* XXX, p. v; idem, *ibid.*, XXXI, p. xliii; Guglielminus, *L' "iteratio" nell' Eneide*, Catania, 1901 (v. *Rivista d. fil.* XXX, 182). Praeterea Cookius, *Class. Rev.* XVI, 146 sqq. et 256 sqq. rem erudite et praeclare tractavit. Sed minime ei confirmanti credam inscientes semper poetas optimos, nisi cum plane fabulam olim scriptam efficere vellent ut spectatores lectoresve recordarentur, verba sua aliorumque iterasse (*ibid.*, p. 148).

dicere volebant comici maxime ludicras se has res arbitrari, sed multo magis censere videntur sese rei publicae laboranti mederi oportere. Nam, ut exemplum afferam, idem Aristophanes etiam atque etiam Euripidem lacescit, et fautor interdum eorum qui pacem cum Lacedaemoniis fieri optabant beatam vitam rusticam, qua ante bellum omnes frui potuerant, effuse laudat.<sup>1</sup> Vult enim comicus, cum credat vulgus pessimis ducibus, ut poetis, sic oratoribus, usum vehementer errasse, verum statum rerum suis fabulis ostendere. Neque incredibile est, aliquando eum, modo civitatem adiuvaret, ne trita quidem vitavisse. Nonnumquam tamen, sicut in argumentis quae per speciem senis iterum vigescentis populum Atheniensem repraesentant<sup>2</sup> utilia ridiculaque in unum coniungit. Nam talibus fabulis et vulgus oblectat simulque hortatur ut pristinae virtutis viriumque tandem reminiscatur.

Denique cum emendatas fabulas comici iterum ediderunt,<sup>3</sup> de suis operibus amplissime certe iudicabant. Nonnumquam sane adhibita est correctio quod aut iudices, cum in theatro condemnassent fabulam, aut aemuli, cum in scriptis eam deridissent, invito poetae stimulos quosdam admovebant.<sup>4</sup> Sed permutata fabula monstravit quae sibi peiora viderentur. Altera autem causa hinc fortasse repetenda est, quod poetae, quoniam semper necessario comoediae ex ratione et inclinatione temporis penderent, ut huius progressum adaequarent, veteres fabulas plus minusve mutatas novisque rebus instructas, tum saepe nova inscriptione addita, iterum edere coacti sunt.<sup>5</sup> Sed mediae novaeque comoediae poetae non suas solum emendare fabulas soliti esse, verum alienas dicuntur furari, vel si magis placet, imitari atque aut libere mutatas aut fere ad verbum transcriptas pro suis emitte.<sup>6</sup> Quo facto significabant

<sup>1</sup> Sic scripsit in *Acharn.*, *Pac.*, *Eq.*, *Holkad.* Cf. *Pacis* Argumentum I.

<sup>2</sup> Ad hanc rem pertinent *Eq.*, *Amphiaraus*, *Senectus*.

<sup>3</sup> Tragici idem faciebant: Aeschylus enim quinque fortasse fabulas retractavit; Euphorion, quattuor; Sophocles, sex; Euripides, ut videtur, novem; Ion, unam. Cf. Egger. *Hist. de la Crit.*<sup>2</sup>, 26-27; Meinek. *F. C. G.* I, 31.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Ar. Pacis* Argumentum III; Schol. *Plat.*, p. 331 (Bekk.).

<sup>5</sup> Mahaffi *Class. Gk. Lit.*<sup>3</sup>, I, 2, 213.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Meinek. I, 31 sq.; Hesych. s. v. *Λυδίμων*; Suid. s. v. *διασκευαζόμενος*; Bekk. *Anec.* I, p. 39, 19; Dion. Chrys. *Or.* 32, p. 432, 17 (Dind.). Huiusmodi fabulas et comicas et tragicas fuisse, eandemque rem ad alia poesis genera pertinuisse docet Meinekius, *loc. cit.* Britannici autem poetae veteres nihil a Graecis differebant; cf. Mahaffi *loc. cit.*

et quos poetas et quas fabulas optimas esse arbitrarentur. Hoc tamen totum iudici genus, quamquam olim certe apertissimum erat, nos, quippe quibus mutilae fabularum reliquiae solae superstent, plerumque latet. Quocirca mentionem eius inicere saepe possumus, altius tamen persequi raro. Sed haec hactenus.

Nunc, priusquam fragmenta consideramus comicorum, oportere videtur brevi exponere quid scriptores qui comicis erant antiquiores de rebus ad litteras pertinentibus iudicaverint et quo modo.<sup>1</sup> Apud Homerum, igitur, ut ab eo sicut Quintilianus ordiamur, cum vates (ἄοιδός) nonnullis in locis laudetur,<sup>2</sup> in uno<sup>3</sup> autem perpaulum culpetur, veri tamen iudici nihil repertum est. Vates enim instinctu aliquo inflatuque divino cecinit<sup>4</sup> neque omnino arte, nec nisi ars et exstat et cognita est ulla profecto artis iudicia fieri possunt. Quorum vero Hesiodus parva initia praebet, *Op.* 656 :

ἔνθα μέ φημι

ἕμνῳ νικήσαντα φέρειν τρίποδ' ὠτώεντα,

*Op.* 24 :

ἀγαθὴ δ' Ἔρις ἦδε βροτοῖσι.

καὶ κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ κοτέει καὶ τέκτονι τέκτων,

καὶ πτωχὸς πτωχῷ φθονεῖ καὶ ἀοιδὸς ἀοιδῷ.

Hic igitur et paulo post critici primi litterarum apparent, — iudices videlicet qui in certaminibus sedebant, primum ἀοιδῶν et ῥαψωδῶν, mox etiam dithyrambicorum, tragicorum, comicorum. Cum autem Pisistratus — si vera est notissima illa Ciceronis fabula (*de or.* 3, 137) — Homeri libros antea confusos in ordinem disposuisset, — qua in re ipsa iudicium inerat, — tum eruditi Graeci, Metrodorus, Stesimbrotus, Glaucōn,<sup>5</sup> eos excutere inceperunt; ars grammatica exorta est; cui dediti Protagoras, Prodicus, Licymnius, Alcidamas, verbis aptis inveniendis quasi viam patefecerunt qua alii postea critici progredierentur. Atque

<sup>1</sup> Hoc in loco cum Egger, *Hist. de la Crit.*<sup>2</sup>, 1 sqq. et Saintsburius, *Hist. of Crit.* I, 9–20, usui fuerunt, tum maximam partem professorem meum amicumque benignum, Morris Hicky Morgan, cuius annis abhinc paucis de his rebus disserentis auditor fui, secutus sum.

<sup>2</sup> *Od.* 8, 45, 83, 489 sqq. Cf. autem quae de oratore dicuntur *Il.* 1, 248 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> *Od.* 1, 336 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> *Od.* 8, 63, 499; 22, 347 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Plat. *Ion*, p. 530 c–d.

etiam antehac poetae melici, interdum verba versumve alienum afferentes, aut laudare solebant aut culpae,<sup>1</sup> et mox tragici quoque et occulta quaedam et aperta iudicia haud raro protulerunt, multoque plura certe protulissent nisi ipso scripturae genere coerciti essent. Primum vero alius alium iudicavit qui eadem re diversa ratione in fabula est usus. Sic enim Sophocles Euripidesque in *Electris* suis Aeschyli *Choephoros* culpabant, ille vero tacite et fortasse benigne, quippe qui causas ἀναγνωρίσεως Aeschyli dissimiles facere mallet sed quasi silentio rem praeteriret, hic tamen fere maledice contumelioseque tamquam si merae nugae esset ea pars fabulae Aeschyleae.<sup>2</sup> In tragoediis autem de Philoctete ab eisdem tribus poetis scriptis qui varie fabulam persequuntur, iudicia pleraque continentur quae ne verbis quidem tradita tamen intellegi possint.<sup>3</sup> Adde huc et Sophoclis librum verbis solutis de choro scriptum,<sup>4</sup> — quo ille id maxime defendisse videtur, optime sese chororum usurpasse, — et Euripidis illas in medias fabulas introductas cavillationes, quibus Homerum Aeschylumque petebat :

(*Suppl.* 850)

πῶς τις ἐν μάχῃ βεβῶς  
 λόγῃς ἰούσης πρόσθεν ὀμμάτων πυκνῆς  
 σαφῶς ἀπήγγειλ' ὅστις ἐστὶν ἀγαθός;  
 οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην οὐτ' ἐρωτῆσαι τάδε  
 οὐτ' ἂν πιθέσθαι τοῖσι τολμῶσιν λέγειν, —

quocum conferendum est *Il.* 4, 457 sqq. multaue similia, —

(*Phoen.* 748)

ἐλθὼν δ' ἐπτάπυργον ἐς πόλιν  
 τάξω λοχαγούς πρὸς πύλαισιν, ὡς λέγεις,  
 ἴσους ἴσοισι πολεμίοισιν ἀντιθείς.  
 νέμειν δ' ἕκαστον διατριβὴν πολλὴν ἔχει,  
 ἐχθρῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῖς τείχεσιν καθήμενων, —

conferre licet Aeschyli *Sept.* 375 sqq., — et ea quae supra dixi de fabulis et comoediis et tragoediis poetae alterius ab altero retractatis, et de

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Smyth. *Class. Rev.* XVII, 353; Pind. frag. 79.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Soph. *El.* 901 sqq.; Eurip. *El.* 513 sqq.; Aesch. *Cho.* 135 sqq. De Euripidis iudiciis in *Electra* repertis conferre licet Radermacher. *Rhein. Mus.* LVIII, 546 sqq., qui, versibus nonnullis reiectis, iudicia illa et pauciora et aequiora effecit. Cf. autem Patin. *Études sur les Tragiques Grecs: Eschyle*<sup>2</sup>, 347 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Christ. *Gesch. d. Gr. Litt.*<sup>3</sup>, 247–248.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Christ. *ibid.* 251.

versibus iteratis.<sup>1</sup> Sunt et alia nonnulla quae de tragicis disseri possunt, sed nolumus in his rebus nimis esse longi.

Nunc igitur ad comicos ipsos veniamus, qui primi, ut apparet, apud Graecos, vera et multa iudicia afferunt.<sup>2</sup> Nam et falsa est aliqua ex parte sententia illa de qua certiores nos fecit Dion Chrysostomus *Or.* 53, 1: Ἀριστοτέλης, ἀφ' οὗ φασι τὴν κριτικὴν τε καὶ γραμματικὴν ἀρχὴν λαβεῖν, — neque vera sunt ea quae dixit Patinus, *Études sur les Tragiques Grecs: Euripide*, II<sup>7</sup>, 421: Euripidem primum ex poetis scaenicis omnibus iudicia de litteris proposuisse. Sed ut ab antiquissimis ordiamur, primae sunt percurrendae EPICHARMI reliquiae, quae vero et solae e comoediis Doricis aliquid ad nos attinent et ipsae parvi sunt momenti.<sup>3</sup> Ac nulla quidem habita investigatione, nemo fere in fabulis Epicharmeis, quarum tanta pars heroum virorumque mores ridicule depingerent, complura invenire iudicia speraret. Aeschylei tamen cuiusdam vocabuli hunc irrisorem fuisse docet Schol. Aesch. *Eum.* 626: τιμαλφούμενον· συνεχὲς τὸ ὄνομα παρ' Αἰσχύλῳ, δι' ὃ σκώπτει αὐτὸν Ἐπίχαρμος. (Kaibel. 214.) Qua scilicet irrisione illum voluit significare saepius proiecisit, ut ait Horatius,

ampullas et sesquipedalia verba.

Sed utrum in vera illius comoedia haec facta sit necne, incertum.<sup>4</sup> Minorum autem poetarum duos commemoravit, et primum Diomum quendam, qui primus τὸν βουκολιασμὸν καλούμενον scripsisse dicebatur: *Ath.* 14, 619 b: μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ (sc. Διόμου) Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Ἀλκωνί καὶ ἐν Ὀδυσσεῖ *Ναυαγῶ* (Kaibel. 4; 105); tum Aristoxenum iamborum quendam poetam, fere ignotum,<sup>5</sup> quem his verbis laudavit:

οἱ τοὺς ἰάμβους καὶ τὸν ἄριστον<sup>6</sup> τρόπον,  
ὃν πρῶτος εἰσαγήσαθ' ἄριστόξενος. (Kaibel. 88)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. supra, p. 131, adn. 6; 127, adn. 1; 130, adn. 1; Aesch. *Pers.* Argumentum.

<sup>2</sup> Comitorum sane nonnulli multis annis ante sunt quam ei de quibus modo dictum est.

<sup>3</sup> Eodem modo quoque iudicavit Egger, *Hist. de la Crit.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 89.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Kaibel. *C. G. F.*, pp. 129, 93.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Kaibel. *ibid.*, p. 87, et apud Pauly-Wissowae *Real-Encycl.* III, 1056; *Christ. Gr. Litt.*<sup>3</sup>, p. 282, adn. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Porsonius metri gratia coniecit *καττὸν ἀρχαῖον κτλ.*, quae nec Lorenzius nec Kaibelus sufficere iudicant.



De arte quoque poetica haec sententia postea haud rara ei attribuitur :

οὐκ ἔστι διθύραμβος, ὅκχ' ὕδωρ πίης. (Kaibel. 132)

Alia sunt nonnulla fragmenta :

αἶ τί κα ζατῆς σοφόν, τὰς νυκτὸς ἐνθυμητέον, (Kaibel. 270)

πάντα τὰ σπουδαῖα νυκτὸς μᾶλλον ἐξευρίσκεται, (Kaibel. 271)

οὐ λέγειν τύγ' ἐσσι δεινός, ἀλλὰ σιγᾶν ἀδύνατος, (Kaibel. 272)

sed haec inter iudicia non numeranda sunt idcirco quia Kaibelus ea non Epicharmi iudicat.

Imitabatur nonnumquam epicum sermonem<sup>1</sup> et indices saepe de Homero trahebat,<sup>2</sup> tantum ut narrationes illas antiquas ridicule exponeret. Sed quo modo rhetores imitando deriserit nos doceat Demetrius, *de eloc.* 24 : ἔστι δὲ κῶλα ἃ μὴ ἀντικείμενα ἐμφαίνει τινὰ ἀντίθεσιν διὰ τὸ τῷ σχήματι ἀντιθέτως γεγράφθαι, καθάπερ τὸ παρ' Ἐπιχάρμῳ τῷ ποιητῇ πεπαιγμένον ὅτι

τόκα μὲν ἐν τήνων ἐγὼν ἦν, τόκα δὲ παρὰ τήνοισ ἐγὼν. (Kaibel. 147)

ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν ἴσως γελωτοποιῶν οὕτως ἀντέθηκεν καὶ ἅμα σκώπτων τοὺς ῥήτορας. Praeterea se ipsum versis iteratis aliquam partem laudavit, Ath. 4, 139 b : Ἐπιχάρμος γοῦν ἐν Ἑλπίδι φησίν. [duos citat versus = Kaibel. 37] τὰ αὐτὰ εἶρηκε καὶ ἐν Περιάλλῳ (Kaibel. 110). Quod quidem insciens vix facere potuit.

Denique, ut qui εὔρετικὸς καὶ φιλότεχνος esset,<sup>3</sup> fabulam Ἥβας Γάμον retractatam Μουσῶν sub nomine edidit, cuius tamen fabulae fragmenta paene omnia ad pisces et ad rem coquinariam pertinent, nec omnino ad litteras. Musas enim novas quasdam et quasi piscinarias dicit, ἐπτὰ . . . θυγατέρας Πιέρου καὶ Πιμπληίδος νύμφης, Νειλοῦν, Τριτώνην, Ἀσωποῦν, Ἑπταπόρην, Ἀχελώϊδα, Τιτόπλον, καὶ Ῥοδίαν (cf. Tzetz. ad Hes. *Op.* 6, p. 23 Gaisf.). Sed fabula quod retractata est, longius est nobis consideranda, si forte cognoscere possimus quo modo opus suum poeta iudicaverit. Veri similis est, ut opinor, Lorenzi sententia (*Epicharm.*, p. 131) : Musarum illarum mirabilium partes, cum spectatoribus prioris fabulae essent sine dubio gratissimae, fabula renovata

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kaibel. 99; Egger. *Hist. de la Crit.*<sup>2</sup> 43.

<sup>2</sup> V. Lorenz. *Epicharm.*, p. 133 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Anon. *περὶ κωμῳδίας*. II, 4 (7, 18 Kaibel.).

auctas esse et perfectas. Nomina igitur quoque novae fabulae illas imposuisse. Aliquotiens autem apud Athenaeum conservatos videre possumus versus et quales fuerint priusquam mutati sint et postea :

Ath. 3, 85 e: . . . ἐν δὲ Μούσαις γράφεται ἀντὶ τοῦ

κόγχος ἄπερ κογχοθηρῶν παισὶν εστρισώνια †, (Kaibel. 42)

κόγχος ἂν τέλλιν καλέομεσ· ἐστὶ δ' ἄδιστον κρέας. (Kaibel. 43)

Ath. 9, 398 d: . . . Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Ἦβας Γάμφ·

λαμβάνοντι γὰρ

ὄρτυγας στρουθούς τε κορυδαλλάς τε φιλοκονίονας

τέτραγὰς τε σπερματολόγους κἀγλαὰς συκαλλίδας. (Kaibel. 45)

καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις (in *Musis*, ut opinatur Kaibelus) δὲ φησιν·

ἦν δ' ἐρῳδιοὶ τε πολλοὶ μακροκαμπυλαύχενας

τέτραγές τε σπερματολόγοι.<sup>1</sup> (Kaibel. 46)

Ath. 7, 319 b: Ἐπίχαρμος δὲ φησιν (in illa fabula, sine dubio)

κομαρίδας τε καὶ κύνας κέστρας τε πέρκας τ' αἰόλας. (Kaibel. 47)

Ath. 7, 323 a: Ἐπίχαρμος δ' ἐν Μούσαις . . .

χαλκίδας τε καὶ κύνας κέστρας τε πέρκας τ' αἰόλας. (Kaibel. 48)

Ath. 7, 295 b: . . . Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Ἦβας Γάμφ·

σκορπίοι τε ποικίλοι σαῦροί τε, γλαῦκοι πίονες. (Kaibel. 49)

Ath. 7, 320 e: Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Μούσαις ποικίλον εἶναί φησι τὸν σκορπίον·

σκορπίοι τε ποικίλοι γλαῦκοί τε, σαῦροι πίονες. (Kaibel. 50)

E quibus apparet aliqua ex parte quales hic, cum fabulas retractarit, mutationes fecerit. Nam primum par illud versuum demonstrare videtur, nova in fabula aut res aut locum aut personam mutatam esse, aut saltem aliquanto perfectiorem fabulam esse factam et magis sibi consentientem, alterum autem par, epitheton illud perlongum cordi fuisse poetae. Sed ceteri versus, quos supra attuli, idcirco fortasse mutati sunt quia, ut nova auditoribus videretur fabula, aliquid mutari necesse erat; immo fortasse negligentior erat poeta fabulam retractans quam ut talia sine ulla mutatione scriberet. Nec denique est negandum Athenaeum quoque negligentem posse fuisse.

<sup>1</sup> Kaibelus addidit verba κἀγλαὰ συκαλλίδες.

Haec sunt quae de Epicharmo volui dicere. Cum igitur tam raro pro numero haud parvo fragmentorum de poetis litterisque mentio fiat, constat poetas Doricos in comoediis minime has res persecutos esse.

Nec aliter certe antiquissimi scripserunt Attici. CHIONIDAE<sup>1</sup> enim unum solum fragmentum est laudandum, idque et apud antiquos (Ath. 14, 638 d; 4, 137 e) et apud nostrae aetatis eruditos (Kock. I, p. 5) recte suspectum (Kock. frag. 4) :

ταῦτ' οὐ μὰ Δία Γνήσιππος οὐδὲ Κλεομένης  
ἐν ἐννέ' ἄν χορδαῖς κατεγλυκῆγατο.

De Gnesippi vero Cleomenisque carminum dulcedine sive mollitia satis hoc est perspicuum; quid praeterea significet, nescio.

MAGNETIS autem, vel quae sub eius nomine feruntur, perpauca illa fragmenta nihil nobis suppeditant. Retractatae certe sunt duae fabulae, Λυδοί et Διόνυσος, sed hoc etiam potius ab aliis recentioribus, ut ait Meinekius, *F. C. G.* I, pp. 31, 34, quam a poeta ipso factum est.

ECPHANTIDAE vero verba quaedam corruptiora reperta sunt apud Schol. Arist. *Eth. Nic.*, p. 1123 a, 21 (p. 186, 9 Heylbut.): . . . ὡς φορτικοὶ τοίνυν καὶ ψυχροὶ διαβάλλονται (sc. οἱ Μεγαρεῖς ἐν κωμῳδίᾳ) καὶ πορφυρίδι χρώμενοι ἐν τῇ παρῳδῳ . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἐκφαντίδης . . . φησί (Kock. frag. 2) 'Μεγαρικῆς κωμῳδίας ἄσμα δειμαὶ αἰσχυνόμενος τὸ δρᾶμα Μεγαρικὸν ποιεῖν.' Quos versus multi emendare conati sunt,<sup>2</sup> sed vix minus sunt dubii nunc quam antea. Hoc saltem constat, Megaricam comoediam a poeta derisam.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vt hic, sic totum per opusculum, Kockianum poetarum ordinem secutus sum, non tamen ignoro hunc ordinem nonnumquam vix cum temporis ordine congruere.

<sup>2</sup> Meinek. II, p. 13; Bergk. *Comment. de rel. Att.*, p. 359; Kock. I, p. 10; Bywater, *Rhein. Mus.* XXXVII, 633; Rutherford. *Class. Rev.* XI, 16; Kaibel. *C. G. F.* I, 1, p. 75, 5; Holzinger, *Burs. Jahresb.* CXVI, 296.

<sup>3</sup> Richardsius, *Class. Rev.* XIV, 392, coniecit poetam hic usurpare verbum Megaricum, δρᾶμα, pro Attico, κωμῳδία; Megareos enim suas comoedias illo nomine appellasse, sed hoc suas Athenienses: rem vero admodum incertam. Nam Wilamowitzius, *Herm.* IX, 319, Eur. *Herac.*<sup>1</sup> 52, adn. 10, veram comoediam Megaricam numquam putat exstitisse, sed ludibri tantum causa id nomen ab Atticis poetis esse fictum; idem autem Zielinskius, *Die Gliederung der Altattischen Komoedie*, 243, alii. Vide tamen e contraria parte Denis. *La Com. Grec.* I, 21 sqq., Mancin. *Rivist. Fil.* XXIV, 526 sqq. Conferre denique licet ea quae de hoc fragmento dixerunt Weilius, *Études sur le Drame Antique*, 6, et Poppelreuter, *De com. Att. primordiis*, 32.

Iam tandem ad CRATINUM pergamus, cuius multa et fragmenta et iudicia restant. Horum autem, consilio usi quod supra est propositum, primum quae in Homericas res et antiquiores poetas cadunt tractemus. Et statim fabula cui Ἀρχίλοχοι est nomen consideranda est. Haec enim iudiciorum olim plena fuisse videtur, quamquam nunc vero plerumque evanuerunt. Aliquid tamen valent ad argumentum explicandum haec (Kock. 6) :

εἶδες τὴν Θασίαν ἄλμην οἱ ἅπτα βαῦζει,  
ὡς εὔ καὶ ταχέως ἀπετείσατο<sup>1</sup> καὶ παραχρῆμα,  
οὐ μὲν τοι παρὰ κωφὸν ὁ τυφλὸς ἔοικε λαλῆσαι,

quorum vero lepida, ut opinor, interpretatio, — etsi aliqua saltem inest dubitatio, — est Zielinski, *Gliederung*, 242 (cf. autem eiusdem *Quaestiones comicas*, p. 10) : τὴν Θασίαν ἄλμην sine dubio, verborum translatione, esse ipsum Archilochum;<sup>2</sup> eundem, οὐ κωφὸν; τὸν τυφλὸν, Homerum, — hunc enim in scaena fuisse ex Diogenis Laerti testimonio, prooem. 12, constat (v. infra, p. 140). Certamine autem de litteris habito, hunc, pro aemulis Cratini propugnantem qui rebus Homericis saepe in comoediis usi sint, ab illo, qui pro poeta ipso viros suae aetatis perstringere solito verba faceret, superatum esse. Est praeterea ex hac comoedia conservatus versus obscurus quo fortasse ars comica qualis fuerit antiquis temporibus neglecta exprimitur (Kock. 9) :

ὠμολίνοις κόμη βρύουσ', ἀτιμίας πλέως.<sup>3</sup>

Si tamen clarius ex indice argumentum fabulae indagare conamur, opponitur nobis statim quaeestiuncula quaedam subdifficilis. Cur enim plurali numero usus est poeta et qua significatione? Sunt certe huius iudicis consimiles Κλεοβουλῖναι, Ὀδυσσεύς, Πλοῦτοι, Χείρωνες eiusdem Cratini, Διόννσοι Epicharmi, Ἡσιόδοι Teleclidis, quos similem omnes habere vim conicere oportet. Olim erat consentaneum cum choro eos

<sup>1</sup> Sic van Herwerden. *Mnemos.* XIV, 159; Kock. III, p. 710.

<sup>2</sup> Idem iudicaverunt Bothius alique (cf. Blaydes. *Adversaria*, II, 2); nec Meinekius quidem, si verbum eius perobscurum, *compellari*, recte intelligo, aliter censuit. Cf. Meinek. II, 17 et eiusdem verborum interpretationem apud Bothium, *Poet. Com. Gr. Frag.*, p. 8, repertam. Cum verbo autem ἄλμη de Archilocho usurpato conferre licet ea quae dicunt Suid. et Schol. *Ar. Av.* 281: Philoclem propterea quod *πικρὸς* fuerit, *χολήν* et τὸν Ἰαλίαν esse appellatum.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bergk., *Comm. de rel. Att.* 27; Rutherford. *Class. Rev.* XI, 16.

aliquo modo arte coniungi, et haud scio an etiam nunc haec sententia recta sit habenda: primum quod reliquiae huius fabulae aliarumque cum hac opinione congruere videntur; deinde quia ex indicibus huius poetae pluraliter usurpatis fere omnes, eis neglectis quos paulo ante commemoravi, ad chorum spectare constat. Similes quoque sunt Aristophanis indices. Deinde, cum antiquae comoediae crebri plurales sint indices, postea tamen apud mediae novaeque comoediae poetas, choro non iam usurpato vel saltem locum admodum inferiorem tenente, multo pauciores id genus inveniuntur.<sup>1</sup> Quare singulis indicibus non examinatis appareat maximam partem eorum qui plurales sunt e choro nomen sumpsisse.

Haec si vera arbitraris, Ἀρχιλόχοι possunt viri esse Archilochi poetae consimiles, id est, ut ait Kockius, personati Archilochi, censores acerbissimi, nec rara quidem haec est significatio numeri pluralis. Sunt autem qui dicunt huius generis indices socios alicuius significare, et Ὀδυσσεῶν certe chorus, qui his verbis utantur (Kock. 144) —

σιγάν νιν ἅπας ἔχε σιγάν,  
καὶ πάντα λόγον τάχα πείσει·  
ἡμῖν δ' Ἰθάκη πατρίς ἐστίν,  
πλέομεν δ' ἄμ' Ὀδυσσεῖ θείῳ —

magis socii Vlixis quam eius similes esse videntur, quo modo tamen haec vis in indice contineri possit equidem nescio.<sup>2</sup> Sed fortasse, cum qui alicuius viri similes sunt ei facile ut eundem sequantur adduci possint, ex illa significatione haec quoque evadere potuit. Tutius tamen, ut opinor, ibimus, si Bergki potius sententiam (*Comm. de rel. com. Att.* 5)<sup>3</sup> sequimur et Ἀρχιλόχους iudicare homines fuisse et Archilochi similes et eius comites et socios. Sed praeter Archilochum ipsum eiusque socios

<sup>1</sup> Apud vetustiores enim poetas ante Eupolidem pluraliter dictos indices invenio LXIX, singulariter XXVII; apud Eupolidem, Phrynichum, Aristophanem, Platonem, illorum LXI, horum XLV; apud ceteros antiquae comoediae poetas, illorum LVI, horum XCIV. Sed Antiphanis sunt in singulari CXX, in plurali tantum modo XXVI, Menandri in plurali XIX, in singulari LXXVI. Plenius de hac re disserit Haasius, *De com. Att. ant. fabularum nominibus*: I, Melk., 1902, pp. 6 sqq.; II, 1903, pp. 49 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Consimilis est fortasse vox Iudaeorum inferiorum ordinum qui Christianos *Krishts* appellant. Cf. *McClure's Magazine*, 1904, 253.

<sup>3</sup> Sapienter idem de hac tota re scripsit, *Comm.* 130-131.

alii erant poetae in scaena; Clemens enim Alexandrinus, *Strom.* I, 24, Κρατίνος, inquit, ἐν τοῖς Ἀρχιλόχοις ποιητὰς καταλέξας ἔφη (Kock. 2)

οἶον σοφιστῶν σμῆνος ἀνεδιφήσατε,

atque Diogenes Laertius, prooem. 12, καὶ οἱ ποιητὰι (ἐκαλοῦντο) σοφισταὶ καθὰ καὶ Κρατίνος ἐν Ἀρχιλόχοις τοὺς περὶ Ὅμηρον καὶ Ἡσίοδον ἐπαινῶν οὕτως καλεῖ.<sup>1</sup> Quae si cum ceteris rebus iam expositis conferimus, concludere fortasse nobis licet unam tantum chori partem, de qua fabula tota nomen accepit, Archilochi fautores fuisse, alteram poetarum aliorum, Homeri et Hesiodi, comites.<sup>2</sup>

Sed longe aliter de hac re iudicant alii, quorum Welcker, *Kleine Schriften*, I, 323, adn., conicere videtur singularem idem fere quod pluralis significare.<sup>3</sup> Confert enim indices Epicharmi Ἀρπαγὰς, Cratetis Παιδιάς et Τολμάς, qui auctoritatem quandam ad hos formandos de quibus nunc disserimus habere potuerunt; praeterea Diogenes Laerti locum I, 89: Κλεοβουλίνην . . . ἧς μέμνηται καὶ Κρατίνος ἐν τῷ ὁμωνύμῳ δράματι, πληθυντικῶς ἐπιγράψας, quo idem significare Κλεοβουλίνην et Κλεοβουλίνας arbitrari videtur Graecus — nisi forte inscientiam verbis celare conetur. Recentius autem confirmat Wilamowitzius (Eurip. *Heracl.*<sup>1</sup>, p. 55, adn. 14), ut Ἀθήναι urbs sit deae Athenae, Αἴτναι, — sic enim fabulae Aeschyleae indicem legit, — Aetnae tragoedia, sic Ὀδυσσεύς significare Vlixis comoediam. Qua quidem ratione Ἀρχίλοχοι est Archilochi comoedia. Sed etsi eiusmodi sunt haec quae nobis paene persuadeant, re vera tamen incertae sunt coniecturae de re ipsa incerta. Revertamus, igitur, ad alteram illam Bergki sententiam, ex omnibus quae adhuc propositae sunt optimam.<sup>4</sup> De indice autem etiāsi nihil habeamus compertum, in fabula tamen qua certatio poetarum continebatur necessario erant occasiones multae et

<sup>1</sup> Petersius, *Aristophanis iudicium de summis suae aetatis tragicis*, Monasterii, 1858, p. 38, adn. 30, hoc versu “Cratinus,” inquit, “sophistas ludit.” Haud recte. Cf. autem *N. Jahrb. f. kl. Alt.* IX, 410.

<sup>2</sup> Haud igitur dissimilis est fabula Ὀδυσσῆς in qua demonstrasse videtur Kaibelus, *Herm.* XXX, 80, duodecim e choro Vlixis esse socios, duodecim Cyclopes. Tamen ex illis modo est fabula nominata. Et aliae sunt similes.

<sup>3</sup> Idem tamen, *op. cit.*, p. 339, adn. 24, v. Ἀρχιλόχους transferri dicit et, ut ita dicam, λαμβιστῶν chorum significare.

<sup>4</sup> Nuper Haasium, *De com. Att. fab. nominibus*, II, 38 sq., cognovi simili esse in sententia.

praeclarae Homerum, Hesiodum, Archilochum, partes eorum laudandi vituperandique. Ut, igitur, breve faciam, hoc quidem constat, fere totam fabulam poetis litterisque deditam esse,<sup>1</sup> id quod gravius videtur si Bergkio (*Comm. de rel. com. Att.* 20) credis non multo post Ol. 82, 3 actam eam esse.

Fabulam vero 'Οδυσσεάς, — quamquam Platonius, xiv, γι, οἱ γοῦν, inquit, 'Οδυσσεῖς Κρατίνου οὐδενὸς ἐπιτίμησιν ἔχουσι, διασυρμὸν δὲ τῆς 'Οδυσσεάς,<sup>2</sup> — fragmenta docent similem fuisse Euripidis *Cyclopi*, nec aliud ea de Homeri *Odyssea* poetam iudicasse nisi quod verbis eius ridicule per parodiam usurpatis significetur. Homerum tamen hic, sicut alii antiqui,<sup>3</sup> Μαργίτου scriptorem habuit et in fabula fortasse *Archilochis* commemoravit, — Eustrat. ad Arist. *Eth. Nicom.* 1141a, 14 (320, 39 Heylbut.): ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος καὶ Κρατίνος (καὶ Ἀρχιλόχοις Κρατίνος Bergk.) καὶ Καλλίμαχος ἐν τῷ ἐπιγράμματι καὶ μαρτυροῦσιν (Μαργίτην) εἶναι Ὀμήρου τὸ ποίημα (Kock. 332), — et in fabula quae *Εὐνείδα* nominatur eundem vere videtur culpasse: Porphyr. Euseb. *Praep. ev.* 10, 3, p. 467 b: τὸ γὰρ 'τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη κρείων Διομήδης' σιγῶ, 'Ὀμήρου κωμωδηθέντος ὑπὸ Κρατίνου διὰ τὸ πλεονάσαι ἐν τῷ 'τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος.' (K. 68) Cuius fabulae de argumento non constare quamquam cum Kockio confitendum puto, ea tamen quae Crusius, *Philol.* XLVII, 35 sq., coniecit proferre oportet: in ea certamen musicum habitum, in quo poeta τῶν νεωτέρων aliquis 'Terpandream' poetam atque antiquam Boeotorum poesin hoc versu exagitavisset:

(K. 310) οὔτοι δ' εἰσὶν σνοβιοιτοί, κρουπεζοφόρον γένος ἀνδρῶν.

Sed nunc ad iudicia de tragicis facta progrediamur, ac primum vero ad tria de uno malo poeta Gnesippo: Ath. 14, 638 ef: σκώπτει δὲ αὐτὸν (sc. Gnesippum) εἰς τὰ ποιήματα καὶ ἐν Βουκόλοις.

<sup>1</sup> Similis, igitur, erat aliis aliorum poetarum Cratinique ipsius fabulis permultis, quas infra enumeravi, p. 228, adn. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kaibel. *Kratinos' ΟΔΥΣΣΗΣ und Euripides' ΚΥΚΛΩΨ*, *Herm.* XXX, 82; Holland. *De Polyph. et Galat.* (*Leipziger Studien*, VII, 159); Ribbeck. *De usu parodiae ap. com. Athen.* 6.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lohan. *De librorum titulis apud classicos scriptores Graecos*, Marpurgi Catorum, 1890, p. 8.

(K. 15) ὅς οὐκ ἔδωκ' αἰτοῦντι Σοφοκλέει χορόν,  
τῷ Κλεομάχου δ', ὃν οὐκ ἂν ἤξιον ἐγὼ  
ἔμοι διδάσκειν οὐδ' ἂν εἰς Ἀδώνια.

ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ὀραις·

(K. 256) ἴτω δὲ καὶ τραγωδίας  
ὁ Κλεομάχου διδάσκαλος  
παρατιλιτριῶν ἔχων χορόν  
λυδιστὶ τιλλουσιῶν μέλη  
πονηρά.

Ath. 14, 638 d e: Γνησίππου τινὸς μνημονεύει παιγνιαγράφου τῆς Ἰλαρᾶς  
μοῦσης . . . Κρατίνος ἐν Μαλθακοῖς·

(K. 97) τίς ἄρ' ἐρῶντά μ' οἶδεν, ὃ Γνήσιππ', ἐγὼ πολλῇ χολῇ.  
οἴομαι γὰρ μηδὲν οὕτως μῶρον εἶναι καὶ κενόν.

Quorum in primo ut hunc increpat, sic Sophoclem approbat; in altero, ambigue ludens, et mollitiem viri et vitia tragoediarum<sup>1</sup> simul perstringit; in postremo<sup>2</sup> aliquo modo ad mollia atque effeminata eius carmina spectare videtur. Deinde semel Acestori minatur:

(K. 85) Ἀκέστορα γὰρ ὅμως εἰκὸς λαβεῖν  
πληγὰς, ἐὰν μὴ συστρέψῃ τὰ πράγματα.<sup>3</sup>

Philoclem denique, qui Sophoclis *Oedīpo* superato victoriam reportavit, hoc versu petiit:

(K. 292) ὄνπερ Φιλοκλέης τὸν λόγον διέφθορεν.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sic enim hoc et alia fragmenta ad eum pertinentia interpretor; μελη nihil alia sunt quam tragoediarum carmina a choro cantata. (Cf. Welcker. *Gr. Trag.* III, 1024 sqq.) Meinekius tamen (II, pp. 7, 29) minus recte, ut opinor, haud tragicum sed lyricum poetam eum putat.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. praeter Kock. et Kaibel. ad Ath. loc. laud., Rutherford. *Class. Rev.* XI, 17.

<sup>3</sup> Verbum συστρέψῃ Meinekius (II, p. 68) recte, ut opinor, interpretatur—*actionem et argumentum fabulae rotundare et suis finibus circumscribere, ne temere diffluat et extra terminos vagetur*; similiter Blaydes. *Advers. in C. G. F.* II, 5. Aliquid diversa est sententia Bergki, *Comm. de rel. c. Att.* 124, et Denisi, *Com. Grec.* II, 65. Headlamus, *Class. Rev.* XIII, 5, emendare conatur.

<sup>4</sup> Smithius in *Dict. Biogr.* III, 301, quo iure affirmet hic significari veri simile esse Terea fabulam, nescio.



Haud benignior scilicet ei iudex erat poeta quam tempus, multoque et hoc et ille severiores quam iudices theatrales.

Comitorum autem, ne mentionem de Mullo faciam (K. 89), poeta ut videtur ficto,<sup>1</sup> et Ecphantidem et Aristophanem exagitavit. Illius enim verba aliqua sic attulit :

(K. 324, a) εὖτε κισσοχαῖτ' ἀναξ χαῖρ', ἔφασκ' Ἐκφαντίδης,

fortasse, ut coniecit Bergkiius, *Comm.* 114, ut humilem illam et antiquam comoediam significet, nec saltem bono animo, quandoquidem ludibri causa eundem aliis locis et Καπνίαν et Χοιριλεκφαντίδην appellasse videtur, — hoc nomine propterea quod a Choerilo servo in comoediis scribendis adiuuaretur, illo quod prisco et obsoleto more scriberet:<sup>2</sup> Schol. Ar. *Vesp.* 151: τὸν ὑπεκλυόμενον (ὑποκαπνιζόμενον Ellis.) οἶνόν φασί τινες καπνίαν λέγεσθαι. ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ Κρατίνου διώρισται, ὅτι τὸν ἀπόθετον ἢ παλαιόν. διὸ καὶ Ἐκφαντίδην Καπνίαν καλοῦσι. (K. 334) Hesych. Χοιριλεκφαντίδης· Κρατίνος τὸν Ἐκφαντίδην οὕτως εἶπεν, διὰ τὸν Χοιρίλον. (K. 335; sic emendavit Meinekius.) Adde Hesychi verba: ἐκκεχοιριλωμένη· οὐ Χοιρίλου οὔσα· Ἐκφαντίδην γὰρ τῷ κωμικῷ Χοιρίλου θεράπων ἦν, ὃς συνεποιεῖτο κωμωδίας, — quibus fortasse Cratinus, si ad eum haec spectant, unam aut, ut Naekius, *Choeril.* 55–56, e comoediis Ecphantidae, aut potius, ut Bergkiius, *Comm.* 256, e suis ipsius comoediis dissimillimam esse Choerili scriptis significavit.

Aristophanem autem bis furti accusavit: Schol. Ar. *Eq.* 531: ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Κρατίνος ἔγραψε τὴν Πυτίνην δεικνὺς ὅτι οὐκ ἐλήρησεν, ἐν οἷς κακῶς λέγει τὸν Ἀριστοφάνην ὡς τὰ Εὐπόλιδος λέγοντα<sup>3</sup> (K. 200); Schol. Platon. Bekk. 330, ad fin.: Ἀριστοφάνης . . . ἐκωμωδεῖτο ἐπὶ τῷ σκώπτειν μὲν Εὐριπίδην, μμείσθαι δ' αὐτόν. Κρατίνος (K. 307)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wilamowitz. *Herm.* IX, 338 sq.; Kock. I, 4; Zielinsk. *Quaest. Com.* 70.

<sup>2</sup> Bergkium, *Comm.* 67, et Burmannum, *De poetis com. Att. ant., qui commemorantur ab Ar.*, Berolini, 1868, p. 7, sequor; Meineki, I, 36, et Naeki, *Choeril. Sam.* 52, opiniones minus rectas censeo, Lehrsi quidem, *Quaest. Ep.* 22–23, quem Bothius sequitur, vix credibilem. Illi enim conicienti non admodum probabile illis vetustis temporibus comico ex dicendi genere cognomen adhaesisse, potest responderi et Χοιριλεκφαντίδην cognomen propter scribendi consuetudinem deditum esse et plurima quoque iudicia ad litteras pertinentia — quae vero attuli afferamque — palam facere haud paulum ad genus dicendi poetas illius aetatis animadvertisse.

<sup>3</sup> Hoc crimen Aristophanem in *Vesp.* 1022 diluisse coniecit Zielinskius, *Quaest. Comm.* 28, adn. 1.

τίς δὲ σύ; κομψός τις ἔροιτο θεατῆς.  
ὑπολεπτολόγος, γνωμοδιώκτης, εὐριπιδαριστοφανίζων.

Altero tamen horum fragmentorum ut Aristophanes sic alius nescio quis scriptor (σύ) petitur, quippe qui ambo Euripidem imitati argutias persubtiles aucupentur.<sup>1</sup> Ea vero quae de antiquissimae comoediae conditione poeta dicit paulo ante tetigi, nec repetere est necesse. Sed haec certe sunt laudanda, quibus trita quaedam argumenta inridet atque contemnit:—Schol. Ar. *Pac.* 741: ἐπεπόλαξε γὰρ τότε ταῦτα, Ἡρακλῆς πεινῶν, καὶ Διόνυσος δειλός, καὶ μοιχὸς Ζεὺς, ὥστε καὶ αὐτοὺς δοκεῖν ἄχθεσθαι. Κρατῖνος· ὑπὸ δὲ Ἡρακλέους πεινῶντος ἄγει καὶ σκώπτοντος ταῦτα οὐ βοιωτόν ἐστι (K. 308),<sup>2</sup>—et haec, quibus aemulos petit: Phot. et Suid.: ῥάζειν καὶ ῥύζειν· τὸ ὑλακτεῖν . . . ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς πικρανομένους καὶ σκαιολογούντας μετηνέχθη· Κρατῖνος Δηλιάσιν·

(K. 25) ἵνα σιωπῇ τῆς τέχνης ῥάζωσι τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον·

καὶ ἐξῆς·

(K. 26) ἔρραζε πρὸς τὴν γῆν, ὃ δ' ἠσκάριξε κατέπαρδε.

Prior quidem versus, licet corruptus, magna ex parte satis bene comprehendendi potest; alter est obscurior, nec qui ad litteras spectare videtur.<sup>3</sup>

Aliorum autem poetarum minorum primum Cleobulina, poetria incerta

<sup>1</sup> Εὐριπιδαριστοφανίζων significat *imitans tam Euripidem quam Aristophanem*. (Sic enim Stephanus, *Thesaur. ling. Gr.* s. v.; Iungius, *De vocabulis antiquae comediae Atticae*, 137. Perperam verbum interpretantur Liddellius et Scottus, *Lex.* s. v.) Aristophanes igitur non ipse, ut ait Petersius, *Ar. iudicium de summis trag.*, 20, adn. 70, in his verbis appellari videtur sed tantum alio nescio quo appellato ita circuitione quadam vituperari. (De hoc aliisque illis Cratini verbis longioribus disseruit Zielinskius, *Philol.* XLVII, 25 sqq.) Quod cum Luebkcius, *Observ. crit. in historiam veteris Graecorum com.*, 29, opprobrium dicit apparere ineptum, inepta ipse, mea quidem sententia, scribit. Etenim et Aristophanes veram esse concedit accusationem imitandi et res ipsa idem satis indicat. Cf. Symonds. *Greek Poets*<sup>3</sup>, II, 174, adn., et infra, p. 178.

<sup>2</sup> Haec fortasse non restitui posse sententia est Rutherfordi, *Schol. Aristoph.* II, 114; cf. tamen Kocki et aliorum apud eum commemoratas coniecturas.

<sup>3</sup> Illud versum nec Kockius nec Zielinskius, *Quaest. com.*, 11–12, absolute emendavit. De hoc autem confer Headlam. *Four. Phil.* XXIII, 295; Rutherford. *Class. Rev.* XI, 16; Holzinger. *Burs. Jahresb.* CXVI, 296.



Denique poetae aliqui, carminum scriptores, — sine dubio Eunidae, gens arte musica clarissima, quippe cum haec verba sumpta sint ex fabula eodem nomine, *Eunidis*, inscripta, — eisdem verbis quae Aristophanes postea, *Eg.* 529, haud sine multis huius affert laudibus, sive laudantur sive se ipsi, chori partes agentes, laudant :

(K. 70) τέκτονες εὐπαλάμων ὕμνων.

Duo autem genera commemorat carminum eorum quibus in fabulis ipse uti solebat, — Lex. Messanense, f. 280 v. 15–19 (cf. Rabium, *Rhein. Mus.* XLVII, 406) : ἐπεικῶς γὰρ πᾶσαι αἱ ἀπὸ σκηνῆς ᾠδαὶ ἐν τῇ τραγωδίᾳ θρηνοὶ εἰσιν. ἐκαλοῦντο δὲ ἀπὸ σκηνῆς αἱ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν. Κρατῖνος Ὄραις. Id. f. 282 r. 20 : παλινωδικοὶ ὕμνοι σὺν τῷ ἰ. Κρατῖνος Πανόπταις, — scolorum duo :

(K. 236) Κλειταγόρας ἄδειν, ὅταν Ἀδμήτου μέλος αὐλῆ,

qui tamen versus proverbii locum apud Graecos obtinuisse videtur Meinekio, II, 154.

Pericli quidem uni oratorum gloriam attribuit maximam, ac simul certe verbo illo γλῶττα eum iridet :

(K. 293) ὦ μέγιστη γλῶττα τῶν Ἑλληνίδων.<sup>1</sup>

De quo conferre licet Aristid. 46, 129 : ὁ μὲν (τῶν κωμικῶν) τῶν Ἑλληνίδων μέγιστην τὴν ἐκείνου (sc. Περικλέους) γλῶτταν εἶρηκε, λέγων μὲν ἴσον τι καὶ φωνήν, ἀναμίξας δὲ τι τῆς παρὰ τῆς τέχνης πικρίας τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας. Quod autem Euathlum, ξυνήγορόν τινα, commemorasse dicitur (K. 75), ea ipsa res incerta est,<sup>2</sup> nec certe si commemoravit, de orationibus loqueretur erat necesse.

*Ολονίχου μανθάνει* scribit; haud necessario, cum nec quae in versu sequente olim fuerint sciamus, nec vero, ut ille confirmat, perpetua sit Oeonichi cum Polymnesto societas. Simul enim commemorantur tantum, quod sciam, apud *Ar. Eg.* 1287 et *Schol.*, atque, verbis inter se simillimis, apud *Schol. Luc. Pseudolog.* 3 fin. (*Hemsterhus.* III, 164), et *Suid.* s. vv. Πολυμν. et Ἀριφράδ., Oeonichi autem solius Hesychi s. v. *Ολ. μουσεῖον*, Polymnesti complures alii mentionem faciunt. (v. *Papi Wörterbuch*<sup>3</sup>, s. v.)

<sup>1</sup> Nescio quoque an rarius illud verbum Ἑλληνίδων, pro verbo Ἑλληνίων usurpatum, simul *mulierum Graecarum* spectatoribus significare, sic autem et Periclis et mulierum loquacitatem potuerit ludificari.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Starkium ad *Ar. Vesp.* 592.

Nec vero de se suaque arte silet Cratinus. Nam primum, ne iterum in ea fragmenta (146, 324 b) animum intendamus, quae paulo ante attuli, duae fabulae, Πυτίνη et Διδασκαλία, totam eius artis rationem exposuisse videntur. Harum vero posterior obscura est unusque tantum superstat versus :

(K. 36) ὅτε σὺ τοὺς καλοὺς θριάμβους ἀναρύτουσ' ἀπηχθάνου.

Sed quoniam hic, ut coniecit Kockius, Musa poetae fortasse appellata est — quamquam aliter certe arbitratur Meinekius, — et index minime quidem obstat, totam fabulam aut magnam eius partem nobis iudicare licet eodem spectasse.<sup>1</sup> *Pytinae* autem argumentum multo est apertius ; nam, forte fortuna, non solum haec plane perspicueque scripta habemus, — Schol. Ar. *Eq.* 400 : γράφει δράμα τὴν Πυτίνην, εἰς αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν μέθην. οἰκονομία δὲ κέχρηται τοιαύτη. τὴν κωμωδίαν ὁ Κρατίνος ἐπλάσατο αὐτοῦ εἶναι γυναῖκα καὶ ἀφίστασθαι τοῦ συνοικεσίου τοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ θέλειν καὶ κακώσεως αὐτῷ δίκην λαγχάνειν, φίλους δὲ παρατυχόντας τοῦ Κρατίνου δεῖσθαι μηδὲν προπετὲς ποιῆσαι καὶ τῆς ἔχθρας ἀνερωτᾶν τὴν αἰτίαν, τὴν δὲ μέμφεσθαι αὐτῷ, ὅτι μὴ κωμωδοίῃ μηκέτι, σχολάζει δὲ τῇ μέθῃ, — verum etiam quinque fragmenta multum lucis de eadem re nobis afferunt :

(K. 185) τὴν μὲν παρασκευὴν ἴσως γινώσκετε.

(K. 199) οἶνός τοι χαρίεντι πέλει ταχὺς ἵππος ἀοιδῶ,  
ὔδωρ δὲ πίνων οὐδὲν ἄν τέκοι σοφόν.<sup>2</sup>

(K. 186) ἀναξ Ἄπολλον, τῶν ἐπῶν τῶν ῥευμάτων.  
καναχοῦσι πηγαί, δωδεκάκρουνον τὸ στόμα,  
Ἴλιος ἐν τῇ φάρνυγι· τί ἄν εἴποιμ' ἔτι;  
εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἐπιβύσει τις αὐτοῦ τὸ στόμα,  
ἅπαντα ταῦτα κατακλύσει ποιήμασιν.

(Cf. Schol. Ar. *Eq.* 526 : ὁ γὰρ Κρατίνος οὕτω πως ἑαυτὸν ἐπήνεσεν ἐν τῇ Πυτίνῃ, κτλ.)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bergk. *Comm.* 131.

<sup>2</sup> Priorem versum quamquam Cratini non esse iudicat Cobetus, *Nov. lect.* 146-147, tamen haud iniuria Zielinskius, *Gliederung der altatt. Kom.*, 318, adn. 2, propter insolens illud metri genus poetae vindicat.

(Κ. 195) ληρεῖς ἔχων· γράφ' αὐτὸν  
 ἐν ἐπεισοδίῳ· γελοῖος ἔσται Κλεισθένης κυβεύων  
 ἐν τῇδε τῇ κάλλους ἀκμῇ.<sup>1</sup>

(Κ. 196) Ὑπερβολὸν δ' ἀποσβέσας ἐν τοῖς λύχνουσι γράψον.

Horum fragmentorum ut in primo<sup>2</sup> Cratinus oratorum more sese defendere incipit, sic in secundo consuetudinem suam scribendi, in tertio, ut indicat scholiasta ille, suas ipsius laudes exponit. Postrema quidem duo, arte inter se coniuncta, iam demum Zielinskius<sup>3</sup> ingeniose ac perfecte sic interpretatur: Comoediam ipsam in scaena poetae fabulam modo scriptam recitanti locos subfrigidos emendare; cum enim in Clisthenem talis deditum hic invectus sit, illam dicere; faciat eum in episodio re vera talis ludentem; hoc enim magnos risus moturum. Deinde eidem versum scribenti huius similem:

Ἐφ' Ὑπερβόλῳ τὰ πάντα νῦν κείται τὰ τῶν πολιτῶν,

illam respondere: auferat Hyperbolum, λυχνοπώλην illum, atque ἐν τοῖς λύχνουσι scribat, scilicet ut versus aliquantulo facetior evadat:

ἐν τοῖς λύχνουσι πάντα νῦν κείται τὰ τῶν πολιτῶν.

Itaque apparet, si haec vera sunt, cum ipse poeta critici officio fabulam scribens functus est, tum eundem Comoediam quoque, quae criticum ageret, in scaenam duxisse.<sup>4</sup>

Ac quo modo hic gloriari solitus sit, perlucide nobis docet, ut tertium illud fragmentum quod paulo ante attuli, sic Aristides 49, 386: ἀλλ' ἔγωγε κωμωδιοποιῶ τινος ἤκουσα σεμνολογουμένου θυμαστὰ οἷα. καίτοι ἂν τις ἔρηται τοὺς τῆς κωμωδίας ποιητὰς ἐφ' ὅτῳ μέγα φρονῶσι,

<sup>1</sup> Sic fere Meinekius, II, 125, quem Kockius non sequitur.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kock. ad loc. laud. Kaibelus vero, *Herm.* XXIII, 65, haec ex Gorgiae aut Thrasymachi inventis repeti putat, atque eisdem verbis demonstrari Cratinum novum quoddam genus scribendi ascivisse.

<sup>3</sup> *Quaest. com.* 19-22. Secutus est aliquam partem Fritzschiium, *Quaest. Ar.* I, 281, et Meinekius, II, 126. Similis autem eius est Crusi opinio, *Philol.* XLVII, 39, et multo melior quam Steigeri, qui post Weckleinum pro γράψον, θάψον scripsit, nulla necessitate coactus; cf. *Acta Sem. Philol. Erlang.*, V, *Der Eigenname in der attischen Komödie*, 35.

<sup>4</sup> Eiusdem fabulae potest esse hoc quoque fragmentum (adespot. 498): ἐμοὶ γάρ ἐστιν ἀντὶ γυναικὸς ἡ τέχνη.

φαίεν ἄν, οἶμαι, ὅτι γέλωτα κινῶσιν, ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτῶν τις (sc. Cratinus) ὡμολόγηκεν οὐδενὸς ἔρωτῶντος. ἀλλ' ὁμως καὶ οὗτοι χωρὶς ἀξιούσιν εἶναι τὰ τε τῶν ἀστείων σκώμματα καὶ τὰ τῶν πολλῶν· καί τις αὐτῶν ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ δράματος μεγαλαυχούμενος ὡς προφήτης προαγορεύει τοιαῦδε·

(Κ. 306) ἀφυπνίζεσθαι χρὴ πάντα θεατῆν,  
ἀπὸ μὲν βλεφάρων αὐθημερινῶν ποιητῶν λῆρον ἀφέντα.<sup>1</sup>

ὥσπερ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μέλλων ἅπαντας σοφούς τε καὶ σπουδαίους ποιήσειν. διδάξας δὲ τοὺς Χείρωνας προσπαράγραφει πάλιν αὖ μάλα ὑπερηφάνως ἐπὶ τελευτῆς

(Κ. 237) ταῦτα δυοῖν ἐτέοιν ἡμῖν μόλις ἐξεπονήθη,

τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἐν ἅπαντι βίῳ προτιθέναι φησὶ ποιηταῖς μιμῆσθαι, δηλονότι ὡς οὐδένα ἐφιξόμενον. Quorum pars fortasse est illa vana iactatio, qualem alii comici saepe edebant, sed pars utique vera praebet de poeta sua ipsius iudicia. Hic fortasse quoque laudandus est versus nuper repertus:<sup>2</sup> Lex. Messanense f. 281 r. 18-20 (v. Rabium, *Rhein. Mus.* XLVII, 406; Kockium, *ibid.* XLVIII, 239):

νικῶ μὲν ὁ τῆδε πόλει λέγων τὸ λῶστον,<sup>3</sup>

quippe quo antiqua artis comicae ratio plane exponatur. Alia autem in fabula novam rem se dicit protulisse:<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> De his versibus, qui aliquid comoediae historiae intersunt, cf. Frantz., *De comoediae Atticae prologis*, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Nec omnino est praetermittendum frag. 294 K., de quo cf. Crusi interpretationem, *Philol.* XLVII, 40; sed vix huc pertinet.

<sup>3</sup> Kocki coniecturam quam hic exscripsi comprobant Holzinger, *Burs. Jahresb.* CXVI, 294.

<sup>4</sup> Zielinskus quidem, *Quaest. com.* 19, hanc vim fragmento inesse propterea negat, quod ex *Vlixibus* affertur, cuius similes "mythologicae fabulae" iam tritissimae erant in Doriensium comoedia. At fac hanc novam rem fabulam ipsam esse poetam dicere voluisse, — id quod minime saltem est certum — cur tandem fabulae apud Dorienses etiam maxime notae et usitatae, eo tritissimae appellari possunt apud Athenienses? Fragmentum autem cum Zielinskio emendare, verbo οὐ ultro inserto, totaque in contrariam partem vi sic detorta, haudquaquam oportet. Bergkius vero, *Comm. de rel. com. Att.* 161, primus ad *Vlixorum* fabulae rationem illa verba putavit pertinere. Quem, praeter Kockium, causis nonnullis expositis, comprobant Schmidius, *Jahrb. Suppl.* XVI, 382; Kaibelus, *Herm.* XXX, 81-82.

(K. 145) νεοχμόν τι παρήχθαι ἄθυρμα.

Eiusdem fere significationis haec puto verba incertiora :

(K. 146) οὐκ ἴδι' ἅπτα, κοῦκέτ' ὄνθ' οἶα τὰπὶ Χαριζένης.

Sic enim cum Crusio, *Philol.* XLVII, 37–38, versum scribere malo atque explicare ; idem fere de eo censent et Meinekius, II, 98 et Kaibelus, *Herm.* XXX, 81. Nam eam interpretationem quam Kockius, Cobetum, *Obs. crit.* 20–21, certe secutus, exposuit : Charixenam αὐλητρίδα ἀρχαίαν fuisse καὶ ποιήτριαν κρονομάτων, ac cum dolore haec a poeta dicta esse quod prior comoediae status habitusque novo cuidam cessisset, — eam minime veram puto. Potius enim contempsisse τὰπὶ Χαριζένης videtur.<sup>1</sup> Huc accedit quod nonnumquam comicorum secundum consuetudinem spectatores appellabat, vel ut eos hortaretur ut sibi faverent, vel ut reprehenderet quod falsa de arte comica iudicia fecissent. Nunc enim verbis Archilochi usus inquit,

(K. 198) ὦ λιπερνῆτες πολῖται, τὰμὰ δὴ ξυνίετε  
ρήματα,<sup>2</sup>

nunc, ira completus,

(K. 329) τῷ θεάτρῳ νοσήσαι τὰς φρένας

dicit, aut

(K. 347) Λέρνη θεατῶν, (Photius : ἀντὶ τοῦ κακῶν θεάτρον)

nunc, meliore animo, aut eos de culpa excusat :

(K. 23) ἐτήσιοι γὰρ πρόσιτ' αἰὲ πρὸς τὴν τέχνην,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Schol. Ar. *Eccl.* 943; Theopomp. 50 K.; Mein. II, 99. Quae coniecit Headlamus, *Class. Rev.* XIII, 5, non sunt accipienda.

<sup>2</sup> Qua ratione Kockius, I, 74, *θεαταὶ* hic legendum esse putet, quod “chorus ad spectatores conversus haec loquitur, qui numquam πολῖται dicuntur, sed *θεαταὶ*,” non intellegere possum. Ea enim ipsa de causa, quod plerumque illo verbo dicuntur spectatores, hic versus, quo Archilochum poeta imitatus est, facitior videri potuit. Cf. quoque Blaydes. *Advers.* II, 8. Et van Herwerdenus, *Mnem.* XXIV, 203, et Holzinger, *Burs. Jahresb.* CXVI, 297 sq., qui van Wageningeni sententiam sequuntur in opusculo *ad Archilochum* inscripto propositam, verba ὦ λιπερνῆτες idem esse putant quod ὦ ἀλιπερνῆτες.



aut laudis etiam aliquid eis attribuit :

(K. 169) οἱ δ' αὐθ' ἡμεῖς (Kock. δεῖ δ' αὐθ' ὑμᾶς), ὡς ὁ παλαιὸς  
λόγος, αὐτομάτους ἀγαθοὺς ἰέναι  
κομφῶν ἐπὶ δαῖτα θεατῶν,

aut sic blandiens sese quoque laudat :

(K. 323) χαῖρ', ὦ μέγ' ἀχρειόγελως ὄμιλε ταῖς ἐπίβδαις,  
τῆς ἡμετέρας σοφίας κριτῆς ἄριστε πάντων,  
εὐδαίμον' ἔτικτέ σε μήτηρ ἰκρίων ψόφησις.<sup>1</sup>

Iam vero apertis huius iudiciis examinatis, ea obscuriora occultioraque percurramus, quae supra dixi de verbis vel de arte ipsa poetae extrahi posse. Ex indicibus saltem consideratis nihil fere disci potest, quippe cum neminem omnino in hac re imitatus sit, nisi quod pauci sunt indices Epicharmi similes. Ab eodem illud fabularum genus sumere potuit quo deorum heroumve historias antiquas nonnumquam in ludicro detorqueret.<sup>2</sup> Verba autem aliorum, Homeri, Hesiodi, Sapphus, Archilochi, Solonis, Aeschyli, Euripidis, Herodoti, oratorum imitatus est,<sup>3</sup> modo quidem ludibri causa, modo fortasse laudationis. Ὀδυσσῆς certe HomERICA quaedam erat fabula, ac rerum verborumque Homericorum plena;<sup>4</sup> similis Εὐνείδαι, in qua fabula, ut supra dixi, Homerus culpatus est. Conferre praeterea licet Ath. 15, 698 c: κέχρηται δὲ (παρωδίαις) . . . καὶ Κρατῖνος . . . ἐν Εὐνείδαις. Numquam, quod scio, Cratinus aut versus suos iteravit aut fabulas retractavit. Sed haec hactenus.

Sunt etiam in poetarum comicorum numero CRATES et Pherecrates, qui deinceps considerandi sunt. Cur vero horum comoedias magis ad fabulas aliorum poetarum ridendas spectare arbitretur Petersius, *Ar. iudicium de tragicis*, 31, adn. 92, nescio. Nam vera haec vix esse pos-

<sup>1</sup> De hoc aliisque similibus iudiciis, quae certe parvi preti sunt, cf. Roemer. *Bayer. Akad. d. Wissen.* XXII, 78.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lorenz. *Epicharm.* 208.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Scherrans. *De poetarum com. Att. studiis Homericis*, Regimonti, 1893, 4 sqq.; Platon. xiv, 71; Kock. fragg. 95, 357, 69; Hesych. s. v. Δωροὶ συκκοπέδιλε; Kock. fragg. 10, 128 (cf. *Rendiconti d. R. Acc. d. Lincei*, Ser. V, Vol. IV, p. 69 sqq.), 198, 364, 273, 316 (cf. Nauck. *Mélanges Gréco-Romains*, V, 223), 185.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. fragg. 135, 137-145, 149; simile videtur fragmentum quoddam Νόμων (Kock. 129), post ea quae scripserunt Kaibelus, *Herm.* XXX, 439, Radtkius, *Herm.* XXXVIII, 149.

sunt, nisi parodiis fortasse imprimis illos alios poetas esse inrisos iudicat. Prioris enim inter reliquias, etsi certe haud parvae existunt, perpauca sunt iudicia. Laudare possum hos duos versus :

(K. 24) τοῖς δὲ τραγωδοῖς ἕτερος σεμνὸς πᾶσιν λόγος ἄλλος ὄδ' ἔστιν,  
quo de meliore tragicorum in scribendo condicione queritur, et

(K. 19) ἔπη<sup>1</sup> τριπήχη θετραλικῶς τετμημένα,

in aliquem dictum longioribus verbis utentem. Adde Ῥήτορας, fabulam in aliquo genere fortasse, ut arbitrantur Egger, *Hist. Crit.*<sup>2</sup>, 42, et Romagnolius, *Nuova Antologia*, LXIX, 684, ad litteras pertinentem, quamquam paene nihil praeter indicem exstat. Quod vero Magnetis duobus vel tribus indicibus<sup>2</sup> usus est, aut, ut Meinekius, I, 64 et Egger, *ibid.*, 35 voluerunt, fabulas ipsas emendatas pro suis edidit, illius poetae aliqua ex parte hunc apparet admiratorem fuisse. Praeterea, quod pertineat ad rem nostram, est nihil nisi iudicium putes, quod Epicharmum sive ex industria sive casu secutus rationem artis comicae permutaverit; testimoni causa haec ex Aristotelis *de Arte Poetica* libro, 1449 b, 5, afferenda sunt:<sup>3</sup> τὸ δὲ μύθους ποιεῖν [Ἐπίχαρμος καὶ Φόρμυς] τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐκ Σικελίας ἦλθε \* \*, τῶν δὲ Ἀθήνησιν Κράτης πρῶτος ἤρξεν ἀφέμενος τῆς ἰαμβικῆς ἰδέας καθόλου ποιεῖν λόγους καὶ μύθους. Quae ipsa mutatio maxima quidem est causa inopiae iudiciorum. Quandoque enim viros ipsos iam non perstringunt comici, minime est mirandum quod scripta quoque eorundem praetermittunt.

Cum iam PHERECRATIS ad reliquias pervenimus, eis quoque, tametsi certe multo plures sunt numero quam Cratetis, perpauca esse iudicia perspicimus — idque fortasse eadem ipsa de causa. Hic enim illius imitator fuisse dicitur ab Anon. *περὶ κωμωδίας*, p. 8, 32 (Kaibel.): (Φερεκράτης) ἐξήλωκε Κράτητα καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦ μὲν λοιδορεῖν ἀπέστη, παράγματα δὲ εἰσηγούμενος καινὰ ἠὺδοκίμει, γειόμενος εὐρετικὸς μύθων.

<sup>1</sup> Sic enim scripsi cum Casaubono, Meinekio, Kaibelo (ad Ath. 10, 418 c). Kockius quidem vere verbum τριπήχη confirmat amissum aliquod ad verbum pertinere posse, sed probabilius videtur Athenaeum cum epithetis illis nomen quoque attulisse.

<sup>2</sup> Sunt hi Διώνσος, Ὀρνίθες, fortasse Ποάστρια.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. praeterea Ath. 10, 429 a; Lorenz. *Epicharm.* 208; Mancin. *Riv. d. Fil.* XXIV, 541, adn. 1.

Semel tamen Aeschylum<sup>1</sup> laudat vel potius illum sese laudantem in scaenam deducit: Schol. in Ar. *Pac.* 749, — quo quidem loco eisdem fere verbis de se ipso Aristophanes usus est — καὶ Φερεκράτης ἐποίησε τὸν Αἰσχύλον λέγοντα ἐν τοῖς Κραπατάλοις<sup>2</sup>

(K. 94) ὅστις γ' αὐτοῖς παρέδωκα τέχνην μεγάλην ἐξουικοδομήσας,  
semel fastidiose improbat comicos antiquos:

(K. 185) ὁ χορὸς δ' αὐτοῖς εἶχεν δάπιδας ῥυπαρὰς καὶ στρωματοδέσμα,<sup>3</sup>  
semel, si eius vere est fabula *Χείρων*, de nova artis musicae depravatione latius loquitur:<sup>4</sup> Plut. *Mor.* 1141 d sq.: ὡς καὶ Φερεκράτην τὸν κωμικὸν εἰσαγαγεῖν τὴν Μουσικὴν ἐν γυναικείῳ σχήματι, ὄλην κατηκισμένην τὸ σῶμα· ποιεῖ δὲ τὴν Δικαιοσύνην διαπνυθανομένην τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς λώβης καὶ τὴν Ποίησιν (corrīgunt Μουσικὴν) λέγουσαν·

(K. 145) ΜΟΥΣ. λέξω μὲν οὐκ ἄκουσα, σοί τε γὰρ κλύειν  
ἐμοί τε λέξαι μῦθον ἠδονὴν ἔχει.  
ἐμοί γὰρ ἤρξε τῶν κακῶν Μελανιππίδης,  
ἐν τοῖσι πρῶτος ὃς λαβῶν ἀνήκέ με  
5 χαλαρωτέραν τ' ἐποίησε χορδαῖς δώδεκα.<sup>5</sup>  
ἄλλ' οὖν ὅμως οὗτος μὲν ἦν ἀποχρῶν ἀνὴρ  
ἔμοιγε<sup>6</sup> . . . πρὸς τὰ νῦν κακά.  
Κινησίας δέ μ' ὁ κατάρατος Ἀττικός,  
ἐξαρμονίους καμπὰς ποιῶν ἐν ταῖς στροφαῖς,<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> De aliis tragicis nihil. Egger enim maxime est negligens, qui cum (*Hist. Crit.*<sup>2</sup>, 39) dicit, *Dans la période de l'Ancienne Comédie, depuis Chionidès . . . jusqu' à Aristophane, . . . il n'y a peut-être pas un seul poète qui n'ait mêlé la critique littéraire à ses fictions comiques*, — primum hoc exemplum ex Ath. 8, 343 c, affert, quod Pherecrates Melanthium perstrinxerit in *Petale*. Sed Athenaeus ipse eodem ipso in loco aperte ἐπ' ὁψοφαγία eam inrisionem fieri dicit: mirum nempe *critique littéraire*.

<sup>2</sup> Cum Aeschyli quidem partes sint in hac fabula, olim fortasse aliquid plus quam nunc perspicui potest ad litteras pertinuit.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ar. frag. 253 K.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Denis. *Com. Gr.* II, 62–63; Smyth. *Gr. Melic Poets*, p. lviii.

<sup>5</sup> Hic et vv. 16 et 25 eos numeros retinui qui in mss. reperiuntur. Cum enim ita inter se dissentiant viri musicis rebus eruditi ut v. 5 et δέκα et ἐννέα et δώδεκα comprobare possint; v. 16, πέντε, ἐπτὰ, ἐννέα, ἐνδεκα; v. 25, ἐνδεκα, δώδεκα et, quod sciam, etiam alia, quid possunt tirones?

<sup>6</sup> Kockius: *fort. els τὴν τέχνην ἔμοιγε*.

<sup>7</sup> De interpretatione et iustitia huius a Musica factae querelae, cf. Romagnol. *Nouv. Antolog.*, quarta serie, LXIX, 691, 693; Weil. et Reinach. *Plutarque de la Musique*, 118–127; Gevaert. *Musique de l'Antiquité*, I, 355, adn. 4; II, 263.

- 10 ἀπολώλεχ' οὕτως, ὥστε τῆς ποιήσεως  
 τῶν διθυράμβων, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἀσπίσιν,<sup>1</sup>  
 ἀριστέρ' αὐτοῦ φαίνεται τὰ δεξιὰ.<sup>2</sup>  
 ἀλλ' οὖν ἀνεκτὸς οὗτος ἦν ὁμῶς ἐμοί.  
 Φρῦνις δ' ἴδιον στρόβιλον ἐμβαλῶν τινα,  
 15 κάμπτων με καὶ στρέφων ὄλην διέφθορεν,  
 ἐν πέντε χορδαῖς δῶδεχ' ἄρμονίας ἔχων.  
 ἀλλ' οὖν ἐμοίγε χούτος ἦν ἀποχρῶν ἀνὴρ·  
 εἰ γάρ τι κἀξήμαρτεν, αὐθις ἀνέλαβεν.  
 ὁ δὲ Τιμόθεός<sup>3</sup> μ', ὦ φιλάττη, κατορώρυχεν  
 20 καὶ διακέκναικ' αἴσχιστα. ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ. ποῖος οὐτοσί  
 ὁ Τιμόθεος; Μ. Μιλήσιός τις Πυρρίας.  
 κακά μοι παρέχων ἅπαντας οὗτος οὐς λέγω  
 παρελήλυθ' ἀγαπῶν ἐκτραπέλους μυρμηκιάς  
 26 ἐξαρμονίους, ὑπερβολαίους τ' ἀνοσίους,  
 καὶ νιγλάρους, ὥσπερ τε τὰς ραφάνους ὄλην  
 28 καμπῶν με κατεμέστωσε.<sup>4</sup> . . .  
 κἂν ἐντύχη πού μοι βαδιζούση μόνη,  
 25 ἀπέδυσσε κἀνέλυσε χορδαῖς δώδεκα.<sup>5</sup>

Vt autem alii, sic Pherecrates, et spectatores et iudices appellabat. Nam illis, leviter reprehendens, inquit,

(K. 191) ἴν' ἀφυπνισθῆτ' οὖν ἀκροᾶσθ'. ἦδη γὰρ καὶ λέξομεν, — cuius similis est locus E. M. 312, 18 (K. 208): ἐγρηγόριον· τὸ ποιῶν ἐγρηγορέναι, εἴτε βρῶμα εἴτε ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον. Φερεκράτης ἐγρηγόριον, τουτέστι πανσυνύσταλον. ῥητορική, — et de suae artis copia, qua quasi cenam facturus est,

(K. 122) ἀλλὰ καὶ κίσταις ἐν ἐμαῖσιν ἀπόκειθ' ἃ μέλλομεν ἀριστήσιν,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kockius Hanovium secutus: ἀσπίδες sunt ordines militum, — id quod mihi minime clarum videtur; multo melius verba interpretatur Zielinskius, *Gliederung*, 267, adn. 2, conlato Ar. Ach. 1128, in *Spiegel*, et eodem modo Weilius et Reinachus, *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ea quae de hoc versu dicit Crusius *Philol.* XLVII, 43.

<sup>3</sup> Hic ipse (frag. 12 Bergk.) sic cecinit: Οὐκ ἀείδω τὰ παλαιὰ | καὶ τὰ καινὰ γὰρ ἅμα κρέσσω, κτλ.

<sup>4</sup> Vv. 26–28, sicut Bergk., Westphal., Weil. et Reinach., post 23 inserui.

<sup>5</sup> Nescio an post haec laudandum sit frag. 18, cuius verbum *τερθρα* rhetorice usurpari potuit.

<sup>6</sup> κίσταις Kock. pro *κόλταις*; quam emendationem Blaydesius, *Advers.* II, 23, feliciter iudicat factam. — De fabula haud raro a poetis cum cena comparata, cf. Cratin.

tum, novis numeris inventis, hoc modo eisdem ut animos attendant imperat :

(K. 79) ἄνδρες, πρόσχετε τὸν νοῦν  
ἐξευρήματι καινῷ,  
συμπτύκτοις ἀναπαίστοις.

Quibus verbis, ut magister ille Horatianus Albini filio, sic poeta sibi ipse propter sollertiam εἶ clamare mihi videtur. Iudicibus autem, tamquam si timeat ut victoriam reportet, more comico minatur :

(K. 96) τοῖς δὲ κριταῖς  
τοῖς νυνὶ κρίνουσι λέγω,  
μὴ ἴπιρκεῖν μηδ' ἀδίκως  
κρίνειν, ἢ νῆ τὸν φίλιον  
μῦθον εἰς ὑμᾶς ἕτερον  
Φερεκράτης λέξει πολὺ τού-  
του κακηγορίστερον.

Indices vero eius maxima ex parte novi sunt nec ab aliis poetis mutuati. Rationem tamen scribendi, ut supra demonstravi, a Cratete sumpsisse videtur, fortasse etiam ab Epicharmo. Vt enim hic, sic ille εὔρετικὸς μῦθον fuisse dicitur ab Anon. *de com.* II, 8 (p. 8, 34 Kaibel.), et eiusdem generis fabulas scripsit.<sup>1</sup> Ex Hesiodi quidem *Eoëis* versus paucos eum transcripsisse arbitratur Meinekius II, 335, conl. fragg. 152, 153 K., et complurium certe, et Homeri et Sophoclis et praeterea fortasse Aeschyli Pindarique, verba versusve repetebat.<sup>2</sup>

Restant nobis priusquam Eupolidis multa fragmenta persequimur, tres poetae minores, Teleclides, Hermippus, Philonides. Quorum is quem primum nominavi, TELECLIDES, fabulam scripsit Ἡσιόδου qua poetas saepe numero lacessivit, — id quod et propter indicem consentaneum est et quia ex octo eius fragmentis duo ad poetas pertinent.<sup>3</sup> Nam

169, Ar. *Eq.* 538, Metagen. 14 (K. I, 708), frag. com. adespot. 1330, Aesch. apud Ath. 8, 347 e, Astyd. apud Ath. 10, 411 a.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lorenz. *Epicharm.* 209.

<sup>2</sup> Fragg. II, 149, 193, 111. Quod vero Sihler, *De parodiis*, 4, *Pherecrates*, inquit, *per parodiam illius verbum χυπρίζειν* (v. frag. 247 K.) *cum significatione interficiendi a Sophocle usurpatum fortasse quod translatio ea parum digna visa fuerit sermone tragico*, — id maxime mihi videtur incertum; Aeschylum utique haud minus quam Sophoclem perstrinxit. Cf. Aesch. frag. 122; Soph. frag. 489.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Kock. I, 213; Meinek. I, 88; Christ. *Gr. Litt.*<sup>3</sup>, 288.

maxima parte amissa, exstant et haec de Philocle, Aeschylei nepote, quae Poesis fortasse locuta est: —

(K. 14) ἄλλ' ἢ τάλαινα Φιλοκλέα βδελύττομαι,  
 εἰ δ' ἐστὶν αἰσχρὸς, Αἰσχύλον φρόνημ' ἔχει,<sup>1</sup> —

et haec alia de Gnesippo, cuius sub Nothippi nomine ut origo sic facultas poetica in ludibrium vertitur:<sup>2</sup> Ath. 8, 344 d: ὅτι δὲ οὗτος (Νόθιππος) ἦν ὁ ποιητής, σαφῶς παρίσθησι Τηλεκλείδης ἐν Ἡσιόδοις (K. 16), et paulo ante Νόθιππον τὸν τραγωδιοποιόν. Idem Teleclides Philoclem eundem iterum fortasse improbavit quod scribendi rationem usurparet parum correctam: — Hesych. δορυφόρον· τὸν δολοφονοῦντα. Ἀριστοφάνης Δαυδάω· ὅτι δὲ Φιλοκλῆς (sic pro Φιλόκτητος Pearson, Meinekius, Kockius) τῇ λέξει ἐχρήσατο πρῶτος, δηλοῖ Τηλεκλείδης ἐν Πρυτάνεσι (K. 29). δηλοῖ δὲ τὸν δολοφονοῦντα. — et Euripidem, quod a Socrate Mnesilochoque in scribendo adiuuaretur, vehementer insectatus est:<sup>3</sup> Diog. L. 2, 18 (K. 39, 40): ἐδόκει δὲ (Σωκράτης) συμποιεῖν Εὐριπίδῃ· ὅθεν Μνησίλοχος οὕτω φησί·

Φρύγες ἐστὶ καὶνὸν δρᾶμα τοῦτ' Εὐριπίδου,

· · · · · ᾧ καὶ Σωκράτης

τὰ φρύγαν' ὑποτίθησι,

καὶ πάλιν·

Εὐριπίδας σωκρατογόμφους.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Haec enim quamquam haud sunt certissima, cum Cobeto, *Nov. lect.* 37–38, et Kockio, *Rhein. Mus.* XXX, 412, legi. Sunt saltem multo praeferenda eis quae Rutherfordius, *Schol. Aristoph.* II, 457, ingeniose sed parum caute coniecit. P. Smithius in *Dict. Biogr.* III, 301 sicut Welcker, *Gr. Trag.* III, 969 et Baehrius in Pauli *Real-Encycl.* V, 1518, verba faciunt falsissima de his versibus, cum dicunt Teleclidem confirmare nihil esse Philocli animi Aeschylei.

<sup>2</sup> Vt Wilamowitzius, *Obs. crit.* 28: non ille genuinos edidit partus, sed *υπεκρίν' εὔρε μοιχοῖς ἀεσματ' κτλ.*

<sup>3</sup> Tantum enim colligere licet e verbis corruptissimis.

<sup>4</sup> Fortasse scribendum est cum Fritzschio (γνώμας) *εὐριπίδωσωκρατογόμφους*, aut cum Meibomio (ap. Hübner. *Comm. in Diog. Laert.* I, 329) intellegendum (*στίχους*) *Εὐριπίδης σωκρατογόμφους*. — De Socrate una cum Euripide scribente dissentiunt inter se Wilamowitzius, *Eurip. Heracles*<sup>1</sup>, I, *Einleitung in die Attische Tragödie*, 23, et Weilius, *Études sur le Drame Antique*, 23. Res quamquam haud gravissima est, fortasse tamen notare licet Socratem, ut narrat Plato et Diogenes Laertius, poemata in carcere fecisse, — sed hoc etiam Schanzius, *Herm.* XXIX, 597, vix probabile putat. Has tamen criminationes veri simillimum videtur ea de causa existisse, non quod vere

Cf. Vitam Euripidis (Elmsl. Eur. *Bacch.*, p. 193): δοκεῖ αὐτῷ (sc. Euripidi) καὶ Σωκράτης ὁ φιλόσοφος καὶ Μνησίλοχος συμπεποιηκέναι τινά, ὡς φησὶ Τηλεκλειδῆς· ‘Μνησίλοχος δὲ ἐκείνος Φρυγικόν τι δράμα καινὸν Εὐριπίδῃ καὶ Σωκράτης ὑποτίθησιν.’ Cum autem alio loco spectatores sic appellat, —

(K. 4) ὃ τὰ μὲν κομποί, τὰ δὲ φαυλότεροι  
φαυλίων μήλων, —

indicat certe sese sua quidem sententia multo meliorem esse poetam quam illi iudicaverint. Quod superest, his quoque verbis subest quidam litterarum sapor :

(K. 37) σὺ δὲ φρόνιμος αὐτὸς ὦν  
ἀπαρτὶ ταύτης τῆς τέχνης.

Obscuriora vero illa iudicia in huius reliquiis nulla repperi praeter hoc, quod prologos Euripidis, Kocki secundum coniecturam (v. adn. in frag. 31), semel saltem imitando inrisit.

De altero eorum quos supra nominavi poetarum, HERMIPPO, vix quidpiam dicere possumus, nedum de postremo, PHILONIDE. Ille certe Phrynichum incusavit quod aliorum scripta furaretur: Schol. Ar. *Av.* 750: μέμνηται (Φρυνίχου τοῦ κωμικοῦ) Ἑρμιππος ἐν Φορμοφόροις ὡς ἀλλότρια ὑποβαλλομένων ποιήματα (K. 64). Periclem autem insectatus, ut praecipue ea quae in re publica ille faciebat animadvertit, sic partim miras eius orationes :

(K. 46, vv. 2-3) ἀλλὰ λόγους μὲν  
περὶ τοῦ πολέμου δεινοὺς παρέχει, κτλ.

Homerum, praesertim in *Phormophoris* fabula, imitabatur;<sup>1</sup> διασκευὴν forsitan *Μοιρῶν* fabulae sub nomine *Στρατιωτῶν* fecerit.<sup>2</sup>

Ille autem tertius Sophoclis unum versum in ridiculum vertit (K. 7); praeterea nullum exstat iudicium; nam *Proagon*, cuius index

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una cum Euripide ille tragoedias scripsit, sed quod hic et fabulas scripsit philosophorum sapientiae et sententiarum plenas, et novarum rerum in rebus scaenicis, sicut in scholis ille, erat auctor. Cf. Naek. *Choeril.* 56-57; Peters. *Ar. iudicium de tragicis*, 48-53; Deschanel. *Études sur Aristophane*<sup>3</sup>, 264.

<sup>1</sup> Fragg. 63, 82; Scherrans. *De poet. com. Att. stud. Homeris*, 12 sq.; Christ. *Gr. Litt.*<sup>3</sup>, 288.

<sup>2</sup> Duos saltem versus illius comoediae in hac iteravit. Cf. Bergk. *Comm.* 323.

vero ad litteras poetasque spectare videtur, haud Philonidis est, ut opinor, sed Aristophanis,<sup>1</sup> ac fabula cui *Cothurnis* est nomen nihil ad tragoediam sed potius ad Theramenem virosve eius consimiles attinuit.<sup>2</sup> De his igitur hactenus.

Nunc EYVPLIS quo modo iudicaverit de litteris poetisque videamus. Et primum hoc afferro quo Stesichori, haud scio an cum nullo iudicio, mentionem fecit :

(K. 361) δεξάμενος δὲ Σωκράτης τὴν ἐπίδειξιν †  
Στησιχόρου πρὸς τὴν λύραν, οἰνοχόην ἔκλεψεν.

Sententia tamen sua et de illo et de aliis lyricis et de Gnesippo tragico (cf. supra, p. 142, adn. 1) qualis fuerit clarius ex his versibus apparet :

(K. 139) τὰ Στησιχόρου τε καὶ Ἀλκμᾶνος Σιμωνίδου τε  
ἀρχαῖον ἀεῖδεν· ὁ δὲ Γνήσιππος ἔστιν ἀκούειν.  
κείνος νυκτερινὸν εὔρε μοιχοῖς ἀείσματ' ἐκκαλεῖσθαι  
γυναικάς ἔχοντας ἰαμβύκην τε καὶ τρίγωνον.

Similiter et Pindarus approbatur et alii novi poetae vulgusque eorum fautores tacite culpantur: Ath. 1, 3 a (K. 366): ὡς τὰ Πινδάρου ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς Εὐπόλις φησιν, ἤδη κατασεισασμένα (sic Schweighäuser et Kaibelus pro -μένων) ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν πολλῶν ἀφιλοκαλίας.<sup>3</sup>

Euripidem autem inrisit quod unum par versuum cantici loco ponere solebat, — nam hoc saltem ex his verbis dubiis eliceri potest: Schol. Eur. *Med.* 520 (K. 363): ἡ διστιχία τοῦ χοροῦ ἐστὶ· κατὰ δὲ τούτους <τοὺς χρόνους> ἤδη τὰ τῶν χορῶν ἡμαῦρωτο. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαῖα <δράματα> διὰ τῶν χορῶν ἐπετελείτο. ὅθεν καὶ Εὐπόλις φησι· 'τί χορὸς οὗτος κλαίειν εἴπωμεν πυραυ' \* \* ἵν' ἢ κατ' αὐτὰ ἰαμβεῖα δύο.<sup>4</sup>

Aristophanis vero Eupolidisque simultas notissima est:<sup>5</sup> cum enim,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bergk. ap. Meinek. II, 912; Stark. Ar. *Vesp.*, p. 391-2; et e contrario Hiller. *Herm.* VII, 404.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Meinek. I, 103.

<sup>3</sup> Duo quae proxime laudavi fragmenta, ut alia quaedam, Froehdius, *Berlin. Stud.*, N. F., III, 119-120, vix comprehendere videtur; cf. *Berl. phil. Woch.* XIX, 1060.

<sup>4</sup> Eundem Euripidem quod male chororum administret sed et alia de causa culpat quoque Aristoteles, *Poet.* 1456 a, 25; cf. Hor. *A. P.* 193. — Frag. 159, 14 sq. quamquam Acestor tragicus atque eius σκῶμμα ἀσελγές commemorantur, scripta vix tangi puto.

<sup>5</sup> Quod Mayor, *Class. Rev.* XII, 450, veram inimicitiam nullam fuisse coniecit Aristophani cum Eupolide, sed eam hac de causa simulatam esse ut illi maiorem sibi famam adipiscerentur, id nimis nostrae aetatis mores olet.



*Equitibus* illius hoc adiutore scriptis, invidia permotus illum calumniatus esset, cum autem uterque invicem alterum obiurgasset,<sup>1</sup> tum denique *Autolycum* hic edidit, cuius vero fabulae parabasis illius criminationibus referta est. Ei enim primum obiecisse videtur quod indigne arte comica usus amatoribus iratis morem gessisset; confer enim Ar. *Vesp.* 1025 sqq.,

οὐδὲ παλαιόστρας περικωμάζειν πειρώων· οὐδ' εἴ τις ἐραστῆς  
κωμωδεῖσθαι παιδίχ' ἑαυτοῦ μισῶν ἔσπευδε πρὸς αὐτόν,  
οὐδενὶ πρόποτέ φησι πιθέσθαι,<sup>2</sup>

ubi scholiasta: δι' Εὐπολιν· ἐν Αὐτολύκῳ δὲ τοιαῦτά φησι (K. 57),—  
tum *Pacem* fabulam derisit: Schol. Plat. 331 (Bekk.): κωμωδεῖται δὲ  
(Ἀριστοφάνης) ὅτι καὶ τὸ τῆς Εἰρήνης κολοσσικὸν ἐξῆγεν ἄγαλμα.  
Εὐπολις Αὐτολύκῳ (K. 54), Πλάτων Νίκαις (K. 81),—deinde illum  
inventorem novarum rerum<sup>3</sup> exagitavit, quod non dubitasset, ut ait  
Luebkius, *Obs. crit.* 48, *alienos catinos delambere*<sup>4</sup> i. e. *aliorum inventa  
in suum commodum convertere*:

(K. 52) ἐπὶ καινοτέρας ιδέας ἀσεβῶν βίον ὡς μοχθηρὸν ἔτριβεν  
πόσω† πολλῶν ἤδη λοπάδων τοὺς ἄμβωνας περιλείξας.<sup>5</sup>

*Baptas* autem *Autolyce* similem constat fuisse, quod multa eiusdem  
convicia continebat. In qua fabula haec ad illum spectantia invenimus:

(K. 78) κἀκείνους τοὺς Ἴππείας  
συνεποίησα τῷ φαλακρῷ τούτῳ κἀδωρησάμην.

Cf. Schol. Ar. *Nub.* 554: Εὐπολις δὲ ἐν τοῖς Βάπταις τοῦναντίον φησὶν,  
ὅτι συνεποίησεν Ἀριστοφάνει τοὺς Ἴππεῖς. λέγει δὲ τὴν τελευταίαν  
παράβασιν. Schol. Ar. *Eq.* 1291: φασὶ τινες Εὐπόλιδος εἶναι τὴν  
παράβασιν, εἶγε φησὶν Εὐπολις 'ξυνεποίησα τῷ φαλακρῷ.'<sup>6</sup> Et hic aliud

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wilamowitz. *Obs. crit.* 41 sqq.; Cobet. *Obs. crit.* 84.

<sup>2</sup> Quo modo tamen oporteat haec verba interpretari, incertum est. Nam possunt esse poetae et se defendentis contra aemuli crimina, et crimina in eum inferentis. Nec multum lucis affert Scholiasta. Cf. Kock. I, 271; Starki Comm. in Ar. *Vesp.* 1026.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ar. fragg. 528, 699.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ar. frag. 581.

<sup>5</sup> Sic enim, ut opinor, cum Luebkiō, loco laudato, haec sunt scribenda intellegendaque, — cf. Starki adn. in Ar. *Vesp.* 56, — nisi simul fortasse vi obscaena ambigue sunt dicta. Cf. Meinek. V, 34; Kock. I, 271.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Kirchoff. *Herm.* XIII, 287 sqq.; Kock. Ar. *Eq.*<sup>3</sup>, p. 25.

fragmentum proferre oportet quod Frantzius, *De com. Att. prol.* 62, ad Aristophanis *Equites* pertinere putat :

(K. 188) νὼ γάρ, ἄνδρες, οὐχ ἱππεύομεν.<sup>1</sup>

Sic autem ea interpretatur : hac in fabula chorus non constabit ex equitibus. Quae ratio quamquam adlicit certe si quis rem nostram persequitur, tamen incertam esse eam est confitendum. In alia vero nescio qua fabula praeclare scriptum est :

(K. 357)<sup>2</sup> ἄλλ' ἀκούετ', ὦ θεαταί, τὰμὰ καὶ ξυνίετε  
ρήματ'· εὐθὺ γὰρ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πρῶτον ἀπολογήσομαι.

\* \* \*

ὁ τι παθόντες τοὺς ξένους μὲν λέγετε ποιητὰς σοφούς,  
ἦν δέ τις τῶν ἐνθάδ' αὐτοῦ μηδὲ ἐν χεῖρον φρονῶν  
ἐπιτιθῆται τῇ ποιήσει, πάνν δοκεῖ κακῶς φρονεῖν,  
μαίνεται τε καὶ παραρρεῖ τῶν φρενῶν τῷ σῷ λόγῳ.<sup>3</sup>  
ἄλλ' ἐμοὶ πείθεσθε πάντως. μεταβαλόντες τοὺς τρόπους  
μὴ φθονεῖθ' ὅταν τις ἡμῶν μουσικῇ χαίρη νέων, —

quibus idem Aristophanes, ὁ ξένος, imprimis peti videtur.<sup>4</sup> Sed alii praeter hunc aemuli perstringebantur, in quos invehitur his versibus :

(K. 244) τὸ δεῖν' ἀκούεις; Ἡράκλεις, τοῦτ' ἔστι· σοὶ  
τὸ σκῶμμ' ἄσελγές καὶ Μεγαρικὸν καὶ σφόδρα  
ψυχρόν. γελῶσιν, ὡς ὄρας, τὰ παιδία.<sup>5</sup>

Nam ioco inficeto dicto vel gestu turpi ab actorē facto, verbis alia persona aliam culpāre, sed re vera poeta aemulos, quod talia saepe fecis-

<sup>1</sup> Hoc fragmentum plenius aliquantulum est scriptum in Lex. Messanensi, f. 281 r. 23-24: πείσεσθε· νὼ γάρ, ἄνδρες, οὐθ' ἱππεύομεν. Cf. Rabium, *Rhein. Mus.* XLVII, 407; Kock. *ibid.*, XLVIII, 238.

<sup>2</sup> Mueller-Struebingius, *Jahrb.* CXLI, 541, adn., haud firmissimis de causis haec Eubulo adiudicat.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Luebk. *Obs. crit.* 36 et de significatione horum versuum omnium, Zielinsk. *Gliederung*, 242, adn. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Meinek. I, 111-112 et de crimine ξένος Aristophani inlata van Leeuwen. *Mnem.* XVI, 263 sqq., Bodensteiner. *Burs. Jahresh.* CVI, 152-153, Murray. *Proc. Am. Phil. Asso.* XXXIV, p. lxxxii sqq.

<sup>5</sup> Meinekium, etsi incertus, sequor, τὸ δεινὸς pro τὸ δεινῆς et γελῶσιν pro γελᾶς scribentem. — Variē haec interpretantur Meinekius, Bergkius, Wilamowitzius, — quorum mentionem fecit Kockius, I, 324, — et Luebk. *Obs. crit.* 47, Mancinius, *Riv. d. Fil.* XXIV, 533 sqq.

sent, videtur, hoc est, sicut Aristophanes, levibus pravisque rebus hic et ipse utebatur et alios cum risus excitandi causa usi essent culpabat.

Musicis autem de rebus sunt haec :

(K. 245) τί κατακροᾶσθέ μου τὰ μουσοδονήματα;

(K. 303) Α. ἄγε δὴ πότερα βούλεσθε τὴν νῦν διάθεσιν  
ὤδῆς ἀκούειν, ἢ τὸν ἀρχαῖον τρόπον;

Β. ἀμφοτέρ᾽ ἐρεῖς, ἐγὼ δ' ἀκούσας τοῖν τρόπων  
ὄν ἂν δοκῇ μοι βαστάσας αἰρήσομαι.

Quorum fragmentorum in priore quemvis Agathonem dicere posse putat Kockius, I, 324, in altero, I, 339, Strepsiadem aliquem ac Phidippidem appellari, sed respondere filium solum. Atque illud quoque nostra interest, ne ea quae sint apud Quintilianum, I, 10, 18 praetermittamus: *Eupolis, apud quem Prodamus et musicen et litteras docet et Maricas, qui est Hyperbolus, nihil se ex musice scire nisi litteras confitetur* (K. 17 et 193). Declarant enim haec *Αἴγας* quidem fabulam, in qua persona erat Prodamus ille, aliqua ex parte litteras attigisse.<sup>1</sup> Cetera nescio an parvi sint momenti. Ad haec, verba *σοφιστήν* (K. 447), quod Eust. 1023, 14, τὸν *ραψῳδόν* significasse dicit, et *αὐτοκάβδαλον* vel *αὐτοκάβδαλα ποιήματα*<sup>2</sup> (K. 200) docent in his rebus quas nunc persequimur hunc versatum esse.

Nec vero oratores neglexit. Nam cum Pericli illis verbis praeclaris plurimum laudis attribuit: —

(K. 94) κράτιστος οἶτος ἐγένετ' ἀνθρώπων λέγειν·  
ὁπότε παρέλθοι δ', ὥσπερ ἀγαθοὶ δρομῆς,  
ἐκ δέκα ποδῶν ἤρει λέγων τοὺς ῥήτορας.  
ταχὺν λέγεις μὲν,<sup>3</sup> πρὸς δέ γ' αὐτοῦ τῷ τάχει  
πειθῶ τις ἐπεκάθιζεν ἐπὶ τοῖς χεῖλεσιν·  
οὕτως ἐκίλει καὶ μόνος τῶν ῥητόρων  
τὸ κέντρον ἐγκατέλειπε τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kock. I, 258.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Blaydes. *Advers.* II, 43, et de vi horum verborum *N. Jahrb. Kl. Alt.* IX, 410-411; *Class. Rev.* XVII, 333.

<sup>3</sup> Headlami sententiam, *Jour. Phil.* XXIII, 279, verba *ταχὺν λέγεις μὲν* alteri tribuenda esse personae, meliorem arbitror quam Meineki, qui vv. 4-7 cunctos alteri tribuat, ac forsitan illi sit adsentendum.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Nauck. *Mélanges Gréco-Romains*, V, 219, adn. 56, qui multos collegit locos ubi hi versus laudantur.

Cf. Aristid. 46, 129, 14: ἀνεπίφθονον (Περικλεῖ) καὶ καθαρὰν τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἀποδέδωκε λέγων ὡς ἐκ δέκα μὲν ποδῶν κτλ.—tum Demonstratum et vehementer inrisit et parce laudavit: Aristid. *ibid.*: . . . πάντα δ' εἶναι φλυαρίαν πρὸς ἐκείνον (sc. Periclem). φησὶ γοῦν (Εὐπολις) οὕτωςι δυσχεραίνων·

(K. 96) ῥήτωρ γὰρ ἐστὶ νῦν τις, ὃν γ' ἔστιν λέγειν;<sup>1</sup>

B. ὁ Βουζύγης ἄριστος ἀλιτήριος.

Schol. Ar. *Lys.* 397: Δημόστρατος Βουζύγης ἐλέγετο. . . . καὶ Εὐπολις δὲ ἐν Δήμοις ὡς μανωδῆ αὐτὸν λέγει·

(K. 97) τί κέκραγας ὥσπερ Βουζύγης ἀδικούμενος;

Item Phaeacem et Syracosium acerbe exagitat; de hoc certe, si re vera legis erat auctor qua licentia comicorum coereretur, praeiudicata ei erat opinio nec sine ira haec scripsit: Plut. *Alciō.* 13: ἦν γὰρ (Φαίαξ) ὡς Εὐπολὶς φησι

(K. 95) λαλεῖν ἄριστος, ἀδυνατώτατος λέγειν.

Schol. Ar. *Av.* 1297: οὗτος γὰρ τῶν περὶ τὸ βῆμα. καὶ Εὐπολις ὡς λάλον ἐν Πόλεσι διασύρει·

(K. 207) Συρακόσιος δ' ἔοικεν, ἦνικ' ἂν λέγῃ,  
τοῖς κυνιδίοισι τοῖσιν ἐπὶ τῶν τειχιῶν·  
ἀναβὰς γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμ' ὑλακτεῖ περιτρέχων.

Alios quoque eum conviciis adortum esse ex his licet conicere: (K. 367 b; III, Suppl., 719) Aristid. 46, 127, 7: . . . ὥστ' ἐξ αὐτῶν ὧν τοὺς ὕστερον ἠτιάσαντο (οἱ κωμικοί) καὶ ὧν ὑπὸ τῶν μετ' ἐκείνον (sc. Periclem) διεβλήθησαν τὰ γ' ἐκείνου σεμνύνεται. Ad quae Schol. III, 467, 23 (Dind.): εἰς τοὺς κωμικοὺς αἰνίττεται· ὧν εἰς ἐστὶν ὁ Εὐπολις. De se certe suaque arte nonnullos versus quos hic fecit, supra, p. 159 sq. (fragg. 78, 188, 357), laudavi.

Sed aliorum nonnumquam poetarum et res et verba imitabatur; Phrynichi enim invento aliquando usus est, ut nobis confirmat Aristophanes, *Nub.* 553-6:<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Forsitan, ut monuit Romagnolius, *Nuov. Antolog.*, IV ser., LXIX, 683, haec loquatur Pericles, quem in scaena fuisse constat.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Stanger. *Blätter f. d. Bayer. Gymnasialschulwesen*, II, 204.

Εὐπολις μὲν τὸν Μαρικᾶν πρότιτος παρέιλκυσε  
 ἐκστρέψας τοὺς ἡμετέρους Ἰππέας κακὸς κακῶς,  
 προσθεὶς αὐτῷ γραῦν μεθύσῃν τοῦ κόρδακος εἶνεχ', ἣν  
 Φρύνιχος πάλαι πεποίηχ', ἣν τὸ κῆτος ἤσθειεν.

Aeschyli quoque exemplum in *Persis* propositum secutus Manes in scaenam ipse quadam in fabula induxit.<sup>1</sup> Accedit quidem quod non modo Cratini et Aristophanis, nisi scribarum erroribus decipimur, versibus paulum aut nihil mutatis utebatur,<sup>2</sup> sed etiam multo saepius ludibri causa eodem facto, et Homerum imitabatur et tragicos, Aeschylum, Euripidem, Phrynichum.<sup>3</sup> Versuum denique complurium quos in Aristophanis *Equitibus* ipse scripserat, partem forte in *Maricante* sua repetiit;<sup>4</sup> et *Autolycom*, teste Galeno, XV, 424 (Kühn), fortasse etiam alias fabulas, — v. Suidam, s. v. διασκευαζόμενος, — retractatas iterum edidit. Quae cum ita sint omnia, constat eum litteris deditum saepe de leporibus vitisque scriptorum iudicia fecisse.

Reliquum est, priusquam ad principem illum praeclarum comicorum Graecorum venimus, Aristophanem, ut de uno poeta PHRYNICO loquamur, cuius reliquiae, cum exiguae sint, tum ad rem quam tractamus excutiendam gravissimae. Fecit enim hic et *Musas* fabulam certamen continentem Sophoclis fortasse<sup>5</sup> Euripidisque de artis tragicae principatu, et quae consimilis videtur fuisse, *Tragoedos* sive *Libertos*.<sup>6</sup> Quamquam non tam graves eas fabulas arbitror quam Egger, *Hist. Crit.*<sup>2</sup> 39, qui vero a *Musis* dixit novam quandam aetatem initium cepisse, quasi tum primum totas comoedias de litteris solis scribere coeperunt poetae. At iamdudum tales comoedias scripsisse videntur et *Archilochos* Cratinus et *Hesiodos* Teleclides, — ne alias aliorum haud paucas commemorem.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kock. III, Suppl., 717, ad fin.

<sup>2</sup> Eupol. 107 = Cratin. 283; Eupol. 457 = (paene) Ar. *Vesp.* 819.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. fragg. 159, v. 11 (117, v. 6); Scherrans. *De poet. com. Att. studiis Homericis*, 16; fragg. 192, 212; 90, 103, 221, 314; 411 (cf. Nauck. *T. G. F.*<sup>2</sup>, 724, adn. in frag. 18).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Kirchoff. *Herm.* XIII, 292.

<sup>5</sup> Sic enim Meinekius, I, 157. Petersius tamen *Ar. iudicium de summis trag.*, 44-45, et Kockius in praef. *Ran.*<sup>3</sup>, § 25, haec idcirco minus probanda iudicant, quia Sophocles et mitis erat natura aversusque a certaminibus et in arte modum plerumque tenebat. Quae certe haud carent veritate.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Meinek. I, 158.

Quocirca in Phrynichi fabulis nihil fere novi contineri videtur; sed nihilominus hoc certe ex usu sunt quod paulo certiores nos faciunt permultas tales a comicis Atticis comoedias esse scriptas.

*Musae*, igitur, fabula, ut ad propositum revertamur, et Cratini *Archilochorum* et Aristophanis *Ranarum* erat simillima, et eodem vero tempore atque haec docta est. Indicem autem illum ea de causa accipiebat, ut putat Meinekius, I, 157, conlato frag. 32, quod Musarum chorus litis erant iudices. Duo quidem ex ea fragmenta affero, alterum de Sophocle saepe laudatum, alterum, ut idem Meinekius, II, 593, iudicat, de Musa Euripidis:

(K. 31) μάκαρ Σοφοκλέης, ὃς πολὺν χρόνον βιοῦς  
ἀπέθανεν, εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ καὶ δεξιός,  
πολλὰς ποιήσας καὶ καλὰς τραγῳδίας·  
καλῶς δ' ἔτελεύτησ' οὐδὲν ὑπομείνας κακόν.<sup>1</sup>

(K. 33) ὦ κάπραινα καὶ περίπολις καὶ δρομάς.

E *Tragoedis* quoque par est fragmentorum:

(K. 54) αἰτίαν ἔχει  
πονηρὸς εἶναι τὴν τέχνην.

(K. 55) τῇ διαθέσει τῶν ἐπῶν.

De quorum interpretatione tametsi nihil certi dicere possumus, fortasse in illo aliquis tragicus culpatur;<sup>2</sup> in hoc Kockius (I, 384,— cf. Meinek. I, 159) sibi videtur Euripidem contra Aeschylum Sophoclemve dicentem audire. Horum vero poetarum hunc quem proxime nominavi apparet a Phrynicho in magna habitum esse admiratione. Nam praeter illud dictum praeclarum paulo ante adlatum, cum vinis quibusdam eum

<sup>1</sup> Sophocles, ut Jebbius, *Class. Gk. Poetry*, 180, viri beati, plus ullo alio Graecorum antiquorum, exemplum praebet illorum secundum sententiam perfectum. Aptissimum igitur verbum μάκαρ. Mentionem vero rare eius faciunt comici,— cf. praeter hunc locum Cratin. 15, Phryn. 65, Ar. 581, Antiph. 1,— nec umquam, quoad ex fragmentis percipi potest, culpant. Cf. autem Vitam Sophoclis 7: ὥστε πάντη καὶ πρὸς ἀπάντων αὐτὸν στέργεσθαι.

Nauckius, *Mélanges Gréco-Romains*, IV, 721, σοφὰς τραγῳδίας v. 3 scribere vult cum Tzetze, *Anec. Ox.* III, 338, 31, et fortasse recte. Sed quod καλὰς prope est ab καλῶς, id mihi potius leporis aliquid habere videtur quam viti; ac σοφαί potius Euripidis quam Sophoclis sunt fabulae.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Meinek. I, 158; Kock. I, 384.

comparans sic etiam locutus est : Diog. L. 4, 20 : ἦν (Σοφοκλῆς) κατὰ τὸν Φρύνιχον

(K. 65) οὐ γλύξις οὐδ' ὑπόχυτος, ἀλλὰ Πράμνιος.

Vinum certe Pramnium quamquam durum fuisse dicitur, tamen hic bonorum vinorum apparet in numero esse; erat igitur tragicus nec dulcior nec adulteratus sed bona et solida vi.<sup>1</sup>

Ad comicos fortasse spectans, propter ea quae scripsit Kaibelus, *Zur Attischen Komoedie*, Herm. XXIV, 35 sqq., hoc unum fragmentum laudare velim :

(K. 3) ἔστιν δ' αὐτούς γε φυλάττεσθαι τῶν νῦν χαλεπώτατον ἔργον.  
 ἔχουσι γάρ τι κέντρον ἐν τοῖς δακτύλοις,  
 μισάνθρωπον ἄνθος ἤβης·  
 εἶθ' ἡδυλογοῦσιν ἄπασιν ἀεὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν περιόντες.  
 ἐπὶ τοῖς βάθροις ὄταν ὦσιν, ἐκεῖ τοῦτοις οἷς ἡδυλογοῦσιν  
 μεγάλας ἀμυχὰς καταμύξαντες καὶ συγκύψαντες ἅπαντες  
 γελῶσιν.

Arbitratur enim ille eos qui ἡδυλογοῦσιν comicos esse et Phrynichi aequales; βάθρα pulpitum theatri; verba κέντρον, μισάνθρωπον, καταμύξαντες omnia pertinere ad acerba comicorum convicia. Idem praeterea coniecit et Eupolidem et Ephialtem, servum qui, teste Aeliano, *nat. anim.* 10, 41, ὑφαιρέται δράματά τινα τοῦ Εὐπόλιδος, in scaena fuisse. Quae si vera sint, haec quoque fabula, cui certe est nomen *Ephialti*, in numero earum sit includenda quas litterarias quasdam nominare possimus. Sed, quamquam Kockio, *Rhein. Mus.* XLV, 50 sq., haec omnino reicienti non adsentimus, et potius peringeniosa putamus, incerta tamen esse ea confiteamur est necesse. Lamprocles autem poeta lyricus tactus est : Schol. Ar. *Nub.* 967 (K. 72) : Φρύνιχος<sup>2</sup> δὲ

<sup>1</sup> Christi, *Gr. Litt.*<sup>3</sup> 237 et adn. 5, diversa paulo ab ea quae supra proposita est sententia esse videtur.

<sup>2</sup> Bergkii, vero, *P. L. G.*<sup>4</sup> III, 554-555, et Smythius, *Greek Melic Poets*, 340, Scholiasta Aristid. III, 537, 26 (Dind.), sine dubio praesertim freti, *tragicum* dicunt Phrynichum eodem illo initio carmen scripsisse quo Lamprocles — id certe quod verum esse potest. Sed probabilius est et illum Scholiastam et hunc Aristophaneum et alios eodem de loco scribentes ad unam et eandem rem spectare et comicum potius poetam omnibus locis significare. Quo modo enim tragicus Lamproclelem commemorare (μνημονεύει) posset? Comicus autem Phrynichus, si sicut Aristophanes, *Nub.* 967, verba

αὐτοῦ τούτου τοῦ ἄσματος μνημονεῖε ὡς Λαμπροκλέους ὄντος· Παλλάδα περσέπτολιν κληίζω κτλ., sed utrum cum laude id sit factum an culpa<sup>1</sup> an obiter tantummodo incertum est. Apud Aristophanem quidem δίκαιος λόγος ille qui carminis eiusdem mentionem facit, valde comprobatur. — Propter poeticam et musicam inter se arte coniunctas haec quoque de Lampro, musicis rebus peritissimo, laudare oportet :

(K. 69) (καὶ νιγ)λάρους θρηνεῖν, ἐν οἷσι Δάμπρος ἐναπέθνησκειν,  
ἄνθρωπος ὦν ὕδατοπότης, μινυρὸς ὑπερσοφιστής,  
Μουσῶν σκελετός, ἀηδόνων ἠπίαλος, ὕμνος Ἄιδου.

Denique haud dubium est quin his in verbis aliquid iudici latet, quae ex Bekk. *Anec.* 369, 31 exscripsi :

(K. 86) ἀκροτελεύτιον ἔπος

τὸ ἔσχατον κεφαλαῖον τινὸς ποιητικῶς. κυρίως γὰρ ἀκροτελεύτια ἐπὶ ποιημάτων τιθέασιν Ἀττικοί. οὕτω Φρόνιχος.

Ex indicibus certe, ne alterum hoc iudiciorum genus neglegam, nihil elici potest, sed quod ad cetera attinet, aliquotiens quasi sine verbis sententiam enuntiabat, primum cum ab aliis poetis, ut erat fama, mutatus est;<sup>2</sup> deinde cum Cratini *Archilochos* vel Pherecratis *Crapatalos* imitatus *Musas* fecit; tum etiam cum fabulam suam *Tragoedos* novo indice *Libertorum* correctam et emendatam edidit.<sup>3</sup>

Sed quoniam de hoc nunc dictum est ac de aliis quoque antiquioribus omnibus poetis comicis, deinceps de ARISTOPHANE cuius et maximae reliquiae et plurima iudicia exstant disputandum est. Nemo fere ignorat quam saepe in undecim fabulis quae integrae supersunt critici officio ille functus sit, et huius vero quaestionis magnam partem alii, ut iam supra dixi, antehac persecuti sunt. Quare minus est opus aut *Ranarum* et *Thesmophoriazasarum*, quarum utriusque pars maxima ad poetas spectat litterasque, aut aliarum comoediarum, in quibus saepissime caedem res tanguntur, mentionem facere, sed potius terminos disputa-

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illa laudans, auctoris quoque mentionem fecit, facile altera illa opinio oriri potuit. Monendum est denique ne Aristidis quidem Scholiastam re vera tragicum Phrynichum commemorasse sed tantum Φρόνιχόν τινα.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Froehd. *Berlin. Stud.*, N. F., III, 196.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Schol. Ar. *Ran.* 13; Schol. Ar. *Av.* 750 (cf. supra, p. 157).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Meinek. I, 158; sed contra, Haas. *De com. Att. fabularum nominibus*, I, 46.



tioni ponere nec fragmentis consideratis ultra ea nisi rare vagari. Haec tamen haud dissimilia esse illarum fabularum mox patebit.

Nam etsi Homerum poetasque antiquiores aperte perraro animadvertit, idque verbis paulum iudici continentibus (K. 222) :—

A. πρὸς ταῦτα σὺ λέξον Ὅμηρον ἐμοὶ γλωττας, τί καλοῦσι κόρυμβα;

\* \* \*

A. τί καλοῦσ' ἀμενῆνὰ κάρηνα;

B. ὁ μὲν οὖν σός, ἐμός δ' οὗτος ἀδελφὸς φρασάτω, τί καλοῦσιν ἰδίοις;

\* \* \*

B. τί καλοῦσιν ἀποιῶν;

quae et conservat et explicat Galenus *Lex. Hippocr.* prooem. (XIX, 66 Kühn.): . . . προβάλλει γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ δράματι (sc. ἐν τοῖς Δαιταλεῦσι) ὁ ἐκ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Δαιταλέων πρεσβύτης τῷ ἀκολάστῳ νιεί πρῶτον μὲν τὰ κόρυμβα τί ποτ' ἐστὶν ἐξηγήσασθαι, κτλ. . . . κἀκέινος μέντοι ἀντιπροβάλλει τῶν ἐν τοῖς Σόλωνος ἄξοσιν γλωττῶν εἰς δίκας διαφερούσας ὡδί πως· κτλ.

(K. 223) ἄσον δὴ μοι σκόλιόν τι λαβὼν Ἄλκαίου κἀνακρέοντος,<sup>1</sup>—

cum tamen ad tragicos venimus, copia rerum haud parva nobis praestat. Aeschylum vero et laudat et culpat, quippe quem nunc sollicito amore prosequatur: Aristid. 12, 87, 19 (K. 643): φησὶν Ἀριστοφάνης περὶ Αἰσχύλου σκότον εἶναι τεθνηκός, — fortasse, ut Kockius,

σκότος γὰρ ἐστὶν Αἰσχύλου τεθνηκός —

nunc verbis acrioribus increpet: E. M. 526, 20: κόλλοπες . . . ὄθεν Ἀριστοφάνης τὴν σκληρότητα Αἰσχύλου ἐνδεικνύμενος ἔφη

(K. 646) οἶμαι γὰρ αὐτὸν κόλλοπι

εἰοικέναι.

Accedit quod nescio cuius per personam de eodem inquit:

(K. 153) ἐν τοῖς συνδείπνοις ἐπαινῶν Αἰσχύλον,

<sup>1</sup> Blaydesius, *Ar. Frag.*, p. 107, et van Herwerdenus, *Mnem.* XIV, 169, σκόλι ἄττα meliora iudicant quam σκόλιόν τι. — Eiusdem fabulae, cuius haec sunt, Δαιταλέων, esse verum quoddam a nonnullis pro proverbio traditum, — οὐδ' <αὖ> τρία τῶν <τοῦ> Στρησιχόρου γινώσκεις, — sententia est Crusi, *Commentationes in hon. Ribbecki*, Lips., 1888, p. 6, adn. 3. — Cf. denique Rutherford. *New Phrynichus*, pp. 1-2.

atque illum ipsum cum aliquo sic loquentem induxit :

(K. 677-8) ΑΙΣΧ. τοῖσι χοροῖς αὐτὸς τὰ σχήματ' ἐποίουν.

B. τοὺς Φρύγας οἶδα θεωρῶν,  
ὄτε τῷ Πριάμῳ συλλυσόμενοι τὸν παῖδ' ἤλθον τεθνεῶτα,  
πολλὰ τοιαντὶ καὶ τοιαντὶ καὶ δεῦρο σχηματίσαντες.<sup>1</sup>

Haec de Aeschylo repperi; idem fortasse infra frag. 130 tangitur. Sed quod Pollux, 2, 125, τὸ καταλαλεῖν, inquit, παρὰ Ἀριστοφάνει . . . καὶ ἀπεριλάλητος Αἰσχύλος (K. 667), haec cum Blaydesio, ad Ar. frag. 941, et Bethio, ad Pollucis loc. laud., et Körtio, *Berl. phil. Woch.* XIX, 1060, ad *Ran.* 839 spectare puto.

De Sophocle, quem μέλιτταν appellasse antiquos constat,<sup>2</sup> commode dicitur :

(K. 581) ὁ δ' αὖ Σοφοκλέους τοῦ μέλιτι κεχριμένου  
ὥσπερ καδίσκου περιέλειχε τὸ στόμα,

quibus versibus cum ille propter suavitatem laudibus ornatur, tum alter, scilicet Euripides,<sup>3</sup> quod eum imitatus sit, furti notatur nomine. De illo certe nullum aliud, quod sciam, in fragmentis huius omnibus est iudicium, sed Euripidem<sup>4</sup> paene continenter hic consecatur et in eum, ut ait Persius, genuinum frangit. Haud sine causa eum affirmat Holdenus, *Onomast. Aristophan.*<sup>2</sup> 818, ipsum magnam partem comoediarum Aristophanis fuisse. Etenim primum sine dubio, ut iudicant Bergkii ap. Meinek. II, 1136-7, Wilamowitzius, *Anal. Eur.* 153, adn. 4, ad illius *Thyestam* praecipue inridendam, *Proagonem* fabulam scripsit. Hanc enim, sive ut censet Hiller, *Herm.* VII, 402 sqq., prolusio quaedam erat, id quod Graeci *προάγωνα* vocabant, sive ut Rohdii, *Rhein. Mus.*

<sup>1</sup> Hunc versum emendare conati sunt van Herwerdenus, *Mnem.* X, 76; XIV, 172; Blaydesius, *Ar. Frag.*, p. 303-4. — Phryges illi chorus sunt, ut ait Bergkii ap. Meinek. II, 1178, fabulae Aeschylus quae *Φρύγες ἢ Ἔκτορος λύτρα* inscribitur.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Schol. Ar. *Vesp.* 462 aliosque locos ap. Meinek. I, 157, adn. 89.

<sup>3</sup> Sic Bergkii, *Comm.* 203-4, adn., et ap. Meinek. II, 1176, et Kockius. Cf. Peters. *Ar. iudicium de summis tragicis*, 27.

<sup>4</sup> In nulla enim fabula ex undecim quae supersunt, ut memorat Hamelus, *Mémoires de l'Acad. R. des Sc., Inscr. et Belles-Lettres de Toulouse*, III ser., I, 185, Euripides non exagitur.

XXXVIII, 251 sqq., pronuntiatio sollemnis certaminis scaenicae una cum pompa actorum chorique coniuncta, sive denique cum Bodensteinero, *Burs. Jahresb.* CVI, 139, qui priorem illam opinionem cum Weckleinio, *Berl. phil. Woch.* XI, 600 sq., omnino reiciens hanc partim accepit, iudicamus sacra praeterea quaedam, rite in templo facta, arte cum ea coniuncta esse, scaenicas quidem constat ad res imprimis spectasse. Tum eundem reprehendit illam propter consuetudinem qua in virorum nominibus vis aliqua recondita quaeritur :

(K. 327) Ἄμφοδον ἐχρῆν αὐτῷ τεθεῖσθαι τοῦνομα.<sup>1</sup>

Cf. E. M. 92, 24 : λέγει δὲ Εὐριπίδης<sup>2</sup> ὁ τραγικὸς ἐτυμολόγος (ἐτυμολογῶν Valckenar.) τὸ Ἀμφίων, ὅτι Ἀμφίων ἐκλήθη παρὰ τὴν ἄμφοδον ἦγον παρὰ τὸ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν γεννηθῆναι. ὁ δὲ Ἀριστοφάνης κωμικευόμενος λέγει, ὅτι οὐκοῦν Ἄμφοδος ὤφειλεν κληθῆναι. Poesin eius comparavit, nunc cum cibus delicatissimis, — propterea fortasse quod in ea cupiditates libidinesque liberius repraesentaverat quam antiquis viris placuit et saepe res nimis delicate et molliter depingebat :

(K. 130) δῆτώα, σιλφιωτά, βολβός, τεύτλιον,  
περίκομμα, θρίον, ἐγκέφαλος, ὀρίγανον,  
καταπυγούνη ταῦτ' ἔστι πρὸς κρέας μέγα.<sup>3</sup>

Cf. Diog. L. 4, 18 : . . . ἄ φησιν Ἀριστοφάνης περὶ Εὐριπίδου, κτλ., — nunc cum velleribus implicatis, — idcirco, ut videtur, quia argutias exquisitas saepe aucupabatur :

(K. 638) καὶ στρεψίμαλλος τὴν τέχνην Εὐριπίδης.

Calumniavit eum quod Socrate et Cephisophonte usus adiutoribus comoedias tantae sapientiae scriberet :<sup>4</sup> —

<sup>1</sup> Cf. van Leeuwen. *De Ar. Euripidis censore*, 80 sq.; Bakhuysen. *De parodia in com. Ar.*, 204.

<sup>2</sup> = frag. 182 Nauck. Cf. eiusdem frag. 181 et Etym. Gud. 230, 57 ibi laudatum.

<sup>3</sup> Quorum de significatione cf. Meinek. II, 1001; Blaydes. *Ar. Frag.* Append. 412; Süvern. *Ar. Γῆρας* (trans. Hamilton.), 180 sq.; Ribbeck. *Die Acharn. d. Aristoph.* 281, adn. 17. — Verbis illis ultimis, κρέας μέγα, Aeschylum significari iudicat Kockius, I, 423.

<sup>4</sup> Nisi forte, ut et Bergkii ap. Meinek. II, 1106 et Blaydesius, *Ar. Frag.*, p. 202-3, opinantur, Teleclidis sunt haec.

(K. 376) Εὐριπίδῃ δ' ὁ τὰς τραγωδίας ποιῶν  
τὰς περιλαλούσας<sup>1</sup> οὗτός ἐστι τὰς σοφάς.

(K. 580) Κηφισοφῶν ἄριστε καὶ μελάντατε,  
σὺ δὲ ξυνέζῃς εἰς τὰ πόλλ' Εὐριπίδῃ  
καὶ συνεποίεις, ὡς φασι, τὴν τραγωδίαν, —

nescio quo modo in *Fabulis* quae appellatur comoedia eum exagitabat : — Schol. Ar. *Vesp.* 61 Ven. (Kock. 290) : οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς Δράμασιν εἰσῆκται οὕτως Εὐριπίδης, ἀλλὰ καὶ κτλ., — denique paululo laudis, idque fortasse simulatae (cf. frag. 581), satisque vituperationis in uno coniuncto ita loquitur (K. 676 b, III, p. 725) :<sup>2</sup>

ὁ δ' Ἄναξαγόρον τρόφιμος<sup>3</sup> χαιοῦ στρυφνὸς μὲν ἔμοιγε προσειπεῖν  
καὶ μισόγελως καὶ τωθάζειν οὐδὲ παρ' οἶνον μεμαθηκῶς,  
ἀλλ' ὁ τι γράφαι, τοῦτ' ἂν μέλιτος καὶ Σειρήνων ἐτετεύχει.

Hunc tamen, etsi vitia Euripidis sola plerumque indicat, virtutes eius minime contempnasse, infra, pp. 178 et 237, demonstrare conabor.

Agatho autem aliquotiens tactus est :

(K. 326) καὶ κατ' Ἄγαθῶν ἄντιθετον ἐξυρημένον.

(K. 599) ἐκφέρετε πύκας κατ' Ἄγάθωνα φωσφόρους.

Horum vero posterior versus,<sup>4</sup> quo locutio tragica et aliquid verbosior

<sup>1</sup> Idem verbum usurpat Eust. 1638, 17 ut *στρεψιμαλλον* explicetur : *στρεψιμῶλλον ἐκάλουν οἱ παλαιοὶ τοὺς περιλαλοῦντας.*

<sup>2</sup> De his versibus aliter ab aliis expositis, cf. van Herwerden. *Mnem.* XXI, 177–179. Aulus Gellius, certe, qui laudat, Alexandri Aetoli eos dicit esse. Nauckius tamen haud gravissimis de causis, *Stud. Eur.* I, 126–127, adn. (*Memoires de l'Acad. Imp. des Sc. de St. Pétersbourg*, VII ser., I, No. 12), et Kockius, loc. laud., et Hertzius adn. crit. in Gell. *N. A.* 15, 20, 8, Aristophani attribuant. Alexandro autem versus vindicant Susemihlius, *Gesch. Alex. Litt.* I, 189, adn. 83 et Couatus, *Poésie Alex.* 106, ac comico certe, praesertim huic comico, alienissima est laus talis, si re vera laus est, Euripidis. Cf. praeterea Meinek. *Anal. Alex.* 247 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Euripides, cur Ἄναξαγόρον τρόφιμος nominari potuerit docet, multis antiquorum locis laudatis, Elder ap. Smith. *Dict. Biogr.* II, 104.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Nauck. *T. G. F.*<sup>2</sup>, 766, 15. — Bakhuysenius, *De parodia in com. Ar.* 197, sese non comprehendere dicit cur sic Agathonis verba afferantur. Satis tamen plana mihi videtur causa.

peti videtur, fragmento papyri nuper Oxyrhynchi invento et a Grenfello et Hunto, *Oxyrhyn. Papyr.* II, 20 sq., frag. CCXII b, edito partim repetitus, partim propemodum completus est:

]τραγικω[  
 ]ινθυραζ[  
 ]ταγάθω[  
 ]εστινασφ[  
 ]ταπαισω'γ[  
 ]τονθεῶν  
 ]εενωιδαις

Etenim cum iudici aliqua notio verbis *τραγικω*, *φδαῖς* subici videatur, plures versus hoc in loco litteris possunt esse dediti.<sup>1</sup> Accedit ut hoc fragmentum non solum ad mollem eiusdem vitam sed etiam versus ad molles pertinere videatur: Schol. Luc. IV, 222 (Iacob.): *'Αγάθων, τραγωδίας ποιητῆς εἰς μαλακίαν σκωπτόμενος 'Αριστοφάνει Γηρυτάδῃ*· (K. 169) κτλ. Sthenelus etiam propter insulsum sermonem<sup>2</sup> asperius perstringitur: —

(K. 151) A. καὶ πῶς ἐγὼ Σθενέλου φάγοιμ' ἂν ῥήματα;

B. εἰς ὄξος ἐμβαπτόμενος ἢ ξηροὺς ἄλας, —

nec Morsimus verba huius aculeata effugit: Hesych. *Κλύμενος*· *ιατρὸς ἀφνῆς, ὃν 'Αριστοφάνης φησὶν ἀναμεμίχθαι τῷ Μορσίμῳ διὰ τὸ καὶ τὸν Μόρσιμον ἱατρὸν εἶναι ἀφνῆ*· ἦν δὲ καὶ *τραγωδοποιὸς ἀφνῆς ὁ Μόρσιμος*. (K. 704) Quibus verbis hic significasse videtur illos medicamenta quaedam esse quae mixta inter se pro remedio vel potius fortasse pro

<sup>1</sup> Cum frag. 599, nec cum 326 coniungendum esse papyrus, propterea quod litterae *ταγάθων* prope sint versus finem, demonstraverunt Grenfellius et Huntus. Fortasse tamen cum Fraccarolio, *Riv. di Fil.* XXVIII, 87, et haec et illa ad eandem fabulam, alteras *Thesmophoriasusas*, attribuire possumus.

<sup>2</sup> Froehdius, *Berliner Studien*, N. F., III, 113, haec incredibili ratione interpretatus est: ut sal et acetum acria sint, sic Stheneli verba lepida esse ac salsa. — Consimilis est horum aliqua ex parte, ut amicus me admonuit, locus in illa Jonsoni nostri fabula quae *Poetaster* inscribitur, Act. V, Sc. I, ubi Crispino cuidam, qui, pilula mirifica data, verba multa et nova et tumida evomuit, qualia in fabulis suis usurpare solitus erat, praecipitur deinceps ut, victus ratione diligenter considerata, cibum, ut ita dicam, mentis sibi habeat Catonem et Terentium. Quae certe ex Luciani *Lexiphanis*, 18 sqq., sumpta sunt; illud autem opus, ex ea ipsa fortasse Aristophanis fabula, *Gerytade*, cuius sunt haec.

veneno essent.<sup>1</sup> An ad litteras tamen haec spectent, incertum est. Quod autem tragoedi aedes quasdam magnas conducere solebant ubi recitarent, id quoque ridicule sine dubio commemorabatur: Zenobius 2, 27 (K. 115): ἐν τῷ Μελιτέων· λείπει (τῷ) οἴκῳ· μέμνηται αὐτῆς Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Γεωργοῖς καὶ Πλάτων ὁ κωμικός (frag. 213). ἦν δὲ οὗτος ὁ οἶκος μέγας εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τραγωδῶν μισθούμενος.<sup>2</sup> Cf. Phot. Μελιτέων οἶκος· ἐν τῷ (Μελιτέων) δῆμῳ παμμεγέθης ἦν οἶκος, εἰς ὃν οἱ τραγωδοὶ φοιτῶντες ἐμελέτων.<sup>3</sup>

Sed nunc denique videamus, quaeso, quid de comicis, et antiquis, et recentioribus illis, aequalibus suis aemulisque, dixerit, — quos scilicet eum lacessisse minime est mirandum, cum hac ipsa damnatione semper sese tacite laudet.<sup>4</sup> Illorum vero antiquorum fabulae simplices non solum rudi humilique cultu erant, sua sententia: —

(K. 253) ὁ χορὸς δ' ὠρχεῖτ' ἂν ἐναψάμενος δάπιδας καὶ στρωματόδεσμα,  
διαμασχαλίσας αὐτὸν σχελίσιν καὶ φύσκαϊς καὶ ῥαφανίσιν,

(K. 254) οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἀταλαιπώρως ἢ ποίησις διέκειτο, —

sed etiam ludicrae:

(K. 333) ἦν μέγα τι βρῶμ' ἔτι τρυγωδοποιομουσική,  
ἠνίκα Κράτητί τε τάριχος ἐλεφάντινον,  
λαμπρὸν ἐκόμιζεν ἀπόνως παραβεβλημένον,  
ἄλλα τε τοιαῦθ' ἕτερα μυρὶ' ἐκίχλιζετο,

quibus versibus perstringitur imprimis Cratetis frag. 29 K.<sup>5</sup> Ex aequalibus autem Eupolidem fortasse, ut in *Nubibus* 553, *Vespis* 1025, *Pace* 763 sq., sic hoc versu, criminatur suas fabulas compilasse:<sup>6</sup>

(K. 54) ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἐμῆς χλανίδος τρεῖς ἀπληγίδας ποιῶν.

Platonem fabulamque eius Παιδάριον, si satis certa est speciosa Kocki coniectura (I, 545–6), per iocum lepidum inridet:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kock. I, p. 564; Ar. *Ran.* 944.

<sup>2</sup> Sic, Meinekium Bergkiumque secutus, emendavit Kockius, I, p. 420.

<sup>3</sup> Frag. 367, quo commemoratus esse videtur tragicus quidam ignotus, cui Dorillus vel Doryllus nomen vel potius cognomen erat, vix ad nostram rem pertinere potest.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Emerson. *Am. Jour. Phil.* X, 268.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Burmann. *De poetis com. Att. ant.* 13.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Meinek. II, 964; Kock. I, 405; et quae supra, p. 159, dicta sunt.

(K. 612-613) ἐνταῦθα δὴ Παιδάριον ἐξαναίνεται.  
ὥστ' ἔγωγ' ἠΐναιόμηνα  
θεώμενος.

Sed id quod multo magis nostra interest, praeter *Proagonem* praeterque *Ranas* ac *Thesmophoriazusas* quarum paulo ante mentionem feci, duas totas fabulas, fortasse etiam tres, constat in poetarum iudiciis versatas. Ex his unius, *Gerytadis*, hoc est argumentum: arte scaenica post mortem Sophoclis Euripidisque prorsus depravata corruptaque, poetae ceteri qui supersunt, suis facultatibus diffidentes, ad inferos, ad illos vates praeclaros, legatos mittunt qui auxilium petant:<sup>1</sup> Ath. 12, 551 a: καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ ἐν Γηρυτάδῃ λεπτοὺς τοῦσδε καταλέγει, οὓς καὶ πρέσβεις ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν φησιν εἰς Ἄιδου πέμπεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐκεῖ ποιητάς, λέγων οὕτωςί·

(K. 149) A. καὶ τίς νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότου πύλας  
ἔτλη κατελθεῖν; B. ἐν' ἀφ' ἐκάστης τῆς τέχνης  
εἰλόμεθα κουνῆ γενομένης ἐκκλησίας,  
οὓς ἤσμεν ὄντας ἄδοφοίτας καὶ θαμὰ  
ἐκέισε φιλοχωροῦντας. A. εἰσὶ γάρ τινες  
ἄνδρες παρ' ὑμῖν ἄδοφοῖται; B. νῆ Δία  
μάλιστα γ'. A. ὥσπερ Θρακοφοῖται; B. πάντ' ἔχεις.  
A. καὶ τίνες ἂν εἶεν; B. πρῶτα μὲν Σαννυρίων  
ἀπὸ τῶν τρυγωδῶν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τραγικῶν χορῶν  
Μέλητος, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν κυκλίων Κινησίας.

εἶθ' ἐξῆς φησιν·

(K. 150, 1) A. ὡς σφόδρ' ἐπὶ λεπτῶν ἐλπίδων ἀχέισθ' ἄρα. κτλ.

Quam eis res successerit non apparet. His tamen in verbis inest fortasse pars consilii a mortuis illis poetis<sup>2</sup> dediti:

(K. 154) θεράπευε καὶ χόρταζε τῶν μονωδιῶν,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Meinek. (Bergk.) II, 1004 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Euripidem in scaena fuisse sententia est Crusi, *Mélanges Henri Weil* (1898), 81, qui illum, conlato novo in papyro scripto fragmento, — Grenfell. et Hunt. *New Classical Fragments and other Greek and Latin Papyri*, Oxford, 1897, p. 24 — a mulieribus odii plenis propter eius convicia exagitatum esse putat. Quae si vera sunt, fere necessario apparet illius scripta quoque aliquam partem iudicata. Idem Euripides illud consilium supra commemoratum dare potuit. Monodias enim pro remedio Tragoediae dat *Ar. Ran.* 944. Cf. Ribbeck. *Die dram. Parodien* (add. ad *Die Acharner des Aristoph.*), 282; Kock. adn. in hoc frag.

et in his nescio cuius persona, Musam vel Bacchum poetarum patronum appellantis, Aristophanes suam opinionem de artis condicione declarat :<sup>1</sup>

(K. 152) τότε μὲν . . . σου κατεκοττάβιζον ἄν,  
 νυνὶ δὲ σου κατεμοῦσι, τάχα δ' εἶ οἶδ' ὅτι  
 καὶ καταχέονται.

Alterius autem ex illis fabulis quas ad litteras pertinuisse iam dictum est, videlicet *Poesis*,<sup>2</sup> unum solum existit hoc fragmentum :

(K. 451) γυναῖκα δὴ ζητοῦντες ἐνθάδ' ἤκομεν,  
 ἦν φασιν εἶναι παρὰ σέ.

Quo tamen et indice considerato, licere videtur cum Bergkio (Meinek. II, 1131) conicere hoc aut huius simile, ut paucis rem absolvam, fuisse argumentum : artem poeticam iam iterum in extremo esse sitam, quippe cum Poesis mulier Athenis nescio qua effugisset ; quam vero poetas, — sicut Pacem in eiusdem nominis fabula Trygaeus, — conatos esse reperitam in pristinam sedem reducere. In fabula denique quae *Dramata* inscribitur, sive ut Bergkio, *Comm.* 131 et apud Meinek. II, 1055, et Zielinskius, *Gliederung*, 102 sq., eius modi fuisse decernimus in qua altera minor fabula vel fabulae containerentur, sive Hermanno, *Oed. Col.* praef.<sup>2</sup>, xi, et Kockio, I, 460, adsentimus in ea Sophoclem a filio accusatum carmen illud ex *Oedipode Coloneo* recitasse, litterae certe aliqua ex parte agebantur.

Ex minoribus poetis nunc Philoxenus commemoratur : Plut. *Mor.* 1142 a (K. 641) : Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ κωμικὸς μνημονεύει τοῦ Φιλοξένου καὶ φησιν, ὅτι εἰς τοὺς κυκλίους χοροὺς μέλη εἰσηγάγατο, . . . καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ κωμωδιοποιοὶ ἔδειξαν τὴν ἀτοπίαν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν μουσικὴν κατακεκερματικῶτων, — nunc autem Clitagora :<sup>3</sup> Schol. Ar. *Lys.* 1237 (K. 261) : Κλειταγόρα ποιήτρια ἦν Λακωνικὴ, ἧς μέμνηται καὶ ἐν Δαναΐσιν Ἀριστοφάνης, — modo vero scolia illa Admeti Harmodique :

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bergk. ap. Meinek. II, 1011; Kock. I, 429. Ex eadem fabula sunt praeterea fragmenta supra laudata, 151, 153.

<sup>2</sup> Hanc fabulam grammatici quidem antiqui non Aristophanis esse putaverunt sed aequalis eius Archippi (cf. Vitam Ar. xxviii, 85 Dübn.); docet nihilominus tamen ea, cuiuscumque sit, antiquae comoediae poetas multum de arte poetica cogitasse.

<sup>3</sup> Hanc tamen veram poetriam fuisse vix inter omnes constat. Cf. Cratin. frag. 236, supra, p. 146, et Kock. ad loc.; Starkium ad Ar. *Vesp.* 1246.



(K. 430) ὁ μὲν ἦδεν Ἀδμήτου λόγον πρὸς μυρρίνην,  
ὁ δ' αὐτὸν ἠνάγκαζεν Ἀρμοδίου μέλος, —

vel carmina antiqua :

(K. 659) οὐχ οἶα πρῶτον ἦδον ἐπτάχορδα πάνθ' ὅμοια, —  
modo fortasse, si Aristophanis re vera sunt haec, novus aliquis poeta :

(K. 912) αὐτὸς δείξας ἔνθ' ἁρμονίαις χιάζων ἢ σιφνιάζων.

De quo versu conferre licet Poll. 4, 65 : τὸ μέντοι σιφνιάζειν καὶ χιάζειν, τὸ περιέργοις μέλεσι χρῆσθαι, ἀπὸ Δημοκρίτου τοῦ Χίου καὶ Φιλοξενίδου τοῦ Σιφνίου. Item si veram esse illam putes interpretationem quam van Herwerdenus, *Mnem.* XIV, 169, aliique verborum ἄδειν κακῶς protulerunt, de malis novae et corruptae musicae carminibus ea dici, in his quoque iudicium continetur :

(K. 216) ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἔμαθε ταῦτ' ἐμοῦ πέμποντος, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον  
πίνειν, ἔπειτ' ἄδειν κακῶς, Συρακοσίαν τράπεζαν,  
Συβαριτίδας τ' εὐωχίας καὶ Χίον ἐκ Λακαινῶν.

Haec omnia iudicia quae iam de musicis contuli aliquam partem demonstrant, ut opinor, id verum esse quod confirmat Estévius, *Les Innovations Musicales dans la Tragédie Grecque à l'Époque d'Euripide*, 29, adn. 3, et quod fortasse omnes suspicarentur, Aristophanem, sicut Plato philosophus et minore ex parte Pherecrates, non ut musicum his de rebus iudicasse sed potius ut qui semper fere nova exempla in rebus et poeticis et musicis ab Euripide eiusque partibus introducta perstringeret.<sup>1</sup>

In oratorum autem sophistarumque nonnullos hic invehitur, sed plerumque magis propter mores quam propter orationes. Pauca tamen haec fragmenta sunt proferenda :

A. (sc. υἱὸς ἀκόλαστος) ἀλλ' εἰ σορέλλη καὶ μύρον καὶ ταινίαι.

B. (sc. ὁ πρεσβύτης) ἰδοῦ, σορέλλη, τοῦτο παρὰ Λυσιωτράτου.

A. ἦ μὴν ἴσως σὺ καταπλιγῆσει τῷ χρόνῳ.

B. τὸ καταπλιγῆσει τοῦτο παρὰ τῶν ῥητόρων.

A. ἀποβύσεται σοι ταῦτά πη τὰ ῥήματα.

B. παρ' Ἀλκιβιάδου τοῦτο τὰποβύσεται.

A. τί δ' ὑποτεκμαίρει καὶ κακῶς ἄνδρας λέγεις  
καλοκάγαθὲν ἀσκούντας; B. οἴμ', ὦ Θρασύμαχε,  
τίς τοῦτο τῶν ξυνηγόρων τερθρεύεται; (K. 198)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Jebb. *Class. Gk. Poetry*, 197.

Arist. *Rhet.* 1405 b, 29 sqq.: ἔστι δὲ ὁ ὑποκορισμὸς ὃς ἔλαττον ποιῆ καὶ τὸ κακὸν καὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Ἄριστοφάνης σκώπτει ἐν τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις (Κ. 90) ἀντὶ μὲν χρυσοῦ χρυσιδάριον, ἀντὶ δ' ἱματίου ἱματιδάριον, ἀντὶ δὲ λαιδορίας λαιδορημάτιον καὶ νοσημάτιον. εὐλαβεῖσθαι δὲ δεῖ καὶ παρατηρεῖν ἐν ἀμφοῖν τὸ μέτριον. Quorum vero utroque nova verba a sophistic rhetoricisque usurpata inidentur,<sup>1</sup> illo autem nominatim et Lysistratus, contionator perniciosus, et Alcibiades ille, et Thrasymachus rhetor. Adde huc par versusum :

(Κ. 490) τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρ' ἢ βιβλίον διέφθορεν  
ἢ Πρόδικος ἢ τῶν ἀδολεσχῶν εἰς γέ τις,

quo demonstrari videtur libros, vel potius fortasse tales libros quibus Euripides, *Ran.* 943, se dicat usum esse, cum Tragoediae

χυλὸν διδοὺς στωμυλμάτων ἀπὸ βιβλίων ἀπηθῶν,

artem multo minus turgidam fecerit, comici quidem sententia non legendos esse. Sed maximam partem haud litterae sed mores hic aguntur. Tum etiam huius loci mentionem facere oportet qui ut ad mores sic ad orationes Philippi pertinere potest: Schol. Ar. *Av.* 1701: ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ ὁ Γοργίας οὗτοι ῥήτορες λάλοι εἰσίν. . . . τοῦ δὲ Φιλίππου καὶ ἐν Γεωργοῖς (Κ. 113) μνημονεύει Ἄριστοφάνης. Ac similia sunt haec: Schol. Ar. *Ach.* 710: οὗτος ὁ Εὐθαλὸς ῥήτωρ πονηρός. Ἄριστοφάνης ἐν Ὀλκάσιν·

(Κ. 411) ἔστι τις πονηρὸς ἡμῖν τοξότης ξυνήγορος,  
ὥσπερ Εὐθαλὸς παρ' ἡμῖν, τοῖς νέοις, <Κηφισοφῶν>.<sup>2</sup>

ἦν δὲ καὶ εὐρύπρωκτος καὶ λάλος.

Quid denique hic de se ipso iudicabat, quamque artis suae rationem sibi proponebat? Tantum certe, ut Emersonius, *Am. Jour. Phil.* X, 270, affirmat, fabulis quae supersunt et fragmentis examinatis, in promptu est, numquam hunc, vel numquam quidem aperte, artem, ut aiunt, artis causa exercuisse; laudandum enim hac de causa poetam esse putabat:

δεξιότητος καὶ νοουθεσίας (sc. οὐνεκα), ὅτι βελτίους τε ποιοῦμεν  
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν. (*Ran.* 1009-10)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Meinek. (Bergk.) II, 1033 sqq., 982; Pepler. *Comic Terminations in Aristophanes and the Comic Fragments*, Part I, Baltimore, 1902, — quod tamen opus ipse numquam vidi.

<sup>2</sup> Sic enim versum complet Mueller-Struebingus, *Ar. u. d. hist. Kritik.* 336.

Sed partim quoque ad Atheniensium sententias sine dubio sese conformavit: Ath. I, 30 b (K. 579): γίνεται δὲ ἐν Ἰκάρῳ, φησὶν Ἐπαρχίδης, ὁ Πράμνιος. ἔστι δὲ οὗτος γένος τι οἴνου. καὶ ἔστιν οὗτος οὔτε γλυκὺς οὔτε παχὺς, ἀλλ' αὐστηρὸς καὶ σκληρὸς καὶ δύναμιν ἔχων διαφέρουσαν, οἷψ' Ἀριστοφάνης οὐχ ἤδεσθαι Ἀθηναίους φησί, λέγων τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον οὔτε ποιηταῖς ἤδεσθαι σκληροῖς καὶ ἀστεμφέσιν οὔτε Πραμνίοις σκληροῖσιν οἴνοις συνάγουσι τὰς ὀφρῦς .τε καὶ τὴν κοιλίαν, ἀλλ' ἀνθοσμία καὶ πέπονι νεκταροσταγεί. Quae verba cavere oportet ne conlato Phrynichi frag. 65 (supra, p. 165), cum ad Sophoclem Aeschylumque spectare, duriores poetas et austeros, tum ad Euripidem putemus, mollem et dulcem et a vulgo Atheniensium amatum. Hic enim valde dissimile habetur vinum illud Pramnium, quo certe significari videntur aemuli poetae: eos ut quibus nihil sit suavitatis veram Atheniensibus iucunditatem praebere minime posse; huius autem ipsius semper esse, hoc est esse oportere, poemata omnibus gratissima. Accedit tamen quod in *Amphiarao*, cum forsitan de usu suo in re scaenica loquatur, —

(K. 31) ἀφ' οὗ κωμωδικὸν μορμολυκεῖον ἔγνω, —

addit:

(K. 30) οἶδα μὲν ἀρχαῖόν τι δρῶν κοῦχὶ λέληθ' ἔμαυτόν.

Non enim semper vulgo morem gerebat, novis iucundisque rebus scriptis, sed semel atque iterum illud ἀρχαῖόν τι invitis etiam illis praebebat. De certamine autem honoris et gloriae, quod ei semper cum aemulis poetis erat, verba fecit:

(K. 528) οὐ γὰρ τίθεμεν τὸν ἀγῶνα τόνδε τὸν τρόπον  
ὥσπερ τέως ἦν, ἀλλὰ καινῶν πραγμάτων, —

et paulo obscurius duobus aliis in versibus:

(K. 529) λόγῳ γὰρ ἠγωνιζόμεσθ', ἔργοισι δ' οὐ.<sup>1</sup>

(K. 331) ἀγῶν πρόφασιν οὐ δέχεται.

Sermone autem elegante gloriatus est se usum esse et semper

(K. 685) διάλεκτον ἔχοντα μέσσην πόλεως  
οὐτ' ἀστείαν ὑποθηλυτέραν  
οὐτ' ἀνελεύθερον ὑπαγροικότεραν,

<sup>1</sup> Sic numeros restituit Bergkiius (Meinek. II, 1160). Emersonius, *Am. Jour. Phil.* X, 278, reddit Anglice: *On words, not on stage business we depend.* Nescio an recte.

(K. 699) ῥήματά τε κομφὰ καὶ παίγνι' ἐπιδεικνύναι,  
πάντ' ἀπ' ἀκροφυσίων κἀπὸ καναβενμάτων,

nec vero negavit — id sane quod haud fuerat difficile — se Euripidem imitari, sed cum aemuli illud tamquam maximum esset vitium ei exprobrassent,<sup>1</sup> respondit :

(K. 471) χρώμαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στόματος τῷ στρογγύλῳ,<sup>2</sup>  
τοὺς νοῦς δ' ἀγοραίους ἤττον ἢ 'κείνος ποιῶ.

Cf. Schol. Plat. Clark. 330–331 (Bekk.) : 'Ἀριστοφάνης . . . ἐκωμωδεῖτο ἐπὶ τῷ σκώπτειν μὲν Εὐριπίδην, μμείσθαι δ' αὐτόν . . . καὶ αὐτὸς δ' ἐξομολογεῖται Σκηνὰς καταλαμβάνουσας· (χρώμαι κτλ.) Denique superbe iussit

(K. 334) μήτε Μούσας ἀνακαλεῖν ἑλικοβοστρύχους  
μήτε Χάριτας βοᾶν εἰς χορὸν Ὀλυμπίας·  
ἐνθάδε γὰρ εἰσιν, ὡς φησιν ὁ διδάσκαλος.<sup>3</sup>

His igitur omnibus apertioribus circumspectis iudiciis, ad illa alia genera pervenimus de quibus ex arte poetae sola coniecturas capere possumus. Ex indicibus quidem nihil colligi potest. Plerumque enim novos elegit et sex tantum modo prius ab aliis inventos, videlicet a Magnete, Cratino, Cratete, Chionide, iterum usurpavit. Nullius igitur praecipue poetae indices admirabatur. Sed aliis in rebus paulo saepius aequales eum imitatum esse constat. Nam Euripideum genus scribendi hic se usurpasse, ut paulo ante dicitur, confessus est.<sup>4</sup> Rem autem illam nescio quam antiquam, cuius supra (frag. 30) eum vidimus mentionem fecisse, ab aliis fortasse usurpatam esse voluit dicere. Tum Pherecratis fabulae *Γρανσί* aliquam partem similis erat, ut ait Kockius,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cratin. 307, supra, p. 143–144.

<sup>2</sup> Non dubium est quin verum hoc fuerit. Cf. Täubner. *De usu parodiae ap. Ar.* 41; Stark. *Ar. Vesp.*, p. x, adn. 4, 6; p. xi; Anon. *de com.*, p. 8, 42 (Kaibel.); *Ar. Lys.* 1124–1135. Neque id mirum videri debet, quandoquidem et hic et ille illius *ὄχλοκρατίας*, ut ita dicam, proprii erant poetae. Cf. Bernhard. *Gr. Litt.*<sup>3</sup>, II, 2, 396, 579; van Leeuwen. *De Ar. Euripidis censore*, 3; 4, adn. 1. Hic tamen in adn. ad *Vesp.* 57 illa Aristophanis verba *cum ironica vocis modulatione* confirmat *ab histrione proferrri*.

<sup>3</sup> Si vera sunt ea quae Zielinskius, *Gliederung*, 89–90, coniecit, Musas Gratiasque vere in scaena, alteram chori partem, fuisse, haud minus hic est iudici.

<sup>4</sup> De Archilochi ab hoc usurpato confer Zielinsk., *ibid.*, 318–328.

I, 153, huius Ἰήρας. Verbis eiusdem aliorumque usus est.<sup>1</sup> Accedit quod ut Plato hunc sic hic illum imitatus est; huius enim rei testimonium, quod mihi quidem, licet obscurum sit, satis videtur grave, praebet Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.* 6, 2, 26: Πλάτων δὲ ὁ κωμικὸς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν τῷ Δαιδάλῳ τὰ ἀλλήλων ὑφαιροῦνται. Kockius certe, I, 435, hoc crimen Cobetum putat egregie refutasse, — vix, ut opinor, recte. Nam huius maxima gravissimaque in eo est ratio, quod ridicula sit eiusmodi imitatio: *Quis sanus*, inquit (*Obs. crit.* 81), *credat poetae ingenioso adeo rem angustam fuisse domi, ut huiusmodi dictum: 'gallinae saepe ova irrita pariunt,'<sup>2</sup> non ultro invenire potuerit?* Nemo mehercule: potuit haud dubie et haec et multa alia invenire. Tamen hac sola de causa, quod potuit invenire, non confirmandum est eum re vera invenisse. Sed haec quae supra, p. 125 sqq., persecuti sumus, non opus est longius renovare.<sup>3</sup>

Alterius autem illius generis imitationis, quod parodiam paratragoediamque appellavimus, permulta exstant exempla. Homericam verba pauca usurpantur, sed nullo de eis vero iudicio facto.<sup>4</sup> Hesiodicam tamen unam locutionem per parodiam improbari videtur: Phrynich. *Ecl.* 73 (Rutherford.): ἔστι μὲν ἠπήσασθαι ἀπαξ παρ' Ἀριστοφάνει ἐν Δαιταλεῦσι, παίζοντι τὰς Ἡσιόδου ὑποθήκας,

(K. 227) καὶ κόσκινον ἠπήσασθαι.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ar. frag. 736 et Pher. 197; Ar. 253 et Pher. 185; Ar. Pac. 749 et Pher. 94; et quae minus certa sunt, Ar. Ran. 516 et Pher. 108, v. 29. Possunt certe ab Aristophane primo hae res verbaque inventa esse. — Nisi autem corrupta sunt verba Photi, etiam Cratini locutionem (457) mutuatus est (*Ach.* 687). Praeter haec Ribbeckius, *Die dram. Parodieen*, 322, contulit frag. 359 et Cratin. 290; *Thesm.* 215 et schol.; frag. 672 et Eupol. 146 b; Pac. 185 et schol.

<sup>2</sup> Versus ipsi ad quos haec spectant, Ar. 186 = Plat. 19, perperam sine dubio utriusque attribuuntur.

<sup>3</sup> Vt supra in eis quae ad Pherecratem pertinent, sic in his quoque minus de imitatione quam de imitatione constat.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. frag. 6; Scherrans. *De poet. com. Att. studiis Homericis*, 22; Blaydes. *Ar. frag.*, p. 446, ad frag. 953; Sengebusch. *Hom. Dissert.* I, 178–181.

<sup>5</sup> Quibus tamen nequaquam demonstrantur ea quae confirmat Spaldingius ad Quint. I, 1, 15, Aristophanem opus illud, *Χελρῶνος ὑποθήκας*, Hesiodo attribuisse. Multo enim verius dixisset Phrynichi, illius Ἀπτικιστοῦ, fuisse eam opinionem. — Verbum βρόταχον (= frag. 934) potius, ut Kockius I, 596, hominem Ionem inducentem quam, ut Bothius, Xenophanem Colophonium iridentem poetam usurpasse arbitror.

Philoxenum autem dithyramborum poetam propter verba nimis audacia ludificabatur,<sup>1</sup> et tragicos vero tam saepe hoc modo cum in fabulis quae exstant, tum in fragmentis, derisit ut vix operae pretium esset omnia exempla proferre.<sup>2</sup> Petuntur imprimis certe Euripides, tum Aeschylus, Sophocles, alii.<sup>3</sup> Nonnumquam autem totae fabulae scriptae sunt, non certe ut Dindorfi, *Ar. frag.* II, 663, erat opinio, quae hanc solam haberent rationem, ut Euripidis fabulas quibus idem vel simile esset nomen deriderent, sed quae nihilominus, ut Bergkii, ap. Meinek. II, 1167, arbitratur, eadem materia usurpata qua Euripides aliique tragici usi erant, fabulas tragicas deflecterent in ridiculum. Quorum in numero habendae sunt *Aeolicon*,<sup>4</sup> *Anagyryus*, *Daedalus*, *Danaides*, *Lemniae*, *Niobus*, *Phoenissae*, *Polydus*,<sup>5</sup> fortasse *Autolycus* et *Erechtheus*.<sup>6</sup> Plerumque vero, ut supra, p. 128 sqq., dictum est, ioci causa parodiae fiunt, nec multum ad rem attinent nisi quod aliquid laudis tacitae continere possunt; rarius tamen vera iudicia significant. Cum enim hic illorum Polydori verborum in *Hecuba* Euripidis, vv. 1-2, dictorum, —

ἦκω νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότου πύλας  
λιπῶν, ἔν' Ἀιδῆς χωρὶς ᾤκισταί θεῶν, —

quandam imaginem effecit, —

(K. I) ἦκω Θεαρῖωνος ἀρτοπῶλιον  
\* λιπῶν, ἔν' ἐστὶ κριβάνων ἐδώλια, —

graviter certe similitudinem illam inter se prologorum Euripideorum

<sup>1</sup> Cf. frag. 165; Bergk., *Comm.* 212 et ap. Meinek. II, 1010; frag. 725; *Ar. Plut.* 290 sq. et Schol.; *Eccl.* 1167-1178; Bergk. *Poet. lyr. Gr.* III<sup>4</sup>, 613.

<sup>2</sup> Bakhuisenus, *De parodia in com. Ar.*, profert ex *Ach.* exempla XXXII; ex *Eq.* XXXVII; e *Nub.* XXIII; e *Vesp.* XXX; e *Pac.* XXVI; ex *Av.* XXXVIII; e *Lys.* XV; e *Thesm.* XLV; e *Ran.* LXXXV; ex *Eccl.* VIII; e *Plut.* XVIII. Quorum vero nonnulla sunt eclogae complures versus multasque parodias continentes. Idem e fragmentis laudat fere XXXV. Murrayus, *On Parody and Paratrag. in Ar.*, 50, haec alia addidit: 420, 473, 561, 676.

<sup>3</sup> Bakhuisenus, *ibid.* 217 sqq., epicorum commemorat ex fabulis et perditis et superstantibus parodias XVII, lyricorum XXXIX, Aeschyli XXXVII, Sophoclis XXIII, Euripidis CXLIX, aliorum quorundam tragicorum XI, incertorum LII. Multa praeterea sunt paratragoediae exempla.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Platonium, *de differentia com.* § 6 (Kaibel. *C. G. F.*, p. 4, 29).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Blaydes. *Ar. frag.* 124; Egger. *Hist. Crit.*<sup>2</sup>, 43.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. van Leeuwen. *De Ar. Euripidis censore*, 9, adn. 2.

improbare voluit.<sup>1</sup> Cum autem ut consuetudinem inrideret tragicorum, qui nominis originem atque hominis vitam viresque arte coniungi docere conabantur,<sup>2</sup> lepide sic scripsit, —

(K. 357) ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐτυράνευεν Ὑψιπύλης πατήρ  
Θόας, βραδύτατος ὧν ἐν ἀνθρώποις δραμείν,<sup>3</sup> —

cum denique, verbo usus quod Euripides saepe usurpavit, praeterea nemo fere,

(K. 420) δρομάδες ὀκνάδες

dixit, vitia certe sermonis Euripidei culpabat.

Deinceps, ut huius poetae fragmenta investiganda aliquando concludamus, pauca dicenda sunt de iudiciis nonnullis quae in se ipsum fecit — ac primum vero de illis quae locutionibus iteratis fiunt, deinde quae fabulis retractatis. Illorum quidem quamquam pauca inter fragmenta invenimus,<sup>4</sup> in fabulis tamen integris sunt multa;<sup>5</sup> horum complura fuisse in aperto est. Nam *Pacem* fabulam duabus rebus permotus, quod eam Eupolis (frag. 54) et Plato (frag. 81) ludificati erant, quodque secundum tantummodo praemium tulerat, ita emendasse videtur, ut ingenti illo deae Pacis simulacro non iam, ut priore in fabula, introducto, veras partes Paci personae attribueret.<sup>6</sup> *Aeolosicon* quoque, *Plutus*, *Nubes* retractabantur, quamquam haec postrema, partim tantum correctae, non iterum edita est. *Thesmophoriazusas alteras* quidem scripsit sed dissimili de causa, non ut vitia prioris fabulae corrigeret, sed ut eam hac nova fabula quasi continuaret atque perficeret.

Quibus omnibus rebus iam consideratis, nemo certe negare potest hunc praeclarum poetam et multum litteris studuisse et saepe de eis iudicia sua protulisse.

Sed quoniam tandem de Aristophane est dictum, adgrediar iam ad PLATONEM. Cuius vero, quamvis parvae sunt reliquiae, fragmenta tamen

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eur. *Troad.* 1; *Ion.* 5; Sihler. *De parodiis.* 9.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bakhuysen. *De Parodia in com. Ar.* 195.

<sup>3</sup> Quibuscum confer Eur. *I. T.* 32-33; Ar. frag. 327, supra, p. 169.

<sup>4</sup> Frag. 1 = 155; 296 = 401; cf. 189 et Ath. 7, 316 b, 323 c; 230 et *Eq.* 1013, *Av.* 978, 987; 162 et *Ran.* 436, *Plut.* 962.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Stark. *Ar. Vesp.* xi, adn. 2. Res in frag. 125 depicta similis est loco *Vesp.* 1387 sqq.; fabulae Γῆρας et Ἀμφιάρεως simile habent argumentum. Et alia multa huius generis afferri possint.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Bergk. ap. Meinek. II, 1064.

sunt haud pauca quae ut examinemus nostra interest.<sup>1</sup> Primum igitur quattuor saltem fabulas scripsit quibus eum conicere licet res poeticas esse persecutum: *Σκευιάς, Σοφιστάς, Λάκωνας ἢ Ποιητάς, Ποιητήν*. Hoc enim et ex indicibus et, quoad nunc exstant, ex fragmentis ipsis colligere possumus. Et prima vero earum, ut Kocki, I, 635, est sententia, ad scaenicam artem spectavit; in qua hic illam pristinam ac splendidam chori saltationem cum nova depravatamque comparavit:

(K. 130) ὥστ' εἴ τις ὄρχοιτ' εὖ, θέαμ' ἦν· νῦν δὲ δρῶσιν οὐδέν,  
ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀπόπληκτοι στάδην ἐστῶτες ὠρύνονται, —

et aliquo modo fortasse Morsimum et Sthenelum tragicos et cuiusque fautores, alteros alteris opposuit:<sup>2</sup>

(K. 128) αἴψαι μόνον σὺ κἀν ἄκρῳ τοῦ Μορσίμου,  
ἴνα σου πατήσω τὸν Σθένελον μάλ' αὐτίκα, —

ac denique alium tragicum est ludificatus Melanthium: Schol. Ar. *Av.* 151 (K. 132): Πλάτων δὲ αὐτὸν (Μελάνθιον) ἐν Σκευαῖς ὡς λάλον σκώπτει. Ex altera autem fabula,<sup>3</sup> cuius index *Σοφισταί* cum Cratin. frag. 2 et Eupol. frag. 447 et huius ipsius frag. 140 conferendus est, haec habemus:<sup>4</sup> Schol. Ar. *Pac.* 792: Ξενοκλῆς ὁ Καρκίνου δοκεῖ μηχανὰς καὶ τερατείας εἰσάγειν ἐν τοῖς δράμασιν. Πλάτων Σοφισταῖς:

(K. 134) Ξενοκλῆς ὁ δωδεκαμήχανος,  
ὁ Καρκίνου παῖς τοῦ Θαλαππίου, —

quibus vero Xenoclis, nomine meretricis famosae notati, et mores et artem perstrinxit. In tertia<sup>5</sup> vero Sthenelum iterum exagitavit furti

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Denis. *La Com. Grec.* II, 281; 61.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Cobet. *Obs. crit.* 184.

<sup>3</sup> Conferre licet Denis. *La Com. Grec.* II, 60. — Greyus, *The Treatment of Philosophy and Philosophers by the Greek Comic Poets*, Baltimore, 1896, p. 20, perperam hunc indicem ad philosophos refert.

<sup>4</sup> Praeterea Schneideri coniectura (*Rhein. Mus.* LII, 448), verbum *χρησιμωδότητος* in Lex. Messanens. f. 282 v. 16, legendum, fortasse est commemoranda.

<sup>5</sup> Cratinum hac fabula spectata taedio mortuum esse, si eis quae scite coniecit Cobetus, *Obs. crit.* 87 sq., credis, Aristophanes, *Pac.* 700 sq., per iocum dixit. Cf. Kock. I, 619; III, 727. Sed Luebkus, *Obs. crit.* 29–30, auditores putat vel sagacissimos talem iocum intellegere non potuisse. Similiter Mueller-Struebing, *Die letzten Aufführungen u. das Ende des alten Kratinos*, *N. Jahrb.* CXLI, 513 sqq. Qui tamen quod ipse coniecit rem ad Cratini ipsius fabulam spectare, eo effecit ut et versus multo minus iocosi esse viderentur et Aristophanes aemulum suum fere laudare.



accusatione: — Harp. 272, 15 (Dind.): ἐκωμῶδει δὲ αὐτὸν (sc. Σθένε-  
λον) ὁ τοὺς Πλάτωνος Λάκωνας γράψας ὡς τάλλότρια ἔπη σφετεριζό-  
μενον (K. 70), — ac fortasse eundem haec quoque verba de nescio quo  
feracior poeta loquentem induxit et furta sua confitentem:

(K. 67) ὅταν δέωμαι γωνιαῖον ῥήματος,  
τούτῳ παρισσοῦμαι καὶ μοχλεύω τὰς πέτρας.<sup>1</sup>

Postremae denique fabulae nihil praeter indicem gravis est momenti;  
ille tamen fabulae vix aptus est nisi ei quae aliqua ex parte ad litteras  
spectet.<sup>2</sup>

Ad haec alius unus tantummodo tragicus lacessitus est, videlicet  
Euripides. Nam in fabula quae nomine Ἑορτῶν inscribitur nescio cui  
inquit

(K. 30) εἴ γέ σοι γένοιθ', ὅτι  
ἔσωσας ἐκ τῶν σίγμα τῶν Εὐριπίδου.

Conferre licet Eust. 813, 46: Αἴλιος δὲ Διονύσιος ἱστορεῖ τοὺς κωμικοὺς  
μάλιστα ἐκκλίνειν πᾶν τὸ ἔχον σιγμὸν καὶ ἐξήχησιν καὶ ψόφον . . . διὸ  
καὶ διασύροντες τοὺς τραγικοὺς ὡς μὴ τοιούτους προσπαίξουσιν, κτλ.  
id. 896, 56: καὶ ἡ κωμῳδία μετὰ τὴν εὕρεσιν τῆς χρήσεως τοῦ τ ἀντὶ  
τοῦ σ ἐπισημαίνεται χαιρίειν, ὡς ἀπαλλαγείσα τῶν σιγμάτων Εὐριπίδου.<sup>3</sup>

E comicis autem unum, quod scio, Aristophanem perstrinxit, neque  
eum saepe. Propter Pacis illam immanem statuam, quam Eupolis,  
frag. 54, improbavit, hunc quoque eum in *Victoriis* fabula (K. 81)<sup>4</sup>  
vitupeasse iam supra, p. 159, teste Schol. Plat. 331, demonstratum est;

<sup>1</sup> Verbum παρισσοῦμαι Kockius pro verbo παριστῶ. — Conferendum autem est de  
eodem poeta Ar. frag. 151, quod ante attuli, p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> Haasius, *De fabularum comicarum indicibus, qui ap. Suid. leguntur*, Wiener  
Studien, XXII, 31, ut Platonis indices ad eam regulam conformet qua antiqui in  
ἑβδομάδας saepe fabulas distribuere solebant, hunc alterum modo iudicat indicem fabulae  
quae Λάκωνες inscribitur.

<sup>3</sup> Haec res quamquam haud raro commemorata, ne hodie quidem prorsus excussa  
est. Locos complures ad eam spectantes collegit Smythius, *Greek Melic Poets*, 300.  
Cf. autem Ribbeck. *Die dram. Parodien (Die Acharner, Anhang)*, 305.

<sup>4</sup> Luebki coniecturae, *Obs. crit.* 55, — cf. Meinek. I, 175 — viginti quattuor in hac  
fabula Victorias nitidas et auro ornatas hunc in scaenam produxisse quibuscum facile  
ingentem ab illo factam Pacis statuam compararet, haud illepidae sunt.

item propter labores quasi inutiles, quod nonnullas fabulas Philonidi Callistratoque docendas tradiderat, his eum illuisse verbis videtur :

(K. 100) τετράδι γέγονας.

Zenobius Milleri (*Mélanges* 366) : τετρ. γέγονας· ταύτης μέμνηται Πλάτων ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν Πεισάνδρῳ· λέγεται διὰ Ἡρακλέα.<sup>1</sup> Ad eundem fortasse referenda sunt Suidae verba (K. 99) : Ἀρκάδας μιμούμενοι· παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν ἐτέροις πονούντων . . . ταύτη τῇ παροιμίᾳ κέχρηται Πλάτων ἐν Πεισάνδρῳ· διὰ γὰρ τὸ τὰς κωμωδίας αὐτὸς ποιῶν ἄλλοις παρέχειν διὰ πενίαν Ἀρκάδας μιμῆσθαι ἔφη. Sed his, etsi de Aristophane scripta esse sententia est Cobeti, *Obs. crit.* 102 sqq., Kocki, I, 628, van Leeuweni, *Mnem.* XVI, 267, alii tamen post Meinekium, I, 162, hanc vim inesse negaverunt, sed potius Platonem ipsum egestate impulsam suas fabulas aliis venditasse,<sup>2</sup> et hoc quidem verba ipsa significant.

Philoxenum praeterea atque eius carmen, Δείπνον nomine, inridet :<sup>3</sup>

(K. 173) A. ἐγὼ δ' ἐνθάδ' ἐν τῇ ῥημίᾳ  
 τουτὶ διελθεῖν βούλομαι τὸ βιβλίον  
 πρὸς ἐμαντόν. B. ἔστι δ', ἀντιβολῶ σε, τοῦτο τί;  
 A. Φιλοξένου καινὴ τις ὀψαρτυσία.  
 B. ἐπίδειξον αὐτὴν ἥτις ἔστ'. A. ἄκουε δῆ. κτλ.

Euathlum certe ξυνήγορον commemorat, id quod haud necessario ad eius orationes attinet: Schol. Ar. *Vesp.* 592 (K. 102) : Εὐαθλος ῥήτωρ συκοφάντης . . . μνημονεύει δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ Πλάτων ἐν Πεισάνδρῳ. De utilitate eloquentiae haec sunt :—

(K. 52-53) γλώττης ἀγαθῆς οὐκ ἔστ' ἄμεινον οὐδὲ ἐν.

\* \* \*

ἢ γλώττα δύναμιν τοὺς λόγους ἐκτίσαστο,  
 ἐκ τῶν λόγων δ' ἄττ' αὐτὸς ἐπιθυμῆις ἔχεις.—

de nescio quo parum recte loquente, haec : Herodian. II, 926, 3 Lentz. (K. 168) : Πλάτων μέντοι ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν Ὑπερβόλῳ διέπαιξε τὴν ἄνευ τοῦ γ̄ χρῆσιν (ὀλίος pro ὀλίγος) ὡς βάρβαρον λέγων οὕτως

<sup>1</sup> Conferenda sunt Aristonymi frag. 4, Amipsiae 28, Sannyrionis 5, infra, p. 186.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hiller. *Philol. Anzeiger*, XVII, 373; Petersen. *Jahrb.* LXXXV, 667; Zacher. *Philol.* XLIX, 337.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Couat. *Ar. et l' Anc. Com. Att.*<sup>3</sup> 328.

ὁ δ' οὐ γὰρ ἠπτίκιζεν, ἂ Μοῖραι φίλοι,  
 ἀλλ' ὅποτε μὲν χρεῖη 'διητώμην' λέγειν,  
 ἔφασκε 'διητώμην,' ὅποτε δ' εἰπεῖν δέοι  
 'ὀλίγον,' 'ὀλίον' ἔλεγεν.

Quae tametsi de sermone magis quam de scriptis sunt, nihilominus perspicuum faciunt et hunc ei rei studuisse quam nostrae aetatis rhetorici 'bonum usum' appellent, et eius quidem sententia 'bonum usum' nihil aliud significasse quam 'usum Atticum.'<sup>1</sup> Nequaquam autem oportet sine aliqua mentione verbum *αὐτοσχεδίασμα* (K. 87) praetermittere; tum denique pauca exstant quae ex *Paedario* sunt afferenda: — Schol. *Ar. Pac.* 733: *παράβασις· δῆλον δὲ ποιούσιν αὐτοὶ οἱ ποιηταί, τὸ στρέφουσι σημαίνοντες καὶ τὸ παραβαίνειν. Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Παιδαρίῳ·*

(K. 92) εἰ μὲν μὴ λίαν . . . ὄνδρες, ἠναγκαζόμεν  
 στρέψαι δεῦρ', οὐκ ἂν παρέβην εἰς λέξιν τοιάνδ' ἐπῶν, —

quae, quamquam nullum in ipsis continetur iudicium, declarant tamen satis aperte poetam de se aemulisque, imprimis fortasse, ut putat Bergkiius (Meinek.), II, 1015, de Aristophane, iudicia iam facturum fuisse.

Sed ne illae quidem nobis neglegendae sunt sententiae quae per indices imitationemque aliorum poetarum significantur. Indicum enim tres, *Ἀμφιάρεων*, *Δαίδαλον*,<sup>2</sup> *Νήσους*, eosdem usurpasse videtur quos Aristophanes, duos, *Εὐρώπην*, *Κέρκωπας*, quos Hermippus, — id quod vix fieri potuit nisi aut scriptis eorum studuisset aut cum eis aliquo modo esset coniunctus. Imitatum autem esse ut Aristophanem Platonem, sic hunc illum paulo ante dictum est. Genus fabularum, ut Lorenzius, *Epicharm.* 209, demonstravit, id partim sequebatur quo antea Epicharmus Cratinusque usi essent. Nec vero verba aliorum ne iteraret vitabat. Cum enim Amipsias (K. 8) ita scripsisset:

ὀρφῶσι σελαχίοις τε καὶ φάγροις βορά,

<sup>1</sup> Huic simile fragmento est *Stratt.* 47.

<sup>2</sup> Hoc certe nomine hic an fabulam umquam scripserit incertum est. Cf. *Kock.* I, 605. Aliquantulo autem incertiora sunt ea quae dixit *Stanger*, *Blätter f. d. Bayer. Gymnasialschulwesen*, II, 204, hunc illius fabulam, cum suam eodem indice scriberet, ante oculos habuisse. — Prior quoque index per dubius est.

tum Plato (K. 56, 2),

ὄρφῳσι σελαχίους τε καὶ φάγροις βοράν,

cum autem Hermippus (K. 28),

ἐξ ἀγορᾶς δ' ἐγὼ  
ὠνήσομαι λύχνον τιν' ἢ στίλβην,

tum idem Plato (K. 190),

. . . ἐξ ἀγορᾶς δ' ἐγὼ  
ὠνήσομαι στίλβην τιν', ἥτις μὴ πότις.<sup>1</sup>

Qua tamen imitatione — dicendum est enim saepius — nihil fecit indignum, nihil praeter Graecorum consuetudinem. Cetera item imitationis genera, parodia paratragoediaque, saepe reperta sunt, quibus Homerus, Aeschylus, Euripides petuntur, sed nihil est quod afferre operae pretium sit.<sup>2</sup>

Reliqui sunt, priusquam ad mediam comoediam quae appellatur pervenimus, multi comici minores, quorum e medio duo tantum, quod aliquanto plura eorum quam ceterorum supersunt fragmenta, Strattis et Theopompus, eminent.

ARISTONYMVS, igitur, et SANNYRIO ET AMPSIAS, ut. ab eis incipiam, eandem de Aristophane cavillationem quam Plato, frag. 100 (supra, p. 184), commemorant, — verba scilicet haud magnopere ad rem pertinentia: Schol. Plat. 331 (Bekk.): Ἀριστώνυμος ἐν Ἡλίῳ ῥιγοῦντι (K. 4) καὶ Σαννυρίων ἐν Γέλῳτι (K. 5) τετράδι φασὶν αὐτὸν (Ἀριστοφάνη) γενέσθαι, διὸ τὸν βίον κατέτριψεν ἐτέροις πονῶν. Vit. Ar. xxvii, 10 (Duebn.): εὐλαβῆς δὲ σφόδρα γενόμενος τὴν ἀρχήν, ἄλλως τε καὶ εὐφυῆς, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα διὰ Καλλιστράτου καὶ Φιλωνίδου καθίει δράματα. διὸ καὶ ἔσκωπτον αὐτὸν Ἀριστώνυμός τε καὶ Ἀμειψίας (K. 28), τετράδι λέγοντες γεγόνει.<sup>3</sup> Amipsias autem ille, quem modo nominavi, praeter illam Aristophanis ludificationem, nominibus et Sapphus poetae et Conni musici fabulas inscripsit, quas et Egger, *Histoire de la Critique*<sup>2</sup>, 42, et Denisius, *La Comédie Grecque*, II, 61, litteras tractasse iudicant. Nihil

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bergk. *Comm.* 420; Cobet. *Obs. crit.* 63 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. fragg. 161, 173, v. 6; Eust. 1484, 26; fragg. 122, 135, 185, v. 4. Ξάνθριος autem fabula talis erat fortasse quali Aeschyli tragoediam eiusdem nominis inrideret.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Starki *Comm.* in Ar. *Vesp.* 1021 et 1030.

tamen est praeter indices quo talis opinio confirmetur. Ceterae autem illius indicis fabulae, posteriore aetate scriptae, ad amores Sapphus magis pertinuisse quam ad poemata videntur.<sup>1</sup> Haec igitur quoque eiusdem fortasse erat argumenti.

ARCHIPPVS, quamquam Epicharmi Ἡβας γάμον sua fabula quae Ἡρακλῆς γαμῶν inscribitur imitatus est,<sup>2</sup> et Aristophanem, indice argumentoque *Pluti* iterum usurpatis,<sup>3</sup> atque *Avium* argumento *Piscibus* suis renovato,<sup>4</sup> comprobavit, et suam ipsius comoediam *Amphitruonem* retractavit,<sup>5</sup> apertioris tamen iudici, quantum ex reliquiis perspici potest, nihil fecit. Etenim quod in *Piscibus* fabula poeta ille saepe exagittatus, Melanthius, perstringitur, id non ad scripta sed ad gulam eius intemperatam spectat. Confitendum tamen est et illum in scaena fuisse et ea ipsa de causa poemata quoque eius fortasse animadversa esse. Conferre oportet Ath. 8, 343 c (K. 28) : ἐν τοῖς Ἰχθύσιν Ἄρχιππος τῷ δράματι ὡς ὀψοφάγον (Μελάνθιον) δῆσας παραδίδωσι τοῖς ἰχθύσιν ἀντιβρωθησόμενον. Adde Eust. 1201, 3.

De ARISTOMENE hoc unum est dicendum quod coniecit Meinek. I, 212 : Eupolidis Ταξίαρχους eum in quadam fabula imitatum esse.

CALLIAS vero, poeta ille qui, teste Athenaeo, 7, 276 a, quandam effecit γραμματικὴν τραγῳδίαν, duos tragicos, Euripidem et Acestorum, exagitat : Diog. L. 2, 18 : ἐδόκει δὲ (Σωκράτης) συμποιεῖν Εὐριπίδῃ . . . καὶ Καλλίας Πεδήγταις.

(K. 12) A. τί δὴ σὺν σεμνοῖς καὶ φρονεῖς οὕτω μέγα;

B. ἔξεστι γάρ μοι. Σωκράτης γὰρ αἴτιος.<sup>6</sup>

Schol. Ar. *Av.* 31 : . . . ἐκαλείτο δὲ (Ἀκέστωρ) καὶ Σάκας διὰ τὸ ξένος εἶναι. . . εἰς δὲ τὴν ποίησιν αὐτὸν κεχλευάκασι Καλλίας μὲν ἐν Πεδήγταις.

(K. 13) καὶ Σάκαν ὃν οἱ χοροὶ μισοῦσι.

<sup>1</sup> V. infra, p. 217.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kaibel. *Herm.* XXIV, 54, adn. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Kock. I, 686.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Kaibel. *ibid.* 49-50, similia quoque sunt huius frag. 25 et Ar. *Av.* 1079 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Meinek. I, 208; Ath. 3, 95 e.

<sup>6</sup> Horum versuum interpretatio quam Froehdius, *Beiträge zur Technik der alten Att. Kom.*, Berliner Stud., N. F., III, 107, protulit, cum Diogenis verbis vix congruit.

LYSIPPVS his verbis et sese fortasse defendit et aemulos vituperat :

(K. 4) οὐδ' ἀνακνάψας καὶ θειώσας τὰς ἀλλοτρίας ἐπινοίας.<sup>1</sup>

METAGENES gloriatus est se novas semper variasque delicias spectatibus praebere :

(K. 14) κατ' ἐπεισόδιον μεταβάλλω τὸν λόγον, ὡς ἂν  
καιναῖσι παροψίσι καὶ πολλαῖς εὐωχῆσω τὸ θέατρον.<sup>2</sup>

Parodiae Homeri ab eodem scriptae (fragg. 4, v. 3 sq. ; 17 ; 18) atque index Ὅμηρος ἢ Ἀσκηταί nihil clarum significare videntur.

ARISTAGORAS hunc de quo proxime dixi, Metagenem, aliquo modo et laudat et culpat, quod eius comoediam, cui Ἀῦρα est nomen, emendavit ac novo indice Μαμμακίθον dato iterum docuit.<sup>3</sup>

Hoc loco STRATTIDEM non relinquo, quem e turba minorum huius aetatis comicorum aliquantum una cum Theopompo eminere, paulo ante dixi. Is enim ut Hegelochum histrionem ludificari videtur, sic eodem fragmento Euripidem laudare :

(K. 1) καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐκ ἐμέλησέ μοι μελῶν,  
Εὐριπίδου δὲ δράμα δεξιώτατον  
διέκναισ' Ὀρέστην, Ἡγέλοχον τὸν Κυνάρου  
μισθωσάμενος τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἐπῶν λέγειν.<sup>4</sup>

Sed cum hunc aliis in locis per parodiam acerbe perstringat,<sup>5</sup> haec forsitan aut cum dissimulatione dixerit aut persona nescio cuius Euripidi faventis. E comicis vero aequalibus suis cum Philyllium tum Sannyrionem petit, illum quod aliquid in arte scaenica novarat, his verbis :—

<sup>1</sup> De quibus v. Meinek. I, 216; Cobet. *Obs. crit.* 15; 65; Stanger. *Blätter f. d. Bayer. Gymn.* II, 205.

<sup>2</sup> Interpretationem Poppelreuteri, *De com. Att. primordiis*, 44, qui, θέσω, ut aiunt, διαφυλάττων, haec affirmat poetam velle dicere :—eo loco quo comoedia episodica esse incipiat, se argumentum antea excultum omittere ut varias personas inducat, — quoniam ad finem libri Athenaei decimi afferantur hi versus, cum iam ad proximum librum rem quandam deinceps tractandam dilatari sint illi *δειπνοσοφισταί*, nihilo magis quam Kaehler, *Neue phil. Rund.*, 1896, 83, accipiendam censeo; nec huius ipsius interpretatio Kockio est omnino praeferenda. Cf. autem Zielinsk. *Quaest. Com.* 21, adn. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Meinek. I, 218; II, 761, 1; Haas. *De com. Att. fabularum nominibus*, I, 43 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Sihler. *De parodiis*, 4.

<sup>5</sup> Imprimis fragg. 45 et 46; v. infra, pp. 189–190.

- (K. 37) ἡμεῖς τε πάντες ἔξιτ' ἐπὶ τὸ Πύθιον  
 ὅσοι πάρεστε, μὴ λαβόντες λαμπάδας  
 μηδ' ἄλλο μηδὲν ἐχόμενον Φιλυλλίου, —

hunc autem hoc versu :

- (K. 54) Σαννυρίωνος σκντήνην ἐπικουρίαν.

Quae tamen non sunt hic inserenda nisi simul Bergki, *Comm. de rel. com. Att.* 271, Zielinskique, *Quaest. Com.* 29, sententia accipiatur : hic significari eos qui apud Graecos φαλλοφόροι vocentur. Hos enim ideo poetae auxilio esse potuisse, quia risus spectatorum moverent. Est certe nobis paulo obscurior talis iocus, sed ab acutis fortasse Atheniensibus facile intellexeretur. Nescio tamen an propter causam a Meinekio, II, 785-6, prolatam haec omnia sint reicienda.

In Cinesiam vero, poetam dithyrambicum, totam fabulam eius nomine inscriptam docuit, qua partim certe maciem corporis, partim tamen carmina mala inrisit : Ath. 12, 551 d (K. 18) : ἦν δὲ ὄντως μακρότατος καὶ λεπτότατος ὁ Κινησίας, εἰς ὃν καὶ ὄλον δρᾶμα γέγραφε Στράπτις,<sup>1</sup> Φθιώτην Ἀχιλλέα αὐτὸν καλῶν, διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ποιήσει συνεχῶς τὸ Φθιώτα λέγειν. Schol. Ar. *Ran.* 404 (K. 15) : χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον οὐ πολλῶ τινι καὶ καθάπαξ περιεῖλε Κινησίας τὰς χορηγίας· ἐξ οὗ καὶ Στράπτις ἐν τῷ εἰς αὐτὸν δρᾶματι ἔφη. σκηνὴ μὲν τοῦ χοροκτόνου Κινησίου. (Sic fere Meinekius.) Ea autem quae sunt in Lex. Sabbaitico, I, 18 (Kock. *Rhein. Mus.* XLVIII, 585, 18 ; Blaydes. *Advers.* II, 346), — αὐτοσχεδιασθεὶς Στράπτις, — sententiam aliquam iudicandi habere videntur et ad illas res spectare possunt ab antiquissimis poetis comicis ex tempore dictas, aut ad nescio quem res simillimas scribere solitum.

Parodia autem, ut ad alterum illud iudiciorum genus procedamus, hunc usum esse, imprimis contra Euripidem paulo ante dictum est. Meinekius certe, I, 232, 233, et Egger, *Hist. de la Crit.*<sup>2</sup> 43, plures commemorant huius fabulas quibus aequalium, praesertim sine dubio eiusdem Euripidis, tragoedias hoc modo petitas esse arbitrantur. Hic duo tantum fragmenta afferro, quibus vere ille culpari videtur :

- (K. 45) παραινέσαι δὲ σφῶν τι βούλομαι σοφόν·  
 ὅταν φακῆν ἔψητε, μὴ 'πιχεῖν μύρον.

<sup>1</sup> Cum his cf. frag. 19.

Quibuscum conferre oportet Arist. *de sensu*, 5, 443 b, 30: ἀληθές γὰρ ὅπερ Εὐριπίδην (sc. *Phoen.* 460) σκώπτων εἶπε Στράτις ὅταν φακὴν εἴψητε, μὴ ἐπιχείν μύρον. κτλ.

(K. 46) εἶθ' ἥλιος μὲν πείθεται τοῖς παιδίοις,  
ὅταν λέγωσιν 'ἔξεχ' ὦ φίλ' ἥλιε.'

Cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 546. Et his vero et illis, ut putat Sihler, *De parodiis*, 4, inepte illum scripsisse hic iudicasse videtur.<sup>1</sup> Ad eadem pertinet sine dubio Lex. Messanense, f. 282 v. 3 (*Rhein. Mus.* XLVII, 409) : — παρατραγ[φδεῖν σὺν τῷ ἰ Σ]τ[ρ]άτις Φοινίσσαις, — et simili ratione Spinthari tragoedia Ἡρακλῆς περικαιόμενος Meinekio, I, 226, videtur ab hoc Ζώπυρον περικαιόμενον scribente lusa esse. Praeter haec nullum aliud est huius iudicium nisi id quod Bergki, *Comm. de rel. com. Att.* 288, coniectura continetur, Strattidem Pherecratis fabulam Ἀγαθούς emendatam suo nomine repetiisse.<sup>2</sup>

THEOPOMPVS vero, alter ille paulo insignior poeta, in omnibus paene fragmentis quae vel minima ex parte ad rem nostram spectant, commemorare tantummodo poetas vel verba eorum potius quam iudicare videtur. Id enim genus fragmenta cum de Homero, Euripide, Isaeo, Platone scripta, tum de Telesta, poeta dithyramborum, de Charixena, illa antiqua poetria tibicinaque, — si umquam re verā vixit,<sup>3</sup> — de scolio Telamonis supersunt, quae omnia iam ex ordine profero :

Eust. 1863, 50 : . . . παρὰ Θεοπόμπῳ τῷ κωμικῷ, εἰπόντι ὡς ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ Ὀδυσσεύος τὸ

(K. 33) χιτῶνά μοι  
φέρων δέδωκας δαιδάλεον, ὃν ἦκασεν  
ἄρισθ' Ὀμηρος κρομμύου λεπυχάνῳ.

(K. 34) Εὐριπίδου τᾶρ' ἐστὶν οὐ κακῶς ἔχον,  
τάλλοτρία δειπνῆν τὸν καλῶς εὐδαίμονα.<sup>4</sup>

Plut. *Mor.* 839 f (K. 18) : μνημονεύει δὲ (Ἰσαίου) Θεόπομπος ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν τῷ Θησεῖ.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rutherf. *New Phrynichus*, pp. 37–38.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Haas. *De com. Att. fabularum nominibus*, I, 44 sq.

<sup>3</sup> V. supra, p. 150.

<sup>4</sup> Nauckius, *T. G. F.*<sup>2</sup> ad Eur. frag. 894, parodiam haec esse putat, tragicum autem illum poetam pro δειπνῆν scripsisse φεύγειν sive verbum aliquod simile. Cf. Ribbeck. *Die dram. Parodieen*, 316, adn. 64, et Peters. *Ar. iudicium de summis tragicis*, 71.



- (K. 15) ἔν γάρ ἐστιν οὐδὲ ἔν,  
τὰ δὲ δύο μόλις ἔν ἐστιν, ὡς φησιν Πλάτων.<sup>1</sup>
- (K. 3) λαβοῦσα πλήρη χρυσέαν μεσόμφαλον  
φιάλην· Τελέστῃς δ' ἄκατον ὠνόμαζέ νιν.
- (K. 50) αὐλεῖ γὰρ σαπρὰ  
αὕτη γε κρούμαθ' οἶα τὰπὶ Χαριξένης.

(K. 64, v. 3) Τελαμῶνος οἰμῶζοντες ἀλλήλοις μέλη.

E quibus duo priora, etsi aliquid laudationis Homeri Euripidisque habere videantur, probabilius tamen est, ut opinor, poetam scripsisse ut eos inrideret; haud multum certe distant a parodia. Cetera quoque non magni esse confitendum est.

Imitatus hic est praesertim Aristophanem. Nam, ne minorum rerum mentionem faciam,<sup>2</sup> Στρατιώτιδας atque Εἰρήνην similes constat fabulis illius fuisse.<sup>3</sup> Ac denique, — etenim de parodiis<sup>4</sup> non opus est dicere, — duo sola fragmenta sunt commemoranda, K. 40 et 41, quae cum, partim similia, partim dissimilia inter se, eadem e comoedia sint, alterum fortasse alterius est editionis, ut iudicavit Schweighäuser, ad Ath. 11, 485 e (VI, 201).

Restant antiquae comoediae aetatis poetae complures, sed omnium tam exiguae sunt reliquiae ut paene nullius sint nobis preti. Nulla enim omnino manifesta praebent iudicia, perpauca quocumque de genere. CANTHARVM quidem fabulas et Συμμαχίαν et Μύρμηκας a Platone emisse putat Meinekius, I, 163, 185, 251, — quae res si vera est, — et maxime certe cum Cobeto, *Obs. Crit.* 178, dubito — docere potest hunc illum aliqua ex parte miratum esse. DIOCLES comoediam unam emendam iterum edidit;<sup>5</sup> NICOCHARES fabulam Ποιητήν scripsisse videtur, de qua tamen nihil certi habemus; carmen mulierum ventilantium scribens (K. 6) Aristophanem fortasse imitatus est;<sup>6</sup> Philoxenum per parodiam

<sup>1</sup> Meinekius, II, 797, Platonis *Phaed.* 96 e eum respicere iudicat. Cf. autem Teichmueller. *Literarische Fehden*, II, 198, ad fin.; Hussey. *Class. Stud. in Honor of Drisler*, New York, 1894, p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. frag. 64 et Kocki adn.

<sup>3</sup> De illa, cf. Kock. I, 747, de hac, Meinek. I, 240.

<sup>4</sup> Exempla sunt fragg. 3, 30. De Platonis parodiis ab hoc poeta scriptis confer Hussey. loc. laud. 84 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> Vide Meinek. I, 252.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Ar. frag. 339; adde Phryn. 14; Nicoph. 17.

in fabula *Galatea* perstrinxit;<sup>1</sup> sua denique verba iteravit, teste Ath. 10, 426 ef: Νικοχάρης ἐν Ἀμυμώνῃ . . . ἔφη . . . (sequitur K. 1). τὰ παραπλήσια εἶρηκε καὶ ἐν Δημνίαις (K. 13).

PHILYLLIVS in fabula quae Πλύντραι ἢ Ναυσικάα appellatur, res Homericas in ridiculum vertit;<sup>2</sup> POLYZELVS illud indicum genus verbo γοναί desinens, de quo ante, p. 125, dictum est, valde probasse videtur, siquidem eius modi indicibus quattuor usus est. Sed haec hactenus.

Denique, ut antiquarum comoediarum contemplationem aliquando concludamus, pauca de eis fragmentis sunt dicenda quae, scriptore vero ignoto, huius aetatis esse videantur. Quorum quattuor ad tragicos spectant: Diog. L. 4, 20: ἦν δὲ (Πολέμων) καὶ φιλοσοφοκλῆς, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν ἐκείνοις ὅπου κατὰ τὸν κωμικὸν τὰ ποιήματα αὐτῷ (Σοφοκλεῖ)

(Adesp. 18 K.) κύν τις ἐδόκει συμποιεῖν Μολοττικός.

Philostrat. Minor. *Imag.* 13 (pp. 414-5 Kayser.): ὄρῳς γὰρ καὶ τὰς μελίττας, ὡς ὑπεπέτονται σου καὶ βομβοῦσιν ἡδὺ τι καὶ θεῖον ἐπιλείβουσαι σταγόνας ἀπορρήτους τῆς οἰκείας δρόσου· τουτὶ γὰρ καὶ τῆς σῆς ποιήσεως διαφύσσεσθαι παντὸς μᾶλλον. ἢ πού τις καὶ ἀναφθέγγεται μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐπὶ σοὶ Μουσῶν εὐκόλων ἀνθρήνιον λέγων (= Adesp. 22 K.) καὶ δεδοικῆναι τῷ παρεγγυήσει, μὴ πῃ λάθαι τις ἐκπᾶσα τοῦ σοῦ στόματος μέλιττα καὶ τὸ κέντρον ἀφυλάκτως ἐγχερίσασα.

Zenob. 3, 77 (Adesp. 51-52 K.):

ἐν δὲ διχοστασίῃσι καὶ Ἀνδροκλῆς πολεμαρχεῖ·

ἐπὶ τῶν εὐτελῶν τῶν διὰ περιπέτειάν τινα τιμῆς ἀξιουμένων. τοιαύτη δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ λέγουσα·

ἐν γὰρ ἀμηχανίῃ καὶ ὁ Καρκίνος ἔμμορε τιμῆς.

ἐν δὲ διχοστασίῃ καὶ ὁ πάγκακος ἔμμορε τιμῆς.

(Adesp. 57 K.) θυμελικὰν ἴθι μάκαρ φιλοφρόνως εἰς ἔριν.

Prius vero, sicut Phryn. frag. 65, de quo ante, p. 165, dixi, ad Sophoclem propter aliquas sine dubio tam acres in fabulis eius factas controversias pertinet ut in eis canum etiam Molossicorum vis inesse visa sit; secundum autem ad eiusdem aut Phrynichi suavitatem, quippe quos

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Meinek. I, 255; Denis. *Com. Grec.* II, 64.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Meinek. I, 260.

μέλιττας antiqui vocaverint;<sup>1</sup> tertium, ut manifestum est, ad Carcinum et mala eius scripta nullo digna honore; quartum, si Meinekium, IV, 649, sequaris, ad certamen aliquod tragicorum, Aristophanis vel Phrynichi consimile. Etenim hoc quamquam nihil ipsum iudici continet, fabulae tamen eius modi fuisse apparet cuius forsitan in magna parte ad tragicos nescio quos iudicandos poeta deditus sit.

Comoediae antiquae rudia initia, si Hillero, *Rhein. Mus.* XXXIX, 327–329, credas, his verbis deridentur: Pollux 4, 123: ἐλεὸς δ' ἦν τράπεζα ἀρχαία ἐφ' ἣν πρὸ Θεσπίδος εἰς τις ἀναβὰς τοῖς χορευταῖς ἀπεκρίνατο. Putat enim ille, cum aliquis comicus, — eodem modo scilicet quo Aristophanes, fragg. 253, 254 (supra, p. 172), illa initia agrestia ludificans, — minime serio mensam fortasse ex culina elatam dixisset illis antiquis pro pulpito fuisse, virum nescio quem eruditum, velut si nullus in eis verbis esset iocus, nimis proprie ea interpretatum esse eoque orsa esse Pollucis verba. Accedit quod versus a Mario Plotio (VI, 508 Keil.) adlatus,

ἦνίκα μὲν βασιλεὺς ἦν Χοιρίλος ἐν σατύροις,

quem idem Hiller, *ibid.* 329, adn. 2, alicui comico attribuit, etsi nullum perspicuum iudicium, nonnihil tamen laudis Choerili, aliquid etiam contemptionis habet. Tum verba quaedam incertissima nuper reperta atque inter Amherstianae quae vocantur papyros, II, 1901, XIII, edita, hic commemorare debemus. Quae quamquam propterea exscribere nolo quod multo corruptiora sunt quam quae enodari possint,<sup>2</sup> oportet tamen brevi me dicere inter adnotationes antiquas in margine scriptas esse haec verba, *παρα το φορτικ* et *εις Μαγνητα*. Quare non dubium est, mea quidem sententia, quin aliquid ille poeta eo loco vituperatus sit. Denique haec fortasse, ut Kockius, III, 407, coniecit, in aemulos comicus aliquis vertit: Bekk. *Anec.* 39, 19 (Adesp. 46 K.): ἐπικατῦναι καὶ πτερνίζειν· τὰ παλαιὰ ἐπισκευάζειν. ἡ μεταφορὰ ἀπὸ τῶν τοῖς παλαιοῖς ὑποδήμασιν ἕτερα κατῦματα καὶ πτέρνας προσαπτόντων. λέγουσι δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν τὰ παλαιὰ τῶν δραμάτων μεταποιούντων καὶ μεταρραπτόντων.

<sup>1</sup> Sic Meinek. IV, 655. Melius tamen, ut opinor, de illo quam de hoc haec interpretabimur. Sunt enim ex ea parte Philostrati *Imaginum* sumpta quae ΣΟΦΟΚΛΗΣ inscribitur. Cum autem apis sint et mel et aculeus, fortasse sicut priore illo fragmento, aliquam partem acritas illa significari potest. Et verbum *κέντρον* est apud Philostratum ipsum.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Allen. *Class. Rev.* XV, 425.

Alia fragmenta Periclem perstringunt: — Plut. *Pericl.* 8 (Adesp. 10 K.): αἱ κωμῳδαὶ τῶν τότε διδασκάλων σπουδῇ τε πολλὰς καὶ μετὰ γέλωτος ἀφεικότων φωνὰς εἰς αὐτὸν (Περικλέα) ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ μάλιστα τὴν προσωνυμίαν (τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου) γενέσθαι δηλοῦσι, βροντᾶν μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀστράπτειν ὅτε δημηγοροῖ, δεινὸν δὲ κεραυνὸν ἐν γλώσση φέρειν λεγόντων.<sup>1</sup>

(Adesp. 49 K.) (ὅταν) ἀστράψῃ διὰ Πυκνός  
ἀντὶ τοῦ δι' Ἄρματος. Hesych. s. v. ἀστράψῃ. — aliud fortasse  
sophistas: —

(Adesp. 37 K.) γλώτταν τέ σοι  
δίδωσιν ἐν δήμῳ φορεῖν  
καλῶν λόγων ἀείνων,  
ἢ πάντα νικήσεις λέγων. —

alia Oeonichum aliosque eius consimiles pravos musicos:

(Adesp. 25 K.) Οἰωνίχου μουσεῖον.

Plut. *Mor.* 1142 a (Adesp. 65 K.) καὶ ἄλλοι κωμῳδιοποιοὶ (sc. praeter Pherecratem et Aristophanem) ἔδειξαν τὴν ἀτοπίαν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν μουσικὴν κατακεκερματικῶτων. Denique par versuum est quorum primo commoda demonstrat aliquis poeta fabularum suarum, altero alius de utilitatibus eis dicere videtur quas civibus comici praebent:

(Adesp. 53 K.) εὐφράνας ὑμᾶς ἀπέπεμπ' οἴκαδ' ἄλλον ἄλλοσε.

(Adesp. 38 K.) τῶν πολιτῶν ἄνδρας ὑμῖν δημιουργοὺς ἀποφανῶ.<sup>2</sup>

Sed iam demum, poetis omnibus antiquae aetatis pertractatis, ad mediam quam vocamus comoediam<sup>3</sup> pergamus. Qua aetate qui scrip-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ar. *Vesp.* 671 Starkique adn.

<sup>2</sup> Dobr. *Advers.* 1, 381: τῶν ποιητῶν, ὦνδρες, ὑμᾶς vel τῶν πολιτῶν, ὦνδρες, ἡμᾶς (i. e. τοὺς ποιητάς).

<sup>3</sup> Mediam comoediam ut ab antiqua sic ab nova seiungere et oportere et utile esse mihi videtur. Nam etsi Kockius, II, 11, Fielitzium, *De Atticorum comoedia bipartita*, Bonn., 1866, arbitratur rem ita demonstrasse ut nulla iam possit esse dubitatio, non-nihil adhuc dubitationis manet. Crusius vero, *Philol.* XLVI, 606 et *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1889, 183 sqq., et alii a Kockio valde dissentiunt. Kaibelus, *Herm.* XXIV, 57 sqq., bipartitam illam comoediam, a Pergamenis haud ab Alexandrinis inventam, ea sola putat ratione defendi quae ad sermonem ac genus scribendi attinet. Si iudicia certe comicorum de litteris facta consideras, magnopere confiteberis differre hoc medium genus comoediae et ab antiquiore et a posteriore.

serint mox apparebit aliquid a prioribus distulisse. ANTIPHANES, tamen, ut qui haud longinquus abesset aetate antiquioribus a comicis, sicut illi, Euripidem perstrinxit:

(K. 207, 4 sqq.)

ἦδύ τοι

ἔστιν μεταβολὴ παντός ἔργον πλὴν ἐνός  
 . . . . παραδίδου δ' ἐξῆς ἐμοὶ  
 τὸν ἀρκεσίγνιον, ὡς ἔφασκ' Εὐριπίδης.  
 A. Εὐριπίδης γὰρ τοῦτ' ἔφασκεν; B. ἀλλὰ τίς;  
 A. Φιλόξενος δῆπουθεν. B. οὐδὲν διαφέρει,  
 ὦ τάν· ἐλέγχεις μ' ἕνεκα συλλαβῆς μιᾶς.

Quorum scilicet versuum et prioribus leviter culpatur tragicus ille qui mutationem dixerit omnium rerum esse dulcem — cf. frag. adesp. 115, infra, p. 224 — et ceteris idem Philoxenusque poeta dithyrambicus propter novum illud verbum petuntur. Sunt enim comici saltem sententia inter se consimiles.<sup>1</sup> Praeterea fortasse hic commemorandum est Argum. Eur. *Alc.*: παρὰ τοῖς τραγικοῖς (κωμικοῖς, Lachm., κριτικοῖς, Herm., τῶν γραμματικῶν, Nauck.) ἐκβάλλεται ὡς ἀνοίκεια τῆς τραγικῆς ποιήσεως ὃ τε Ὅρέστης καὶ ἡ Ἄλκηστις, ὡς ἐκ συμφορᾶς μὲν ἀρχόμενα, εἰς εὐδαιμονίαν δὲ καὶ χαρὰν καταλήξαντα. Quod quidem et Meinekius I, 324, et Patinus, *Études sur les Trag. Grecs: Euripide*<sup>2</sup>, II, 331, ad Antiphanis *Alcestin* Euripidis eodem nomine fabulam exagitantem referunt. Sed cum ne verba quidem scriptoris certa sint, de sententia nihil est confirmandum.

Philoxenus autem in longiore fragmento Τριταγωνιστοῦ fabulae, cuius scilicet indice ipso, ut iudicat Egger, *Hist. crit.*<sup>2</sup>, 71, theatralem aliquam rem significari oportet, effusis laudibus effertur:<sup>2</sup> Ath. 14, 643 d: ὁ Κυθήριος Φιλόξενος, ὃν ἑπαινῶν Ἀντιφάνης ἐν τῷ Τριταγωνιστῇ φησιν·

(K. 209) πολὺ γ' ἐστὶ πάντων τῶν ποιητῶν διάφορος  
 ὁ Φιλόξενος. πρῶτιστα μὲν γὰρ ὀνόμασιν  
 ἰδίοισι καὶ καινοῖσι χρῆται πανταχοῦ.

<sup>1</sup> Et hodie certe non constat utrius vere sit illud ἀρκεσίγνιον; huius enim esse iudicat Ribbeckius, *Die dram. Parodien*, 278, adn. 15, illius, Kockius, II, 101. Cf. autem Peters. *Ar. iudicium de tragicis*, 70-71.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kock. adn. in Eubul. frag. 37 (II, p. 177).

ἔπειτα τὰ μέλη μεταβολαῖς καὶ χρώμασιν  
ὡς εὖ κέκραται. θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἦν  
ἐκεῖνος, εἰδὼς τὴν ἀληθῶς μουσικὴν·  
οἱ γὰρ δὲ κισσόπλεκτα καὶ κρηναῖα καὶ  
ἀνθεσιπτότατα μέλεα μελέοις ὀνόμασιν  
ποιούσιν ἐμπλέκοντες ἀλλότρια μέλη.

Quae verba eius esse poetae mihi videntur qui multum litteris earumque aestimationi sese dederit. His enim in iudiciis, et quae ad Philoxenum pertinent et quae illos poetas posteriores perstringunt, singulae res variaeque scribendi rationes perspicue tractantur. Nec vero cum simulatione, ut olim putavi, haec loquitur poeta. Etenim neque Athenaei verbum ἐπαιῶν talem haberi sententiam sinit, nec cum verbo ἦν usus mortuum esse Philoxenum poeta doceat, verisimile est indigne hunc eum exagitasse. Rarissimas tamen apud comicos esse tales laudes admonuit Smythius, *Greek Melic Poets*, p. lvii, adn. 1. Fabula vero Σαπφώ, utrum carmina illius poetriae perstrinxerit,<sup>1</sup> an, prout aliae pleraeque huius indicis fabulae posterioribus a poetis scriptae, praesertim amores, incertum est. Etenim fere nihil praeter indicem quod argumentum patefacere atque explicare possit habemus, si quidem haec verba excipis: Ath. 10, 450 e: ἐν δὲ Σαπφοῖ ὁ Ἀντιφάνης αὐτὴν τὴν ποιήτριαν προβάλλουσιν ποιεῖ γρίφους, . . . ἐπιλυομένου τινός. Eius tamen consimilis et aenigmatum plena erat Πρόβλημα fabula, et fortasse uterque eos inrigit qui aenigmatibus in sermone uti solebantur, quem ad modum vero Παροιμίαι, eos qui proverbiiis tritis nimis utebantur.<sup>2</sup> Fabulam autem Ποίησιν et propter indicem et propter frag. 191, infra laudatum, in arte poetica versatam esse paene est certum.<sup>3</sup> Accedit quod Demosthenis celeberrimum illud antitheton et id quod τὸν ἔμμετρον ἐκεῖνον ὄρκον appellat Plutarchus, *Dem.* 9, sic commemorantur: — Ath. 6, 223 d e: Δημοσθένην . . . ὃς Φιλίππον Ἀθηναίους Ἀλόνησον δίδοντας συνεβούλευε μὴ λαμβάνειν εἰ δίδωσιν ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀποδίδωσιν, ὅπερ Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Νεοστίδι παιδιὰν θέμενος ἐρεσχηλεῖ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Egger. *Hist. Crit.*<sup>2</sup> 71; Denis. *Com. Grec.* II, 361.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Meinek. I, 277 sqq.; Egger. *Hist. Crit.*<sup>2</sup> 72; Kaibel. in Pauly-Wissowae *Real-Encycl.* I, 2520.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Kaibel. loc. laud.

(K. 169) ὁ δεσπότης δὲ πάντα τὰ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπέλαβεν ὡσπερ ἔλαβεν. Β. ἡγάπησεν ἂν τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο παραλαβὼν Δημοσθένης.<sup>1</sup>

Plut. *Mor.* 845 b: προελθὼν δὲ πάλιν (Δημοσθένης) εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας νεωτερικῶς τινα λέγων διεσύρετο· ὡς κωμωδηθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Ἀντιφάνους καὶ Τιμοκλέους (frag. 38).

(K. 296) μὰ γῆν, μὰ κρήνας, μὰ ποταμούς, μὰνάματα.<sup>2</sup>—  
sic autem in alia fabula Timothei locutiones absurdæ:—

(K. 112) εἴτ' ἤδη δὸς φιάλην [τὸ ὄπλον] Ἄρεως,  
κατὰ Τιμόθεον, ξυστόν τε βέλος.<sup>3</sup>—

ac carmina illa antiqua in conviviis usurpata, quæ Graeci σκόλια appellant; nam horum nescio quem in scaenam inductum maxime taedet:

(K. 85, 2 sqq.) ἴσχε, τὸν ψῶδὸν λάμβανε.  
ἔπειτα μηδὲν τῶν ἀπηρχαιωμένων  
τούτων περάνης, τὸν Τελαμῶνα, μηδὲ τὸν  
Παιῶνα, μηδ' Ἀρμόδιον.

Deinceps est afferendum fragmentum quod, a multis iam interpretibus magna ex parte enodatum, etiam nunc aliqua obscuritate involutum est: Ath. 4, 134 b: Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Καρσί κατὰ τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἔθος τῆς ὀρχήσεως κωμωδεῖ τινα τῶν σοφῶν ὡς παρὰ δεῖπνον ὀρχούμενον, λέγων οὕτως·

(K. 113) οὐχ ὄρας ὀρχούμενον  
ταῖς χερσὶ τὸν βᾶκηλον; οὐδ' αἰσχύνεται  
ὁ τὸν Ἡράκλειτον πᾶσιν ἐξηγούμενος,  
ὁ τὴν Θεοδέκτου μόνος ἀνευρηκῶς τέχνην,  
ὁ τὰ κεφάλαια συγγράφων Εὐριπίδῃ.

<sup>1</sup> Dobraeus et van Herwerdenus, *Mnem.* XIV, 174, ὡσπερ legunt v. 2 pro ὡσπερ. — Hoc aliaque quattuor fragmenta quæ ad eadem Demosthenis verba spectant, Alex. 7 et 209, Anaxil. 9, Timocl. 12, conservavit Athenæus, loc. laud.

<sup>2</sup> Haec verba Demosthenis Kaibelus, *Herm.* XXIV, 53, ex *Piscibus* esse, Archippi fabula, putat, — coniectura certe tenuioribus argumentis confirmata. Magis tamen ridicula, sine dubio, res comicis visa esset, si ab oratore in comitiis contionante verba comoediae essent laudata.

<sup>3</sup> Hanc verbi translationem probare videtur Arist. *Rhet.* 1413 a, 5 sq. Cf. Copi *Introd. to Arist. Rhet.* 291. Haud tamen saepe inter eum comicosque oritur dissensio. — In priore versu eadem legi quæ Kaibelus, Ath. 10, 433 c, Emperium et Koppiersium secutus.

Eum qui hic petitur, *τίνα τῶν σοφῶν*, et Trendelenburgius, apud Meinek. *F. C. G.* III, 60, et Schrader, qui *Philol.* XLIV, 251 sqq., plenius de hac re disseruit et alii,<sup>1</sup> Heraclidem esse Ponticum arbitrantur: quem et mollem (*βάκηλον*) fuisse constat<sup>2</sup> et Heracliti, *τοῦ σκοτεινοῦ*, scripta interpretatum esse et rhetorica quaedam composuisse opera<sup>3</sup> et de Euripidis fabulis aliquo modo scripsisse.<sup>4</sup> Illum enim Athenis hoc tempore fuisse et, ut Academicum Aristotelis gloriae invidentem, sibi fortasse maiores virtutes adrogasse monstrat Dielsius, *Abhandl. d. Berl. Akad.* (phil.-hist.), 1886, iv, 14. Haec quoque fragmenta minutissima iudicium certe olent:

(K. 67) *δρᾶμ' ἀκούσαι,*

(K. 197) *βιβλιωγράφος,*<sup>5</sup>

nec minus hoc longius:

(K. 274) *ἀεὶ δὲ πρὸς Μούσαισι καὶ λόγοις πάρει,  
ὄπου <τι><sup>6</sup> σοφίας ἔργον ἐξετάζεται.*

Accuratius tamen de his loqui vix possumus. Alia incerta sed fortasse ad rem pertinentia repperi apud Grenfelli et Hunti *Oxyrhynch. Papyr.* III, 427, p. 73 (cf. pp. 68–69):—

] *ἄνδρες οἱ γεγενημένοι*  
] *παντες ευρωστως αμα*  
*τον*] *βιον διαξετε.*  
*Αντιφ*] *ανοῡ*  
*Ανθρω*] *πογον̄.* —

quibus illi qui ediderunt hanc esse significationem iudicant: si huic fabulae plausum dabit, secundis fruemini rebus vos omnes.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Schrader. *ibid.* 252.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wilamowitz. *Phil. Untersuch.* IV, 197, adn. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Verbum *τέχνην* ad illum Theodectis librum cui erat nomen *τέχνη ῥητορικῆ* (cf. Christ. *Gr. Litt.*<sup>3</sup>, 280) et ipse spectare olim putavi et eandem Blassi, *Att. Bereds.*<sup>2</sup> II, 445 sq., esse sententiam nunc vidi. Quam tametsi Schrader, *ib.* 252, adn. 32, teneri non posse putat, nescio an vera sit. Aliquid cautius hac tota in re progressus est Vossius, *De Heraclidis Pontici vita et scriptis*, Rostochii, 1896, 14.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. quae loca Diogenis Laerti affert Meinekius, III, 60; Schrader. *ibid.* 253–54.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. van Herwerden. *Mnem.* XIV, 175.

<sup>6</sup> Sic Meinekius et Kaibelus.



Adde huc nonnulla de longarum orationum ratione et novorum inventorum scripta :

(K. 268) οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν λεγόμενον μακρῶς, ὅτε  
ὁ λέγων ὑποτάττει τοῖς λόγοις τὰ πράγματα.<sup>1</sup>

(K. 29) ἐπὶ τὸ καινουργεῖν φέρου,  
οὕτως, ἐκείνως, τοῦτο γινώσκων ὅτι  
ἐν καινὸν ἐγχείρημα, κὰν τολμηρὸν ᾖ,  
πολλῶν παλαιῶν ἐστὶ χρησιμώτερον.<sup>2</sup>

Tum de rebus tragicorum secundis, comicorum adversis, haec sunt :<sup>3</sup>

(K. 191) μακάριόν ἐστιν ἡ τραγῳδία  
ποίημα κατὰ πάντ', εἴ γε πρῶτον οἱ λόγοι  
ὑπὸ τῶν θεατῶν εἰσιν ἐγνωρισμένοι,  
πρὶν καὶ τιν' εἰπεῖν· ὣσθ' ὑπομνήσαι μόνον  
δεῖ τὸν ποιητήν· Οἰδίπου γὰρ ἂν μόνον  
φῶ, τᾶλλα πάντ' ἴσασιν· ὁ πατήρ Λάιος,  
μήτηρ Ἰοκάστη, θυγατέρες, παῖδες τίνες,  
τί πείσεθ' οὕτως, τί πεποίηκεν. ἂν πάλιν  
εἶπῃ τις Ἀλκμέονα, καὶ τὰ παιδία  
πάντ' εὐθύς εἶρηχ', ὅτι μανεῖς ἀπέκτονεν  
τὴν μητέρα, ἀγανακτῶν δ' Ἀδραστος εὐθέως  
ἤξει πάλιν τ' ἀπεισι . . . .  
ἔπειθ' ὅταν μηδὲν δύνωντ' εἰπεῖν ἔτι,  
κομῖδῃ δ' ἀπειρήκωσιν ἐν τοῖς δράμασιν,  
αἰρουσιν ὥσπερ δάκτυλον τὴν μηχανήν,  
καὶ τοῖς θεωμένοισιν ἀποχρόντως ἔχει.  
ἡμῖν δὲ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ πάντα δεῖ

<sup>1</sup> Hunc versum cur Kockius se dicat melius intellecturum fuisse si poeta τοὺς λόγους τοῖς πράγμασιν scripsisset, nescio; nam satis plane significare videtur: res (sc. res veras, hoc est haud nugae inanes) supponit verbis. Nisi vero haec sunt alicuius rhetorici praecipientis: verba tene, res sequuntur.

<sup>2</sup> Quod fragmentum ad alia quaevis praeter litteras pertinere potest, sed potius ad has propterea quod ad eius modi inventa certe spectat fragmentum Timothei quoddam huius consimile, quod Athenaeus, 3, 122 d, loco proximo excersipit.

<sup>3</sup> Roemer, *Abhandl. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.* XXII, 57 haec vix vera arbitratur; de qua re cf. Blank. *Jahrb.* CXLIX, 70. Fragmentum emendare conati sunt van Herwerdenus, *Mnem.* XIV, 175; Richardsius, *Class. Rev.* XIII, 426.

εὐρεῖν, ὀνόματα καινά, τὰ διωκημένα  
 πρότερον, τὰ νῦν παρόντα, τὴν καταστροφὴν,  
 τὴν εἰσβολήν. ἂν ἔν τι τούτων παραλίπη  
 Χρέμης τις ἢ Φεῖδων τις, ἐκσυρίττεται·  
 Πηλεῖ δὲ ταῦτ' ἕξεστι καὶ Τεύκρω ποιεῖν.

Etsi nihil huic inesse iudici a viris litteratissimis est dictum,<sup>1</sup> videtur tamen pars prior tragicos, — imprimis fortasse, ut Petersius, *Ar. iudicium de tragicis*, 70, Euripidem, — culpares et quod narrationes illas longiores in prologis scripserunt, auxilia seignibus et ignaris animis,<sup>2</sup> et quod μηχανήν illam saepius usurpare soliti sunt,<sup>3</sup> posterior dumtaxat quid ex poetae populique sententia sit mala comoedia, quid bona monstrare.

Ac nunc obscuriora illa iudicia inspiciamus. Indices quidem examinati haud multum docent; nam e tanta eorum multitudine — quos vero alii aetate posteriores saepe usurpabant — pauci non sunt novi et integri. Nec quempiam hic oportet commemorare nisi Epicharmum, cuius quattuor aut quinque similes sunt indices, et fortasse Aristophanem Strattidemque quorum ab utroque ternos hic mutuatus est. Philoxeni vero, eiusdem quem laudatum iam supra, p. 195, vidimus, et res et verba libere imitabatur,<sup>4</sup> comicamque sine dubio imitationem et aliorum plurimum tragicorum et Sophoclis<sup>5</sup> et Euripidis cum versibus singulis tum fabulis ludicris totis faciebat:<sup>6</sup> cuius vero rei exemplum est hoc:

(K. 1)

καὶ πρῶτα μὲν

αἶρω ποθεινὴν μᾶζαν, ἣν φερέσβιος  
 Δηῶ βροτοῖσι χάσμα δωρεῖται φίλον·  
 ἔπειτα πνικτὰ τακερὰ μηκάδων μέλη,  
 χλόην καταμπέχοντα, σάρκα νεογενῆ.

B. τί λέγεις; A. τραγωδίαν περαίνω Σοφοκλέους.

<sup>1</sup> Vide Saintsbury. *Hist. Crit.* I, 25; Sandys. *Hist. of Class. Scholarship*, 56.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Jebb. *Class. Gk. Poetry*, 198; Arist. *Rhet.* 1415 a, 19.

<sup>3</sup> Eandem aliqua ex parte culpavit Plato, *Crat.* 425 d.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Kock. II, p. 64, ad fin.; fragg. 174, vv. 2, 5, 6; 182, v. 2; Zacher. *Berl. phil. Woch.* VI, 713.

<sup>5</sup> Sed fortasse Sophoclis minoris; cf. Kock. II, 13; Nauck. *T. G. F.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 294, frag. 687.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. fragg. 231; 18, 1-2; 242, 3; 228, 4; fabulasque *Αἰόλον*, *Θαμύραν*, *Μελέ-αγρον*, *Ὀμφάλην*, *Σκυρίαν* (?), *Φιλοκτήτην*.

Quibus autem in verbis iudicium quoddam de sermone tragoediae et comoediae inter se dissimillimo inesse apparet. Ac nescio an illo per anfractum circuitionemque dicendi genere, quo saepe utebatur, quosdam poetas inriserit.<sup>1</sup> Bis certe, verbis iteratis sese quodam modo imitatus est;<sup>2</sup> semel fabulam olim doctam emendavit iterumque edidit.<sup>3</sup>

ANAXANDRIDIS, ne indices *Κωμωδοτραγῳδίαν* et *Σῶσιππον* commemorem, qui vix ad nostrum sermonem spectare possunt,<sup>4</sup> haec sunt iudicia: primum scriptorem aliquem, sive Simonidem sive alium nescio quem, fere dementem iudicat, qui vitam scolio depingens magnopere, ut hic opinatur, a veritate aberraverit: —

(K. 17) ὁ τὸ σκόλιον εἴρων ἐκείνος, ἴσθις ἦν,  
τὸ μὲν ὑγιαίνειν πρῶτον ὡς ἄριστον ὄν  
ὠνόμασεν ὀρθῶς, δεύτερον δ' εἶναι καλόν,  
τρίτον δὲ πλουτεῖν, τοῦθ', ὄρῳς, ἐμαίνετο·  
μετὰ τὴν ὑγίειαν γὰρ τὸ πλουτεῖν διαφέρει·  
καλὸς δὲ πεινῶν ἐστὶν αἰσχρὸν θηρίον. —

tum Timotheum sic ludificatur: —

(K. 6) ἀρτίως διηρτάμηκε καὶ τὰ μὲν διανεκῆ  
σώματος μέρη δαμάζειτ' ἐν πυρικτίτῳ στέγῃ·<sup>5</sup>  
Τιμόθεος ἔφη ποτ', ἄνδρες, τὴν χύτραν οἶμαι λέγων. —

et iterum, sicut Antiphanes (frag. 112), propter eiusdem illam *φιάλην Ἄρεος*: Ath. II, 502 b (K. 80): Ἄναξανδρίδης δὲ φιάλας Ἄρεος καλεῖ τὰ ποτήρια ταῦτα, i. e. τὰς καρνωτὰς φιάλας. Item de rebus musicis haec scripsit: —

(K. 15) ὁ μὲν γὰρ εὐφυνῆς τις εἶναι φαίνεται,  
ὡς δ' εὐρύθμως λαβὼν τὸ μελετητήριον  
εἶτ' ἐσχεδιάσασε δριμύτως ἐν . . . παπαῖ,  
μεστὸς γενόμενος πρὸς τὸν Ἄργῶν βοῦλομαι  
κωδωνίστας πέμψαι σ' ἀγωνιούμενον,  
ἵνα καὶ σὺ νικᾷς τοὺς σοφιστάς, ὦ φίλε. —

<sup>1</sup> Cf. fragg. 52, 49, 112, 171, 182.

<sup>2</sup> Frag. 68, 10–12 = fere 129, 5 sq. = 23; cf. Ath. 7, 303 f–304 a.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ath. 8, 358 d.

<sup>4</sup> Sed cf. Denis. *Com. Grec.* II, 364; Meinek. I, 373. — Kock. I, 760; Kaibel. in Pauly-Wissowae *Real-Encycl.* I, 2079.

<sup>5</sup> Sic versum scripserunt Kockius et Kaibelus (Ath. 10, 455 f.).

quae magister, fortasse Linus, de altero duorum puerorum dixit, qui, si Schenkelium, *Comm. Wölfflin*. 327, sequeris, Thamyras aut Orpheus et Hercules sunt. Argas certe ita commemoratur ut haud mediocriter laudari videatur. Sed hoc quoque conlato fragmento aliter illa intellegenda esse apparet. Qui enim nova in rebus musicis exempla introducebant, eis hic non favebat: Ath. 4, 131 a: Ἀναξανδρίδης ἐν Πρωτεσιλάῳ διασύρων τὸ τῶν Ἰφικράτους γάμων συμπόσιον . . . φησὶν

(K. 41, vv. 16 sqq.) αὐλεῖν δ' αὐτοῖς Ἀντιγενεΐδαν,  
 Ἀογᾶν δ' ἄδειν καὶ κιθαρίζειν  
 Κηφισόδοτον τὸν Ἀχαρνῆθεν,  
 μέλπειν δ' ὦδαῖς  
 τοτὲ μὲν Σπάρτην τὴν εὐρύχορον,  
 τοτὲ δ' αὖ Θήβας τὰς ἐπταπύλους  
 τὰς ἁρμονίας μεταβάλλοντας.

Alios paucos parodia perstrinxit;<sup>1</sup> fabulas suas quae victoriam non reportassent numquam retractasse dicitur. Cf. Chamaeleon. Heracl. apud Ath. 9, 374 a b: Ἀναξανδρίδης . . . ὅτε μὴ νικῶν, λαμβάνων (τὰς κωμωδίας) ἔδωκεν εἰς τὸν λιβανωτὸν κατατεμεῖν καὶ οὐ μετεσκεύαζεν ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί. καὶ πολλὰ ἔχοντα κομψῶς τῶν δραμάτων ἠφάνιζε, δυσκολαίων τοῖς θεαταῖς διὰ τὸ γῆρας. . . . θαυμάζω οὖν πῶς ὁ Τηρεὺς περιεσώθη μὴ τυχὸν νίκης καὶ ἄλλα δράματα τῶν ὁμοίων τοῦ αὐτοῦ.

EVNVLVM deinceps examinandum licet inducere. Cuius haud parvae sunt reliquiae, sed iudicia aperta, ut frag. 120 praetermittam, quo commemoratur Homerus, haud iudicatur, vix duo sunt aut tria:

(K. 26-27) Εὐριπίδου δ' ἔσωσης ὡς ἴσασί σοι—

[ὦ παρθέν' εἰ σώσαιμί σ', ἔξεις μοι χάριν;]

καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖσιν ἐγγελῶσι πῆμασιν  
 τὰ σῖγμα<sup>2</sup> συλλέξαντες, ὡς αὐτοὶ σοφοί.

Quibus ex versibus in priore Dionysium Syracusanum appellari, Meinekium (III, 219) secutus, iudico. Fabulae enim ex qua haec

<sup>1</sup> Cf. fragg. 66, 67; Kock. II, 150, adn. in Πρωτεσιλαον.

<sup>2</sup> De hac re cf. supra, p. 183 et adn. 3.

petuntur Dionysio est nomen, quo certe eiusdem nominis tyrannus significatur; hic autem tragoedias scripsit nonnullas et eo denique in versu tragicum poetam constat aliquem inrideri. Quis igitur potius hic appellatur ac fortasse perstringitur quam idem ille? Alter autem versus, si re vera ab hoc scriptus est, Euripidis ex fabula repetitus per parodiam est iteratus, et duos hos posteriores ipse dicere videtur in scaenam inductus Euripides,<sup>1</sup> nisi vero, cum Schenkelio, *Comm. Wölfflin.* 327–328, haec quoque eidem Dionysio tribuimus, qui fabulis suis saepe Athenis explosis, incommoda queritur. Accedit ut in tragoedias eiusdem ineptas hac fabula eius nomine appellata saepe potuerit invehī. Tum ad scribendi rationem ab hoc ipso fortasse usurpatam haec spectant: — Ath. 2, 43 f: Εὐβουλος εὐρετικούς φησι τὸ ὕδωρ ποιεῖν τοὺς πίνοντας αὐτὸ μόνον,

(K. 135) τὸν δ' οἶνον ἡμῶν τῷ φρονεῖν ἐπισκοτεῖν.

τὰ αὐτὰ δ' ἱαμβεῖα καὶ Ὀφελίων φησί (frag. 4) — iudicium certe Epicharmo, Cratino aliisque dissimillimum, — et haec:

(K. 136) ἐγὼ ποιήσω πάντα κατὰ Νικόστρατον.

Cf. Zenob. Milleri (*Mélanges*, p. 353): εἶρηται ἡ παροιμία παρ' Εὐβούλῳ τῷ τῆς μέσης κωμωδίας ποιητῆ. ἦν δὲ ὁ Νικόστρατος ὑποκριτῆς τραγικῶς δοκῶν καλλίστους ἀγγέλους εἰρηκέναι.

Ex altero quidem iudiciorum genere hoc proferre licet, quod octo eius indices ab Antiphane quoque usurpantur. Qui tamen alterius fuerit imitator ex temporum ratione non liquet. Nonnullorum autem verba videtur mutuatus in suum usum convertisse, nisi vero alii potius hunc compilabant.<sup>2</sup> Tragicos, et imprimis Euripidem, saepissime per parodiam imitabatur, et multas fabulas multosque eorum versus singulos perstringebat.<sup>3</sup> Cuius rei hoc est exemplum:

(K. 72) ὁ πρῶτος εὐρῶν τάλλότρια δειπνεῖν ἀνὴρ  
δημοτικὸς ἦν τις, ὡς ἔοικε, τοὺς τρόπους. κτλ.

<sup>1</sup> Sic Kockius, II, 174.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. frag. 135 et Ophelion. 4; 150 et Ephipp. 3; 116 et Aristophont. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. fabulas *Augen*, *Bellerophonem*, *Antiopeam*, *Medeam*, *Oedipum*; Kock. II, 191, adn. ad frag. 75, v. 6; Meinek. I, 356; Peters. *Ar. iudicium de trag.* 70; praeterea fragg. 72; 26, v. 2; 64; 67; et *Dolon* comoediam, Homenci illius argumenti sine dubio parodiam.

Quocum conferendum est Theopompi frag. 34, supra, p. 190, adlatum. Chaeremonis autem tragici apparet in hoc fragmento similis inrisio: Ath. 2, 43 c (K. 151): τὸ ὕδωρ ποταμοῦ σῶμά φησί πον Εὐβουλος ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς εἰρηκέναι Χαίρημονα τὸν τραγικὸν· κτλ.<sup>1</sup> Denique quattuor versus a se scriptos iteravit;<sup>2</sup> fabulam quandam Alcaei antiquae comoediae poetae fortasse retractavit.<sup>3</sup>

His quos iam nominavi poetis adiuncti sunt alii quoque complures mediae aetatis comoediae. Sed de his omnibus, Alexide uno excepto, breviter licet dicere, quorum fere nullus multa fragmenta, nedum iudicia multa reliquerit. NICOSTRATVS, Aristophanis filius, vel serio vel ridicule Euripidem, τὸν σκηρικὸν φιλόσοφον, ita laudavit:<sup>4</sup>

(K. 28) ὄκ ἔστιν ὅστις πάντ' ἀνὴρ εὐδαιμονεῖ.  
νῆ τὴν Ἀθηναίων συντόμως γε, φίλτατε  
Εὐριπίδῃ, τὸν βίον ἔθηκας εἰς στίχον.

atque in *Hesiodo* fabula, quoad ex indice solo conicere licet, poetas litterasque certe tractavit. Quendam autem versum duobus in fabulis usurpasse videtur;<sup>5</sup> semel quoque ex Chaeremonis tragoedia in suam fabulam aliqua verba transtulit,<sup>6</sup> et *Plutum*, patris fabulam, quam ille ipse olim retractarat, fortasse tertium mutatam docuit.<sup>7</sup>

EX PHILETAERI fabulis praeter versus duos iteratos nihil est quod ad rem pertinet.<sup>8</sup>

AMPHIDIS haec sunt quae ad tragoediam sive tragoedias quasdam eo tempore omnibus cognitae spectare videntur:

<sup>1</sup> Sihler, *De parodiis*, 15, bene confert Chaeremon. 13 N., ubi simili ratione rosae appellantur Ὠρῶν σώματα.

<sup>2</sup> Frag. 67, vv. 4-7 = frag. 84, vv. 3-5, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Haec enim Meineki, II, 826, paulo incertiore freti ratione, est opinio. Cf. tamen Kocki adn. in Alcaei frag. 5 (I, p. 757).

<sup>4</sup> Petersius, *Ar. iudicium de trag.* 71, illum quod cupidior fuerit in fabulis philosophandi, ea de causa hic includi arbitratur.

<sup>5</sup> Vide fragg. 3 et 19; cf. tamen Kocki, II, p. 220, adn. in frag. 3, et Crusi, *Philol.* XLVI, 614, varias sententias.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. frag. 19, 4 et Chaeremon. 2 N.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Kock. II, 226.

<sup>8</sup> Frag. 5, vv. 2-3 = frag. 8.

(K. 30, vv. 5 sqq.) οὖς (sc. piscarios) ἂν ἐρωτήσῃ τις ἀναλαβὼν τι τῶν παρακειμένων, ἔκψεν ὥσπερ Τήλεφος πρῶτον σιωπῇ (καὶ δικαίως τοῦτό γε· ἅπαντες ἀνδροφόνοι γάρ εἰσιν ἐνὶ λόγῳ) ὥσεί τε προσέχων οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἀκηκοὺς κτλ.<sup>1</sup>

Tum, ut frag. 13 K. praetermittamus, quod cum scriptis Platonis vix esse coniunctum videtur,<sup>2</sup> mira indicum similitudo cum Alexide est commemoranda. Etenim duodecim communes inter se habent.<sup>3</sup> *Dithyrambus* denique eius et *Sappho* poeticis fortasse de rebus scriptae sunt, sed perdubia res est.

ΕΡΗΙΠΠVS autem ea nominat quae in numero malorum habebat :

(K. 16) Διονυσίου δὲ δράματ' ἐκμαθεῖν δέοι  
καὶ Δημοφῶντος ἅττ' ἐποίησεν εἰς Κότυν  
ρήσεις τε κατὰ δαίπνον Θεόδωρός μοι λέγοι,  
Λάχητί τ' οἰκήσαιμι τὴν ἐξῆς θύραν,  
κυμβία τε παρέχοιμ' ἐστιῶν Εὐριπίδῃ.

Dionysius vero idem est ille, et tragicus poeta et Syracusanorum tyrannus, cuius supra ab Eubulo inrasi mentionem feci. Demiphon quis sit nescio; ultimi tres versus, quamquam quod ceterorum sententiam planiorem efficiunt, exscripsi, nihil ad litteras spectant. Theodorus enim tragoediarum est actor non scriptor, neque Euripides ille poeta, sed secundum Antiochum Alexandrinum apud Ath. 11, 482 c, φίλοιός τις — id quod Pickard-Cambridgius, *Select Fragments of the Greek Comic Poets*, p. 189, ignorare videtur. Commemorandus autem est locus complurium versuum quem hic iteravit: confer enim Ath. 8, 347 b: οὐκ

<sup>1</sup> Aristotelis quoque, *Poet.* 1460 a, 32, secundum sententiam ἐν Μυσοῖς ὁ ἄφρωνος ἐκ Τεγέας εἰς τὴν Μυσίαν ἦκων exemplum est τοῦ ἀλόγου. Et haec vero Nauckius, Vahlenus, alii, Aeschylis ad *Mysos* pertinere, illa Amphidis ad eandem fabulam Kockius arbitratur. Cum tamen etiam Sophoclis esset fabula *Mysi*—neque Euripidis perdubia eiusdem nominis fabula omnino est reicienda—de illa scribere in mentem poetae venisse potest. Immo vero et Sophocles et Aeschylus et si qui erant alii qui hanc rem tetigerunt, omnes una propter talem personam fortasse inclusi sunt.—Ea quae de hac re breviter scripsit Steiger, *Act. Sem. Philol. Erlangen.* V, 54, conl. Ar. *Ran.* 911 sqq., me sententiam mutare non coegerunt.

<sup>2</sup> Quamquam Meinekius, I, 405–6, ex hoc fragmento conicit Platonem ipsum in fabula partes quasdam egisse.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Meinek. I, 405.

ἀγνοῶ δ' ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα (sc. frag. 5 uni et viginti versuum e *Geryone* fabula sumptum) εἶρηκεν ὁ Ἐφιππος κἂν Πελταστῆ τῷ δράματι (frag. 19), ἐν ᾧ καὶ ταῦτα ἐκείνοις ὑποτέτακται (quattuor addit versus). Praeterea est nihil.<sup>1</sup>

Tum ANAXILAS — de scita Kocki coniectura, II, 269 — Aeschyli fastidiosum nescio quem induxit loquentem: —

(K. 19) [τοῦ νῦν ἀκροᾶσθαι σύμφορον τῶν δραμάτων]<sup>2</sup>  
τῶν Αἰσχύλου πολὺ μᾶλλον εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ  
ἰχθύδι' ὀπτᾶν. Β. τί σὺ λέγεις; ἰχθύδια; κτλ. —

musicos, qui semper aliquid novi, raro aliquid boni, introducebant, improhavit:

(K. 27) ἡ μουσικὴ δ' ὥσπερ Λιβύη πρὸς τῶν θεῶν  
ἀεὶ τι καινὸν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν θηρίον  
τίκει.

Quod ad alterum obscurius illud genus iudici attinet, et sese, quandoquidem nonnumquam versibus suis iterum utebatur,<sup>3</sup> et Antiphanem laudavit, cuius aliquot indices repeteret.

ARISTOPHON hac sola de causa est commemorandus, quod simile est eius fragmentum quoddam (K. 5) Eubuli fragmento (K. 116).

EPICRATES his versibus eos nominare videtur quos summos poesis amatoriae scriptores arbitrabatur:

(K. 4) τάρωτικ' ἐκμεμάθηκα ταῦτα παντελῶς  
Σαπφούς, Μελίητου, Κλεομένους, Λαμννθίου.<sup>4</sup>

Eundem autem Antiphanis Δύσπρατον fabulam aut iterum edidisse aut saltem ex ea nonnulla mutuatum constat.<sup>5</sup> Bis denique Cephisodori indicibus usus est.

<sup>1</sup> Fragg. 9 et 10 et indicem *Sappho* nihil momenti continere arbitror; frag. 7, sicut Anaxandridis frag. 9, idcirco non inseri quia eis quae scripserunt Liddellius et Scottus, *Greek-English Lexicon*, verbum παλγιον his in locis idem significare quod *comœdia*, nullo modo adsentiendum censo.

<sup>2</sup> Haec enim fere antecessisse statuit Kockius, loc. laud.

<sup>3</sup> Frag. 25, 3-4 = paene frag. 31, 2-3.

<sup>4</sup> Frag. 11 quamquam de Platone aliisque philosophis est scriptum et vv. 11-12 dicit nescio quis, ἐν γυμνασίῳ Ἀκαδημίας ἡκουσα λόγων ἀφάτων ἀτόπων, nostra tamen nihil interesse iudicavi.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. illius frag. 89 et huius frag. 5; Kock. II, 47; Meinek. II, 321-2; 414; Ath. 6, 262 d. e.



CRATINVS IVNIOR Platonem inludit, sed potius sapientiam eius quam scripta :

(K. 10) ἄνθρωπος εἰ δηλονότι καὶ ψυχὴν ἔχεις;

B. κατὰ μὲν Πλάτων' οὐκ οἶδ', ὑπονοῶ δ' ᾧδ' ἔχειν.

Atque etiam OPHELIONIS verba quaedam sunt hic laudanda quibus idem ille philosophus miro modo perstringitur : Ath. 2, 66 c d : ὅτι εἰς τὸ πρόπομα καὶ ταῦτα ἐνεβάλλοντο, πέπερι, φυλλίς, σμύρνα, κύπειρον, μύρον Αἰγύπτιον. . . . Ὁφελίων

(K. 3) Λιβυκόν τε πέπερι, θυμίαμα, βιβλίον  
Πλάτωνος ἐμβρόντητον.<sup>1</sup>

Hunc autem comicum (frag. 4), sicut Eubulus (frag. 135), haud vinum sed aquam poetis res novas excogitantibus esse bibendam iudicasse iam supra, p. 203, est dictum. Μοῦσαι index, etiamsi huius est — et Meinekius, I, 415, perperam attributum esse censet — quid significet, nescio.

NAVICRATIS denique in uno fragmento iudicium quoddam contineri videtur : Ath. 9, 399 e f : Ναυσικράτης ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς ἐν Περσίδι . . .

(K. 3) ἐν τῇ γὰρ Ἀττικῇ τίς εἶδε πώποτε  
λέοντας ἢ τοιοῦτον ἕτερον θηρίον;  
οὐ δασύποδ' εὐρεῖν ἐστὶν οὐχὶ ῥάδιον.

Nam sive, ut Meinekius, IV, 296, adn. ad frag. ccxcvii, Menandrum hic perstringi putes, sive, ut melius est, Hauptium, *Opusc.* II, 94, et Frantzius, *De com. Att. prologis*, 14, adn., secutus, haec verba esse decernas nescio cuius poetam propter leones commemoratos culpantis, hunc autem respondisse sese in fabula cui index esset Περσίδι, Persicas res non Atticas depingere, pertinet profecto nostram ad rem fragmentum.

Ac nunc nobis, multos poetas strictim persecutis, in uno loco paulo longius permanere licet, dum ALEXIDIS reliquias inspiciamus. Et primum vero Archilochus in fabula eiusdem nominis appellatur, —

(K. 22) ᾧ τὴν εὐτειχῇ ναίων Πάρον, ὄλβιε πρέσβυ, κτλ., —

sed an vere iudicatus sit ille, immo an ipse in scaena fuerit — etsi propter indicem verisimile videtur — incertum est. Huius similis est

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kaibel. ad Ath. loc. laud.; Hussey. *Class. Stud. in Honor of Drisler*, p. 92.

fabula *Aesopus*, quippe cuius litterae forsitan pars fuerint. In *Lino* autem Herculem fecit poeta ex multis libris unum eligentem :

(K. 135)

ΛΙΝΟΣ. βιβλίον

ἐντεῦθεν ὃ τι βούλει προσελθὼν γὰρ λαβέ,  
 ἔπειτ' ἀναγνώσει, πάννυ γε διασκοπῶν  
 ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων ἀτρέμα τε καὶ σχολῆ.  
 Ὀρφεὺς ἔνεστιν, Ἡσίοδος, τραγωδία,  
 Χοιρίλος, Ὅμηρος, ἔστ' Ἐπίχαρμος, γράμματα  
 παντοδαπά. δηλώσεις γὰρ οὕτω τὴν φύσιν,  
 ἐπὶ τί μάλισθ' ὤρμηκε. ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ. τουτὶ λαμβάνω.  
 ΛΙΝ. δαίξον ὃ τι ἐστὶ πρῶτον. ΗΡ. ὄψαρτυσία,  
 ὡς φησι τοῦπέγραμμα. ΛΙΝ. φιλόσοφός τις εἶ,  
 εὐδηλον, ὅς παρὲς τοσαῦτα γράμματα  
 Σίμον τέχνην ἔλαβες. ΗΡ. ὁ Σίμος δ' ἐστὶ τίς;  
 ΛΙΝ. μάλ' εὐφύης ἄνθρωπος. ἐπὶ τραγωδίαν  
 ὤρμηκε νῦν, καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑποκριτῶν πολὺ  
 κράτιστός ἐστιν ὄψοποιός, ὡς δοκεῖ  
 τοῖς χρωμένους, τῶν δ' ὄψοποιῶν ὑποκριτής.

Sed haud multum in his versibus iudici perspicio nisi quod in numero eorum qui inter poetas summum locum obtinuerunt, mentio fit et Choerili et Epicharmi. Ille vero utrum tragoediarum fuerit scriptor an epicus ille poeta, incertum. Si prior sententia est verior, — id quod Naekius, *Choeril. Sam.* 5, arbitratur, — his fortasse de causis commemoratur, primum quod, sicut alii qui nominantur, antiquissimus erat, deinde quod partim, ut βασιλεὺς ἐν σατύροις,<sup>1</sup> alterius quoque poetarum generis dux quidam esse poterat. Si autem epicus erat, cum hoc honore conferendus est is quo ab Atheniensibus erat donatus, ut carmina eius una cum Homero publice, fortasse solemnibus Panathenaicis, legerentur.<sup>2</sup> Praeterea nescio an comicus noster, quandoquidem contentio quaedam de gloria virtutibusque Choerili et Antimachi exstitisse videatur,<sup>3</sup> hoc modo declarare voluerit sua quidem sententia illum esse meliorem. Epicharmi denique his praesertim de causis mentionem facere potuit et quod in numero antiquorum erat et quod fabulas eiusmodi scripsit quae

<sup>1</sup> Cf. supra, p. 193.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Suid. s. vv. Χοιρίλος Σάμιος; Naek. *Choeril. Sam.* 89; Christ. *Gr. Litt.*<sup>3</sup>, 107.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Sandys. *Hist. of Classical Scholarship*, 39.

iam aptiores essent ad imitandum. Postea autem in numero illo a grammaticis dato, qui κανών vulgo appellabatur, primum erat eius nomen.<sup>1</sup>

Ad tragicos spectant duo fragmenta :

(K. 126, v. 19) ἀπὸ μηχανῆς πωλοῦντες ὥσπερ οἱ θεοί,

quibus verbis machina illa in tragoediis usurpata aliquantum derideri puto;<sup>2</sup>

(K. 178, vv. 3-4) δειπνεί δ' ἄφρονος Τηλέφος, νεύων μόνον  
πρὸς τοὺς ἐπερωτῶντάς τι . . . κτλ.,

quo hic eodem modo Telephi mentione tragicos includere videtur quo Amphis (frag. 30, supra, p. 205). Tragicam autem artem Φιλοτραγῳδόν fabulam scribens inrisit.<sup>3</sup> De Ararote, aemulo poetae, hoc est iudicium : —

(K. 179) καὶ γὰρ βούλομαι  
ὑδατός σε γεῦσαι· πρᾶγμα δ' ἐστὶ μοι μέγα  
φρέατος ἔνδον ψυχρότερον Ἀραρότος. —

de Arga, citharoedo quodam, alioque incognito, Choronicus, hoc :

(K. 19) A. Χορόνικος ὁ ποιητῆς ὀδί.  
B. τίνων ποιητῆς ἄσμάτων; A. σεμνῶν πάνν.  
B. τί πρὸς τὸν Ἀργᾶν οὔτος; A. ἡμέρας δρόμῳ  
κρείττων.<sup>4</sup>

Hunc quoque versum afferre licet, qui spectat, ut opinor, ad illam philosophi διαλεκτικὴν, haud tamen maxime ad rem nostram :

(K. 180) ἢ μετὰ Πλάτωνος ἀδολεσχεῖν κατὰ μόνας.

Aliquot vero sunt indices quibus litterarum notio aliqua subicitur; inter quos numerare oportet et Ποιητάς et Ποιητρίαν, praeterea fortasse

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sandys. *ibid.*, 130.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Menandri fragg. 227, 278; et Crusium, *Philol.* XLVIII, 699.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Denis. *Com. Grec.* II, 363.

<sup>4</sup> Choronicus, si Kockio credas, nomen est fictum aliunde non cognitum, si Kaibelio (adn. in Ath. 14, 638 c), id vero quod melius est, haud aliud est quam ille Telenicus a Phaenia loco Athenaei proximo, 14, 638 b c, commemoratus. Quo loco perfectio apparet de Arga congruere Alexidem et Phaeniam, fortasse autem de Choronicis. Illud enim epitheton σεμνῶν cum ironia potest esse dictum.

Σωράκουσ, quod verbum ad artem scaenicam pertinuisse potest,<sup>1</sup> licet haud probabilis haec sit coniectura. Iam de artis ratione non modo haec scripsit :

(K. 149) οὐκ ἴστε ταῖς πλείστασι τῶν τεχνῶν ὅτι  
οὐκ ἀρχιτέκτων κύριος τῆς ἡδονῆς  
μόνος καθέστηκε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν χρωμένων  
συμβάλλεται τις, ἃν καλῶς χρῶνται, μερίς; κτλ.<sup>2</sup> —

quae ad quamvis artem pertinere possunt et a coquo certe dicta in versibus sequentibus arte ὀψοποιοῦ illustrantur, — sed haec quoque :

(K. 269) ἐπὰν ιδιώτην ἄνδρα μονοσιτοῦντ' ἴδῃς,  
ἢ μὴ ποθοῦντ' ᾧδὰς ποιητὴν καὶ μέλη,  
τὸν μὲν ιδιώτην τοῦ βίου τὸν ἡμισιν  
ἀπολωλεκέναι νόμιζε, τὸν δὲ τῆς τέχνης  
τὴν ἡμίσειαν, ζῶσι δ' ἀμφότεροι μόλις.

Quorum versuum ea interpretatio cuius auctor est Kockius vix est tenenda. Verba enim μὴ ποθοῦντ' ᾧδὰς quo modo significare possunt, *qui non dat operam carminibus?* Nec magis est verum id quod van Herwerdenus, *Mnem.* XIV, 188, coniecit, pro verbo ποθοῦντ' scribendum esse προτιθέντ'. Nam hoc loco illi viro μονοσιτοῦντι opponitur poeta, ut ita dicam, μονοποιῶν. Zacher, igitur, *Berl. phil. Woch.* XXII, 1221–2, recte interpretatur: vitae atque artis alteram partem amittere poetam illum qui suis ipse carminibus contentus carmina cantusque aliorum non gestiat audire.

Indicibus quidem imprimis Antiphanis et Amphidis,<sup>3</sup> rarius Eubuli ac Cratini usus esse hic videtur. Res autem forsitan et Cratini et Lysippi et Aristophanis<sup>4</sup> imitatus sit; Pollucis verba, 6, 35, — πρῶτος Ἐπίχαρ-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Poll. 10, 129: . . . εἰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς κωμωδιοποιοῖς οὕτως (sc. Σωράκος) ὀνομάζεται τὸ ἀγγεῖον, ἐν ᾧ τὰ σκεῦη τῶν ὑποκριτῶν.

<sup>2</sup> Quocum conferre licet et Arist. *Rhet.* 1358 b, 1–2, τὸ τέλος πρὸς τοῦτόν ἐστιν, λέγω δὲ τὸν ἀκροατὴν, et, si quis Porsoni aut Kocki coniecturam accipere vult, Philemon. 72, 4 sqq. —

οὔτ' ἀνδριάντος γὰρ καλῶς πεπλασμένον,  
[οὔτ' αὖ γραφῆς ὄνησις εἰς γεγραμμένης,  
ἂν μὴ τὸν αἰσθησόμενον ἢ τέχνη λάβῃ.]

<sup>3</sup> Cf. supra, p. 205. Vter tamen utrum imitatus sit, difficile est decernere.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Meinek. I, 390; Kock. I, 701, adn. in Lysippi frag. 1; Meinek. III, 321.

μος τὸν παράσιτον ὠνόμασεν, εἶτα Ἄλεξις — si fidem habent, parasitorum, Epicharmum secutus, primus apud poetas suae aetatis mentionem fecit.<sup>1</sup> Atque ut verba aliorum et aliter et per parodiam afferebat,<sup>2</sup> sic sua non est dubium quin haud raro repetiverit.<sup>3</sup> Fabulis quoque retractatis gaudebat, quippe qui e suis comoediis Φρύγα et Φιλέταιρον, fortasse Δορκίδα et Κρατεύαν, iterum ediderit,<sup>4</sup> ex alienis, Ἀλείπτριαν, Ἄντειαν, item fortasse Ὑπνον, Antiphanis.<sup>5</sup>

Nunc reliquorum poetarum huius aetatis iudicia, si placet, persequamur. Primum vero AXIONICVS, ut Euripidem eiusque amatores ludificaretur, Φιλευριπίδην scripsit, cuius, praeter parodiam ludicram Euripidei cantici,<sup>6</sup> superest hoc iudicium perspicuum :

(Κ. 3) οὐτω γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς μέλεσι τοῖς Εὐριπίδου  
ἄμφω νοσοῦσιν, ὥστε τᾶλλ' αὐτοῖς δοκεῖν  
εἶναι μέλη γιγγραντὰ καὶ κακὸν μέγα.

Deinde DIONYSIVS coqui persona Archestrati Γαστρονομίαν aliosque libros simillimos idcirco culpavit quia de arte illa coquinaria difficillima nec scribere nec dicere satis apte posset quispiam :

(Κ. 2, vv. 24 sqq.) Ἀρχέστρατος γέγραφέ τε καὶ δοξάζεται  
παρὰ τισιν οὕτως ὡς λέγων τι χρήσιμον,  
τὰ πολλὰ δ' ἠγνόηκε κοῦδὲ ἐν λέγει.  
μὴ πάντ' ἄκουε μηδὲ πάντα μάνθανε  
τῶν βιβλίων ὅσ' ἐστὶ καταγεγραμμένα,  
κενὰ μᾶλλον ἢ ὅτ' ἦν οὐδέπω γεγραμμένα.  
οὐδ' ἔστιν εἰπεῖν περὶ μαγειρικῆς κτλ.

Deinde ERIPHVS versus complures ab Antiphane mutuavit;<sup>7</sup> deinde MNESIMACHVS<sup>8</sup> nescio quo modo fabulas Sybariticas commemoravit;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kock. adn. in Antiph. frag. 80 et contra Zacher. *Berl. phil. Woch.* VI, 715.

<sup>2</sup> Vide fragg. 282 et Eubuli 125; 3, 176, 236, 339, 343.

<sup>3</sup> Frag. 24, 3-4 = fere 110, 21 sq.; 48 = 110, 9-11; 67 = 247; 105, 2, = fere 246, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ath. 10, 429 e; Meinek. I, 403; Ath. 14, 663 c; Meinek. I, 387; 395.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ath. 3, 123 b, 127 b c; Meinek. I, 393.

<sup>6</sup> Sc. frag. 4. Cf. Denis. *Com. Grec.* II, 364; Kaibel. Ath. II, p. 251, ad fin.

<sup>7</sup> Huius frag. 2, vv. 1-9 = paene illius frag. 58; cf. Ath. 3, 84 b.

<sup>8</sup> Antiquiore loco hunc dignum esse quam ei dederit Kockius, haud ignoro. Cf. Koehler. *C. I. A.* II<sup>2</sup>, 977, p. 408, col. III.

nam hoc testimonium proferre liceat: Schol. Ar. *Av.* 471:—τῶν δὲ μύθων οἱ μὲν περὶ ἀλόγων ζῴων εἰσὶν Αἰσώπειοι, οἱ δὲ περὶ ἀνθρώπων Συβαριτικοί. εἰσὶ δὲ τινες οἱ τοὺς βραχεῖς καὶ συντόμους λέγουσι Συβαριτίτιδας (Συβαριτικούς Meinek.), καθάπερ Μνησίμαχος ἐν Φαρμακοπόλῃ (K. 6). Deinde PHILISCVS ita illis gavisus est indicibus qui deorum sive dearum ex nominibus et verbo γοναί componuntur, ut eius generis scripsisset quattuor;<sup>1</sup> postremo SOTADES, — haud aliter quam Dionysius iam commemoratus, — litteras confirmavit nullo modo sufficere posse ad artem coquinariam tractandam:

(K. I, vv. 34–35) . . . ἀλλὰ τοῦτ' ἔσθ' ἡ τέχνη,  
οὐκ ἐξ ἀπογραφῆς οὐδὲ δι' ὑπομημάτων.

Eiusdem comoediae aetatis ac hi sed aliquanto recentior fuit TIMOCLES, cuius quo paulo maiores conserventur reliquiae, quo autem poeta ipse plus antiquae in dicendo libertatis exercuisse videatur,<sup>2</sup> eo plura ad nostram quaestionem spectantia suppeditat. Et primum vero de tragoediae utilitate disserit, non prorsus saltem dissimilem eam arbitratus illius tragoediae Aristoteleae, quae δι' ἐλέου καὶ φόβου περαίνουσα τὴν τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν homines adiuvare oportuit:<sup>3</sup> Ath. 6, 223 b: Τιμοκλῆς δ' ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς κατὰ πολλὰ χρησίμη ἐἶναι λέγων τῷ βίῳ τὴν τραγωδίαν φησὶν ἐν Διονυσιαζούσαις

(K. 6) ὦ τάν, ἄκουσον ἣν τί σοι δοκῶ λέγειν.  
ἄνθρωπός ἐστι ζῶον ἐπίπονον φύσει,  
καὶ πολλὰ λυπήρ' ὁ βίος ἐν ἑαυτῷ φέρει.  
παραψυχὰς οὖν φροντίδων ἀνεύρετο<sup>4</sup>  
ταύτας· ὁ γὰρ νοῦς τῶν ἰδίων λήθην λαβὼν  
πρὸς ἄλλοτρίῳ τε ψυχαγωγηθεὶς πάθει,<sup>4</sup>  
μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἀπῆλθε παιδευθεὶς ἄμα.  
τοὺς γὰρ τραγωδοὺς πρῶτον, εἰ βούλει, σκόπει,  
ὡς ὠφελοῦσι πάντας. ὁ μὲν ὦν γὰρ πένης

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Suid. s. vv. Φιλίσκος κωμικός; Meinek. I, 423–4.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Meinek. I, 428.

<sup>3</sup> Cum ironia haec dici iudicant Ribbeckius, *Die dram. Parodien*, 282, adn. 19, Patinus, *Trag. Graec.*, IV<sup>7</sup>, 332, Saintsburius, *History of Criticism*, I, 25, adn. 1; nescio an recte. Athenaei tamen verbis haudquaquam fulciri haec sententia potest.

<sup>4</sup> Hos versus emendare conati sunt van Herwerdenus, *Mnem.* XXIV, 402 (cf. *Burs. Jahresh.* CXVI, 322), et Richardsius, *Class. Rev.* XIII, 427.

πτωχότερον αὐτοῦ καταμαθῶν τὸν Τήλεφον  
γενόμενον ἤδη τὴν πενίαν βῆσιν φέρει.  
ὁ νοσῶν τι μανικὸν Ἀλκμέων' ἐσκέφατο.  
ὀφθαλμῶ τις, εἰσὶ Φινεΐδαι τυφλοί.  
τέθνηκέ τῳ παῖς, ἣ Νιόβη κεκούφιεν.  
χωλός τίς ἐστι, τὸν Φιλοκτῆτην ὄρᾳ.  
γέρων τις ἀτυχεῖ, κατέμαθεν τὸν Οἰνέα.  
ἅπαντα γὰρ τὰ μείζον' ἢ πέπονθέ τις  
ἀτυχήματ' ἄλλοις γεγονότ' ἐννοούμενος  
τὰς αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ συμφορὰς ἦττον στένει.

Tum de oratoribus praeter illam Demosthenis numerosi iurisiurandi inrisionem (K. 38), de qua, et ab hoc et ab Antiphane facta, supra, p. 197, mentionem feci, tria iudicia exstant haec :

(K. 12) οὐκοῦν κελεύεις νῦν με πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ  
τὰ προσόντα φράζειν. B. πάνυ γε. A. δράσω τοῦτό σοι.  
καὶ πρῶτα μὲν σοι παύσεται Δημοσθένης  
ὀργιζόμενος. B. ὁ ποῖος; A. ὁποῖος; ὁ Βριάρεως,  
ὁ τοὺς καταπέλτας τὰς τε λόγχας ἐσθίων,  
μισῶν λόγους ἄνθρωπος, οὐδὲ πώποτε  
ἀντίθετον εἰπὼν οὐδέν, ἀλλ' Ἄρη βλέπων.

(K. 15) τόν τ' ἰχθυόρρον ποταμὸν Ὑπερείδην περᾶς,  
ὃς ἠπίαις φωναῖσιν ἔμφρονος λόγου  
κόμπους παφλάζων ἠπίοις πυκνώμασιν<sup>1</sup>  
πρὸς ἴπανδυσας ἔχει,  
μισθωτὸς ἄρδει πεδία τοῦ δεδωκότος.

(K. 4, v. 7) ὁ τ' ἐν λόγοισι δεινὸς Ὑπερείδης κτλ.

De iudiciis huius non opus est effusius dicere quod ut multorum unum duosve mutuatus est, sic nullius complures. Parodiae quidem sunt nonnullae,<sup>2</sup> quo in numero fabula Ὁρεσταντοκλείδης habenda videtur, sed cuius tragoedia lusa sit ea non constat.<sup>3</sup> Vnam autem fabulam Ἰκαρίου retractatam esse, nullis fere nixus rationibus, statuit Meinekius, III, 600 ; id vero quod Kockius, II, 458, factum esse negat.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Headlami coniecturam, *Class. Rev.* XIII, 7.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. frag. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Sic iudicat Meinekius I, 432 sq., sed cf. Patin. *Les Trag. Grecs*, IV<sup>1</sup>, 330.

Sed reliquiis huius perspectis, veniamus ad eos, qui iam fere soli huius aetatis restant, THEOPHILVM et XENARCHVM, tum mox de novae comoediae poetis dicemus. Hic igitur, ut parodias aliquot praetermittam,<sup>1</sup> poetas aequales callidis cum piscatoribus satis lepide comparat: —

(K. 7) οἱ μὲν ποιηταὶ λήρῳς εἰσιν· οὐδὲ ἐν  
 καινὸν γὰρ εὐρίσκουσιν, ἀλλὰ μεταφέρει  
 ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ταῦτ' ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω.  
 τῶν δ' ἰχθυοπωλῶν φιλοσοφώτερον γένος  
 οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ μᾶλλον ἀνόσιον. κτλ. —

ille oratorem quendam frigidum inridet: Ath. 8, 340 d: — Θεόφιλος ἐν Ἰατρῷ ἄμα σκώπτων αὐτοῦ (Καλλιμέδοντος) καὶ τὸ ἐν λόγοις ψυχρόν·

(K. 4) πᾶς δὲ φιλοτίμως πρὸς αὐτὸν τῶν νεανίσκων ἔχει.  
 τέμαχος ἔλαβεν ἐγγέλειον· παρατέθεικε τῷ πατρί.  
 'τευθὶς ἦν χρηστή, πατρίδιον.' 'πῶς ἔχεις πρὸς κάραβον;  
 'ψυχρὸς ἐστίν, ἄπαγε, φησί· ῥητόρων οὐ γεύομαι.'<sup>2</sup>

Sed consideremus aliquando<sup>3</sup> illos novae comoediae principes, nempe Philemonem, Diphilum, Menandrum; quos quidem mox perspicuum erit, — idque, ut videtur, nullius contra opinionem, — pro fragmentorum multitudine exiguum iudiciorum numerum nobis suppeditare. Etenim, ne in praesentia de illis obscurioribus dicam iudiciis, sunt omnino, quae inveni, apud primum illorum quos modo nominavi quinque; apud alterum fortasse quattuor; apud tertium denique, quamquam ad decem omnino fragmenta laudavi, vera et gravia sunt iudicia vix duo. Nec plura vero exspectares, quippe cum Plautus Terentiusque, qui has sibi poetas novae comoediae exemplaria ad imitandum proposita haberent, nihil fere iudici de litteris expresse enuntiarent. °

<sup>1</sup> Cf. fragg. I; 4, v. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Sic scripsit Kockius, quem haud certissimus sequor. — Callimedon certe κάραβος appellabatur; cf. Ath. 14, 614 e.

<sup>3</sup> Hic forsitan de dubiis Simyli cuiusdam fragmentis liceat mentionem facere, quae quamquam comici non esse videntur, perfectam et scribendi et iudicandi rationem praebent. Cf. Saintsbury. *Hist. Crit.* I, 25. Reperiuntur alterum in Stobaei *Floril.* 60, 4, alterum in Theophili Antiocheni opere ad Autolyicum scripto, III, 7, ad fin. (Otto. Corp. Apol. Christ. VIII, 2c8.) Kockius non includit, — cf. eius Vol. II, 444, — Meinekius in praefatione tantummodo, I, xiii–xv, exscribit.



Iam PHILEMON primum et brevitatis veram rationem et Homeri laudes his versibus praeclaris proposuit :

(K. 97) τὸν μὴ λέγοντα τῶν δεόντων μηδὲ ἐν  
μακρὸν νόμιζε, κἂν δὴ εἴπη συλλαβάς,  
τὸν δ' εὖ λέγοντα μὴ νόμιζ' εἶναι μακρόν,  
μηδ' ἂν σφόδρ' εἴπη πολλὰ καὶ πολὺν χρόνον. \*  
τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦδε τὸν Ὅμηρον λαβέ·  
οὗτος γὰρ ἡμῖν μυριάδας ἐπῶν γράφει,  
ἄλλ' οὐδὲ εἰς Ὅμηρον εἶρηκεν μακρόν.

Tum de Euripide haec habemus :

(K. 130) εἰ ταῖς ἀληθείαισιν οἱ τεθνηκότες  
αἴσθησιν εἶχον, ἄνδρες, ὥς φασὶν τινες,  
ἀπηγξάμην ἂν ὥστ' ἰδεῖν Εὐριπίδην.

Quae tamen sententiam poetae ipsius indicare<sup>1</sup> vix credere possim. Ab Euripide sane, cum alios comicos paene omnes,<sup>2</sup> tum Philemonem sermonis elegantis exempla sumpsisse constat, sed haec tam immodica verba alicui Φιλευριτίδῃ in fabula partis agentis aptiora sunt quam poetae comico.<sup>3</sup> Item aemulorum culpa fortasse aliqua Frantzi verbis continetur quae, nonnullis argumentis confirmata, in dissertatione *de com. Att. prologis* inscripta, p. 47, profert. Huius enim secundum coniecturam, Philemon rationem illam et ab aliis et a Menandro usurpatam, qua in prologis fabularum quae prodit persona Nocti aut Aetheri miserias suas ea de causa narrat, ut hoc modo spectatoribus totius fabulae argumentum exponat, omnino spreuit. Id quod, ut opinor, si vere factum est, haud sine iudicio factum est. Spectatores deinceps stupidos sic petit : —

(K. 143) χαλεπὸν γ' ἀκροατῆς ἀσύνετος καθήμενος·  
ὑπὸ γὰρ ἀνοίας οὐχ ἑαυτὸν μέμφεται. —

quibus vero se quoque aliquid laudat. Verborum autem de significatione atque usu haud raro et hic et alii huius aetatis poetae<sup>4</sup> sententias

<sup>1</sup> Nam sic arbitratur Denisius, *Com. Grec.* II, 431.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mahaffi *Hist. of Greek Lit.*<sup>3</sup> I, II, 260; Patini *Les Trag. Grecs*<sup>7</sup>, I, 54.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Patin. *ibid.* IV, 331.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Diphil. frag. 30; Menand. 30, 1022 et frag. in Lex. Sabbait. 18, 16 (*Rhein. Mus.* XLVIII, 588-9); Philippiid. 36; Euphron. 3.

exposuerunt. Bis enim in comoediis verbum βουνόν haud satis Atticum hic culpat: confer Eust. 880, 30 (K. 49): — Αἴλιος Διονύσιος λέγει ὅτι Φιλῆμων ἐπισκώπτει τὸ ὄνομα (βουνόν) ὡς βάρβαρον· λόφον γὰρ καλοῦσιν. ἕτεροι δὲ ὅτι βουνόν Φιλῆμων ἐν Νόθῳ ὡς σύνθητες τίθησιν, ἄλλοθι δὲ ὡς ξενικὸν ἐπισκώπτει. — et haec:

(K. 1142) βουνόν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ καταλαβὼν ἄνω τινά —

B. τίς ἔσθ' ὁ βουνός; ἵνα σαφῶς σου μανθάνω.<sup>1</sup>

Indices autem Antiphanis imprimis usurpare solebat, quippe cum decem eidem vel consimiles sint illius. Paene totidem sunt Diphili similes, ex quo sane alterutrum ab altero mutuatum esse colligamus est necesse. Parodiam semel notavi, frag. 79, v. 1. *Cocalum* autem Aristophanis mutatam iterum edidit hic aut multa saltem ex ea fabula sumpsit: cf. Clem. Al. *Strom.* 6, 2, 26: τὸν Κώκαλον τὸν ποιηθέντα Ἀραρότι τῷ Ἀριστοφάνους υἱῷ Φιλῆμων ὁ κωμικὸς ὑπαλλάξας ἐν Ὑποβολμαίῳ ἐκωμῶδησεν.

Nunc alterum trium poetarum quos supra commemoravi, DIPHILVM, persequamur. Qui Euripidem, sicut Philemon, videtur quidem laudare, re vera tamen, ut opinor, parasiti alicuius persona ludicre inridet:

(K. 60) εὐ γ' ὁ κατάχρυσος εἶπε πόλλ' Εὐριπίδης·

‘νικᾷ δὲ χρεῖα μ' ἢ ταλαίπωρός τέ μου  
γαστήρ.’ κτλ.

Haec autem opinio propterea probabilior est quia alio praeterea loco sic eundem inludit: Ath. 6, 247 a b: Δίφιλος . . . Εὐριπίδου μνησθεῖς (κύβος δὲ τις οὕτως καλεῖται Εὐριπίδης) παίζων καὶ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ ὄνομα ἅμα καὶ περὶ παρασίτων τάδε λέγει (K. 73, vv. 3 sqq.):

πῶς ἂν βάλοιμ' Εὐριπίδην; B. οὐκ ἂν ποτε

Εὐριπίδης γυναῖκα σώσει'. οὐκ ὄρᾳς<sup>2</sup>

ἐν ταῖς τραγωδίαισιν αὐτὰς ὡς στυγεῖ;

τοὺς δὲ παρασίτους ἠγάπα. λέγει γέ τοι

‘ἀνὴρ γὰρ ὅστις εὐ βίον κεκτημένος

μὴ τοῦλάχιστον τρεῖς ἀσυμβόλους τρέφει,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rutherford. *New Phrynichus*, CCCXXXIII.

<sup>2</sup> Verbum ὄρᾳς documento esse hoc iudicium ad fabulas potius in scaena perspectas quam lectorum in manibus perscriptas pertinere monet Roemer, *Abhandl. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.* XXII, 50. Praeterea cf. eiusdem verba *ibid.*, pp. 65 sqq.

ἄλοιτο, νόστου μή ποτ' εἰς πάτραν τυχών.<sup>3</sup>

A. πόθεν ἐστὶ ταῦτα, πρὸς θεῶν; A. τί δέ σοι μέλει;  
οὐ γὰρ τὸ δρᾶμα, τὸν δὲ νοῦν σκοπούμεθα.

Accedit quod paratragoedia usus illam Antiphanis querimoniam de meliore tragicorum fortuna, supra, p. 199, frag. 191, prolatam, repetit :

(K. 30) ὦ τόνδ' ἐποπτεύουσα καὶ κεκτημένη  
Βραυρῶνος ἱεροῦ θεοφιλέστατον τόπον,  
Λητοῦς Διὸς τε τοξόδαμνε παρθένε,  
ὥς οἱ τραγωδοὶ φασιν, οἷς ἐξουσία  
ἔστιν λέγειν ἅπαντα καὶ ποιεῖν μόνοις.<sup>1</sup>

*Sappho* vero huius fabulam potius ad amores quam ad litteras pertinuisse supra, p. 187, dictum est; conferre autem licet Ath. 13, 599 d (= K. 70): καὶ γὰρ Δίφιλος ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς πεποίηκεν ἐν Σαπφοῖ δράματι Σαπφοῦς ἔραστὰς Ἀρχίλοχον καὶ Ἰππώνακτα. Sed etiam inter eiusmodi res pauca carminum iudicia introducta sint fere necesse est. Reliquum est unum fragmentum quo Demosthenem significari bene suspicatur Kockius, II, 577 :

(K. 122) μόνος γὰρ ἦν λέγων  
ἄκουσμα κᾶκράμα.

Quod autem ad indices attinet, ne Philemonis iterum (cf. supra, p. 216) mentionem faciam, Antiphanem atque Alexidem imitabatur. Accedit quod Anaxandridis versum quendam fortasse iteravit,<sup>2</sup> et denique duas suas fabulas, *Συνωρίδα* et *Αἰρησιτεΐχη*,<sup>3</sup> fortasse etiam duas alienas, Nicostrati *Ἐκάτην* et Philemonis *Σικελικόν*,<sup>4</sup> iterum edidit.

MENANDRI, ut ad eum nunc veniamus, unum de Carcino superest iudicium quo, si Meinekium, I, 510-511, sequimur, obscuri eius aliorumque tragicorum versus culpari videntur: — Photius (K. 525): Καρκίνου ποιήματα· Μένανδρος Ψευδρακλεῖ, αἰνιγματώδη. ὁ γὰρ Καρκίνος Ὀρέστην . . . ἀναγκαζόμενον ὁμολογῆσαι ὅτι ἐμητροκτόνησεν ἐποίησε δι' αἰνιγμάτων ἀποκρινόμενον. — unum de huius aequalibus: Plut. *Mor.* 19 a: ὁ Μένανδρος ἐν τῷ προλόγῳ τῆς *Θαΐδος* πεποίηκεν

Martialem, 9, 11, 13 sqq., haec imitatum esse censet Crusius, *Philol.* XLVI, 630.

Nam illius frag. 78 = huius 136.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ath. 6, 247 c; II, 496 f-497 a.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Meinek. I, 453; Kock. II, 498. Temporis certe ratio obscura est.

(K. 217) ἔμοι μὲν οὖν ἄειδε τοιαύτην, θεά,  
θρασεΐαν, ὠραΐαν δὲ καὶ πιθανὴν ἄμα,  
ἀδικοῦσαν, ἀποκλήρουσαν, αἰτοῦσαν πυκνά,  
μηδενὸς ἐρῶσαν, προσποιουμένην δ' αἰεί.

Cum enim alii, praesertim Philemon, bonas depinxerant meretrices aliquas, — id quod ex Ath. 13, 594 d, colligi potest, — Frantzio, *de com. Att. prol.* 68, haud sine causa videtur Menander eos his in versibus culpasse. Quod si verum est, simile est hoc iudicium Euripidis Aeschylum Sophoclemque culpantis, — de qua re iam in initio opusculi dixi. Simile est autem huic fragmento in quo Meinekius, IV, 177 et 297, conlatis locibus Ter. *Phorm.* 19, *Eun.* 6, poetam ipsum per prologum aemulorum criminibus respondentem dicere iudicat :

(K. 358) ὡς οὐχ ὑπάρχων, ἀλλὰ τιμωρούμενος.

His versibus nonnihil laudantur nescio qui viri, οἱ πάλοι σοφώτατοι :

(K. 559, vv. 3-4) λέγουσι δ' αὐτὸν (sc. λόγον) οἱ πάλοι σοφώτατοι  
ἀστέιον εἶναι φάρμακον.

Tria autem leviora sunt iudicia, quibus personas alias qui parum recte in fabulis loqui videbantur aliae reprehendebant : —

(K. 30) οἱ δ' ἀρπάσαντες τοὺς κάδους τοὺς στρόγγυλους  
ὔδρευον ἀνδρείοτατα κηπουροὶ πάλιν.

B. 'ἦντλον' λέγειν δεῖ καὶ 'κάδους' οὐ δεῖ λέγειν,  
ἀλλ' 'ἀντλιαντλητήρας.'

Poll. 1, 79 (K. 1022) : κοιτών· εἰ γὰρ καὶ Μένανδρος αὐτὸ βαρβαρικὸν οἶεται, ἀλλ' Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ κωμωδοδιδάσκαλος (fr. 6) τὰ τοιαῦτα πιστότερος αὐτοῦ κτλ.

Lex. Sabbait. 18, 16 : A. . . . οὐκ ἔμβαρως.

B. τί ἔμβαρως; ἀρχαῖσμός οὗτος ῥημάτων.<sup>1</sup> —

unum fortasse de arte poetica : —

(K. 622) τὰπίθανον ἰσχὸν τῆς ἀληθείας ἔχει  
ἐνίοτε μεῖζω καὶ πιθανωτέραν ὄχλω,

quo vero verbis dissimilibus usus sententiam efficit comicus illius Aristoteleae similem, *Poet.* 1460 a, 26, προαιρείσθαι τε δεῖ ἀδύνατα εἰκότα

<sup>1</sup> Sic emendavit Kockius, *Rhein. Mus.* XLVIII, 589; cf. Blaydes. *Advers.* II, 347; Philemon. 49, 142.

μᾶλλον ἢ δυνατὰ ἀπίθανα. Vnum autem est iudicium in quo nescio quis suadendi rationem exponit haud aliter quam Quintilianus, 1, 2, 30, "Maxima," inquit, "pars eloquentiae constat animo":

(K. 472, vv. 3 sqq.) τούτῳ λαλήσας ἡμέρας συμκρὸν μέρος  
 εὖνους ἐγὼ νῦν εἰμι. 'πειστικὸν λόγος'  
 πρὸς τοῦτ' ἂν εἴποι τις μάλιστα τῶν σοφῶν.  
 τί οὖν ἐτέρους λαλοῦντας εὖ βδελύττομαι;  
 τρόπος ἔσθ' ὁ πείθων τοῦ λέγοντος, οὐ λόγος.  
 τὸ γὰρ λέγειν εὖ δεινὸν ἐστὶν εἰ φέροι  
 βλάβην τινά.

Ac postremo et spectatoribus blanditur, —

(K. 11) θεός ἐστι τοῖς χρηστοῖς αἰὲ  
 ὁ νοῦς γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὦ σοφώτατοι, —

et sese quasi laudat cum eisdem hoc imperat:

(K. 887) ἐξάραντες (sc. τὰς χεῖρας) ἐπικροτήσατε.

Nam quamvis trita usitataque postea haec sint facta et mera verba, hoc tempore veram forsitan aliquam significationem habuerint.

Indices autem, ut ceteri huius aetatis poetae, sic Menander, multos alii a poetis mutuabatur, sed praecipue ab Alexide, Antiphane; complures autem sunt ei cum Philemone Diphiloque communes. At ceteris artis in partibus Euripidem est imitatus; nam illum hic, ut ait Quintilianus, 10, 1, 69, "admiratus maxime est, ut saepe testatur, et secutus quamquam in opere diverso." Nec desunt apud huius reliquias et multi illius versus integri et multi paulum mutati.<sup>1</sup> E quibus nonnulli fortasse potius parodiae quam imitationis exempla appellandi sunt, sed hoc apud Menandrum minus idcirco est credibile quod ea hic argumenta, ut Graecis vocabulis utar, μυθικά et πολιτικά, quibus parodia maxime est apta, plerumque profecto vitabat. Sed praeterea alios poetas paulo rarius imitatus est.<sup>2</sup> Olim autem duo libri erant hac de re scripti, et

<sup>1</sup> Cf. fragg. 202, 1; 218; 225; 263; 348, 1; 366; 414; 657; 669; 713; 801; 852; 1109; 1112; fortasse 1106, 1122; et sine dubio alia quoque talia inveniri possunt. Cf. locum Meinek. *Quaest. Menandr.* 42 sq. ap. Kock. III, 18, laudatum.

<sup>2</sup> Frag. 845 = Antiphanis 288; 758 = Soph. 78 N. — Fortasse hic item enumeranda sunt frag. 760 et ἀμφισβητήσιμα multa, 1088, 1090, 1093, 1094 aliaque. Vita Aristophanis xxviii, 69 sqq., significari Menandrum Aristophanem vere imitatum esse non

παράλληλοι Μενάνδρου τε καὶ ἀφ' ὧν ἔκλεψεν ἐκλογαί, quem Aristophanes grammaticus ille, et *περὶ τῶν οὐκ ἰδίων Μενάνδρου* liber quem Latinus quidam scripsit.<sup>1</sup> Ad haec bis quod scio versus suos iteravit,<sup>2</sup> et fabulas nonnumquam alienas retractavit, quarum vero in numero habendae sunt Ἐπικλήρος, Οἰωνιστής Antiphanis,<sup>3</sup> fortasse Θεσαυρός Philemonis.<sup>4</sup> *Andriae* autem eius et *Perinthiae* multa erant communia, ut ait Terentius in sua *Andria* (vv. 9 sqq.) :<sup>5</sup>

Menander fecit Andriam et Perinthiam.  
qui utramvis recte norit, ambas noverit :  
ita non dissimili sunt argumento, et tamen  
dissimili oratione sunt factae ac stilo.

Restant nunc ea fragmenta sola quae sunt minorum aliquot poetarum et quae, scriptore incerto, ἀδέσποτα vocantur. Ad ea igitur ingrediamur et omnium comicorum tractatas aliquando concludamus reliquias.

Quo in numero APOLLODORVM primum nomino. Hic enim Homeri illum navium κατάλογον fere omnium rerum longissimum gravissimumque ratus sic scripsit :

(K. 13, vv. 15 sqq.) ἐπεὶ κατὰ μέρος τὰς πόλεις, ὧ φίλε, θεῶ,  
ὑπὸ Λαισποδιῶν γάρ εἰσιν ἀνατετραμμένοι,  
σκόπει· νεῶν δὲ κατάλογον δόξεις μ' ἐρεῖν.<sup>6</sup>

idem, ut Cato, oratorem arbitratus virum esse bonum, haec praecipit :

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puto, sed tantum eiusmodi fabulas usurpasse, φθορὰν καὶ ἀναγνωρισμὸν continentes, quae ibi commemorantur. — De Olivieri sententia, *Riv. di Fil.* XXIX, 567 sqq., Homeri quoque parodiis Menandrum usum esse, quam contra Scherransium, *De poetarum com. Att. studiis Homericis*, 50, proposuit, v. Holzinger. *Burs. Jahresb.* CXVI, 305-6.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Euseb. *Praef. Ev.* 10, 3, p. 465 d; Meinek. *Menand. et Philem. rel.* xxxiii. Has vero disputationes ut aliae eius generis quae in Sophoclem, in Vergilium, in Miltonem nostrum, in alios sunt scriptae, haud multum praeter aliquot imitationis exempla, sive de industria sive temere ac fortuito facta, ostendisse puto.

<sup>2</sup> Frag. 136 = 476; 72 = 143.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Harp. 226, 8 (Dind.); Ath. 9, 373 c; Euseb. loc. laud.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Kock. II, 486; Philemonis frag. 33 et Menandri frag. 239.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. autem Donati adn. ad vv. 10, 13; Kock. III, 14.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Scherrans. *De poetarum com. Att. studiis Homericis*, 51.

(*ib.*, vv. 1-4) δει τὸν ἀκροατὴν καὶ συνετὸν ὄντως κριτὴν  
 πρὸ τῶν λεγομένων<sup>1</sup> τὸν βίον διασκοπεῖν,  
 ποῖός τις ὁ λέγων καὶ πόθεν, καὶ τὴν ἀκμὴν  
 ἐκ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ πρὸς τί καταθέμενος.

Tum PHILIPIDES Euripidis versum commemorat: —

(K. 15) ὅταν ἀτυχεῖν σοι συμπέσῃ τι, δέσποτα,  
 Εὐριπίδου μνήσθητι, καὶ ῥάων ἔσει.  
 ‘οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις πάντ’ ἀνὴρ εὐδαιμονεῖ.’  
 εἶναι δ’ ὑπόλαβε καὶ σὲ τῶν πολλῶν ἕνα. —

sed nihil his laudis significari puto, quippe cum huic qui praeterea fabulam *Φιλευριπίδην*, Axionici ut videtur similem, scripsit,<sup>2</sup> haud congruens talis sit laus. Idem vero comoediam defendit contra oratorum criminationes, ac Demetri Stratoclisque facinoribus nefariis commemoratis inquit:

(K. 25, v. 7) ταῦτα καταλείει δῆμον, οὐ κωμωδία, —

id tamen quod non tantum ad litteras quantum ad mores spectat. Barbarum autem verbum quoddam, sicut Philemon aliique (cf. supra, pp. 216, 218), inridet: Photius (K. 36): κοράσιον· παιδικάριον· κοράσιον δ’ οὐ λέγεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ κεκωμώδηκεν Φιλιππίδης ὡς ξενικόν. Cf. Schol. B. *Il.* 20, 404: (κοράσιον) μᾶλλον ἔστι Μακεδονικόν.

Quod genus iudicii apud *EVPHRONEM* quoque repertum est: Ath. 11, 503a: ὃν ἡμεῖς ψυγέα καλοῦμεν, ψυκτηρίαν τινὲς ὀνομάζουσιν· τοὺς δ’ Ἀττικοὺς καὶ κωμωδεῖν τὸν ψυγέα ὡς ξενικὸν ὄνομα. Εὐφρων ἐν Ἀποδιούσῃ·

(K. 3) A. ἐπὰν δὲ καλέσῃ ψυγέα τὸν ψυκτηρίαν,  
 τὸ τευτλίον δὲ σεῦτλα, φακίαν τὴν φακῆν,  
 τί δει ποιεῖν; σὺ γὰρ εἶπον. B. ὡσπερ χρυσίον  
 φωνῆς ἀπότισον, Πυργόθεμι, καταλλαγήν.

Hic autem *Musas* fabulam scripsit, sed similior videtur Epicharmi fuisse eiusdem nominis comoediae quam Phrynichi.<sup>3</sup> Nec alia eius iudicia

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kaibel. *Herm.* XXVIII, 48; Kock. *Rhein. Mus.* XLIX, 162.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Egger. *Hist. Crit.*<sup>2</sup>, 71; Meinek. I, 341.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. frag. 8 (K. III, p. 321).

inveni. Nihil enim attinet comparationem illam poetae cum coquo afferre: —

(K. II, vv. 15–16) οὐδὲν ὁ μάγειρος τοῦ ποιητοῦ διαφέρει·  
ὁ νοῦς γάρ ἐστιν ἑκατέρῳ τούτων τέχνη.<sup>1</sup> —

nisi vero ea monstratur huius aetatis viros magis cenis quam libris sese dedidisse.

BATON autem simili ratione de libris non poetarum sed coquorum mentionem facit:

(K. 4) εἴ γ', ὦ Σιβύνη, τὰς νύκτας οὐ καθέδομεν,  
οὐδ' ἀνατετράμμεθ', ἀλλὰ κάεται λύχνος,  
καὶ βιβλίον ἐν ταῖς χερσίν, καὶ φροντίζομεν  
τί Σόφων καταλέλοιπ' ἢ τί Σημωνακτίδης  
ὁ Χίος, ἢ Τυνδάριχος ὁ Σικυώνιος,  
ἢ Ζωπυρίνος. κτλ.<sup>2</sup>

Accedit quod duarum ex quattuor eius fabulis indices eidem sunt qui Philemonis duarum.

Deinceps vero nominandus est ΕΡΙΝΙΚΥΣ qui, ut Mnesiptolemi historiam levem atque absurdam perstringeret, fabulam totam scripsit cui multum veri iudici fuisse apparet: Ath. 10, 432 b: ἔπινον οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ἄλφιστα ἐπιβάλλοντες τῷ οἴνῳ. . . . Ἐρίνικος γοῦν, Μνησιπτολέμου ἀνάγνωσιν ποιησαμένου τῶν ιστοριῶν ἐν αἷς ἐγγράπτῳ ὡς Σέλευκος ἐπηλφίτωσε, γράψας δρᾶμα Μνησιπτόλεμον, καὶ κωμῳδῶν αὐτὸν καὶ περὶ τῆς πόσεως ταῖς ἐκείνου χρώμενος φωναῖς ἐποίησε λέγοντα (K. 1)·

ἐπ' ἀλφίτου πίνοντα τοῦ θέρους ποτὲ  
ἰδὼν Σέλευκον ἠδέως τὸν βασιλέα  
ἔγραψα, καὶ παρέδειξα τοῖς πολλοῖς ὅτι,  
κἂν τὸ τυχὸν ἢ πραγμάτιον ἢ σφόδρ' εὐτελές,  
σεμνὸν δύναται τοῦθ' ἢ δύναμις ἢ μὴ ποιεῖν.  
' γέροντα Θάσιον τόν τε γῆς ἀπ' Ἀθίδος  
ἔσμον μελίσσης τῆς ἀκραχόλου γλυκὴν  
συγκυρκανήσας ἐν σκύφῳ χυτῆς λίθου,  
Δήμητρος ἀκτῆ πᾶν γεφυρώσας ὑγρὸν  
κατησίμωσε πῶμα, καύματος λύσιν.'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Machonis frag. 1, v. 4 (K. III, p. 324).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ellis. *Am. Jour. Phil.* XI, 142.



Denique ut PHOENICIDIS Ποιητήν, PARAMONI Χορηγῶντα, DIOXIPPI Ἰστοριογράφον, ΒΙΟΤΤΙ Ποιητήν praetermittamus, — quae fabulae, tametsi litteras redolere videntur, vix unum iam praebent fragmentum, — neu rerum complurium et levium, ubi alios imitati sunt alii parvi momenti poetae, mentionem faciamus, restant nobis quinque poetae, quorum vero de quattuor, THEOGNETO et ALEXANDRO et NICOLAO et NICOMACHO,<sup>1</sup> hoc unum dicendum est, eos nonnumquam alios scriptores, et praecipue Aristophanem, Euripidem, Philoxenumque, qui in deliciis erant huius aetatis poetis,<sup>2</sup> imitatos esse.<sup>3</sup> Quintus autem poeta, STRATON, longissimum nobis suppeditat fragmentum quo eos exagitat qui verbis Homericis eruditionis ostendendae causa usi sint: Ath. 9, 382 b c: *περὶ οὗ (μαγείρου) τοιαῦτα λέγει ὁ μεμισθωμένος*·

- (K. I) Σφίγγ' ἄρρεν', οὐ μάγειρον, εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν  
 εἴληφ'· ἀπλῶς γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐν μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς  
 ὦν ἂν λέγῃ συνήμι. καινὰ ῥήματα  
 πεπορισμένοι πάρεστιν· ὡς εἰσηῆθε γάρ,  
 5 εὐθύς μ' ἐπρωῶτησε προσβλέψας μέγα,  
 'πόσους κέκληκας μέροπας<sup>4</sup> ἐπὶ δειπνον;' λέγε.

Alia multa eiusdem generis sequuntur; tum ὁ μεμισθωμένος,

- 25 'ἀγροικότερός εἰμ', ὥσθ' ἀπλῶς μοι διαλέγον.'  
 'Ὅμηρον οὐκ οἶδας λέγοντα;' 'καὶ μάλα  
 ἐξῆν ὃ βούλοισ' ὃ μάγειρ', αὐτῷ λέγειν.  
 ἀλλὰ τί πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοῦτο, πρὸς τῆς Ἑστίας;'  
 'κατ' ἐκείνον ἤδη πρόσεχε καὶ τὰ λοιπά μοι.'  
 30 'Ὅμηρικῶς γὰρ διανοεῖ μ' ἀπολλύναι;'  
 'οὕτω λαλεῖν εἴωθα.' 'μὴ τοίνυν λάλει  
 'οὕτω παρ' ἐμοί γ' ὦν.'

Iterum alia similia, quae vero huic tam dubia incognitaque sunt

ὥστε με, inquit,

- 43 τῶν τοῦ Φιλητᾶ λαμβάνοντα βιβλίων  
 σκοπεῖν ἕκαστα τί δύναται τῶν ῥημάτων· κτλ.,

<sup>1</sup> Hunc Pherecratis Μεταλλῆς quoque retractasse Meineki est opinio, II, 308–9.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kock. II, 177, ad frag. 37; III, 600, ad frag. 1173.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Theognet. I, v. 6; Alexandr. I, et Kocki adn.; 8; Nicol. I, vv. 2, 4, 44; Nicomach. 3, v. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Liddell. et Scott. *Lex.* s. v. *μέροψ*.

quibus ultimis vero verbis laudem haud parvam Philetæ grammaticæ libris dari videtur. Eiusdem Stratonis et Philemonis aliquot sunt versus simillimi;<sup>1</sup> uter tamen ab utro mutuatus sit nescio.

Iam fragmentorum ἀδεσποτῶν, quæ quidem sola restant, numerus est magnus, nec pauca sunt certe quæ nobis sunt inspicienda. Sed primum, ut brevi prooemio utar, cum alia fragmenta, ut supra dixi, sæpe dubia sint, tum hæc multo magis. Nam horum, præter usitatas difficultates quas semper crebras in hac quaestione habemus, ignoramus et qui fuerint scriptores et qua ætate sint scripta; sæpe autem ne comici quidem constat ea esse. Ergo maxime in his cavere oportet, ne coniecturas incertas pro certis habeamus. Multa denique eorum quæ prolaturus sum parvum iudici in sese continere mihi conscius sum.

Et primum vero hæc inveni quibus Archilochus inridetur:

(Adesp. 748 K.) Ἀρχίλοχον πατεῖς.

Cf. Eust. 1684, 47: (Ἀρχίλοχος ἦν) δεινὸς ὑβρίζειν· ὅθεν καὶ παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν οὕτω σκώπτειν εὐφυνῶν τό· Ἀρχίλοχον πεπάτηκας, ὡς εἶπαι· σκορπίον ἢ ὄφιν ἢ ἀκανθαν. Tum, ut ad tragicos veniamus, quoddam Phrynichi carmen his verbis laudari videtur:<sup>2</sup>

(Adesp. 1317 K.) γλυκερῶ Σιδωνίῳ.

Cf. Hesych. δρᾶμα δέ ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ τῆς θυμέλης (parodi, Meinek.) ἄρχεται οὕτως· Σιδωνίον ἄστει λιπόντες καὶ δροσερὰν Ἄραδον· διαβεβόητο δὲ τὸ μέλος τοῦτο. Euripides bis, vel etiam ter, culpatur: Schol. Eur. *Orest.* 234: μεταβολὴ πάντων γλυκῦ· . . . κεκωμώδηται δὲ ὁ στίχος. . . φησὶ γοῦν ὁ κωμικός

(Adesp. 115 K.) ὁ πρῶτος εἰπὼν· μεταβολὴ πάντων γλυκῦ, οὐχ ὑγίαινε, δέσποτ'. ἐκ μὲν γὰρ κόπου γλυκεῖ ἀνάπαυσις, ἐξ ἀλουσίας δ' ὕδωρ, καὶ τᾶλλα τοιαῦτ'. ἂν δέη δ' ἐκ πλουσιῶν πτωχὸν γενέσθαι, μεταβολὴ μὲν, ἡδὺ δ' οὐ. ὥστ' οὐχὶ πάντων ἐστὶ μεταβολὴ γλυκῦ.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Straton. 1, 1-4 = Philemon. 123; sed cf. Meinek. I, 428.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Phryn. fragg. 10, 11 N.; Meinek. IV, 632, CXIII.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Valckenaer. *Diatribæ in Eur. fragg.*, 229 sq.; Peters. *Ar. iudicium de summis tragicis*, 71.

Schol. Eur. *Or.* 742: οὐκ ἐκείνος, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη κείνον ἐνθάδ' ἤγαγεν] κωμωδεῖται δὲ ὁ στίχος διὰ τὴν ταυτότητα. (Adesp. 826 K.) Aristid. 46, 307, 10: . . . τῆς τραγικῆς βοῆς τῶν ἱματίων τῶν ἠπημένων οὐδὲν διαφέροντες, ubi Schol. III, 728, 30 D. πολυεῖδὲς πεποιήται δρᾶμα Εὐριπίδης (Πολύειδος et Εὐριπίδη Nauck.), ἐν ᾧ βῶν τρίχρωμον ποιεῖ εὐρησθαι. (Adesp. 1332 K.)<sup>1</sup> Illa tamen priora captiosa haud magni puto ad rem nostram pertinere; in altero fragmento verum inest Euripideae dicendi rationis iudicium; et in tertio aliud fortasse in eundem factum adversum latet iudicium. Agathonis apud Schol. Ar. *Thesm.* 98 sic mentio fit: — (Adesp. 825 K.) τοιοῦτον (sc. οἶον Ἀριστοφάνης) τὸν Ἀγάθωνα καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι κωμωδοῦσιν, — sed cum Aristophanes illo in loco effeminatos propter mores formamque cum meretrice quadam Cyrene poetam tragicum comparaverit, parvi forsitan haec sint momenti. Paulo tamen infra idem ille versus eius molles perstringebat, qui hic quoque aliqua ex parte significari possunt. In his autem versibus tragici cuncti tanguntur: —

(Adesp. 472 K.) ἅπαντ' ἐκείνα μέστ' ἂν ἦν τραγωδίας.

(Adesp. 553 K.) ἡ χρὴ τραγωδεῖν πάντας ἡ μελαγχολᾶν, —

ex quibus certe colligere possumus, quamvis vera sint ea quae Wilamowitzius, *Eur. Herakles*, I<sup>1</sup>, 112, confirmet, minime tragoediam ante finem belli Peloponnesiaci vere tragicam, sicut est hodie, fuisse, haud tamen multo postea eiusmodi fere semper eam habitam esse. In hoc alio versu poeta nescio quis petitur, cuius, dum fabula agitur, machina theatralis confracta esse videtur:

(Adesp. 750 K.) κράδης ῥαγείσης

[Plut.] *Proverb.* 2, 16: κράδη . . . ἡ ἀγκυρίς, ἀφ' ἧς οἱ ὑποκριταὶ ἐν ταῖς τραγικαῖς σκηναῖς ἐξαρτῶνται, θεοῦ μιμούμενοι ἐπιφάνειαν κτλ.<sup>2</sup> Myllus, nomen illud obscurum, ut a Cratino (frag. 89) sic ab alio nescio quo commemoratus est: (Adesp. 1085 K.) Phot. Μύλλος (cod. Δύλλος)· ποιητῆς ἐπὶ μωρία κωμωδούμενος.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kocki adn. III, 632.

<sup>2</sup> His enim verbis credendum est, non ut Liddellius et Scottus, s. v. κράδη, loco Poll. 4, 128; cf. Haigh. *Attic Theatre*,<sup>2</sup> 237. Cur autem hic usurpatum sit verbum κράδη, docet Crusius, *Philol.* XLVIII, 698.

Comicorum fortasse esse dicebatur

(Adesp. 499 K.) τὸ προπηλακίζειν παραπέτασμα ταῖς κλοπαῖς.

Cf. Hesych. ἀνεκαλαμῆσατο· ἀνεθέρισεν (Adesp. 933 K.).<sup>1</sup> Hoc item in aliquem poetam potest esse scriptum :

(Adesp. 650 b, K. III, p. 755) λιμῶδες γὰρ ὄντως ἢ ραψωδία.

Ad musicos spectat unum fragmentum : —

(Adesp. 1254 K.) μέλη πάραυλα κάκρότητα κύμβαλα, —

ad oratores rhetoricosque haec :

(Adesp. 294 K.) οὐριστικὸς δ' Εὐβουλίδης ὁ κερατῖνας ἐρωτῶν  
καὶ ψευδαλαζόσιν λόγους τοὺς ῥήτορας κυρίττων  
ἐπήλθ' ἔχων Δημοσθένους τὴν ῥωποπερπερήθραν.

Eidem autem verbis apud Libanium Lucianumque solutis, quae olim, ut iudicat Kockius, comoediarum erant, peti videntur : Liban. π. δουλείας, II, 84, 18 (Reisk.) : (οἱ δημηγόροι) λόγοις κεκαλλιεπημένοις | ἄγοσιν ὑμᾶς ὥσπερ (ὥσπερ) βροσκήματα. (Adesp. 1520 K.)<sup>2</sup> Luc. *Tim.* 37 : ΤΙΜΩΝ (πρὸς Πλοῦτον). λέγε· | μὴ μακρά (add. γε) μέντοι, μηδὲ μετὰ προοιμίων, | ὥσπερ οὐπίτριπτοι ῥήτορες. (Adesp. 1437 K.) Luc. *Rhetor. graec.* II : εὐρήσεις . . . πάγκαλον ἄνδρα κτλ. . . . τοῦτω τοῖνων προσελθὼν καὶ παραδοὺς σαντὸν αὐτίκα μάλα (fortasse ταχὺ) | ῥήτωρ καὶ περίβλεπτος (περίβλεπτός τε) καὶ ὡς ὀνομάζει αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις : . . . καταστήσει (ἔσει) |, τὰ τέτριππ' ἐλαύνων τοῦ λόγου. | διδάξεται γάρ σε παραλαβὼν τὰ πρῶτα μὲν ἐκείνα. (Adesp. 1467 K.) *Ibid.* 22 : σιωπησάντων ἀπάντων ξένον τινὰ ἔπαινον ἐπειπεῖν τὰς ἀκοὰς τῶν παρόντων ἐπιστρέφοντα καὶ ἐνοχλήσοντα, ὡς ναυτιᾶν ἅπαντας ἐπὶ τῷ φορτικῷ | τῶν ὀνομάτων. (Adesp. 1469 K.) Fortasse autem commemorare oportet frag. 432 in Grenfelli et Hunti *Oxyrhynch. Papyr.* III, pp. 74 et 69, — ibi enim persona videtur esse 'Ρ]ητορικ(ός) sive ῥ]ητορικ(ός), — et hoc quoque :

(Adesp. 627 K.) . . . ἀγροίκου μὴ καταφρόνει ῥήτορος,

cui tamen, si cum Weilo, *Rev. d. Études Grec.* I, 388, cum Menandri

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kocki adn., III, p. 568.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. autem frag. adesp. 1464, quod tamen ad oratores magis rem publicam administrantes quam orationes habentes spectat.

frag. 97 coniungas, minus inest iudici. De philosophis vero confer haec : Numenius Euseb. *Praep. ev.* 14, 6, 14 (p. 733 c) : ἡ Μοῦσα γὰρ αὐτοῖς (τοῖς Στωικοῖς) οὐδὲ τότε ἦν φιλόλογος . . . οὐδ' ἐργάτις χαρίτων, ὑφ' ὧν ὁ Ἀρκεσίλαος τὰ μὲν περικροῦον, τὰ δ' ὑποτέμνων, ἄλλα δὲ ὑποσκελίζων (add. τάχα) κατεγλωττίζετο αὐτοὺς καὶ πιθανὸς ἦν. κτλ. (Adesp. 1506 K.)

Denique duo sunt genera iudiciorum, quorum alterum vel ad sermonem alicuius in fabula ipsa partis agentis pertinet vel ad poetae alicuius oratorisve verba mendose scripta : Diogenian. 3, 41 : ἀμαξίαία ῥήματα· μεγάλα κομπάσματα. (Adesp. 836 K.) Bekk. *An.* 29, 2 : ἀπάτητος ἀρχή· οἶον καινή· καὶ ἀπάτητος λόγος καὶ διάνοια. καὶ ἀπάτητον πρᾶγμα. (Adesp. 940 K.) Id. *ib.* 65, 15 : τυντλώδης καὶ ληρώδης λόγος· οἶον ὁ πεπατημένος καὶ κοινός· τύντλος γὰρ ὁ πεπατημένος πηλός. (Adesp. 909 K.) Id. *ib.* 20, 30 : ἀμήρυτοι λόγοι· οἱ ἀνήρυτοι καὶ ἄπαστοι καὶ μηδὲν πέρας ἔχοντες. μηρύεσθαι γὰρ ἔστι τὸ ἔρια κατάγειν ἢ ἐξ ἀτράκτου ἢ τινος ἄλλου. (Adesp. 837 K.)

(Adesp. 503 K.) παίδων γὰρ ἔστι ταῦτα μυθολογήματα.

Paroem. (Cohn.) 42, 15 : ἀπόλογος Ἀλκίνοῦ· ἐπὶ τῶν φλυάρων καὶ μακρολόγων. (Adesp. 743 b, K. III, p. 755) Bekk. *An.* 10, 28 : ἀποφέρη πλέων· οἶον παραφέρη καὶ παρασύρη, διὰ τοῦ ἦ. τίθεται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀμαρτάνεις καὶ οὐδὲν πάγιον λέγεις. (Adesp. 1319 K.) Alterum autem haud parvum genus ad artem poeticam scaenicamve spectat :

(Adesp. 403 K.) τὸ μὲν λέγειν βροτοῖς  
ἢ φύσις ἔδωκε, τὸ δὲ καλῶς λέγειν τέχνη.

Luc. *de parasit.* 19 : ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἡ ποιητικὴ κατὰ Σωκράτη καὶ αὕτη (ἢ παρασιτικὴ) θεία τινὲ μοίρα (add. θαυμασίως) παραγίνεται. (Adesp. 1457 K.) Bekk. *An.* 32, 22 : γλαφυρὰ κωμῳδία· ἢ εὐτράπελος καὶ εὐρυθμος καὶ χάριτος μετέχουσα μεθ' ἡδονῆς. (Adesp. 856 K.)

(Adesp. 613 K.) ἤδη δὲ λέξω τὸν λόγον τοῦ δράματος.<sup>1</sup>

(Lex. Sabbait. 2, 13)<sup>2</sup>

ἄγε δὴ κ' ἀνδρείως ὥσπερ πύκτης ἀφίδρωσον καὶ πιτύλευσον  
τὴν ῥῆσιν ὄλην καὶ κίνησον τὸ θέατρον.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Richards. *Class. Rev.* XIV, 392.

<sup>2</sup> V. Kock. *Rhein. Mus.* XLVIII, 590, 30; Blaydes. *Advers.* II, 348, 30.

(Adesp. 1330 K.) ἄλλ' ὅσπερ δείπνου γλαφυροῦ ποικίλην εὐωχίαν  
τὸν ποιητὴν δεῖ παρέχειν τοῖς θεαταῖς τὸν σοφόν,  
ἔν' ἅπῃ τις τοῦτο φαγὼν καὶ πίων, ὅπερ λαβίων  
χαίρει τις, καὶ σκενασία μὴ μ' ἢ τῆς μουσικῆς.

(Adesp. 864 K.) θάλαττα κοίλη

Cf. Eust. 1472, 5: ὅτι τὰ τοιαῦτα θέατρα θάλασσα κοίλη ἐλέγοντο  
Πανσανίας δηλοῖ. Poll. I, 108: κοίλη θάλαττα . . . τραχυνομένη.<sup>1</sup>

(Adesp. 518 K.) αἰσχρὸν δὲ κρίνειν τὰ καλὰ τῶν πολλῶν ψόφω.

Atque haec quidem hactenus. Nam tot iudicia apud comicos Graecos  
repperi, nec alia vero, quod scio, ibi supersunt.

Apparet sane ex his quae iam consideravimus artem litteras iudicandi,  
fere ab initio comoediae incipientem et mox a comicis antiquae aetatis  
perfectam, minime levem habitam esse. Quare nemo certe negare  
debet plurima Graecis in comoediis contineri litterarum iudicia; hoc  
enim paene incredibile nunc videtur. Quod tamen ipsum negat Saints-  
burius, *Hist. of Crit.* I, 23-24:<sup>2</sup> nam primum quod Aristophanem  
videamus ad litteras iudicandas multum deditum, haud ea de causa  
putandum esse confirmat ceteros quoque antiquae comoediae poetas  
similiter eidem rei studuisse. Immo sese ex fragmentis comicorum  
diligenter examinatis unum duove sola repperisse, eaque dubio incerto-  
que modo, ad rem nostram spectantia. Quae vero quam mira sint  
omnibus apparebit qui ea quae iam contuli consideraverint. Nescio  
mehercule an obscurioribus illis iudiciis ipsis, ex arte poetarum exami-  
nata collectis, satis refutetur haec altera affirmatio; quanto magis cum  
et tot fragmenta, in quibus iudicia perspicua continentur, afferre et tot  
fabulas commemorare possimus, quas ad litteras imprimis constat per-  
tinuisse.<sup>3</sup> Sed quod ceteros poetas idem arbitratur non tam litteris

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Meinek. IV, 628, XCV a.

<sup>2</sup> Symondsi autem *Studies of Greek Poets*, II<sup>3</sup>, 101, et Sandysii *Hist. of Class. Scholarship*, I, 55, si legas, fere nihil putas ullius momenti comicos iudicasse.

<sup>3</sup> Sunt enim eius modi Cratin. Ἀρχιλοχοί, Πυτίνη, Διδασκαλία, Κλεοβουλῖται (?); Cratet. Ῥήτορες (?); Pherecr. Κραπάταλοι (?), Χείρων (?); Telecl. Ἡσίοδοι; Phryn. Μοῦσαι, Τραγωδοί, Ἐφιάλτης (?); Ar., praeter *Ran.* et *Thesm.*, Γηρυτάδης, Ποιησις (?), Προάγων, Δράματα; Plat. Σκεναί, Σοφισταί (?), Λάκωνες ἢ Ποιηταί, Ποιητής (?); Amips. Σαπφώ (?); Strat. Κινησίας; Nicochar. Ποιητής (?); Antiph. Τριταγωνιστής, Ποίησις, Πρόβλημα (?), Παροιμιαί (?), Σαπφώ (?), et aliorum poetarum fabulae huius indicis quattuor; Nicostrat. Ἡσίοδος (?); Amphid. Διθύραμβος (?); Ophel. Μοῦσαι (?); Alex. Ἀρχιλοχος (?), Ποιηταί (?), Ποιητρια (?), Φιλοτραγω-

iudicandis studuisse quam Aristophanem, — nam hunc saltem, op. laud., pp. 21–22, optimum perfectumque habet criticum, — eius rei ut melius errorem perspiciamus, tabulam quandam conscripsi quam mox proponam. In hac, autem, sub nomina singulorum poetarum enumeravi primum quot omnino fragmenta cuiusque essent;<sup>1</sup> tum quot cuiusque iudicia in hoc meo libello attulissem; denique quot fere fragmenta percurrenda essent ut unum iudicium invenires: —

Epicharmi	Cratini	Cratetis	Pherecratis	Teleclidis	Hermippi	Eupolidis	Phrynichi	Aristophanis	Platonis	Stratidis	Theopompi	Antiphanis	Anaxandridis	Eubuli	Alexidis	Timoclis	Philemonis	Diphili	Menandri
239	466	56	251	66	97	461	95	983	271	80	99	334	81	156	348	39	249	139	1130
5	43	2	8	7	2	23	9	55	17	7	7	14	5	4	9	5	5	4	10
48	11	28	31	9	49	20	11	18	16	11	14	24	16	39	39	8	50	35	113

Hoc quidem perspecto, in aperto fit in fragmentis saltem Aristophanis multo pauciora pro rata parte contineri iudicia quam aut Cratini aut Teleclidis aut Phrynichi aut Stratidis aut Theopompi aut Platonis, nec vero multo plura quam aliorum nonnullorum.<sup>2</sup> Quae cum ita sint, nobis

*δός* (?), *Αίσωπος* (?), *Κλεοβουλῆ* (?); Axion. *Φιλευριπίδης*; Philippidis vel Philippi *Φιλευριπίδης*; Epinici *Μνησιπέδλεμος*; Phoenicid. *Ποιητής* (?); Paramoni *Χορηγῶν* (?); Dioxippi *Ἱστοριογράφος* (?); Biotti *Ποιητής* (?). Graecorum igitur, ut apparet, permultae sunt tales fabulae, sunt tamen quae similes aliis linguis scribantur. Apud Romanos quidem potius satura tales res quam comoedia sunt tractatae, sed nostra lingua sunt commemorandae fabulae Jonsoni *The Poetaster* (cf. Saintsbur. *Hist. of Crit.*, II, 198); Deckeri *Satiromastix or The Untrussing of the Humorous Poet*; Villiersi aliorumque *The Rehearsal*; Sheridanii *The Critic*. Ex Germanis recentioribus, ut amice me admonuit Iohannes Albrecht Walz, hac in Vniuersitate praceptor, Goethius scripsit huius generis *Götter, Helden und Wieland*, et eiusdem aetatis huius fabulae consimiles aliae sunt nonnullae. Ex Gallis autem Molièrius scripsit *Critique de l'École des Femmes*, et *Impromptu de Versailles* quarum fabularum utramque aemuli nonnulli imitabantur. (Cf. Patin. *Études: Euripide*, II<sup>7</sup>, 422.)

<sup>1</sup> Sc. apud Kockium, nisi quod Kaibelium, quod ad Epicharmum pertinet, secutus sum. Ea fragmenta non enumeravi quae nuper reperta in horum libris non sunt.

<sup>2</sup> Hanc rationem, etsi admodum iniqua non est, tamen vitiosorem esse constat. Etenim Theopompi, quem exempli causa nomino, fragmenta saepe laudata plerumque multo minus sunt graua quam Aristophanis.

certe decernendum litterarum iudicia cum iudiciis virorum per totam fere antiquae comoediae aetatem a Cratini fabulis veterioribus usque ad Aristophanis posteriores esse commixta.<sup>1</sup> Quod sane minime debet esse mirandum, quippe cum, — ut idem dicit Saintsburius, op. laud., p. 21, ipse vix sibi constans — antiqua Graecorum comoedia, in vita temporis versata et quasi implicata, litteras negligere quae tanta vitae Atheniensium erant pars, vix potuit.<sup>2</sup> Immo tres tantummodo ex maioribus poetis, Crates et Pherecrates et Hermippus vitasse plerumque litterarum mentionem videntur.

Mediae tamen comoediae poetae, exceptis Antiphane, Anaxandride, Timocleque, magis ab his quam ab illis, si tabulae nostrae credere possumus, exempla sumpsisse videntur et aliquanto quidem rarius sententias de aliis scriptoribus exposuisse. At Platonius hoc ipsum repugnare videtur cum, p. 5, 51 (Kaibel.), sic loquitur: ἡ δὲ μέση κωμωδία ἀφῆκε τὰς τοιαύτας ὑποθέσεις, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ σκώπτειν ἱστορίας ῥηθείσας ποιηταῖς ἦλθον. ἀνεύθυνον γὰρ τὸ τοιοῦτον, οἷον διασύρειν Ὅμηρον εἰπόντα τι <οὐκ εὖ> ἢ τὸν δαίνα τῆς τραγωδίας ποιητήν. . . . [confert Cratini *Vlixes*.] τοιαῦται γὰρ αἱ κατὰ τὴν μέσην κωμωδίαν ὑποθέσεις εἰσὶν· μύθους γάρ τινες τιθέντες ἐν ταῖς κωμωδίαις τοῖς παλαιότεροις εἰρημένους διέσυρον ὡς κακῶς ῥηθέντας κτλ. Similia sunt Meineki verba, *F. C. G.* I, 285. Mahaffius autem, *Hist. of Class. Greek Lit.*<sup>3</sup>, I, II, 211, ne de aliis nostrae aetatis dicam,<sup>3</sup> comicos dicit, cum viros perstringere singulos non iam possent sese recepisse et ad alias res et ad litteras iudicandas. Quae quidem omnia vix recta videntur. Sed illorum priorum diligentius verbis consideratis, dicere eos reapse animadvertimus hoc tantum, parodiae imprimis lusu hos poetas scripta aliorum derisisse. Oportet igitur hic quoque, sicut antea, apertiora illa ac vera iudicia ab aliis per parodiam solam factis distinguere ac separare. Horum enim plurima ut in antiqua, sic in media comoedia inesse libenter concedimus;<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Egger. *Hist. Crit.*<sup>2</sup>, 39. Hic fortasse mihi licet commemorare, — id quod antea facere neglexi, — tertiam huius libri editionem (Paris, 1887). Re vera tamen nova editio haec non esse videtur.

<sup>2</sup> Verissime de hac re scribit Deschanelus, *Études sur Aristophane*<sup>3</sup>, 264.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Symonds. *Greek Poets*<sup>3</sup>, 198; Jebb. *Greek Literature*, 100.

<sup>4</sup> Hac quoque in re, quamquam meo Marte non elaboravi, nescio an caute Meineki Graecique illius verba sint accipienda. Cum enim Sengebuschius, *Hom. dissert. prior.*, 175, longe plures demonstrat indices atque argumenta Homerica in media comoedia quam in antiqua, dictionem tamen aetatis recentioris rarissime confirmat



illorum tamen maiorem partem apud antiquae comoediae poetas exstare, id fragmentis ipsis ratum habemus. Nequaquam enim mediae praesertim aetatis comicos dicere licet nobis ad litteras se recepisse, nec re vera antiquiores litteris iudicandis ab his superatos esse: primum, ut modo dixi, propter fragmenta ipsa; deinde quod multis annis ante finem antiqui generis comoediae argumenta reperiuntur, ut ita dicam, litteraria; denique quod nec Pherecrates nec Crates qui, sicut mediae aetatis comici, τοῦ λαιδορεῖν ἀπέστησαν, huic rei studere videntur. Quod autem, teste Ath. 11, 482 e, Antiochus Alexandrinus, ut admonet Meinek. loc. laud., librum scripsit περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ μέσῃ κωμῳδίᾳ κωμῳδομένων ποιητῶν, non summi momenti videtur. Nam hodie sane fragmentis solis usus, librum similem de poetis in antiqua comoedia inrasis quivis scribere possit. Immo vero si undecim Aristophanis fabulas aliquis usurpet, de poetis apud illum unum perstrictis libros conscribat complures. Quid igitur? Si omnes fabulas ut Aristophanis, sic Cratini, Eupolidis, Platonis, ceterorum antiquorum, integras nos haberemus, sicut Antiochus ille haud dubie poetarum mediae comoediae fere omnes fabulas habebat, libros quidem eiusmodi scribere possemus sescentos.

Hoc autem aliud de mediae aetatis comici opus est dicere: plerumque iudicavisse eos vel potius ludificasse haud aequales scriptores sed vetustiores et iam mortuos.<sup>1</sup> Qua quidem re dissimiles erant antiquorum, qui vivos imprimis petere solebant. Vera enim litterarum iudicia maxime sunt virorum iudiciis cognata, nec umquam, ut quidam putaverunt,<sup>2</sup> comicos ullius aetatis illa fecisse censeo propterea quod haec non facere possent. Nam cum viros singulos aequales non iam exagitabant poetae, tum scripta aequalium exagitare fere desistebant. Cum autem iam iterum exstitit poeta qui viros sui aetatis perstringeret, — qualis vero fuit Timocles — tum plura litterarum iterum evadebant vera iudicia. Id certe quod mediae comoediae aetate haud saepissime accidit; multo

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Scherransius, *De com. Att. studiis Homericis*, 49, Homeri similem esse. Ribbeckius autem, *De usu parodiae ap. com. Athen.*, I, 5, parodiarum dicit longe maximam partem esse antiquae comoediae. Sed ea fortasse de causa id fit, quod fragmentorum quoque est maxima pars eiusdem antiquae aetatis.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Meinek. I, 286. Exciipiendi tamen hic quoque sunt Antiphanes aliique pauci.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Muelleri et Donaldsoni *Gr. Lit.* II, c. 28, § 10; Mahaffi *Gr. Lit.*<sup>3</sup>, I, 11, 211, 245; Patini *Études: Euripide*<sup>7</sup>, II, 426; Denisi *La Com. Grec.* II, 279.

	Culpatur aliquis propter genus scribendi	Propter ar- gumentum, dispositio- nem, res scenicas	Propter mollitiam operum	Propter vari- as causas, adhibita causa	Culpatur genus aliquod scripturae universum	Landatur aliquis	De se et ori- atur poeta	De ratione scripturae loquitur poeta	Spectatores culpantur sive lau- dantur	Furta alicuius commemo- rantur	Mentio fit alicuius exstat iudicium	Incerta aut levia iudicia
Epicurum	214, 147	.....	.....	.....	.....	88	.....	132	.....	4	.....	.....
Chionidis	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Euphrantidis	.....	.....	256	.....	2	.....	186, 237	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Cratini	88, 307 <sup>2</sup> 217	85, 292	97	15, 334 335 <sup>2</sup> , 25 324 <sup>c</sup>	9, 308 306 <sup>2</sup> 310	2, 6, 70 293, 36	145, 146 323 <sup>2</sup>	199 195 196	307 <sup>2</sup> , 306 <sup>2</sup> 329, 347 23, 323 <sup>2</sup> 169	335 <sup>2</sup> 200	156, 305 236, 75	324 <sup>b</sup> 185, 198 332 324 <sup>a</sup>
Cratetis	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	24	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pherecratis	.....	.....	.....	145	185	94	191, 122 79	.....	.....	.....	.....	208
Teleclidis	.....	.....	.....	14, 40	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Hemippi	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	46	.....	.....	.....	39	16	37
Eupolidis	.....	363, 54 188	139 <sup>2</sup>	57, 245 97, 96 <sup>3</sup> 95, 207 367 <sup>b</sup>	244	139 <sup>2</sup> , 366 94, 96 <sup>3</sup> 367 <sup>b</sup>	52 <sup>2</sup>	.....	.....	52 <sup>2</sup> 78	361, 447 200, 17 193	303
Phrynichi	69 <sup>2</sup>	.....	33	69 <sup>2</sup> , 54	3	31, 65	.....	.....	.....	.....	72	86, 85
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igitur rarius, vel fere numquam, apud poetas comoediae novae. Hi enim paene omnia omnino iudicia neglegunt. Haec hoc quoque modo enuntiari possunt: ex MMMDCXV fere antiquae comoediae fragmentis ad litteras spectare videntur CLXXXVIII, hoc est undevicesima pars; ex mediae aetatis comoediis, quarum fere MCCCXXX sunt omnino fragmenta, LIII in hoc libello inclusi, hoc est vicesimam quintam partem; ex novae comoediae fragmentis, numero ad MDCCXXXX, attuli modo XXVIII, sive sexagesimam alteram partem.

Sed ut clarius perspiciamus quo modo comici iudicarint, tabulam eam alteram modo propositam confeci, qua perlecta quodque fragmentum ex eis quae consideravimus de qua re scribatur conspici potest.<sup>1</sup>

Hac autem tabula considerata, apparebit primum nonnulla iudicia genera scripsisse antiquiores quae omnino neglegerent poetae posteriores. Nam multa certe his, et propter aetatem diversam et propter ipsum fabulae genus mutatum, erant mutanda. Quod tamen saepius hi pro rata parte rationem scribendi ac litterarum tractabant, id his de causis factum esse puto, et quod viri sapientes his rebus studentes cum in scholis tum libris iam plenius disseruerant, et quod cum risus spectatorum non iam continenter ad antiquae comoediae exemplum moveri esset necesse, in litteras ipsas rationemque earum quasi deverti interdum ex comoediae recta via poterant.

Restat locus huic disputationi haud minime necessarius de fide iudiciorum, — quam sint aequa iustaque et quanti ea facere oporteat. Cum tamen multi iam perspexerint pretiosissima esse comicorum de scriptis iudicia, vix certe consideranda erat haec res, nisi pauci e contrario oportere essent arbitrati fere nihil eisdem tribuere. Aristophanes autem, ut praeclarissimus, imprimis est petitus: illum enim, virum factum, numquam ad seria animum attendere, atque eo minus fidum esse testem iudicemque sincerum; in eius conviciis nihil inesse veritatis; invidia aemulorum permotum et studio partium, nihil umquam iudicasse illum nisi acerbe hostiliterque.<sup>2</sup> Quibus vero criminationibus hoc modo

<sup>1</sup> Quae fragmenta simul plus uno ordine ponenda erant, ea numeris minoribus adiectis, sic (2) aut sic (3) distinxi.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Groti *Hist. of Greece*, edit. 1888, VII, 17; Barnesi *Vit. Eurip.* c. 5, p. iv (edit. 1694); van Leeuweni *De Ar. Euripidis censore*, 119; Hameli opusculum, *Mém. de l'Acad. R. de Toulouse*, ser. III, Vol. I, 174; Mahaffi *Class. Greek Lit.*<sup>3</sup>, I, II, 215; Pflugki *Eurip.*, I, xxvi; Setti *La Crit. Lett. in Ar.*, 77.

respondere possumus: Aristophanem suosque aequales, cum critici essent, tum primum comicos fuisse poetas; verissime de eisdem ea dici posse quae de Aristophane dixerit Plato, *Symp.* 213 c: γελοῖός ἐστί τε καὶ βούλεται. Hoc autem praecipuo ab eis suscepto negotio ut risus per fabulas moverent, saepe si veras comoedias scribere vellent et viros egregios et res optimas, dummodo ridicule depingi possent, perstringendas fuisse; saepe in maius res extollendas; semper fere vitia culpasque commemorandas sed laudes raro, — quid enim ioci virtutum mentione contineri? Vt ait Cicero, *de or.* 2, 236: Locus autem et regio quasi ridiculi . . . turpitudine et deformitate quadam continentur; haec enim ridentur vel sola vel maxime, quae notant et designant turpitudinem aliquam non turpiter.

Sed etsi in tanta rerum iniquitate criticorum partes egerunt comici, plerumque tamen iudicio facto quasi acu rem tangunt. Aliquantulum certe veritatis nisi cuique erat iudicio nullo modo in comoedia locum poterat obtinere; nam comicae, ut ita dicam, comoediae non est reprehensio omnino falsa et contra omnem veritatem repugnans. Sed haec iudicia aliquid plus habent veritatis quam necesse est. Immo vero ne unum quidem repperi quod iusto iure iniustum putari posset; permulta autem abunde aliorum antiquorum verbis confirmantur. Quae quidem confirmatio nescio an maxime sit necessaria; nam hodie sane criticus qui cum plurimis aliis consentiat, haud semper est optimus. Fortasse tamen operae est pretium paucos citare testes antiquos, ac primum vero de universa comicorum fide. Aristides igitur, qui fidissimos eos de oratoribus iudicantes putavit, 46, 128, 20, inquit: τίνες οὖν ἂν μᾶλλον ἀξιόχρεω γένοιτο ἐπαινέται καὶ μάρτυρες τῆς ἐκείνου (sc. Περικλέους) δεινότητος καὶ δυνάμεως ἢ οἷς συνηθέστερον ψέγειν ἅπαντας ἢ κοσμείν; εἰ γὰρ οὗτοι φανεῖν δίδόντες τὴν ψήφον, σχολῇ γ' ἂν ἄλλος τις ἀποστεροίη. ἐπὶ δ' ἄλλου μὲν τινος πράγματος σκῆπτεσθαι μάρτυρι κωμωδοδιδασκάλῳ τάχ' ἂν οὐκ ἰσχυρὸν ἦν, εἰς δὲ λόγων κρίσιν μήποθ' οὕτως σεμνὸς γενοίμην ὥσθ' ὑπεριδείν τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων ὡς οὐδενὸς ἀξίῳν . . . οὐκοῦν τῶν μαρτύρων ἡμῖν τῶν εἰς τοὺς λόγους κεκλημένων τῷ Περικλεί καὶ οἷς οὐκ ἐλάχιστον μετεῖναι φαίμεν ἂν τῆς περὶ ταῦτα ἐμπειρίας ὃ μὲν . . . εἴρηκε κτλ. Atque Athenaeus I, 21 f: παρὰ τοῖς κωμικοῖς ἢ περὶ τῶν τραγικῶν ἀποκείται πίστις.

Deinceps exempli causa Cratini Aristophanisque, quippe qui plurimum ad rem praebuerint, iudicia nonnulla conspectu iterum breviter ponamus,

ita tamen ut silentio iam praetereamus quae singulos ad viros haud spectent quaeque dubiae sint significationis.

Primum igitur Cratinus, ut praeterrittam levem illam Homeri reprehensionem, qui τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος cecinisset—nam et iudicium haud sine causa esse factum videtur et verba HomERICA, quamvis vitiosa, nobis non displicent, — Archilochi acerbitatem commemorat (frag. 6), quam vero in proverbium apud Graecos venisse constat.<sup>1</sup> Tum Acestoris dixit res (πράγματα) dissipatas esse confusasque (frag. 85), sed huic iudicio fidem addere vix possumus propterea quod alii antiqui, excepto Callia, frag. 13 (supra, p. 187), ut barbarum tantummodo eum exagitant. Deinde Gnesippum, cuius mala et lasciva carmina hic perstringit (fragg. 15, 97, 256), et Chionidem (4 K.) et Eupolidem (139 K.) et Teleclidem (16 K.) similiter increpare vidimus. Vix igitur omnes iniuste. Philocles autem λόγον quandam corrupisse dicitur (frag. 292): nihil aliud vero iudicat Aristophanes, *Thesm.* 168, . . . ὁ Φιλοκλέης αἰσχρὸς ὢν αἰσχροῦς ποιεῖ. At Teleclides (14 K.) contra Aeschylī ei esse ingenium arbitratus esse videtur, id quod, si paulo certiora essent verba, aliquid plus momenti haberet. At idem Philocles Sophoclem ipsum fabulam *Oedipum* dantem superavit. Quid igitur? Num posteritatis iudicia et quasi saecula ipsa iudicum eorum sententiam firmaverunt qui illi palmam detulerint? Immo vero, quod *Oedipus* omnium fere est hodie in manibus sed altera illa fabula nec exstat nec noscitur, hoc certe satis auctoritatis adiungit poetae nostri iudicio.<sup>2</sup> Deinceps Ecphantidem Καπνίαν appellat (frag. 334), nomen quidem aliqua ex parte obscurum, sed alios quoque idem ei constat attribuisse.<sup>3</sup> Quod autem Aristophanem dicit Euripidem imitari (frag. 307), id iam supra, p. 178 et adn. 1, vidimus illum ipsum concedere simulque rebus ipsis firmari; quod sese amplissimam copiam habere verborum, hoc quoque Aristophanes paene eisdem verbis, nescio an cum dissimulatione, iterat, *Eq.* 526 sqq.,

εἶτα Κρατίνου μεμνημένος, ὃς πολλῶ ρεύσας ποτ' ἐπαίνῳ  
διὰ τῶν ἀφελῶν πεδίῳ ξρρει, καὶ τῆς στάσεως παρασύρων  
ἐφόρει τὰς δρῦς καὶ τὰς πλατάνους καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς προθελύμνους.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. frag. adesp. 748 K., supra, p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Roemer. *Abhandl. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.* XXII, p. 41, adn. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Ar. Vesp.* 151 et Schol. (καλοῦσιν).

Ac denique Periclis illi laudationi (frag. 293), quamquam multa similia afferri possunt,<sup>1</sup> quid opus est confirmatione?

Iam Aristophanis, ut eum quoque tractemus, multa in fabulis superstantibus iudicia alii iam pridem verissima esse demonstraverunt. Eis enim quae de Aeschylō, de Sophocle, de Euripide, de Agathone scripsit satis fidei addunt multi alii scriptores antiqui.<sup>2</sup> Nec vero in fragmentis minus fida invenimus iudicia: nam Aeschylum sane hunc laudasse sed simul eius duritiam improbasse supra dictum est (fragg. 643, 646): quid tandem aliud iudicat Longinus ille qui appellatur, *de subl.* 15, 5: τοῦ δ' Αἰσχύλου φαντασίαις ἐπιτολμῶντος ἠρωϊκωτάταις, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας παρ' αὐτῷ κτλ. . . ἐνίοτε μέντοι ἀκατεργάστους καὶ οἰονεὶ ποκοειδέις τὰς ἐννοίας καὶ ἀμαλάκτους φέροντος κτλ. Sophoclis autem de suavitate iudicium (frag. 581), ut hoc praeteream, quod illi ea ipsa de causa cognomen erat μέλιττα, bonum esse affirmat Dio Chrysostomus, II, 273 R., qui fragmentum profert: ὥστε μὴ εἰκῆ τοιαῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀριστοφάνην εἰρηκῆναι κτλ.

At in Euripidem saltem perpetuae cavillationes imprimis forsitan in dubium vocentur.<sup>3</sup> Ac videtur sane iniusta illa tam diuturna atque acerba petitio. Sed et laudationem constat comoediae haud aptam esse, et hunc Euripidem, si quidem saepe eum imitabatur ac semel, licet fortasse cum dissimulatione, aperte laudavit, valde miratum esse. Adde quod, ut affirmat Lessingius, *De Ar. Euripidis Inrisore*, 48, nunquam meliores eius fabulas perstringit; quod item quas res improbandas eligit, vix quispiam non una culpae potest. Nam primum quaesitas eius nominum interpretationes, quibus origines ille antiquo more indagare solebat, reprehendit (fragg. 327, 357), — id vero quod idcirco

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eupol. 94, supra, p. 161, et adn. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hennig. *Ar. de Aesch. poesi iudicia*, 26; Peters. *Ar. iudicium de tragicis*, 66 sqq., 74 sqq.; Schwab. *Ar. u. Arist. als Kritiker des Eur.*, 40; Setti *La Crit. Lett. in Aristofane*, 74 sqq.; Lessing. *De Ar. Euripidis Inrisore*, 7, adn. 1; Roberts. *Jour. Hell. Stud.* XX, 44 sq. Kruczkiewiczzius, *Zeit. f. d. Oest. Gymn.* XLI, 1048, Majchrowiczii opusculum, *Über d. Verhältnis d. Ar. zu d. gleichzeitigen Komödiendichtern*, recensens, cum illo aliquid minoris comicorum iudicia facit.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Rudloff. *De Ar. Euripidis Inrisore*, Berolini, 1865, qui cum aliqua ex parte illum a culpa defendat, acutum tamen hunc iudicat poesis aestimatorem et cui fere assentiat Aristoteles.

iustissimum apparet, quia Euripides talibus nugis saepissime indulgebat,<sup>1</sup> nec maxime certe est necesse Quintiliani, 5, 10, 31, testimonium afferre, talia apud Euripidem frigida esse. Tum autem per parodiam eius prologos petit (frag. 1), verbumque *δρομάδες* saepe usurpatum inridet (frag. 420): his quoque iudiciis fidem addunt fabulae ipsae. Nam ut similitudo prologorum paene omnibus cognita est,<sup>2</sup> sic verbum illud novies est repetitum.<sup>3</sup> Deinde fabulas eiusdem hic comparavit cum velleribus implicatis (frag. 638) et τὰς περιλαλούσας, τὰς σοφάς eas appellavit (frag. 376), — haud alia, ut videtur, sententia, quam qua a Quintiliano, 10, 1, 68, ille dicitur esse “in iis, quae a sapientibus tradita sunt, paene ipsis par.” Accedit quod ut hic illius fabulas, quae saepe vehementissimos animi affectus depingunt, cum cibis delicatissimis confert (frag. 130),<sup>4</sup> sic auctor libelli *de subl.* 15, 3, eosdem scilicet affectus respiciens, sed aliquid plus laudis attribuens, ἔστι μὲν οὖν, inquit, φιλοπονώτατος ὁ Εὐριπίδης δύο ταυτὶ πάθη, μανίας τε καὶ ἔρωτας, ἐκτραγωδήσαι, et Aristoteles, *Poet.* 1453 a, 28, καὶ ὁ Εὐριπίδης . . . τραγικώτατός γε τῶν ποιητῶν φαίνεται. Denique simul eiusdem et sordidas culpatae personas et τοῦ στόματος τὸν στρογγύλον aliqua ex parte laudat (frag. 471): illi crimini praeter fabulas ipsas et Sophocles et Aristoteles vires addunt: Arist. *Poet.* 1460 b, 33: Σοφοκλῆς ἔφη αὐτὸς μὲν οἴους δεῖ ποιεῖν, Εὐριπίδην δὲ οἴοι εἰσίν. *Ibid.* 1461 b, 19: ὀρθὴ δ' ἐπιτίμησις καὶ ἀλογία καὶ μοχθηρία, ὅταν μὴ ἀνάγκης οὔσης μῆθ' ἐπιτίμησις καὶ ἀλογία, ὡς περὶ Εὐριπίδης τῷ Αἰγεί, ἢ τῇ πονηρίᾳ, ὡς περὶ ἐν Ὁρέστη τῷ Μενελάου. Huius autem laudationis simile facit iudicium idem [Longinus] *de subl.* 40, 2: ἀλλὰ μὴ ὅτι γε πολλοὶ καὶ συγγραφέων καὶ ποιητῶν οὐκ ὄντες ὑψηλοὶ φύσει, μήποτε δὲ καὶ ἀμεγέθεις, ὁμῶς, κοινοῖς καὶ δημώδεσι τοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπαγομένοις περιττὸν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ συγχρώμενοι, διὰ μόνου τοῦ συνθῆναι καὶ ἀρμόσαι ταῦτα δ', ὁμῶς ὄγκον καὶ διάστημα καὶ τὸ μὴ ταπεινοὶ δοκεῖν εἶναι περιεβάλλοντο, καθάπερ ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Φίλιστος, Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eur. fragg. 181, 182, 1094, 517, *Phoen.* 1494, *Troad.* 990, *Bacch.* 508, *I. T.* 32, *Or.* 1635, cetera; Bakhuysen. *De parodia in com. Ar.*, 195. Alios quidem multos idem fecisse constat; cf. Arist. *Rhet.* 2, 23, 29 et Copi adn.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. supra, pp. 180–181, adn. 1; Arist. *Rhet.* 3, 14, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Kock. adn. ad frag. 420 (I, p. 501).

<sup>4</sup> Cur talia de Euripide Aristophanes iudicia faceret exposuit Faircloughius, *The Attitude of the Greek Tragedians toward Nature*, 72 sqq.



τισιν, ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις Εὐριπίδης, ἰκανῶς ἡμῖν δεδήλωται. Conferre autem oportet Arist. *Rhet.* 1404 b, 24: κλέπτεται δ' εὖ, εἴαν τις ἐκ τῆς εἰωθίας διαλέκτου ἐκλέγων συντιθῆ· ὁ περ Εὐριπίδης ποιεῖ καὶ ὑπέδειξε πρῶτος. Quorum postremis verbis haud scio an ipsius Aristophaneae imitationis memor fuerit.<sup>1</sup>

Agathonis quidem antitheti (frag. 326) complura exempla afferri possunt:

- (6 Nauck.) τέχνη τύχην ἔστερεξε καὶ τύχη τέχνην.  
 (11 Nauck.) τὸ μὲν πάρεργον ἔργον ὡς ποιούμεθα,  
 τὸ δ' ἔργον ὡς πάρεργον ἐκπονούμεθα.  
 (12 Nauck.) εἰ μὲν φράσω τάληθές, οὐχὶ σ' εὐφρανῶ·  
 εἰ δ' εὐφρανῶ τί σ', οὐχὶ τάληθές φράσω.<sup>2</sup>

Ac Plato philosophus nonnulla praebet ad rem: Ath. 5, 187 c: χλευάζει (Πλάτων) τὰ ἰσόκωλα τὰ Ἀγάθωνος καὶ τὰ ἀντίθετα.<sup>3</sup> Stheneli verba et hic (frag. 151) et Aristoteles una voce iudicant arida esse ac ieiuna: Arist. *Poet.* 1458 a, 18: σαφεστάτη μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ἡ ἐκ τῶν κυρίων ὀνομάτων, ἀλλὰ ταπεινὴ· παράδειγμα δὲ ἡ Κλεοφώντος ποιήσις καὶ ἡ Σθενέλου. Quod ad fragg. 685 et 699 attinet, quibus hic urbanum suum elegantemque sermonem laudat, nemo, ut opinor, scribendi dumtaxat genus non miratur. Huius enim fabulas sicut alias antiquae comoediae affirmat Quintilianus, 10, 1, 65, sinceram illam sermonis Attici gratiam habere. De Cratetis ineptiis (frag. 333), de absurdis sophistarum verbis (fragg. 198, 90)<sup>4</sup> iudicia sine ulla confirmatione verissima esse constat, neque alia sunt fragmenta iterum proferenda. Cum igitur comici, si quidem his duobus sunt similes, considerate sapienterque fere semper de aliis videantur iudicia fecisse, vix certe extra modum prodi-

<sup>1</sup> Si quis aliud illud negare velit, hunc rarius illo vulgares depinxisse animos, socium sibi licet asciscere [Plut.] *Ar. et Men. Comp.*, p. 853 b.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. autem fragg. 8, 9 N.; Aelian. *Var. Hist.* 14, 13; Roberts. *Jour. Hell. Stud.* XX, 44 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Haigh. *Trag. Drama*, 411; sed Aristoteles magis admirari quam Agathonem culpae videtur; cf. Haigh. loc. laud.

<sup>4</sup> Hoc autem iudicium (frag. 90) Aristoteles idem et conservavit et probavit: cf. supra, p. 176.

mus si eos credimus plerumque non solum viros facetos fuisse verum etiam litterarum iudices perspicaces.

Vt tamen aliquando summam faciam, comici primi apud Graecos in litteras iudicandas animos intenderunt; huic autem rei fere omnes per antiquam comoediae aetatem, postea tamen pauciores studuerunt; iudicia fecerunt permulta et acuta et iusta.

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