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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

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PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

1895.

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TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

1895.

I. — *On Professor Streitberg's Theory as to the Origin of
Certain Indo-European Long Vowels.*

BY PROF. M. BLOOMFIELD,

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

AT the meeting of the American Philological Association in Chicago, July, 1893, Professor Streitberg presented a very interesting paper under the title 'Die Entstehung der Dehnstufe,' a long abstract of which was printed in vol. xxv of the TRANSACTIONS of the Association. The subject was subsequently elaborated with great care and presented anew with exhaustive completeness in the third volume of the 'Indo-germanische Forschungen,' pp. 305-416.¹ We have before us in these pages a concinnate theory regarding an important chapter in ancient Indo-European vowel history. It is written in a style strangely different from that which is ordinarily regarded as appropriate to the esoteric virtuosity supposed to be requisite for this particular phase of history. It is neither learnedly prolix, nor affectedly choppy and curt; his text need not, as is decidedly the case with some prominent writings on Comparative Grammar, frighten the philological layman: it does not at all bring with it that suspicion of a sneer which the average reader is tempted to see behind the unavoidable symbols in the reconstructed I.-E. start-forms

¹ The citations in the sequel are from this fuller treatise.

(grundformen). On the contrary, the style is lucid and unprofessional; the writer is full of enthusiastic conviction, and his enthusiasm imparts to his presentation an almost romantic coloring, which envelops a little oddly questions such as what causes the *e* of Lat. *pēs* to be long, and that of *pēdis* to be short.

The word 'dehnstufe' is defined as referring to the length, or the extreme length, that appears in words of a certain root-group, or stem-group, in the course of the vocalic variations. Thus the vowels *ē* and *ō* in the suffix of *πατήρ* and *δώτωρ* are regarded as the product of lengthening of the 'normal' *ĕ* and *ō* in *πατέρα* and *δώτορα*; these normal vowels may be reduced under certain conditions to zero, yielding the suffixal form *tr* in *πα-τρ-ός* and Sk. *dā-tr-ī* 'she that gives.' Or, to take a case of a radical vowel, the 'normal' vowels of *πόδα* and *pēdem* exhibit their long grade ('dehnstufe') in Doric *πῶς* (for **πῶς*) and *pēs*, the reduced form being in evidence in Zend *fra-bd-a* 'fore-part of the foot.' It will be understood from this that the 'dehnstufe' deals with that particular class of long vowels which appear most saliently in the nominatives singular of third declension nouns, *i.e.* with those vowels which appear to the ordinary observer of a single I.-E. language as though they had been lengthened for the express purpose of accentuating the superior dignity of the subject-cases, or, at any rate, for the purpose of differentiating them from the oblique cases. The same lengthening occurs elsewhere, of course, but it will be well to remember this as the most characteristic seat of the 'dehnstufe,' especially as far as the classical and Teutonic languages are concerned.

Professor Streitberg is guided towards his propositions by observations that had cropped out in certain quarters of the more recent history of the I.-E. languages. It has been observed variously that a long vowel in a given syllable appears at times to be due to the loss of a short, low tone vowel in a syllable following immediately upon the long vowel. Thus Swedish *brinn* with musical and expiratory stress (something like *brīn*) from older *brinna*; Lithuanian *vėnti* 'vomit' (*i.e.* *vėnti*): Sk. *vāmiti*; Lith. *žėlti* (*i.e.* *žėlti*) 'grow green': Sk.

hárita, Obg. *zelenŭ*. Further, Professor Leskien had observed that, in his native dialect of Kiel, the tone quality varies according as the vowel preceding the lost vowel is originally short or long; thus *nĩmt* from O.H.G. *nimit* with 'cut' (stossend) accent, but *stĩmt* from O.H.G. *stimmit*, with 'slurring' (schleifend) accent. These observations, which do not, according to any showing, point to a broad tendency in the physiology of sound, are embodied by Professor Streitberg into a prehistoric law, that must have concluded its operations at a period prior to the branching of the I.-E. tongues, since the individual languages on the one hand present the 'dehnstufe' as a *fait accompli*, on the other hand manifest the reverse of antipathy against the succession of an unaccented syllable after an accented one.

The law, as formulated by Professor Streitberg, is as follows: A short vowel after an accented vowel sometimes falls out. If it does, it compensates the preceding vowel by lengthening it, if itself short; by drawling or slurring its tone, if itself long. For the second of the two cases the examples are exceedingly scarce; there is, it seems, but one example which runs as a red thread through the discussion, and we may present this in illustration:

I.-E. **diēyo-s* with short accented vowel becomes *diēu-s* after losing its suffixal *o* and compensating the preceding vowel by adding a mora. I.-E. **nāyo-s* with long accented vowel becomes *nāũ-s* after losing its suffixal *o* and compensating the preceding vowel by adding a mora, rendering it tri-moric. Of this condition the slurring accent (circumflex) is supposed to give evidence.

The law thus stated and illustrated is then applied with rigid consistency and a manipulation of the materials which is always ingenious and skilful, and at times, to say the least, very suggestive. But it is nowhere convincing, and at times so obviously forced as to produce the wish that the writer had endeavored to prove with it a little, but prove that little well. Granted that certain prehistoric long vowels might have originated by lengthening in compensation for the loss of a vowel in a subsequent syllable, is it at all likely that

every I.-E. \bar{e} , \bar{o} , and \bar{a} in correlation with I.-E. e , o , and a , should have thus originated? The author unconsciously relapses into a state of mind, prevalent in an earlier stage of Comparative Grammar, which viewed the earlier conditions of speech as preternaturally simple, and swayed by an automatic regularity denied the depraved children of later days. The result is startling: it sweeps away with one motion almost every monosyllable; there must have been a stage of I.-E. speech in which monosyllabic noun-forms were absolutely unused.

We may observe the rigidity of the view best of all in the author's application of it to the so-called lengthening (*vṛddhi*) of derivation in the Aryan languages. The Sanskrit and, in a lesser degree, the Avestan, present numerous instances of secondary nouns and adjectives which differ from the primary nouns by lengthening one or more vowels of the original stem. Ordinarily the first vowel is lengthened, and it is an especial characteristic of this type, which in Sanskrit has become indefinitely productive, that consonantal stems always add a suffix; thus *ṣārādā* 'autumnal' from *ṣarād* 'autumn'; *sām-rājya* 'universal empire' from *samrāj* 'universal ruler'; *vālcya* 'people's caste' from *viç*, 'clan'; *pāūnsya* 'male' from *pūns* 'man, vir,' etc. Similarly in Zend, where the type is less productive, *haomanāha* 'well-minded' from **humanāh* 'having a good mind' *daušmanahya* 'evil-minded,' etc.¹ The type of formation existed almost unquestionably in proethnic times (cf. *ōvum*, Hesych. *ὄβρον* 'egg': *avis* 'bird'), and so our author assumes. It may be regarded as even more certain that the type was started by sparse instances of the co-existence of simpler and fuller stems, the latter tending towards an adjectival and abstract value. But by all means the fuller stem must have had a suffix. From the point of view of the Aryan languages, pairs like *pād*, *pād* 'foot' and *pāda* 'foot,'² *vāc*, *vāc* (Greek *ὀπός*) 'speech' and *vācya* 'to be spoken,' suggest themselves, but the general I.-E. instances

¹ Cf. Bartholomae, *Vorgeschichte der Iranischen Sprachen*, in the 'Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie,' p. 44.

² Cf. *πηδον* 'rudder, blade of an oar'?

of this derivative lengthening are too isolated to leave much room for hope that the nest in which the type was hatched will yet be found out. Professor Streitberg seems to have gone peculiarly far afield. On p. 380 he says: "Long-vowelled (dehnstufige) monosyllabic nouns are usually collective nouns in contradistinction from their radically related nouns. Cf. *vác* 'speech' with *vácas* 'word,' *nábh* 'gewölke, gathering of clouds,' with *nábhas* 'cloud,' etc. This contrast shows that in early times lengthening and collective function were in close correlation." In this manner *sāptam* 'a group of seven,' etc., are supposed to have propagated the type *vác* by borrowing its collectively significant long vowel. The entire *vṛddhi* of derivation is thus derived by transfer from a few monosyllabic suffixless nouns, and yet the one characteristic feature *to which there is no exception in the entire history of the formation* is that there is not a single monosyllabic noun which is conceived of by any language of the family as a secondary derivative from another independent noun. Moreover, it has come to pass that something very human has overtaken the author. Namely, he seems at this stage to have forgotten that the very point of his dissertation is to show that there are no stems *vác-* and *nábh-*, but only stems *vác-* and *nābh-*, that the long vowel is justified only in the nominative singular, and that it is there a secondary contraction from a dissyllabic **uōgo-s*: every other case in the paradigm of these nouns is entitled originally according to his showing only to the short vowel (*uōq-* and *nōbh-*, pp. 324, 334). Of this later on.

This same endeavor to constitute the theory into a cohesive chain whose links shall include all correlative facts—an endeavor altogether praiseworthy when carried on with extreme reserve and caution—leads the author to press his principle unduly in more than one instance of his treatment of the nominatives of consonantal (third declension) stems. Thus he derives I.-E. *kērd* 'heart,' and *sāld* 'salt' from **kērod* and **sālod* (p. 346). These forms are not only bizarre, but also altogether uncalled for. There is not a trace of a dissyllabic root to be found anywhere; the assumption of two syllables is purely for the sake of the theory. The circumflex

of Greek κῆρ is unfavorable, — the theory demands cut tone (κῆρ), — and has to be explained as due to a transfer from the oblique cases, κῆρος, κῆρι, where, we must add, it is again secondary, since the old inflection in all probability was *kêrd, *kêrd-ós (Lat. *cordis*).

Another instance of undue pressure appears in the treatment of the -nt-stems, especially the active participles. Having assumed that the nominatives of consonantal stems which show proethnic lengthening owe their long vowel to a dissyllabic predecessor, the theory is extended to all consonantal stems, even where the lengthening is absent. For, it must be borne in mind, that Professor Streitberg posits I.-E. *bheroñts and *dōñts as the forms of the participle immediately preceding the historical nominatives. Now he further derives these from vocalic nominatives *bheróntos and *dóntos, and this ending -óntos, having a long vowel (by position) in the first syllable, must yield -oñts with drawling tone as the result. The rest is a chain of analogical disturbances which has resulted in eliminating this start-form without leaving a single undisturbed instance of it; the only dialect which has preserved the drawl-tone is the Lithuanian, e.g. *vežq̄s*, neuter *vežq̄* 'riding,' and here the vocalism is secondary, **vežũs*, **vežũ* being the forms demanded by the theory. The *a*-vowel is due to the oblique cases (accusative *vėžantĩ*, etc.). Moreover, little faith is to be set upon the circumflex of these forms because other consonantal nominatives, *szũ* 'dog,' *akmũ* 'stone,' *motẽ* 'wife (mother),' *sesũ* 'sister,' all of them exhibit secondary drawl-tones. This is true without as well as with Professor Streitberg's theory [e.g. I.-E. *mātê(r)* from **mātêro-s*]. Elsewhere the circumflex is wanting; the assumption that it was present in I.-E. times rests thus upon the most fragile basis imaginable. Equally or even more perplexing is the paroxytonesis of the start-form **bherónto-s*. Why not **bhêronto-s* (Greek φέρων, Sk. *bhāran*)? The author does not stop to quiet our misgivings. But further, the assumption of a vocalic nominative is justified by the existence of prehistoric stems in -énto-, -ónto-, -ntó- like Obg. *hliumund* 'leumund' = Ved. *çrómata*; à-χειμάντος : Ved. *hcmantás* 'winter,' etc. Because these

exhibit an extension of an *n*-suffix by a secondary *-to*, he assumes that the participle suffix is without doubt ('es kann meines bedünkens nicht zweifelhaft sein,' p. 350) composite, being an *n*-suffix + *to*. But these occasional extensions like *çromatá*, *hliumunt* prove only that at all times the adjective-participle suffix *-to* imparted a certain fluidity to stems, reviving, as it were, their congealed or decayed grammatical character. The *-to* of *çromatá*, *hlinmunt* proves no more for I.-E. times than the *-to* added at a later period in Latin to prehistoric *-uent*-stems: *-ō(n)sus* [in *formō(n)sus*] for *-uent-to-s*. The author, in fact, throughout his work, neglects the historically secure transitions of consonantal stems to vocalic stems. As well might he have cited Pāli *gacchanto* 'going' nominative singular masculine; *gūṇavanto* 'virtuous'; Prakrit *sunanto* 'hearing'; Gothic *gibands*, Obg. *frijōnds*, in proof of the vocalic ending of the participle. In historical times the trend is from the so-called non-thematic to the thematic formations: *mi*-verbs become *ō*-verbs, and consonantal stems become vocalic far more frequently than vocalic stems turn consonantal. That there was at an early prehistoric period a consonantal participle of the type *bhéront-*, at a period prior to the glottogonic moment at which the author assumes his contractions, seems particularly likely on account of I.-E. *bhéronti* 'they carry' (Pindar *φέροντι*, Sk. *bháranti*, etc.). The connection, in some manner, of this word with the strong stem of the participle is nearly, if not quite, the clearest fact in the pre-history of I.-E. word-formation. And in the light of the singular forms *bhéresi*, *bhéreti*, the *i* can scarcely be regarded in any light but that of a formative element, and we are thus left with a genuine base *bhéront*, already consonantal in the dimmest past. There is positively, as far as we can detect, nothing in favor of a stem *bherónto-* except the theory which is to be proved by *bherónto-*.

Another very hazardous application of the theory, namely to the Sanskrit noun-compounds with a root-word ending in *t* in the second member, calls for brief comment. The author (pp. 337 ff.) derives Sk. compounds like *paçu-tṛp* 'eager for cattle,' *madhn-kṛt* 'preparing honey,' each from two vocalic

stems, *pék̃yo-terpo-* and *médhuo-kerto-*. The rigidity of his preference for the second declension cannot be better illustrated. The stems *péku-* (Sk. *páçu-*, Lat. *pecu-*, Goth. *fathu-*, etc.) and *médhu* (Sk. *mádhu-*, Gr. *μέθυ-*, etc.) are obviously prehistoric, and perfectly self-sufficient: there is no trace of either *pék̃yo-* or *médhuo-*. But the particular point we have in view is the identification of the *t* in the type *k̃rt* 'making' with the suffix of the perfect passive participle in the type *k̃rtó-* 'made.' The *t* of *-k̃rt* is the so-called adscititious *t* which appears under certain circumstances at the end of roots in short *i*, *u*, and *ṛ*. Whatever its origin may be, it needs to be explained everywhere in the same way. Professor Streitberg, in deriving it from the same source as the perfect passive participle suffix *-to*, ignores completely the fact that the same extension of the root appears in the compound gerund in *-ya* (*-k̃rt̃ya*, *-j̃itya*, *-st̃útya*), the gerundives in *ya* (the same types), before the suffix *van* (*k̃rt̃van*, *j̃étvan*, *s̃útván*),¹ and more sporadically in a variety of other formations. Would he derive *k̃rt̃van* from a stem **k̃ertojeno-*, and the like? At any rate, some mention of these noun-classes was due in connection with an attempt to show that *-k̃rt* 'making' is identical with *k̃rtó* 'made.' One need but look at the compound *ṣr̃ut-karna* (frequent in the Rig-Veda) 'having listening ears' to realize how different fundamentally the two types are: a word **ṣrutá-karna* could mean 'having famous ears' or the like, but under no circumstances 'having listening ears.' And this remains true notwithstanding the fact that the boundary between active and passive function is at times evanescent in noun-formations, especially in derivatives from the so-called neuter verbs.

We may abstain here from cataloguing the misgivings aroused by many more individual applications of the theory,²

¹ Cf. Avestan *kerəþwan* 'doer,' *stərəþwant* 'levelling,' *vī-bərəþwant* 'divided, or transferred,' Jackson, Avestan Grammar, §§ 820-1.

² Let us merely note in passing that the stem *gavayd* 'bos gavaeus, a variety of the common bull' is not well chosen to prove the actual existence of a dissyllabic stem *gouo-* (p. 321). The form is a noun from a denominal stem *gav-aya* 'be like a bull,' formed, doubtless, in specifically Hindu times. According to the author's own showing, it would have to appear as **gāvayd*, if it were a prehistoric formation (see p. 364 ff.).

and turn rather to its central point, the hearth upon which it was kindled. The monosyllabic nominatives, such as *gōús* 'cow,' *dīēús* 'sky,' *nāús* 'ship' (Streitberg *nāūs*), *bhōrs* 'thief' (*φώρ*, *fūr*), *uōjs* 'voice,' etc., are obviously the kind of material that suggested the theory in the first instance. The three diphthongal stems for 'cow,' 'sky,' and 'ship,' especially, are the 'swell' examples, to which the author reverts repeatedly as the ideal realizations of the theory. He starts with a perfectly legitimate observation of Professor Wheeler, that these radical nouns are paralleled in very many instances by oxytone *o*-stems with similar function. Thus by the side of *κλώψ* we have *κλοπός*, by the side of *φώρ* we have *φορός*, and so quite a number of others. But these cases are by no means numerous, considering the broad scope of each formation taken by itself. And they are no more to be regarded as proof for the original identity of the two types than the functional similarity of the abstracts in *-os*, *-es* and those in *-mij*. Thus we have *ρέφος* and *ρέυμα*; *ζεῦγος* and *ζεῦγμα*; *κλέφος* and Goth. *hliuma*, Sk. *crómata*; Sk. *mānas* and *mānma*; *γένος*, Sk. *jānas* and *jānma*, and a host of others. Indeed, the absolute identity of the meaning of the types *κλώψ* and *κλοπός* is hardly certain. The radical forms are to our feeling personalized nouns, while the oxytone *ó*-types are true adjectives. They remind one of such couplets as Greek *στραβός* 'squinting' and *Στραβών* 'squinter' ('squinty,' as it were), and many others. In general it may be regarded as hazardous to identify noun-forms because they come under common functional categories, such as nouns of agency, or nouns of action.

But curiously enough, Professor Streitberg's theory is not fulfilled by the type *κλοπός* at all, but on the contrary paroxytones are needed unto its satisfaction. He does not derive *κλώψ* from *κλοπός*, but from **κλόπος*. Now, one of the most luminous facts in the proethnic history of accentuation is, that in a considerable variety of oxytone and paroxytone couplets, the oxytones are nouns of agency, the paroxytones (or barytones) nouns of action, or medio-passives. Thus *φόρος* 'tribute,' Sk. *bhāra-s* 'act of carrying, burden' : *φορός*

'carrying.' Of *s*-stems *ψευδος* : *ψευδής*; Sk. *ápas*, Lat. *opus* 'work' : *apás* 'working.' Of *n*-stems, Sk. *dáman* 'gift' : *dāmán* 'giver'; cf. *χείμα* : *χειμών*. The principle is keenly felt as well in proethnic times, as in the individual life of several languages of the family; cf. the same discrimination carried out secondarily in *δόλιχος* 'race-course' : *δολιχός* 'long'; *ῥαρος* 'pallor' : *ῥαρός* 'pale,' etc. He does not as much as stop to waive aside this distinction, but derives *φάρ* 'thief' from *φόρος*, not *φορός*. And this brings us to the final difficulty. Why does *bhóros* (*φόρος*) exist at all as a proethnic word, safely propagated through the language, if *bhóros* — another *bhóros*, or the same *bhóros*, we are not explicitly told — changed to *bhórs*? In fact, the author does not state at any time under what precise conditions his groups of two successive syllables contract to a long, or to a drawled monosyllable, under what conditions the post-tonic vowel is thrown out, compensating the tonic vowel by an additional mora. That is left — intentionally doubtless — an open question. The bearing of Professor Streitberg's theory upon the oblique cases of the radical consonantal declensions must not be overlooked. It works a curious result in two ways. First, they have one and all become heteroclitic. The nominatives singular are all of the second declension (of the classical grammars), all the rest of the cases are of the third declension. Secondly, the accentuation of the oblique cases *γοι-ός διμ-ός, pod-ός*, etc., which fairly clamor for a concomitant type with accent upon the root and correspondingly strong vocalism in the manner of *φοῖδε* : *φιδμέν*, of *βῆ-ν* : *βα-τός*; *φῆ* : *φα-μεν* and many others, is left without this necessary basis. The strong *casus rectus*, or *casus recti*, which alone can furnish a tangible background for weak-vowelled *casus obliqui*, are blown out of existence, one knows not whither, nor why.

With unfeigned regret, we acknowledge our inability to accept the author's ingenious and learned argument, in so far as it concerns the origin of the long vowels of the 'dehnstufe.' But one does not do justice to Professor Streitberg's investigation without adding that it contains, in detail, many captivating observations, destined to enrich permanently our

stock of knowledge on the subject. As a specimen of what may be done by way of stimulating writing, and as an exhibition of the most refined knowledge of all the questions that enter into the discussion of the early history of the phonetics of Indo-European speech, the essay will remain memorable. And its amiable, conciliatory tone, its lucidity of thought and style, leave in the reader the impression that the stiffest themes in Comparative Grammar may be presented with the attractiveness that belongs by rights to every form of historical inquiry.

II. — *On the Contributions of the Latin Inscriptions to the Study of the Latin Language and Literature.*¹

BY PROF. MINTON WARREN,
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So diverse are the interests of modern life that it is to be feared that there are many people of ordinary culture who are indifferent or sadly skeptical as to classical studies making any real progress. To them the dead languages, so called, are as great, gloomy, silent catacombs, in which new passages, it may be, are now and then opened up, but which remain practically unchanged from generation to generation.

How often, when in search of a particular text in a second-hand book-store, have I been told by the omniscient proprietor, "Oh, sir, you know the texts themselves are always the same." And yet I find in two books printed only six years apart the same line of Varro written

psephstis dicite lábdeae et vivós contemnite vívi,²

and

ipseí scitis δὸς καὶ λάβ', id est : sívis contendite sívi,³

in which, although some letters are the same, no two words agree. I need perhaps hardly say that for the latter and later version or perversion of the MS. reading, Lucian Müller is responsible. Change, alas, is not always progress. Yet, if we turn our eyes back to the early years of the century, we can see that great progress has been made in the scientific treatment of Latin. In 1830 it was still possible for a patri-

¹ This paper was read on Friday, December 28, 1894, at the second Joint Session of the Philological Congress.

² See Bücheler's edition of Petronius, 1882, p. 167, frag. 48 of Varro's Menippeae.

³ See L. Müller's edition of Nonius, 1888, p. 95, under *Anticipare*.

otic German professor, Ernst Jäkel,¹ to discuss seriously in a book of two hundred and fifty pages the Germanic origin of the Latin language and the Roman people. The German *fenster*, for example, and the Latin *fenestra* are both derived from *fnster*, and *oculus* is said to be a diminutive of *auge*, vulgarly pronounced *oge*.

Bopp, and Schleicher, and Brugmann, and Whitney have forever made the appearance of a book like this impossible. It is not, however, to the light thrown by comparative philology, but to the light shed from within, if I may so speak, to the help afforded by Latin inscriptions, that I wish to call your attention to-day.

Although many thousand inscriptions had been collected and used before the dawn of this century, Mommsen could still cry out in 1852, *Hodie iacent inscriptiones latinae confusae atque omni genere fraudis et erroris inquinatae*. In 1863 the first volume of the Corpus of Latin inscriptions appeared. To-day there are fifteen volumes, some of them in several parts and with supplements, while the total number of inscriptions edited exceeded several years ago a hundred thousand.

The work as originally planned is nearing its completion, and it is to be hoped that Mommsen, the great master, will live to see it finished. Finished, of course, in one sense it never really can be, and supplementary volumes will always be needed to include the new inscriptions constantly being found in every part of the vast Roman empire.

Three times in the last seventeen years Bücheler has published an article in the *Rheinisches Museum* with the heading "Aelteste lateinische Inschrift."² Let us hope that it is not the last time. The Numasios inscription, which some refer to the sixth century before Christ, now heads the list. May the next claimant to the title of "Älteste Inschrift" take us back to the reign of Numa.

The inscriptions published vary in length from a single letter to many hundred lines, but the shorter ones are by no

¹ Der Germanische Ursprung der lateinische Sprache und des römischen Volkes nachgewiesen von Ernst Jäkel, Breslau, 1830.

² Cf. Rhein. Museum 33, p. 486; 36, p. 235; and 42, p. 317.

means the least interesting. To the classical master not too jaded to cherish a zest for longevity, it is gratifying to know that a Greek teacher in Spain lived to the age of ninety-seven years without a pain.¹ It is refreshing also to turn from the pages of Juvenal and read that a Roman Julia lived with one husband for thirty-seven years without a complaint.²

Even an inscription consisting of but a single letter may not be without value. Thus the Greek alpha found under the middle toe of the left foot of the bronze boxer discovered some ten years ago in Rome, proves by its shape that the work was cast, not in Rome, but in Greece, and at a comparatively early period.³

Time will not permit our even glancing at the great contributions which inscriptions have made to our knowledge of Roman history, laws, and institutions. I propose to show by some illustrations how they help us in orthography and pronunciation, in the matter of forms and vocabulary and dialectic differences, and finally to touch upon their contribution to our knowledge of individual authors and to the body of literature itself.

1. In our current editions of Shakespeare the spelling is modernized, but the Shakespearian scholar will wish to know the exact reading of the first folio. Something similar is true of Latin. It is not necessary or desirable that school editions should reproduce the vagaries in spelling of different writers and different periods, but it is desirable that a critical edition should approach as nearly as possible to the orthography of the writer himself, so far as it can be determined. Not even to-day is this sufficiently borne in mind.

If there were time I should like to indicate here how the great Ritschl edition of Plautus, begun in 1848 and only completed in this present year by his pupils, was made possible by the careful study of inscriptions, but I will use a briefer and fresher illustration.

¹ Cf. Corp. II. 4319.

² Cf. Notizie degli Scavi, 1890, p. 356. *Juliae felicissimae dulcissimae coniugi, quae vixit mecum sine ulla querella annis xxxvii.*

³ Cf. Lanciani, *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, p. 307.

In the thirteenth letter of the first book of Cicero's letters to Atticus, all the editions including Tyrrell², 1885, and Boot², 1886, read *caesis apud Amaltheam tuam victimis*, but the first hand of the best MS., the Mediceus, has for *victimis* two words, *victum eis*, which some of the editors do not think it worth while to mention and which it is easy to call a corruption of the text. Not so! The letters are the very letters which Cicero wrote, only he wrote them as one word, and some later scribe, copying a MS. in capitals without division of words, recognizing in VICTVMEIS two well-known words, *victum* and *eis*, wrote them separately, but he copied faithfully the letters of his exemplar. I cannot give here in detail the evidence elsewhere found in MSS. for the spelling of *victuma* with *u* by Cicero¹ and other writers, but the important evidence is that it occurs in the Praenestine Fasti,² an inscription of excellent orthography, somewhat later than Cicero, while the derivative *victumarius*³ with *u* occurs three times in inscriptions.

For *ei* used to represent long *i*, as in *victumeis*, abundant evidence could be cited from inscriptions and from the MSS. of Cicero's letters, and I have tried to show elsewhere⁴ that in the Brutus of Cicero, § 191, where the editors all read *miliun*, the reading of the MSS., *me illum*, points to the spelling MEILIVM, which is also found in inscriptions, *I* being read *L* as so often.

These things may seem trifles, but then scholarship is made up of trifles, and it is no trifle to vindicate character, even the character of a manuscript.

In Horace, Sat. I, 5. 86, Wickham, with some of the other editors, spells the borrowed Gallic word for wagons *rhedis*, but the better manuscript authority is for *raedis*, which spell-

¹ For Plautus, see Pseud. 327 and 329. In Cicero's Philippic, xiv. 7 cod. Tegerenseis has *victumae*. *Victumae* is read in Seneca Controversiae, xxv. 28, and there is a trace of it in Pliny H. N. 28, 11, where V (Sillig) has *victum*.

² Cf. Corp. I¹, p. 312.

³ Cf. Fabretti Glossarium Italicum, col. 1962.

⁴ American Journal of Philology, Vol. xiv. p. 238.

ing is confirmed by the curious epitaph of a dog found at Ricina, in Picenum, which runs thus:—¹

Raedarum custos numquam latravit inepte
Nunc silet et cineres vindicat umbra suos.

2. It would be easy to cite hundreds of examples where the orthography of inscriptions, an accent placed over a vowel, an I longa, a consonant or vowel doubled, a consonant omitted or inserted, throw light upon the pronunciation of a period, a locality, or an individual. I shall content myself with one or two instances.

Lindsay, in his recent work on the Latin Language, states that from the beginning of the second century A.D. we commence to find *b* and *v* interchanged in inscriptions. He neglects to notice that in an inscription found some ten years ago at Tegea, in Arcadia,² of the year 50 A.D., we already find *lebare* for *levare*, showing at least a local tendency, due perhaps to Greek influence, to this interchange of *b* and *v*.

That the *a* of *pastor* was pronounced long is proved not only by *paastores*, Corpus, I. 551, but also by the apex in *pástóris*, Corpus, X. 827.

Some people will never be convinced that Cicero pronounced his name Kikero, despite the fact that Plutarch and other Greek authors transliterate it *Κικέρων*, and that the Albanian has borrowed *cicer* from the Latin, keeping the hard *k* sound.³

Now an inscription on a vase in Gaul, of the sixth century, which has *officina*⁴ spelt OFIKINA, ought to convince us that C was at least not pronounced like S, and Gaston Paris⁵ has recently declared that all the examples quoted for interchange of *c* before a narrow vowel (not in hiatus) with a sibilant,

¹ Cf. Corp. IX. 5785.

² Cf. Ephemeris Epigraphica, V. 187.

³ Cf. Gustav Meyer, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Albanesischen Sprache, p. 226.

⁴ Cf. Revue Critique, 1890, p. 212.

⁵ Cf. Acad. Insc. 1893; Comptes Rendus, XXI. p. 81; and Lindsay, Latin Language, p. 88.

earlier than the sixth century in Southern Italy, the seventh century in Gaul, are illusory.

3. But nowhere have inscriptions rendered better service than in the preservation of forms which would otherwise be either unknown to us or only scantily represented in grammarians and literature. Let me illustrate this briefly from the oldest Latin inscription found in a grave at Praeneste in 1887, upon a gold fibula. The inscription, the writing of which is retrograde, contains only four words, *manios : med : fhe : fhaked¹ : numasioi*. In classical Latin this would be *Manius me fecit Numasio* (possibly *Numerio*). Nominative singulars, like *Manios*, of *o*-stems are numerous in early inscriptions. The accusative *med* can be paralleled from inscriptions and from Plautus, but this form shows how early the confusion between accusative *me* and ablative *med*, if confusion² it be, began. From the Oscan we might have divined that the early Latin had a reduplicated perfect of *facio*, but we should not know it except for *fhe-fhaked* in this inscription. This form also with its final *d*, in conjunction with other evidence, makes it probable that early Latin, like Oscan and Umbrian, differentiated the ending of the third person singular in primary and secondary tenses. The form, if retained in later Latin, would probably have become *fefici*, cf. *pepigi*, but it was displaced by *fecit*. Finally *Numasioi* shows the original dative singular of *o*-stems, a form borne out by Oscan analogies, but supported in Latin only by the isolated notice of a grammarian³ which had been discredited by some modern scholars.⁴

Great care is sometimes necessary to be sure that these old forms really do exist in inscriptions. In the older linguistic

¹ Some scholars prefer to represent this by *vehvhaked*. For the quantity of the *a* and for the proper name Numasius, see Buck, *The Oscan-Umbrian Verb System*, *Studies in Classical Philology of the University of Chicago*, Vol. I. p. 164, which has appeared since this paper was written.

² Johannes Schmidt, *K.Z.* 32, p. 407, scouts the idea of *mēd* being an original ablative and thinks it contains the suffix *id* seen in Vedic *svīd*.

³ Marius Victorinus, Keil, VI. 11 f.

⁴ Jordan, *Kritische Beiträge zur Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache*, Berlin, 1879, p. 241.

manuals down to 1887 you will find a genitive singular *Prosepnaïs*, which is eagerly equated with a Sanskrit genitive in *-âyās*, but a minute inspection of the Cosan mirror now in the Louvre, on which the form was read, reveals the fact that the curve which was mistaken for an *S* is only a wanton lock of hair straying off from Proserpina's head.¹

4. The number of new words which will accrue to our lexicons when the indices to the Corpus are completed will doubtless mount up into the thousands. The new epigraphical dictionary of Ruggiero, which has only advanced to CAT, although it includes only words relating to antiquities, has over fifty words not found in Harper's, some of them not in any Latin lexicon,² and of many words for which the dictionaries only cite single passages, the inscriptions offer several instances.

We should not know, except from inscriptions, that a maker of light clothing was called *vestiarius tenuiarius*,³ and many names of trades and occupations, of fabrics and articles of commerce are only known from inscriptions.

From confining our attention too closely to classical Latin we probably underrate the facility of the popular Latin for forming compounds. Inscriptions preserve some very interesting compound adjectives, e.g. *silvicolens* (cf. *silvicola*, Vergil), Corpus, II. 2660; *altifrons* in same insc.; *florisapus*, C. VIII. 212; *frondicomus* (Prudentius), C. VIII. 7759; *raucisonus* (Lucretius, and Catullus), C. III. 6306; *canistrifer*,

¹ Cf. Schneider, *Dialecti Latinae priscae et Faliscae exempla selecta*, Leipzig, 1886, number 53. Corp. I. 57. Ritschl, *Priscae Latinitatis monumenta epigraphica*, Tabula XI M, and especially the article by Cholodniak, *Rhein. Mus.* XLII. p. 486.

² Cf. the articles on *acomodator*, *acrolithum*, *adcumbitorium*, *adstator*, *adsumptus*, *aemobolium*, *aerunnator*, *agmia* (= *acmia*, Harper), *Agrippiastae*, *aluminarius*, *Ambisagrus*, *Ambrosiales*, *ambulativa*, *ampliator*, *anaglyptarius*, *anagnostria*, *anagones*, *analempsiaca*, *anatiarius*, *acentus*, *Anigemius*, *annuculus*, *ansarium*, *antigradus*, *anularium*, *apparatorium*, *aptatura*, *aralia*, *arbitrix*, *archiater*, *archigybernes*, *archimysta*, *arensis*, *armamentarius*, *assidarius* (= *essedarius*), *assiforana*, *asturconarius*, *aviaticus*, *aulicocta*, *aureficina*, *auricaesor*, *aurificus*, *axearius*, *barcarius*, *baxearsis*, *blattosema*, *bucellarii*, *cacurius*, *calculatura*, *canistraria*, *cannophorus*, *characteraria*, *carnaria*.

³ Cf. Georges, *Lat. Wörterbuch*, and *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1891, p. 166.

C. III. 686; *sistriger*, C. VIII. 212, v. 84; *castificus*, C. III. 686.

The Latin folk-speech was rich in diminutives, and some of these are hidden away in inscriptions. Thus for little grand-daughter we find five different forms, *nepotula*, *nepotla*, *nepotilla*, *neptilla*, and *nepticula*.¹

I have always thought that German, for poetical purposes, possessed a great advantage over English, in the freedom with which it coins diminutives. Who can translate "Röslein auf der Heiden" without missing something of its exquisite flavor? Did not the Romans coin *rosula*? Of course they did, but it is not found in classical literature, nor until the end of the fifth century in Dracontius,² and yet in an inscription in an out-of-the-way corner of Bulgaria, there peeps up a *roscida rosula*,³ rose-bud wet with dew.

Less than a year ago there was found in Spain a bronze bell, now in the museum of Tarragona, which gives a new diminutive term for bell, *cacabulus*,⁴ literally, little pot. With this the Spanish *cascabel* may have some connection.

Inscriptions also contain many words which are purely local. These are often of especial interest to Romance scholars. *Cacabulus*, just mentioned, is an example. Another Spanish inscription of Trajan's reign has the word *paramus*⁵ used of a desert plateau, and in South America to-day the Spaniards speak of a *paramo*.

Only a beginning has as yet been made in tracing dialectic differences. As early as the time of Plautus,⁶ the Praenestines, living only twenty miles away from Rome, were ridiculed for swallowing a part of their words, saying *conea* for *ciconia*, and inscriptions of that neighborhood illustrate

¹ Cf. Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik, Bd. 145, p. 654.

² Cf. Dracontius, Hexaëm, II. 441, and De-Vit, Forcellini, s.v.

³ Found at Nicopolis. Cf. Corp. III. 754.

⁴ Cf. Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie, Oct. 24, 1894, col. 1188 f.

⁵ Cf. Corp. II. 2660. Also used by Julius Honorius. Cf. Riese, Geographi minores, p. 36.

⁶ Cf. Plautus, Truculentus, 690.

this tendency by such spellings as *Gminia*¹ for *Geminia*, *Ptronio*² for *Petronio*.

If the much vexed question of African latinity is ever settled, it will largely be by the aid of inscriptions, and a good beginning has been made here by Kübler³ and other scholars. Let me call attention to a trifle. A German scholar, Richter,⁴ has been at great pains to show that in Plautus and Terence the interjection *au* is used only by women. But in Africa a tradesman who has lost his wife does not hesitate to cry out in his grief,

Au miseram Carthago mihi eripuit sociam.⁵

6. In more than one way inscriptions throw light on Roman literature. We learn the names of poets and poetesses otherwise unknown to fame. We read that a certain Pomponius Bassulus,⁶ toward the close of the first century, translated plays of Menander, and that in 106 a boy prodigy of twelve, named Valerius Pudens,⁷ was crowned victor in the quinquennial poetical contest which had been instituted by Domitian, an honor for which the poet Statius vainly tried. We learn of a poetess, Pedana,⁸ and a poet, Diadumenus.⁹ An inscription found at Aquinum, the birthplace of Juvenal,¹⁰ yields us important facts about that poet. A Greek inscription found at Melassa (Mylasa) a few years ago establishes the praenomen of Tacitus¹¹ as Publius, and tells us that he

¹ Cf. Ephem. Epigr. 1. 72.

² Cf. Ephem. Epigr. 1. 92, and Sittl, Die lokalen Verschiedenheiten der lateinischen Sprache, Erlangen, 1882, p. 22, for other examples. *misc sane*, for *miscæ sane*, is also found. Cf. Lindsay, Latin Language, p. 518.

³ Cf. Archiv für Lat. Lexikographie, VIII. pp. 162-202.

⁴ Studemund's Studien, I. 2, pp. 415-420.

⁵ Corp. VIII. 152.

⁶ Cf. Corp. IX. 1164, *Menandri pauca vorti scitas fabulas*.

⁷ Cf. Insc. Neapol. 5252, and compare Teuffel, Romische Lit. Gesch. § 319. 3, for the poets Nardus, Q. Sulpicius Maximus, and C. Concordius Syriacus.

⁸ Corp. VI. 17050.

⁹ Cf. Notizie degli Scavi, 1891, p. 34, *Hic iaceo Diadumenus arte poeta*.

¹⁰ Corp. X. 5382. I am aware, of course, that some scholars deny that the Juvenal mentioned in the inscription is the poet.

¹¹ Cf. Bulletin de corresp. Hellenique, 1890, p. 621.

was proconsul of Asia probably about 112 A.D. Nothing made the younger Pliny so happy as to be named in the same breath with Tacitus. He notes with pleasure in one of his letters¹ that it was customary for them to be mentioned together in bequests, and, by a curious chance, considerable fragments are still extant of the will of Dasumius,² in which the names of Tacitus and Pliny stand side by side. Pliny himself, by reason of his benefactions to his native Comum, is mentioned in several inscriptions. But I must not linger longer over facts like these.

7. If the Romans hung 'odes upon hawthorns and elegies on brambles,' the hawthorns and the brambles have not survived to tell their story. Not so with the walls and stones. The number of iambs and trochaics, of hexameters and hendecasyllables which have survived the wreck of time is surprising. We have Saturnians that go back to the third century before Christ; we have bits of lyric that antedate Calvus and Catullus.³ Some of the verses preserved might have been written by Ovid or Propertius; some of them would have earned an English school-boy a flogging for their slips of quantity. In general, however, the obituary verse does not fall below the standard of that to be found in certain Baltimore and Philadelphia papers. It may perhaps be noted here that in both the modern and the ancient verse, metrical correctness is sometimes sacrificed to secure exactness in the statement of facts. Thus in the following tribute quoted from a newspaper,

God alone knows how we miss thee
In our home, O daughter and sister dear,
How for thee our hearts are yearning,
How we long thy praise to hear.

the second line is made too long by the insertion of *and sister*, to correspond to the subscription 'by her mother and sisters.'

¹ VII. 20.

² Corp. VI. 10229.

³ Cf. Bücheler in Rhein. Mus. 38, p. 474.

So it is a good senarius if you read
 quae dúm per annos bís decem vitám gerit,
 but faulty if you read
 quae dum per annos bis XVIII vita gerit.¹

We find in these poetical inscriptions, quoted exactly or imitated with slight variations, verses from Lucretius, from all the works of Vergil, from Catullus, Ovid, Propertius, Tibullus, Lucan, and other poets.²

A lady traveller in Egypt, in the reign of Trajan, inscribed on the pyramid at Ghizeh these touching lines :—

Vidi pyramidas sine te dulcissime frater
 Et tibi, quod potui, lacrimas hic maesta profudi
 Et nostri memorem luctus hanc sculpo querelam.³

Editors are agreed that the last line contains a reminiscence of Horace, Od. 3. 11. 51 f.,

Omne et nostri memorem sepulcro
 Scalpe querellam,

where some MSS. read *sculpe*.

To the music of Horace's verse and the rare felicity of his language some critics have been strangely cold, and his claim to the title of lyric poet has not passed unchallenged. In 1891 a vivacious Dutch scholar, Hartmann,⁴ went so far as to

¹ This line actually occurs with *vita* for *vitam* in Corp. VIII. 10828. See Bücheler, *Carmina Epigraphica* Fasc. 1, Leipzig, 1895, no. 110, p. 62. This excellent work, forming a part of the *Anthologia Latina*, was published after the reading of my paper. It contains only the Saturnian, iambic, trochaic, and hexameter poems. Another part is still to appear.

² The opening words of Lucretius, *Aeneadum genetrix*, are found in a Pompeian inscription. The opening of the Aeneid, *Arma virumque cano*, is found in three Pompeian inscriptions and upon a tile near Seville. The beginning of the second book, *conticuere omnes*, is also found in Pompeii. The first two lines of the seventh book of Lucan are found upon an inscription in Trier. Sometimes the quotations or imitations are valuable for text-criticism. The subject might be illustrated indefinitely. See the notes in the ed. of Bücheler already referred to, and a subsequent treatment based upon this edition by Hosius, *Römische Dichter auf Inschriften*, Rheinisches Museum, L. pp. 286-300.

³ Corp. III. 21.

⁴ J. J. Hartmann, *De Horatio poeta*, Lugduni Batavorum, 1891.

deny that Horace's odes enjoyed any considerable reputation immediately after his death. As if to resent this affront, only a few months later there came to light in a modest house in Pompeii¹ two medallion portraits, one of Vergil, the other of Horace. Before Vergil is a volume of Homer; before Horace a volume inscribed with the name of Sappho, showing that long before Juvenal wrote his seventh satire, these two poets were associated in the minds of the people as the great epic and the great lyric poet of Rome. I need not here recount the story of the finding in 1890 of the long inscription containing the official record of the celebration of the secular games, which incidentally throws much light on the *Carmen Saeculare* itself. The simple statement, *Carmen composuit Q. Horatius Flaccus*, gives us, to be sure, no new information, but in its official setting, it emphasizes the fact that the poet who was to become the master of Tennyson's youth, and the solace of Gladstone's old age, was in the year 17 B.C. the acknowledged poet laureate of Rome.

¹ Cf. *Notizie degli Scavi*, January, 1892, p. 28.

III. — *Some Spartan Families under the Empire.*

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THE Spartan inscriptions are not in themselves a very interesting subject for study. Belonging for the most part to the time of the empire, they consist chiefly of lists of magistrates or the eulogies engraved on the bases of honorary statues, of which the erection seems to have been authorized by the city, while the expense was borne by the relatives of the distinguished man. Naturally in such inscriptions chronological indications are seldom found; for although the lists of magistrates are regularly dated by the names of the Patronomus Eponymus, but few of these can be placed with precise accuracy. In the first volume of the Corpus,¹ Boeckh gave a list of the Eponymi, and so far as his material allowed, endeavored to point out their succession and approximate time, and this work has been supplemented by Foucart in the notes to the Laconian inscriptions collected by Le Bas.² However, the chronology of the Spartan magistrates of the empire is still in a very uncertain condition, nor is it likely to be placed on a secure basis until our stock of inscriptions is very much increased. Perhaps something may be gained by a still further extension of the methods employed by Boeckh and Foucart, especially when their material is supplemented by new inscriptions, in some cases found outside of Laconia.

A starting-point in defining the time is furnished by the occasional mention of an emperor, while the succession of the Eponymi is sometimes determined by inscriptions containing the *cursus honorum* of distinguished Spartans with the year in which each office was held. Though such indi-

¹ C. I. G. I. p. 606.

² Le Bas, *Voy. Arch., Explic. des Inscr.*, Pt. II. p. 109.

cations as these must of course form the foundation of any chronology, they are applicable to a very small proportion of the inscriptions, and further help must be sought from the names occurring in the lists. As the father's name is regularly added, it is often possible to trace successive generations through these texts, and thus obtain at least a tolerable certainty as to their order. Such family groups have been indicated by both Boeckh and Foucart, and freely used by them in their study of the inscriptions, but it was no part of their work to combine these groups into more extensive family trees, nor was the material at their disposal sufficient for such a combination. Using their work as a basis and incorporating more recently discovered inscriptions, it seems possible to trace the history of some Spartan families through several generations; while these genealogies in turn may serve to throw some light upon the chronology. It is true this method is far from absolutely certain, and in some cases it is impossible to come to a positive decision. P. Aelius Alkandridas, the son of Damokratidas, is certainly closely connected with P. Aelius Damokratidas, son of Alkandridas,¹ but is he father or son of the latter? Such a question can only be answered by the aid of other names occurring in these inscriptions, and sometimes this help is lacking. Still, without resorting to violent conjectures it is possible to make quite extensive combinations, and when these are followed out through all the inscriptions, the results must tend to clear away some of the obscurities previously existing. It is my object in this paper to trace the history, or rather the genealogy, — for the account is only a bare list of names, — of two families, whose members seem to have been prominent in Sparta through several generations.

Of the first family, one branch is known to us through literature as well as through the monuments, and its history has been so thoroughly discussed by R. Weil,² that it is unnecessary to do more than briefly summarize his results, with some additions from inscriptions unknown to him. Plutarch³

¹ C. I. G. 1364 *a* and *b*.

² *Athen. Mittheil.* VI. p. 10.

³ *Plut. Anton.* 67.

tells us that after the battle of Actium, Eurykles the Laconian pursued Antonius in revenge for the death of his father Lachares, who had been executed by the triumvir on a charge of piracy. Evidently Augustus valued the assistance thus received, for Strabo¹ says that in his time Eurykles was the ruler of Laconia, and that the island of Kythera was part of his private possessions. His rule, however, led to complaints on the part of his subjects,² so that he lost the favor of the emperor before his death, while at the time Strabo wrote (not later than 19 A.D.), his son was evidently in disgrace. Thus much we are able to gather from the literature; for the remainder of our information we are indebted to the inscriptions. These show that C. Iulius Eurykles, the son of Lachares,³ had two sons, C. Iulius Deximachos,⁴ of whom only the name is known, and C. Iulius Lakon,⁵ who later obtained such favor with the emperor, that under Claudius he ruled Laconia.⁶ About 68 A.D. an inscription was erected on the Acropolis of Athens, in honor of C. Iulius Spartiatikos,⁷ whose father's name is not given, but who is high-priest of the divine emperors and their family, an office belonging to the family of Eurykles, as is shown by a later inscription.⁸ Weil had already suspected some relationship to Eurykles, and this is made almost certain by an inscription from Epidaurus,⁹ which reads Γ. Ἰούλιος Λάκωνος υἱὸς Σπάρτιατικός. There seems to be no trace of the descendants of Spartiatikos, but an inscription of Gythion¹⁰ mentions C. Iulius Eurykles Herklanos, son of C. Iulius Lakon, descendant (ἔκγονος) of Eurykles, 37th priest descended from the Dioscuri, etc. The same name probably occurred on a stone brought from Kythera and once forming part of the collection Nanni, but which seems now to have disappeared.¹¹ This inscription can be positively dated as not earlier than 116 A.D.,

¹ Strabo, pp. 363 and 366.

² Cf. Ioseph. *Antiq.* XVI. 10; *Bell. Iud.* I. 26, 4.

³ C. I. A. III. 801 *b.* ⁴ C. I. A. III. 801 *a.* ⁵ C. I. G. 1389.

⁶ *Coins of British Museum*, Peloponnesus, Pl. xxv. 12.

⁷ C. I. A. III. 805. ⁸ Le Bas-Foucart, II. 245 *b.*

⁹ Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Epidaure*, No. 197. ¹⁰ Le Bas-Foucart, II. 245 *b.*

¹¹ C. I. G. 1306; Le Bas-Foucart, II. p. 130.

and may possibly be later than 117 A.D., as in it Trajan is called *θεός*. It has been usually assumed that this Eurykles Herklanos was grandson of the great Eurykles, and consequently son of Lakon and brother of Spartiatikos, but there seems a serious chronological difficulty in this view, involving as it does the supposition of only two generations covering a period of one hundred years, from the death of Eurykles in 15 A.D. to the end of the reign of Trajan. It seems, therefore, more probable that Lakon, son of Eurykles, had himself a son Lakon, who was the father of Eurykles Herklanos. The latter was evidently a prominent man, for he had been quaestor, tribune, praetor, legate of Hispania Baetica, and legate of the 3d legion, so that it is not improbable that his father had resided in Rome, and hence is not noticed in his native land.¹ The son of Eurykles Herklanos is probably the C. Iulius Lakon, who was Eponymus for the second time during the reign of Hadrian.² Here the family tree of Eurykles comes to an end, but certain other inscriptions make it clear that part of the honors, of which Herklanos was so proud, belonged to his family only through marriage, and that his branch is but part of a much larger stem.

We have seen that Herklanos is 37th priest in descent from the Dioscuri, and it is natural to seek some connection with the other priests of these deities. The clue seems to be furnished by an inscription,³ which has been often discussed. It is a list engraved under a relief representing the Dioscuri standing, one on each side of a xoanon-like female figure, and evidently contains the names of those who took part in the worship of these Spartan divinities. It belongs to a class of inscriptions which seems to precede the Roman period, or at least the time of the empire, for Roman *nomina* and *praenomina* are entirely lacking. For us the interest of the inscription is found in a group of five names, *Εὐρυβία-*

¹ That Eurykles was a person of importance at Rome, or at least well known there, seems clear from the fact that among the numerous names borne by Pliny's friend, Q. Pompeius Falco, as recorded in C. I. L. X. 6321, we find Iulius Eurykles Herklanos.

² C. I. G. 1347. ³ Le Bas-Foucart, II. 163 a, especially lines 2-5 and 11.

νασσα Σιδέκτα, Τυνδάρης Σιδέκτα ἱερεὺς, Δεξιμάχος Πρατόλα, Σιδέκτας Πρατόλα, and Πρατόλας Δεξιμάχου. Obviously we have here a family group, in which the names Sidektas, Pratos, and Deximachos are hereditary, and which is closely connected with the worship of the Dioscuri; if, therefore, we find in the later inscriptions these same names among the hereditary priests of the Dioscuri, a direct connection may fairly be assumed. Now a son of Eurykles bore the name C. Iulius Deximachos, and in an inscription,¹ which must fall between 18 B.C. and 14 B.C., we hear of C. Iulius Deximachos, the son of Pratos. The inference that Eurykles married the daughter of this Deximachos is plain, and has already been made by Weil, nor is there anything improbable in the supposition that the father of Deximachos is the Πρατόλας Δεξιμάχου mentioned in line 11 of the inscription in Le Bas; at any rate, it can scarcely be doubted that he belonged to the same family. We have thus a complete genealogical tree extending from about the middle of the first century B.C. until the time of Hadrian; and while at this time the direct descendants of C. Iulius Deximachos disappear, the line can be carried further in a collateral branch.

Among the inscriptions of Epidauros there is a group² referring to the family of a certain T. Statilius Timokrates, the son of Lamprias. Statues appear to have been set up in honor of this man and almost all his relations, but the most important documents are those relating to the statues erected by Athens and Sparta in honor of his son, T. Statilius Lamprias, who died in early youth. The Athenian decrees enable us to date this event between 66 A.D. and 68 A.D., while the Spartan decree, which is unfortunately very poorly preserved, gives some valuable information as to the connection of this Argive family with Laconia. It appears from this that Timokrates married Timosthenis, the daughter of Diylos, a Lacedaemonian, that her brother Aristokrates lived in Sparta, and further that the daughter of Timokrates and Timosthenis, Pasichareia, married a Spartan, Pratos. With

¹ C. I. G. 1299.

² Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Epidaure*, Nos. 202-211.

this information it is possible to restore an inscription,¹ of which Boeckh had an imperfect copy. It was on a monument erected to Memmia Timosthenis by her parents, P. Pratolas and Memmia Pasichareia. Boeckh read Pasikleia, but the text shows X, and the Epidaurian inscription makes the restoration certain. The only objection that can be urged is that the daughter of Statilius Timokrates ought to be Statilia and not Memmia Pasichareia. The Epidaurian inscriptions show, however, that Timokrates assumed the name T. Statilius after he had already attained some prominence. If now his daughter was married before this time, she would probably take the name of her husband's family. I have not found when a T. Statilius was active in Greece, but P. Memmius Regulus was governor of Achaia, Macedonia, and Moesia under Caligula and Claudius, and it does not seem a violent assumption that the father of Pratolas owed his *civitas* to him.

In an inscription² which probably dates from the time of Antoninus Pius, occurs the name of P. Memmius Pratolaos, son of Deximachos. The time agrees very well, and in this man it is easy to recognize the grandson of the husband of Pasichareia. That this family is descended from the same source as Iulius Deximachos becomes clear when we find³ that P. Memmius Deximachos, son of Pratolaos, is the 42d hereditary priest of the Dioscuri in Sparta. Evidently since the time of Eurykles Herklanos this priesthood had passed over to the younger branch. This priest had two sons, Mnason and Pratolaos, but with them the family seems to end. Another branch of this family held prominent offices in Sparta during the second century of our era, but their exact connection with those already discussed is not yet clear. [P. Memmius] Sidektas (again a name that occurs in the early list of the family) was Eponymus at the time of Hadrian's visit to Sparta⁴ (126 A.D. according to Dürr⁵), and he had a son, P. Memmius Damares,⁶ whose son, P. Memmius Pratolaos Aristokles, is mentioned in two inscriptions,⁷ which

¹ C. I. G. 1441; cf. Vol. I. p. 922. ² C. I. G. 1240. ³ C. I. G. 1340.

⁴ C. I. G. 1241.

⁵ Dürr, *Reisen d. Kaisers Hadrian*, p. 59.

⁶ C. I. G. 1352.

⁷ C. I. G. 1341, 1342.

cannot be earlier than the time of M. Aurelius. The period is clearly defined, but the relationship between P. Memmius Pratolaos, son of Deximachos, and his apparently somewhat older contemporary P. Memmius Sidektas, is nowhere indicated, unless Boeckh's restoration of a very fragmentary inscription¹ can be accepted, according to which Sidektas also is the son of Deximachos. The inscription, however, is far too mutilated to give any certainty to this reading, probable though it appears, so that I prefer to leave it out of account. Other members of this family seem to be Memmia Ageta, daughter of Pratolas,² Memmia Damokratia, wife of L. Volusenus Damares,³ Memmia Eurybanassa, wife of C. Iulius Seimedes,⁴ and Memmia Xenokratia, daughter of Deximachos,⁵ but so far as I can see, there is no clue to their exact position in the genealogy.

The other family is somewhat less complicated and the relationships less confused than in the one which has just been discussed. Plutarch⁶ tells a story of an embassy to Rome to protest against the tyranny of Eurykles, which was headed by a descendant of the great Brasidas. It is therefore not surprising that we meet with this name several times in the later inscriptions, nor that the Roman name of the family in which it occurs is Tiberius Claudius.⁷ In three inscriptions of the time of Hadrian,⁸ there appears a certain Ti. Claudius Harmoneikos, who is once called son of Pleistoxenos, and who is probably the father of the Pleistoxenos and Xenophanes, who appear in another inscription,⁹ which is referred on other grounds to the reign of Antoninus. Another Ti. Claudius Harmoneikos, son of Brasidas, appears in an inscription,¹⁰ which probably belongs to the early part of the reign of M. Aurelius. It seems almost certain therefore that Brasidas is a third son of the first Ti. Claudius Harmo-

¹ C. I. G. 1250.² C. I. G. 1437.³ C. I. G. 1438.⁴ C. I. G. 1372.⁵ C. I. G. 1439.⁶ Plut. *Apoph. Reg. et Imper.*, Aug. 14.⁷ Cf. Sueton. *Tib.* 6 for the connection of the Claudii with Laconia.⁸ C. I. G. 1346, 1347; Le Bas-Foucart, II. 173 a.⁹ C. I. G. 1249, IV.¹⁰ Le Bas-Foucart, II. 176.

neikos. This Ti. Claudius Brasidas, father of Harmoneikos, does not himself appear in any inscription, unless he is the Eponymus mentioned in C. I. G. 1259, or the Brasidas whose statue, with its inscribed base, is now in the Museum at Sparta.¹ He seems to have had three sons, Harmoneikos, Brasidas,² and Pratolaos.³ The latter had a daughter, Claudia Damostheneia,⁴ who married Ti. Claudius Eudamos,⁵ the son of Spartiatikos. This Spartiatikos is possibly the father of Chareision,⁶ and almost certainly the father of Ti. Claudius Aristoteles,⁷ who lived during the reign of Caracalla. Aristoteles married Julia Etymokledeia,⁸ the daughter of C. Iulius Agathokles, son of Hippothales.⁹ They had one daughter, Claudia Philokratia; but the names of women occur chiefly on funeral monuments or the dedications of statues, and I have not been able to follow this branch further.

The other branch, however, which is descended from Eudamos and Damostheneia, can be traced easily for more than one generation. Two daughters are known, Claudia Damastheneia,¹⁰ and Claudia Polla, the wife of Aristeas, and mother of Pomponia Kallistonike, whose long list of priestly offices is set forth in C. I. G. 1444. That in this family many priestly functions were hereditary was already clear from the inscription¹¹ in honor of the elder Damostheneia, but Kallistonike enjoys quite a different list of titles, and one of these gives a clue to the source of her dignities. She is priestess of the Dioscuri, and, as has been said, daughter of Pomponius Aristeas. This points to a family well known from an earlier group of inscriptions. Alkastös, son of Timokritos, was senator under Hadrian.¹² One of his sons, C. Pomponius Agis, is mentioned in a number of inscriptions,¹³ which can thus be dated as falling approximately in the reign of Anto-

¹ *Athen. Mittheil.* II. 363.

² C. I. G. 1243, 1426; *Eph. Arch.* 1892, 19, 2.

³ *Eph. Arch.* 1892, 19, 2; C. I. G. 1446.

⁴ C. I. G. 1409.

⁵ C. I. G. 1448.

⁶ C. I. G. 1445.

⁷ C. I. G. 1241; Le Bas-Foucart, II. 173 a.

⁸ C. I. G. 1239, 1240, 1249 II., 1266.

⁹ C. I. G. 1329.

¹⁰ C. I. G. 1445.

¹¹ C. I. G. 1349, 1353.

¹² C. I. G. 1259, 1360.

¹³ C. I. G. 1446.

nius, and this emperor seems to be mentioned in an inscription¹ relating to another son of Alkastos, C. Pomponius Aristetas, who claims descent from Herakles and the Dioscuri. His son, C. Pomponius Alkastos, lived under M. Aurelius,² and it does not seem extravagant to see in the father of Pomponia Kallistonike a son of this Alkastos.

It remains to consider two inscriptions on bases found near Amyklai,³ which throw further light on the descendants of Claudius Pratoalos. The first is in honor of Pompeia Polla, daughter of Theoxenos, whose statue was erected by her *ἐκργοι*, Ti. Claudius Aelius Pratoalos Damokratidas and Claudia Damostheneia. Sextus Pompeius Theoxenos is known from an inscription,⁴ which shows that he was honored by a statue erected at the expense of his three children, Sextus Pompeius Theoxenos, Menophanes, and Polla, who now herself receives the same honor. The second base contains the inscription relating to Ti. Claudius Pratoalos, son of Brasidas, to which reference has already been made. This statue also was set up by the city at the expense of his *παῖδες*, Ti. Claudius Aelius Pratoalos Damokratidas, who here adds to his name a long list of priestly titles, and Claudia Damostheneia. The obvious explanation is that the two children have erected the statues of their father and grandmother. Polla is therefore the wife of Ti. Claudius Brasidas and mother of Pratoalos, or else mother of the wife of Pratoalos. I prefer the latter, for we have seen that of the three sons of Brasidas one was named for his paternal grandfather, and one for his father, so that it is not unlikely that the third, according to a common Spartan custom, should be named for his maternal grandfather, and that Brasidas had married the daughter of a Pratoalos, perhaps one of the Memmii already discussed. If this is true, Polla must be the mother of the wife of Pratoalos.

There is, however, one apparent difficulty in considering Ti. Claudius Aelius Pratoalos Damokratidas as brother of the elder Claudia Damostheneia. It is found in the inscription⁵

¹ Le Bas-Foucart, II. 174.

² C. I. G. 1242, 1247, 1253, 1351.

³ *Eph. Arch.*, 1892, 19, 1, 2.

⁴ C. I. G. 1369.

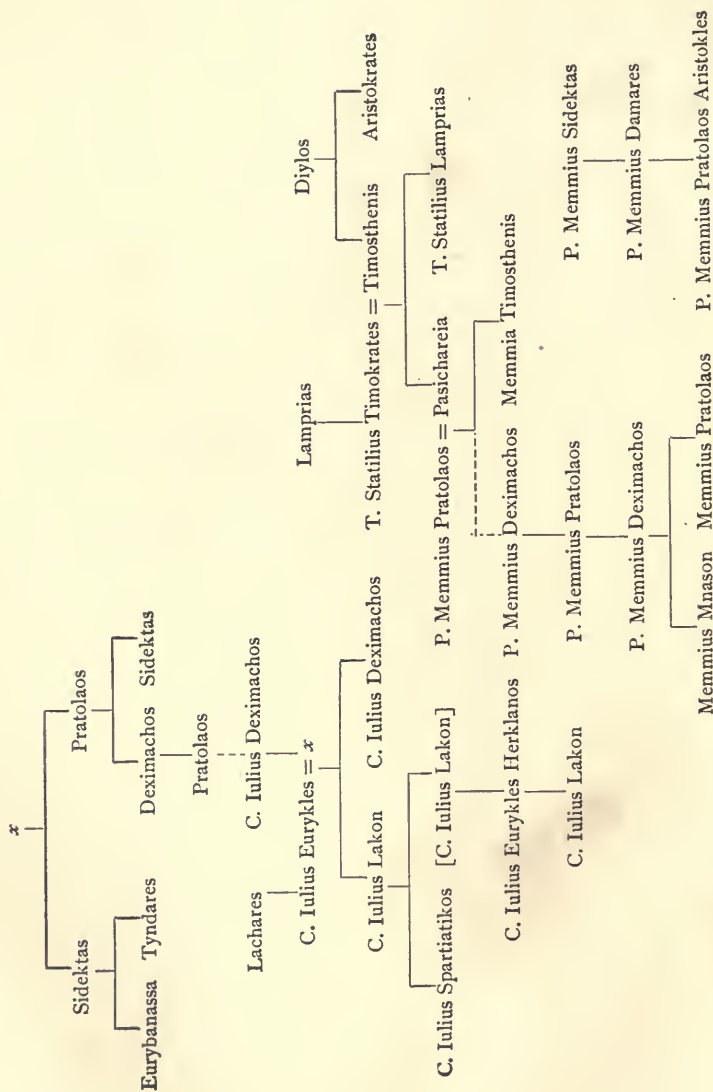
⁵ C. I. G. 1446.

belonging to the statue of this very Claudia Damostheneia, daughter of Pratolaos, for here she is given all the titles, which in the new inscription belong to Pratolaos Damokratidas, while the expense is borne by her son, Ti. Claudius Pratolaos Damokratidas, son of Eudamos. Are, then, the first two statues erected by mother and son to the grandmother and the father of the former? This seems very hard to believe, for the Spartan inscriptions usually mark the relationship very carefully. The alternative seems to be that Ti. Claudius Aelius Pratolaos Damokratidas and Ti. Claudius Pratolaos Damokratidas are uncle and nephew; and I find in the presence of the Aelius in the former name an additional indication that the two are not identical. It can scarcely be a mere coincidence that in an inscription, which cannot well be earlier than M. Aurelius, we have mention of P. Aelius Alkandridas, son of Damokratidas, and in other inscriptions, which cannot be exactly dated, P. Aelius Damokratidas, son of Alkandridas. If this man is the father of the first-mentioned Alkandridas, it is quite possible that Ti. Claudius Aelius Pratolaos Damokratidas was the adopted son of Alkandridas, and that the nephew received his uncle's names without the additional gentile designation.

The limits originally assigned to this paper forbade any discussion of the scattered fragments of genealogies which may be traced in other Spartan inscriptions, and further study has not led me to believe that they would lend themselves to any such extensive reconstructions as have been possible in these two families. Nor until this material has been worked over, does it seem wise to complete the inquiry by applying the results already obtained to the determination of the succession of the Eponymi, although I hope at another time to show that something has been gained in this direction also.

NOTE. — In the following tables the results of this discussion are combined in the form of genealogical trees, in which those relationships, which, although very probable, yet lack the direct testimony of the inscriptions, are indicated by dots, while those which seem distinctly proved are shown by heavy lines.

TABLE I.



IV. — *On Ancient Superstition.*

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I.

THE Greek word for superstition is *δεισιδαιμονία*, literally, "fear of demons," and, as such, superstition is regarded by those who specially dealt with it during antiquity.¹ While the noun apparently does not occur before Theophrastos, the corresponding adjective *δεισιδάιμων* is found as early as Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*,² although there it applies to the zealous worshipper of the gods, and not to the superstitious man in the more recent sense of the word. But we may safely assume that the word acquired its special meaning at a considerably earlier time, for we see Menander harping on this string in a comedy to which he gave the title *Δεισιδάιμων*.³ In fact, the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth centuries seem to have been especially favorable to the development of the idea conveyed by the special use of the word. For, at this period, the Orphic doctrine, which had existed for centuries, seems to have gained a stronger hold on the masses. Through Herodotos⁴ we first hear of the various Orphic rites; the *πολλὰ γράμματα* of the sect attracted Euripides'⁵ attention, and Plato,⁶ in his *Republic*, mentions their *ὄμαδος βίβλων*. Rohde,⁷ I think, has abundantly proved that Orpheus' followers were among the chief promulgators of purifications and charms against evil spirits.

¹ Theophr. *Charact.* 16; Plut. *de Super.* 2; cp. 4.: to the *δεισιδάιμων* the *ἀρχὴ θεῶν* is a tyrannis. See also Babick, *de Deisidaemonia apud Veteres*, diss. Lips.

² Xenoph. *Cyrop.* III. 3, 58.

³ Kock, *F. C. A.* III. 32 ff.

⁴ Herod. II. 81.

⁵ Eurip. *Hippol.* 954.

⁶ Plat. *Rep.* II. 364 E.

⁷ Erwin Rohde, *Psyche*, 398. Theophr. also mentions particularly the *Ὀρφεοτελεσταί*.

I believe, therefore, that this period of great intellectual struggles and religious changes was well adapted for coining the word *δεισιδαίμων*, by which it stamped the adherents of a faith which just then began to die out and fall an easy prey to derision.¹

The Latin *superstitio* would seem to be a late product ; it is not found before Cicero.² But its derivative, *superstitiosus*, appears as early as Plautus.³ Here, indeed, we meet with the same difficulty as in Greek. For in Plautus the word seems to denote a man gifted with prophetic power rather than superstitious. I have elsewhere⁴ derived the word from *superstes* and interpreted it as "survival."⁵ I do not, by any means, consider this etymology as certain, but in lack of something better, I still venture to adhere to it. From this meaning, the different usages of *superstitiosus* as religious, prophetic, and superstitious, may be derived without too great a strain.⁶

It is only natural, however, that in course of time the signification of both words should have undergone changes. In fact, the very perspicuity of the Greek *δεισιδαίμωνία* must have affected the word in accordance with the changes which the conception of a demon (*δαίμων*) underwent in later periods.⁷ As for the Romans, the use of *superstitio* for any foreign religion, and especially for the Jewish and Christian faiths,⁸ sufficiently shows the change.

¹ I have no doubt that the manifold influences of the sophists and of Anaxagoras must have affected wider strata of the population. The occurrences during the pestilence (Thukyd. II. 47, 52) and the Hermocopidae distinctly show this altered spirit. Nor is a tenacious clinging to the old beliefs in some circles, like that of Nikias, inconsistent with so radical a change. N. himself was decidedly *δεισιδαίμων* (Plut. *de Sup.* 8).

² Cic. *Nat. Deor.* I. 117 a.o.

³ Plaut. *Amphitruo*, 323; *Rudens*, 1139; *Curculio*, 397.

⁴ Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopædie*, I. 29.

⁵ *Superstitio* — *superstes* = *natio* — *natus*.

⁶ The superstitious man clings to the survivals (religious), even after they fall into contempt (superstitious), and, inasmuch as the divination it refers to is low and ridiculous, it would even acquire the meaning of prophetic.

⁷ Heinze, *Xenocrates*.

⁸ Pliny the younger, *Epist.* X. 97, 9; Tac. *Hist.* V. 13. Plutarch also speaks of the Jewish *δεισιδαίμωνία*, referring, it is true, to the strict observation of the Sabbath only: *de Sup.* 8.

But the principal question is: may these definitions influence our investigation?

It will certainly be necessary to state what has been considered to be superstitious during the different periods of antiquity; and perhaps such statistics might even show the course of thought which caused this continuous repudiation and reception of beliefs. But our final aim demands a still deeper insight. Why not, therefore, abandon the ancient definitions and start from those now prevailing? Unfortunately, we are here in a real *embarras de richesse*. To the scientist, every irrational belief not founded on careful observation would be superstition, and thither he would unhesitatingly relegate most of the tales told by the ancient naturalists.¹ On the other hand, from the orthodox standpoint of a revealed religion, the whole religious life of antiquity is superstitious. It is in this sense we find the fathers of the Church terming heathendom a superstition, thus avenging the taunt inflicted upon Christianity by Pliny and his contemporaries.

We must reject both of these views as too sweeping. Modern mythological research, more especially on Teutonic mythology,² has established beyond doubt the value of superstitious customs and practices in preserving an earlier stage of religious feeling, otherwise lost; and the same has been shown in the case of modern Greek Folk Lore.³ The great number of instances where such an attempt has met with success seems to me to raise this observation to the rank of a law which ought to be applied to antiquity itself. In this light, the inquiry into superstition becomes a branch of the history of religion, equal perhaps to the value of archaeology in what the Germans call "Kunstmythologie."

This task of tracing the development of superstition from its religious origin to its crudest and most senile aspects

¹ This, for instance, is the side taken by Brehm, in his celebrated *Thierleben*.

² J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*; F. Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*; Mannhardt, *Feld und Waldkulte*; Frazer, *The Golden Bough*.

³ Esp. C. Wachsmuth, *Das alte Griechenland im neuen*; B. Schmidt, *Volksleben der Neugriechen*.

would be easy if we had to deal with one uninterrupted movement. We should only have to follow the ancient traditions according to their age. But this unbroken development does not exist. In the history of literature and art, the impossibility of showing any such continuous flow has been duly recognized in our century. And the recent researches into soul-worship and into an early animal-worship of the Greeks teach us the same lesson in the field of ancient religion.¹ No doubt an Athenian of the fifth century smiled at Hesiod's firm belief in the pollution of the sun by the exposures of human excrements.² Yet his burial-laws prove him to have held the same belief with regard to corpses.³ The follower of the Stoa might not believe in the picture of Hades' wild mother, madly rushing through the air with the souls of the dead, so familiar to Athens that Aeschylus needs but one word to recall her image.⁴ Still, Folk Lore shows this conception so firmly rooted in popular belief that a later period shaped Death itself after this model.⁵ If we think of this unceasing fluctuation, how a religious belief is now being pushed back into oblivion, only to break forth again with redoubled power, we cannot help recognizing the existence of certain laws which regulate these movements as the eternal and unvarying rules of the conception of the supernatural. This shows clearly the insufficiency of the so-called historical method of stating the extent of superstitions at different periods, which method does not take into account that a late superstition may in its growth and origin be even older than a Homeric one.

The question, however, is how far does the nature of our sources enable us to follow this supposed fluctuation? With a few exceptions, the remnants of Greek literature which have come down to us are the works of men who were the very best and most enlightened of their own ages. It is as perilous to adopt their opinions on superstition and religion,

¹ E. Rohde, *Psyche*. A. B. Cook, *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894, 81 ff.; cp. Loeschke, *Athen. Mitt.* XIX. 519, and Noack, *ibid.* 480.

² Hesiod, *Works*, 727.

³ E. Rohde, *Psyche*, 207, i.

⁴ Aesch. *Agam.* 1189.

⁵ B. Schmidt, *Volksleben s. Charos.*

as it would be to accept Kant's and Goethe's views on the religious feeling of the eighteenth century. All the more, because neither in Greece nor in Rome was there any dogmatically established doctrine which could set us our standard in the way Christianity does in dealing with modern superstitions.

II.

It is true, we have two treatises solely devoted to superstitions: Plutarch's *περὶ δεισιδαιμονίας* and Theophrastos' *δεισιδαίμων*. But Plutarch's booklet, being a *πρωτρεπτικός*, dwells mostly on the baseness and the dangers of being superstitious. There is scarcely one fact in it of which we may make use. Moreover, he deals with the superstitions of a late age, corrupted, as it were, by a long familiarity with foreign sectarian beliefs. Theophrastos' admirable sketch, on the other hand, abounds in facts. Yet, if we carefully consider his information, very little of it is of value for us. For, although his work is based on actual life, taken from the comedy, his standpoint is too exalted, so that among the features of his *δεισιδαίμων* he includes beliefs which no doubt simply belonged to the every-day religion of the people.¹

Our search will extend chiefly to the humbler regions of literature. In the first line, to the writers on natural history, medicine, *παράδοξα*, and *θαυμάσια*. Here the palm is due to Pliny, who, notwithstanding his fervent protestations, has preserved with unmistakable pleasure the "frauds of the magicians" and with them much valuable information. Even more reliable knowledge may be gathered from his incidental mention of miraculous powers ascribed to natural objects or of queer customs which he sets forth to illustrate his doctrines.

¹ As superstitions proper, I can only accept the "angang" of the *weasel* and the *owl*, the spitting at the sight of a maniac or an epileptic, and perhaps the unlucky foreboding of the nibbled grain-bag. The beliefs concerning the snake, the purificatory rites in the morning, and the consultation of the *Ὁρφεοτελεστής* once a month belong to the sphere of popular religion, as well as the fear of uncleanness caused by the touch of tombs and women in confinement. Even these form that proper religious basis underlying superstition which we are trying to find.

His work is, indeed, an inexhaustible storehouse. Moreover, he stands *unus pro multis*, as the excerptor of so many authors lost to us. This, however, renders it difficult to make the proper use of his information, as we must in every case trace back his statements to their sources, at the same time guarding against the numerous misunderstandings to which the very method of his work made him open.¹ Of other authors it may suffice to mention Aelian, Alexander of Tralles, Paulus Aegineta, Marcellus of Bordeaux. As a rule, however, the later an author's period, the less is the value of his information, despite its growing quantity, and the more is it derived from second-hand or third-hand sources. The much scantier facts given by Galen, Theophrastos, Aristotle, and Hippokrates are much more valuable.²

The conservative character of agricultural customs has made them the richest field of superstitions in modern Folk Lore. This rule holds good for antiquity also. The Geoponica delight in narrating such things. Their sad state, however, due partly to our manuscripts, partly to the unconscientiousness of their Byzantine compilers, renders it necessary to deal with this treatise with extreme care. The efforts of Gemoll³ and Oder⁴ seem to have been almost in vain; and confusion here reigns supreme.⁵ The condition of the Roman agricultural writers is slightly better. But Columella and his follower Palladius embodied too much of the young and fabulous traditions of later Alexandrinism. Fortunately we possess Cato, whose work in its simplicity is brimful of important reports on superstitions of his own period.

¹ Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enc.* I. 29 ff. passim. As to misunderstandings, cp. p. 58, 63 (radish and cabbage).

² F. i. Galen on amulets (f. i. *Simpl. Med.* X. 18); Theophrastos on the κύμνον (*II. P.* VII. 3, 3); Aristotle on the male principle in the egg (*π. ζῴων γεν.* III. 27); Hippokrates on charms (*π. λεπ. νόσ.* VI. 354 Littré).

³ *Berl. Stud.* 1883.

⁴ *Rhein. Mus.* XLV. 58 ff.; XLVIII. 1 ff.

⁵ No doubt Oder was right in spurning Gemoll's confidence in the lemmata, though his own deductions and conclusions do not seem much safer. But even if he should be right, our present purpose will not be much furthered. For these sources are for the most part themselves of a fabulous nature and of a comparatively late age.

Third, come the magical papyri.¹ Though as products of a secret science they do not properly belong here, still they contain much popular lore. As yet this has been much neglected, while the greatest care has been bestowed on the theological parts of their contents. This neglect is partly due to the difficulty of severing the property of Greece from the thick cobwebs of Oriental superstition in which it is entangled, and which necessitate the constant help of the Egyptologist and Semitist. The chief fault in what has already been done is the endeavor to attribute too much to real Greek antiquity.²

Another source, rich in superstitious traditions, is formed by the authors of the patristic literature, more especially by such men as Origenes,³ Clemens of Alexandria⁴ and Hippolytos⁵ in the field of Hellenism, and by Arnobius, Lactantius, Tertullianus, and St. Augustine in the western world. Their writings are valuable on account of the good and reliable authors they used. But we must take care not to be misled by their custom to transfer such information to their own ages, nor, on the other hand, to ascribe with them to a high antiquity beliefs fostered by a later and syncretistically infected period.⁶

In comparison with these four main sources all our other

¹ Parthey, *Abhand. d. Berl. Akad.* 1865; Leemans, *Pap. Mus. Aeg. Leyd.* II. 1885; Wessely, *Denkschr. d. Wien. Akad.* 1888; 1893 = Kenyon, *Greek Pap. in the B. M.* 1893; Dieterich, *Jahrb. f. Philol. Suppl.* XVI. Abraxas.

² This is especially true of Dieterich, who, in his excellent "Abraxas," indulges in exaggerating the influence of Orphicism, while he is severely handicapped by an insufficient knowledge of Hebrew and Egyptian. Cp. his entirely unwarranted treatment of the Essenes, 137-147, and of the Apocalypse, 117 ff. Lagarde, on the other hand, despaired too soon of the possibility of disentangling the Ephesia grammata. F. i. Pap. Par. (Wessely, 1888) 196, is merely an anagram of the Hebrew words: תְּרַאֲהָ רַתְרָה רִנְנִימָה; and *ibid.* 1291, *σθηνωρηλιε* is ὁ ἄηρ ἡλιε, Sun, the giver of light.

³ *Contra Celsum.*

⁴ *Στρωματεῖς*; esp. VII. 712 A — 714 C Sylb.

⁵ Hippolytos (Ps.-Origenes) *κατὰ πασῶν ἀρτίσεων* IV.

⁶ A good example is offered by Clem. Al. His statements, at the place quoted, are apparently all taken from some cynical treatise. On the other hand, he draws on his often-used catalogue of *εὐρεταί* and ascribes the *εὐρημα δευσιδαιμονίας* to Dardanos, Eetion, Midas, and so on (*προτροπτικός* 10 B Sylb).

information is insignificant in extent, if we except the Greek novels and the writings of Lucian and Alkiphron in Greece, of Petronius and the satirists in Rome. All these are comparatively late and their value is much impaired by their second-hand character.¹ To a certain degree, we may ourselves explore the storehouse of their knowledge. For they are chiefly indebted to the Athenian comedy of the fifth and the following centuries. Titles like *Δεισιδαίμων* and *Φαρμακοπῶλοι* show how much superstition incited the wit of the comedy-writers, with whom we may class here Epicharmos, closely followed, as we know, by Theokritos. But in quantity the yield of a research in this field is scanty; although, of course, this evidence is invaluable in ascertaining the higher age of late superstitions. The further we go back, the thinner our information grows. Tragic literature and the Lyrics cannot be expected to be rich. It is Hesiod who forms an exception, concerned as he is with rural and everyday life. He justifies our implicit confidence in the conservatism of agricultural traditions; the more so if we compare his poems with the Homeric epos. The Ionian court life, for which this epos was conceived and to which it had to appeal, exercised a destructive influence on the conservation of the homely beliefs of the tiller of the soil in Homer.²

¹ This is especially true of Alkiphron and the Roman satirists. But it holds good of Lucian as well. It was not only in style that he indulged in an imitation of the Athenian comedy (cp. Kock, *Rhein. Mus.* XLIII. 26 ff.), and even of Petronius (notwithstanding A. Collignon's restrictions in his *Étude sur Pétrone*, 312 ff.).

² Traces of superstitious beliefs in this period undoubtedly exist, but they are scarcer than is usually conceded. To my mind, neither the speaking horse, nor Circe with her rod, nor the herb *μῶλον*, nor, finally, Odysseus' descent into Hades, can be classed with superstitions or even with magics. Xanthos and Balios are of godly descent, and the other alleged instances belong to the sphere of fairy tales which, it is true, may be closely connected with a lost mythology, but must not be dubbed superstitions. Who would call the "Sleeping Beauty" an evidence of superstitious beliefs? The only distinctly superstitious feature is the cure of wounds by charm-songs. But even this need not be called superstition in our sense, as it seems then to have been a living popular belief. These *ἐπαιδαί* seem still to be on the same scale with prayer, which in its origin was itself a charm-song, and has preserved this character not only in Homeric poetry, but as late as Aeschylus (as I shall show elsewhere). This testifies to the existence of a

So much for literature. At the first glance the monumental evidence might seem likely to become our chief mine of information, richer on account of its daily increase, more valuable on account of the directness of its testimony. But at the present stage of archaeology, I must forbear to make use of the evidence derived from the monuments. For we want close observation and accurate recording of facts, two things which only lately have been recognized as necessary. We possess, indeed, a series of such records in the Italian "Notizie degli Scavi,"¹ but Greek archaeology has scarcely begun to realize their importance.² As for the treasures of our museums, their state is much too motley. Here again the Roman "Museo Papa Giulio," containing the finds of Falerii, sets the example by strictly keeping together the contents of each tomb, regardless of their material. Elsewhere, one has patiently to work through the museum journals, very often without the expected result, especially when the object in question has come from a dealer, or if it is artistically insignificant, as amulets (which chiefly interest us) are for the most part. I think, however, that, even under altered circumstances, literature will still retain its prominence. For symbols cannot be explained without explicit testimony. It is impossible, for instance, to tell from finds, whether the axe is meant as a useful implement in the life beyond, or as an amulet to protect the soul against evil spirits on its way to Hades, or, lastly, if it was worn as an amulet by the possessor in his lifetime.

Inscriptions, of course, are more explicit. Yet it is in the very nature of superstition to conceal itself from the daylight

stratum of crude, primitive beliefs in the Homeric age, which at a later time became obsolete superstitions, but form in this period the really popular religion, as the fetishism of the savage does to-day.

¹ The educational value of such reports is splendidly brought home in Orsi's invaluable papers on his Sicilian excavations: *Bull. paletnol. Ital.*, 1891, 53 ff. *Mon. Antichi* I. and in Halbherr's excavations at the cave of Zeus in Crete, *ibid.*

² Accurate reports on Greek cemeteries and their contents date, to my knowledge, from 1890 only: *Athen. Mitt.* 1890: ὁ ἐν Βουρβῆ τῦμβος. The first trustworthy report on Athenian tombs, which covers any length of time, is that of Brueckner and Pernice, *Athen. Mitt.* 1893: "Ein Athenischer Friedhof."

as far as possible. It cannot surprise us, therefore, to find that this part of antiquity has yielded only very unsatisfactory results.¹

There remains, finally, the modern Greek and Italian Folk Lore, which of late has assumed so important a part. But I think it helps our purposes very little. While it is invaluable as the preserver of ancient *religion*, it is very barren as to ancient *superstition*. It is true, we find often enough surprising survivals. But in every case we must ask if this is not due to learned tradition, a very important, yet too often ignored, factor in medieval and modern superstitions. I must here utter my decided protest against the exaggerations to which Folk Lore is driven in our days.² We must not ascribe to a remote age a particular superstition simply because there are others that really reach so far back. Analogies, at the best, prove only probability, and we should refrain from using modern beliefs, except where their historical connection with antiquity can be plainly demonstrated.³

III.

We must now say a word about the method of our work.

The first thing is to collect the material. This must comprise the whole range of ancient literature, always carefully weighing the nature of the evidence, so as to reject mere autoschediasms.⁴ We must not, however, be too scrupulous. For a given superstition might originate with a foreign people, be carried into Greece by trade, and here, blending with analogous ideas, finally become the recognized property

¹ This remark intentionally ignores the "devotiones." These do not fall under the view of inscriptions taken above. Neither are they of considerable value for the history and the development of superstition. Their chief importance is in the light they throw on syncretism. See the abstract, in this volume, of a paper by Professor Battle, on *devotiones* on leaden tablets.

² See e.g. H. Gaidoz' remarks on the ἐρινὸς καμψίλευρος, Mélusine, VI. 172; VII. 39 ff.

³ As is the case with the superstitions connected with Charos, above, p. 43.

⁴ For example, the inventions of Ptolemaeos Chennos or of Fulgentius.

of Greek Lore.¹ After this, the monumental evidence must be gathered, especially from vase and mural paintings and from amulets. Very little has as yet been done in this direction. The best way seems to be that begun in the *Folk Lore Journal*,² viz. to compile indexes to the different authors. This could be accomplished with comparative ease by dividing the work among different scholars.

This *thesaurus superstitionum* should then be sifted. We shall have to compare all the testimonies bearing on the same subject, in order to reject the secondary evidence. This, however, is not a mechanical task, but requires a careful examination of the respective writers' character; for a fact may be borrowed from an earlier author and still be valid for the compiler's own period.³ After this, we once more sift our material with regard to its origin. We must try to sever it from foreign importations, assign to these their different nationalities, and, if possible, state when and by whom they have been added. One impediment here is the surprising analogy of superstitions throughout the world.⁴ From the outset, we may naturally exclude all beliefs connected with exotic animals, plants, and stones. We shall further reject foreign gods and demons. But even these rules have their exceptions.⁵ For there is, especially among the writers of Utopias, a tendency to transfer Greek beliefs to foreign nations,⁶ which seems to rest upon a natural impulse. In the history of the evil eye, for example, we are able to show that a belief originating among the Greeks was

¹ Cato's praise of the brassica may serve as an illustration. The seven good qualities which he ascribes to it have been taken from Pythagorean doctrine (Woelfflin, *Arch. f. Lex.* IX. 343). To the same source one might refer Horat. *Sat.* II. 6, 63-65. The circumstances, however, which connect this passage with Ovid, *Fasti* VI. 181 ff. (below p. 54 ff.) show that the cabbage has found its way into popular belief, as, indeed, it had probably already in Cato's age.

² *Folk Lore Journ.* I. 115 ff.: "The Folk Lore in Horace," by A. B. Cook.

³ This is the case with many of Lucian's statements; cp. *Philopseudes*, c. 29, with Rohde, *Psyche*, 654, 1; 32, 3.

⁴ Of this Tylor (*Primitive Culture*) and A. Lang (*Myth and Ritual*) have given ample proofs.

⁵ Cp. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enc.* 32.

⁶ E. Rohde, *Der griech. Roman*, 194 ff.

ascribed to foreigners, supported by analogous beliefs among these, and thence went on travelling to the ends of the earth with the extension of a more accurate geographical knowledge.¹ Moreover, it is not every superstition, attached to exotic objects, that has its origin in the foreign country itself. For granted a superficial acquaintance with some foreign beliefs, the laws of superstitious reasoning would naturally set to work about the new object. It will certainly be safer to accept even doubtful evidence than to omit things of a possible value.

The superstitions remaining after this double sifting must now be followed back to the time when they first appear. But we cannot permit ourselves to halt here. We must proceed to the labor of interpreting and explaining. Here we shall chiefly make use of Folk Lore. For those cases are exceedingly scarce where we can show the religious origin of a Greek superstition in Greek religion itself.² Generally the key is found in a stage of culture much more primitive than that here preserved. I desire to emphasize, however, my belief that Folk Lore should not be applied in a purely psychological sense.³ We should always prefer Aryan Lore. For the conservatism of ritual and superstition makes it very probable that analogies of related tribes may enable us to find the common racial origin, albeit in a pre-Grecian period.⁴ I am, indeed, fully aware of the dangers which beset this path. But in a work of such an extent, and, as I hope to have sufficiently shown, of no mean importance to the history of religious thinking, it might be worth while to run even the risk of much fruitless searching and some hypothetical conclusions: *dies diem docebit*.

¹ The double pupil, as characteristic of the person possessing the evil eye, must have been an aboriginal Greek belief, found, however, among other nations as well (Tuchmann, *La Fascination*, Mélusine IV. 33). It is afterwards in turn ascribed to the Triballi, the Illyrii, the Bitiae in Scythia, and the Thibii in Pontus (O. Jahn, *über den Aberglauben vom bösen Blick*, Sitzgsber. Leipz. Akad., 1855, 35). Modern analogies prove the origin of this migration to have been as sketched above.

² Some examples are given, *Rhein. Mus.* XLIX. 177 ff.

³ This tendency I consider to be the chief shortcoming of Rohde's *Psyche*.

⁴ See below, example 2.

Finally, after all this has been done, one more duty remains to fulfil the ideal requirements of such a research. After we have shown the religious origin and the gradual deterioration of a number of beliefs, we must try to recognize and to clearly define the laws according to which this development is proceeding; and, inasmuch as to us superstition and religion spring from the same source, to further on our part the research into the origin of religion itself.

IV.

Let us now consider a few examples where superstitions may still be traced back to their probable origin.

In the papyrus XLVI. of the Brit. Mus. 71-96, there is a charm for the detection of a thief. From the wood of the gallows a hammer is manufactured under certain ceremonies. With this the sorcerer beats his ear, while reciting a charm-song. Its end is: *πόσον κρούω τὸ οὐάτιον σφύρη ταύτη, ὁ τοῦ κλέπτου ὀφθαλμὸς κρουέσθω καὶ φλεγμαινέσθω, ἄχρι οὐ αὐτὸν μηνύση.* A similar procedure was practised during the seventeenth century in Holstein.¹ This might be ascribed to learned tradition. But another testimony leads us far away from magic. A vase from southern Italy, approximately of the sixth century,² bears the following inscription: *Ταταίης εἰμὶ λήκυθος ὃς δ' ἄν με κλέψῃ, θυφλὸς ἔσται.* Here, for once, the idea which underlies the charm is clearly expressed and, moreover, raised from the sphere of superstition. For it is only the belief in the power of the curse which protects the vessel from being stolen. Separated by more than six centuries we see the same idea still prevailing, although considerably altered and added to. Nor can there be any doubt as to its root. It is closely connected with the evil eye. For theft is only the actual acquiring of an envied property. In the same way in our days the milk of the "overlooked" cow is drawn into the pail of the witch. The same thought is expressed on the mosaic of the Villa Casali,³ where we see

¹ G. Freytag, *Bilder a. d. deutschen Vergangenheit*, IV. 50 ff.

² C. I. G. I. 865.

³ *Eranos Vindobonensis*, 285 ff. (Bienkowski).

the evil eye pierced and blinded by a spear-thrust, and in the inscription *C. I. L. VIII. 11863: hoc vide, vide et vide, ut possis plura videre.*¹

Pliny says² that, if a woman with child passed over a viper or an amphisbaena she was sure to miscarry. The same happened if she ate a raven's egg or passed over it.³ The reason for this lies in the connection of these animals with the nether world. The snake, we know, is one of the many shapes of the dead. Whoever comes in contact with the dead will die himself. It cannot surprise us, to find the same belief in India. "In the Mahabhâratâ, the girl Pramadvarâ falls to the ground dead, having inadvertently pressed a serpent with her foot on the way."⁴

The possible escape of the mother in the Greek belief is only a partial mitigation of the original form. As for the raven, in the absence of express statements,⁵ it must suffice to remember that Aristeas' soul left his body under this disguise.⁶ But we may perhaps go still farther. The snake is not only the soul, but probably death itself. At least, if I am right in connecting Pliny's information with Aelian's. Pliny tells us⁷: the stick that was used to rescue a frog from the mouth of a snake is of particular virtue in facilitating delivery in childbirth, while we learn from Aelian⁸ that the bite of the asp is most difficult to cure after it has devoured a frog. That the frog itself was a shape of the soul can be inferred from the German fairy tale of the prince frog⁹ and, maybe, also from its being used as an amulet against the evil eye.¹⁰ It can be easily understood that death doubles its power after once having exercised it, and it is, on the other hand, very natural that the stick which deprived death of its prey should itself acquire a life-giving power.

¹ Ibid. 292, 2.

⁸ Plin. *N. H.* X. 32; XXX. 130.

⁶ Bienkowski, *Eran. Vind.* 292.

⁷ Plin. *N. H.* XXX. 129.

⁹ Grimm's *Maerchen: der treue Heinrich.*

¹⁰ Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, 309 ff.

² Plin. *N. H.* XXIX. 71.

⁴ Gubernatis, *Zool. Mythol.* II. 401.

⁶ Plin. *N. H.* VII. 174.

⁸ Aelian, *N. A.* IX. 15.

In his *Fasti*¹ Ovid tells us that it was customary to eat pork, beans, and grits on the first of June, to guard against diseases of the bowels: *ne laedantur viscera*. This ridiculous remedy assumes another aspect when we turn to German beliefs. During the "twelfths," at Christmas-time, Berchtha roams on the earth with her pageant, inspecting the spinning-wheels and slashing the bellies of her despisers. She cuts them open, fills them with chaff, and patches them, using a ploughshare as needle and an iron chain by way of thread.² She spares only those who have eaten gruel and fish.³ The aim of this food is apparently to grease the skin in order that the knife may slide off. In spite of the surprising resemblance, the difference of the seasons may cause some doubt. Now we must remember that June is the month of the summer solstice, as the twelfths are that of the winter. It is the month of Juno, who in some respects seems to correspond to Berchtha, and who may even be suspected to have some connection with the nether world. We may at least safely assume that on this day she was believed to be present on earth. But how came pork, beans, and grit to be endowed with these protective faculties? For the "grease-theory" seems to be only secondary. Horace⁴ compares the quiet and ease of rural life to the bustle of the city. Verses 63-65, kindly pointed out to me by Professor Usener, praise "the bean of Pythagoras together with cabbage and fat pork": *O noctes cenaque deum*, he exclaims. So pork, beans, and cabbage are the food of the gods themselves. The cabbage was highly praised by Cato,⁵ and seems to have been a sacred plant in Greece also.⁶ The grits are not mentioned, but as they are found in the German belief, and as we think of the importance of *mola salsa*, we may safely see in them, too, the food of the gods. It is easy to see why this food will protect man against the noxious inroad of the gods. By partaking of their food we become gods ourselves: to taste of ambrosia renders immortal. The chthonic character of pork and beans

¹ Ovid, *Fasti*, VI. 181 ff.

³ Wuttke, *Deutscher Volksabergl.*² § 25.

⁶ See above, note 1, p. 50.

² Grimm, *Teuton. Mythol.* I. 276.

⁴ *Sat.* II. 6.

⁶ Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 903.

may confirm our suspicion of a chthonic element in Juno herself. The Lemures, however, were already appeased in May. But perhaps they were once more at large in Juno's month, whose first half was considered unlucky for marriages, perhaps for the same reason as May.¹ This, however, remains doubtful.

¹ *Mense malas Maio nubere vulgus ait*: Ovid, *Fasti*, V. 489. Cp. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enc.* I. 46, 7 ff.

V. — *Genesis and Growth of an Alexander-myth.*

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THE career of Alexander the Great was so rapid and so dazzling that the imaginations of his contemporaries could not keep pace with it. Up to the death of Darius in 330 B.C., our best Alexander-tradition rests upon the history of Kallisthenes, the official chronicler of Alexander's campaigns, and is reasonably secure. But from 330 B.C. until the time when Ptolemy and Aristoboulos, late in life, and nearly two generations after the premature death of Alexander, put into writing their contemporary witness to the great events of his career, that career reached the knowledge of the world laden with large accretions of oral tradition. Athenian political life was smothered by the Macedonian conquest, and all the mental energies of this gifted people found vent in literary expression. Schools of rhetoric and philosophy flourished, the new comedy reached its acme, and the literature of pure romance began. But there was as yet no such recognized channel for the flow of pure fancy and invention as is afforded now by professedly fictitious narrative. Fancy and invention therefore found scope in the realm of what should have been historical narrative. These great faculties were especially attracted by the meteoric career of Alexander. They revelled in the vague and vast details of that career. The surpassing romance of its reality challenged and begat the romance of invention, and the reality was so incredible that invention could not seem more incredible. The great history of Kleitarchos was the rhetorical and dramatic combination of all this highly colored and romantic oral tradition with the severer outlines and more authentic details furnished by such contemporary witnesses as Kallis-

thenes, Eumenes, Chares, and possibly also Aristoboulos. It played fast and loose with the names and exploits even of veteran companions of Alexander who still survived, so that Ptolemy Lagus, having securely founded his great dynasty in Egypt, devoted the leisure of the peaceful close of his magnificent career to the elaboration of his memoirs. The outlines and main contents of these memoirs are happily preserved for us in Arrian's *Anabasis*, and we see that the old veteran corrected the versions of romance, even at the expense of his own glory, in the interests of truth. It was not he, as he assures us, who saved Alexander's life in the great battle with the Malli; he was not even there at all, but absent on a distant expedition.¹ For the romantic version of Kleitarchos, however, Ptolemy's name had sounded better as an Alexander-savior than one which had disappeared from history.

With our outlines and main contents of Ptolemy's memoirs, then, for the whole of Alexander's career, and our fragments of Kallisthenes' contemporary history down to 330 B.C., we are able to control in some measure the mass of romantic invention which was passed on by Kleitarchos to Diodoros, Justin, Curtius, and Plutarch. And we find, among many other curious traits, that the oral and imaginative tradition of Alexander's career which sprang rapidly into being after his death in 323, and crystallized two generations later in the popular work of Kleitarchos, failed, as a rule, to observe the enormous changes which were rapidly produced in Alexander himself during the short thirteen years of his marvellous achievements. The Alexander who razed Thebes to the ground in 335 B.C. was a very different man from that Alexander who, in 336 B.C., contended for a dubious succession to the throne of a father who had practically disinherited him. The Alexander who loosed the Gordian knot in 333 B.C. was master of Asia Minor as well as of European Hellas, and a different man from the Alexander who had razed Thebes. At the temple of Ammon in 332, all lands border-

¹ Arrian, *An.* vi. 11, 8.

ing on the eastern Mediterranean had become subject to him, with their fleets. The dreams of Isokrates had been more than realized. After Gaugamela and the death of Darius in 330 B.C. there was nothing left for a Hellenic ambition to achieve. Henceforth Alexander gradually discarded Macedonian control and precedent, and became rapidly an Oriental. He developed unsuspected oriental traits and ambitions; and after five years more of romantic exploration and conquest, during which his nature suffered just such deterioration from the mere habit of conquest as did the noble nature of Trajan four centuries later on the same arena, he returned to his great oriental cities, half believing that he was, and half believed to be, a god.

We find, now, that romantic tradition as it crystallized in Kleitarchos, was prone to find, and if necessary to invent, in the earlier periods of Alexander's brief career, illustrations of a spirit, a temper, and of ambitions which prevailed in him only during the last or oriental period of his career. The Alexander-anecdote must always be tested on this principle. To have the boy of twenty already warned by his mother that his father was not Philip but Zeus-Ammon, is only one among many such flagrantly anachronistic stories.

A large group of anecdotes clusters about the name of Hephaistion. This favorite of Alexander is not mentioned in genuine tradition until the battle of Gaugamela, 331 B.C. Thereafter he gradually becomes prominent, but only during the oriental period of Alexander's life. And that romantic attachment in which the two friends were delighted to pose as Achilles and Patroklos, evidently dates from the last years of this period. But romantic tradition confidently, and in a very telling way, transposes this relation to the earlier periods. When Alexander, just after crossing the Hellespont, put a wreath upon the tomb of Achilles at Ilios, romantic tradition has Hephaistion also adorn the tomb of Patroklos. It is a beautiful but a false detail. The charming story of Alexander's visiting with Hephaistion the tent of the captive Persian women after the battle of Issos, of Sisygambis' prostrating herself before Hephaistion because she mistook

him for the king, and of Alexander's reassuring her gently, declaring that Hephaistion *was* Alexander, is another instance of this anachronistic transfer of relations.

When Hephaistion died, barely two years before the death of Alexander himself, this romantic friendship was broken. As Arrian confronts the mass of tradition, genuine and romantic, which had come down to him concerning Alexander's behavior on this occasion,¹ he very shrewdly observes that writers inimical to, or jealous of Hephaistion, among whom may well have been Ptolemy, minimize the grief of Alexander; while writers inimical to Alexander magnify it, and invent the most absurd details of the manner in which Alexander expressed it. Among the details, however, which Arrian accepts as authentic, are three which show a conscious imitation by Alexander of Achilles' expressions of sorrow for Patroklos, as given in the *Iliad*. These are: a protracted abstinence from food and drink; the placing locks of his hair in the folded hands of his dead friend; and the burning of the body on a costly funeral pyre.²

In the closing years of the oriental period of Alexander's career, upon Hephaistion's death, we have, then, the best of testimony that Alexander consciously and ostentatiously imitated distinct acts of the Homeric Achilles. He had always admired the character of Achilles,³ and romantic tradition does not tire of the theme of Alexander's devotion to the *Iliad*. And now romantic tradition, bent on illustrating maliciously this late phase of Alexander's character—this willingness to imitate distinct acts of Achilles—perpetrates another anachronistic anecdote, which has, unhappily, hardly a redeeming feature.

Homer has the raging Achilles, after slaying Hektor, drag the dead body at the tail of his chariot to the Achaean camp,⁴ and, after the funeral rites of Patroklos, for several days in like manner thrice round the tomb of his dead friend.⁵

¹ *An.* vii. 14, 2 ff.

² *Il.* xxiii. 141 ff.

³ *Arr. An.* vii. 14, 4, κατὰ ζῆλον τὸν Ἀχιλλέως, πρὸς ὄντινα ἐκ παιδὸς φιλοτιμία αὐτῷ ἦν.

⁴ *Il.* xxii. 395-405, 464 f.

⁵ *Il.* xxiv. *ad inii.*

There was no conquered foe at hand to serve Alexander in the same manner at the tomb of Hephaestion, and the lack invited invention. The invention was carried back to the nearest possible point where malicious feelings toward Alexander could well be gratified in this way, and this point was the siege and capture of Gaza in 332 B.C. A Hektor was found in the heroic defender of this fortress, the faithful eunuch of Darius, by name Batis. The resistance of the fortress, protracted for two months, and following the seven months' delay in the siege of Tyre, had inflamed the Macedonians. Alexander himself had been severely wounded in the early part of the siege. At the final storming of the city, contemporary and genuine tradition had the brave defenders, still fighting to the last, slain to a man.¹ But Batis was reserved by romantic invention to be dragged alive at the chariot of Alexander, as Hektor's body was dragged at the chariot of Achilles. There were not points of resemblance enough to make the invention a very plausible one. Batis had slain no Patroklos. He had simply served his king to the death. But he was perhaps the only foe of Alexander who could in any measure meet the demands of the case, for the invention must be made at all hazards. It gained what little credence it gained by playing upon the well-known irritation of Alexander at the needless delay before Gaza, and by transferring the oriental spirit of Alexander's later years to this earlier and purer stage of his rapid development.

The earliest form which the story took is probably the one which Dionysios of Halikarnassos gives us in brief outline (*τὸ πρᾶγμα*). This great rhetorician (*floruit* 29 B.C.—7 A.D.) stands in the front rank of ancient critics, though as a historian, in his Roman archaeology, he is clearly more rhetorical than scientific. He holds a brief for Rome. But his thorough acquaintance with ancient literature is unquestioned. In his first published work — *περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων* — *de compositione verborum* (V. pp. 120 ff., Reiske = Müller, *Script. de rebus Alex. frag.*, p. 141), he quotes Hegesias of Magnesia as

¹ Arr. *An.* ii. 27 *fin.* καὶ ἀπέθανον πάντες αὐτοῦ μαχόμενοι ὡς ἕκαστοι ἐτάχθησαν, in words which he means to be *controversial*.

the most frightful example possible of studied badness in style. The particular episode which he cites *verbatim* from Hegesias, he first gives in a brief outline of his own, and then in the turgid words of Hegesias. His outline is as follows: "Alexander, besieging Gaza, a stronghold of Syria, was wounded in an assault, and took the place only after long delay. In a rage he ordered all the defenders slain without quarter, and when he got the commander of the fortress in his power, a man of dignity, and rank, and presence, he ordered him to be fastened alive to his chariot car, drove his horses off at full speed, and so destroyed his enemy in the sight of the whole army." "One could not have," Dionysios says, "more dreadful sufferings nor a more fearful sight to describe." But Hegesias does it *ταπεινῶς καὶ καταγελάστως* — "meanly and ridiculously." Then follows the version of Hegesias: "The king himself, however, viz. Batis, Leonnatos and Philotas brought to Alexander alive. And when Alexander saw him, — corpulent and huge, of most repulsive presence, inasmuch as he was black, — he was filled with rage because of his treachery and his unseemly looks, and ordered that his feet be pierced with bronze hoops and that *he be dragged round and round naked*. Tortured with pain, the victim uttered harsh cries. This was just what pleased the crowd. As his anguish increased he shouted out with barbarian accent the word *δεσπότης* in suppliant tone. His awkward pronunciation made everybody laugh. The bulk of his fat and the size of his paunch made him look like a big Babylonian beast. So the crowd kept up its railing, insulting with true soldiers' insolence their repulsive and helpless foe."

It is clear from the context that Dionysios is mercilessly chastising above all things the vicious rhetoric of the passage. But the fault of this rhetoric is not confined to the invention of sickening details. It extends also to the perversion of essential features in a well-known story, the object being rhetorical effect and not historical fidelity. Comparison of the version of Hegesias with the outline of Dionysios which precedes it, makes it clear that Hegesias does not invent the story outright, as is commonly assumed. He merely loads a

current story with sensational incident, actually obscuring, if not perverting, the essential features. The simple story, as Dionysios gives it in outline, must therefore have been a part of current Alexander tradition, oral or written, when Hegesias wrote his history, and there is nothing in the way of assigning it to Kleitarchos, the first and greatest registrar of the accumulated romantic traditions of Alexander.

Of Hegesias very little is known, but all that little is bad. He was probably contemporaneous, like Kleitarchos, with the last days of Ptolemy Lagus. No one mentions but to denounce him. Dionysios waxes almost profane as he declares that Hegesias did not leave a single decent page. Best known is the verdict of the amiable Plutarch on his saying that the great temple of the Ephesian Artemis burned down because the goddess was obliged to be absent on that night at the birth of Alexander, — a saying frigid enough, says Plutarch, to have extinguished the conflagration.¹ But Hegesias is not only a writer of atrocious taste and style; he is also, as writers straining for effect are apt to be, a perverter of history.

Back of Kleitarchos the legend of Alexander's hectoring Batis cannot be traced. No primary source — neither Kallisthenes, nor Aristoboulos, nor Ptolemy, the companions of Alexander at Gaza, mention it. Of Kleitarchos, the fountain-head of the great stream of romantic literary Alexander-tradition, Quintilian says that he had great *ingenium* but no *fides*. He wrote to please, and succeeded so well that he fixed upon the world, till Arrian wrote, a false conception of Alexander. For Diodoros and Justin and Curtius Rufus and Plutarch all draw most fully from him. But neither Diodoros nor Justin nor Plutarch, with all their lack of critical spirit and with all their appetite for the piquant, accept or even mention this Batis outrage. Curtius alone, the most discursively rhetorical, the most anti-Alexandrian, the most sensational of them all, admits the malicious invention into his record. He not only admits it, he amplifies it,

¹ Plut. *Alex.* iii. = Müller, *Script. de rebus Alex. frag.*, p. 139.

till, though in an opposite trend of hatred for Alexander, he outdoes Hegesias. He adapts the legend carefully to Roman palates by putting in a Vergilian for the original Homeric shading. His account of the immediate episode is this:¹

“Batis, exhausted by a long and brave fight, and by many wounds, was at last abandoned by his men. Nevertheless, he maintained the hopeless struggle no less zealously, — his armor slippery with his own blood and that of his enemies. But at last, as missiles rained in from every side, his strength failed, and he was taken alive. Led into Alexander’s presence, that youth, filled with haughty joy, though at other times an admirer of bravery even in an enemy, said, ‘Thou shalt not die as thou hast wished, but whatever most cruel torture can be devised against a captive, believe me, thou shalt suffer.’ The captive fixed upon the king a gaze that showed not only no fear but even defiance. Then Alexander cried: ‘Do ye see how bent he is on silence? hath he bowed the knee? hath he uttered one suppliant word? But I’ll conquer his silence, and, if nothing else, I’ll wring from him at least a groan.’ His wrath became frenzy, his very nature now changing with his fortunes. Through the heels of the living captive thongs were passed, and, fastened to a chariot, he was dragged *round the city* by the horses of the king, who boasted that he took his vengeance on a foe in imitation of Achilles, from whom he sprang.”

It seems to me clear that Curtius has used, not Hegesias at all, as is usually assumed, but the current romantic version of Kleitarchos, given in outline by Dionysios. Batis is the hero in both, and Alexander the degenerate imitator of a noble sire, whereas the purpose of Hegesias was clearly to exalt Alexander at the expense of Batis. The Alexandrian history of Hegesias was adulatory. The dramatic speeches of Alexander are in the usual manner of Curtius, his own rhetorical embellishments. In Homer, Achilles drags Hektor round the tomb of Patroklos. In Kleitarchos and Hegesias, Alexander drags Batis vaguely *around*. But in Vergil,² one

¹ iv. 6, 25 ff.

² *Aen.* i. 483 f.

of Dido's palace frescoes represented how

Ter circum Iliacos raptaverat Hectora muros,
Exanimumque auro corpus vendebat Achilles —

and so Curtius has Alexander drag Batis thrice round the walls of Gaza.

Strange to say, it is this last and most egregious of all the versions of the Batis-outrage, the version of Curtius, which has become most firmly fixed in English histories of Alexander. Probably Rollin's history was the one most familiar to English readers before the days of Mitford. The English translation runs as follows:¹

“When Betis, who had been taken prisoner in the last assault, was brought before him, Alexander, instead of using him kindly, as his valor and fidelity justly merited, this young monarch, who otherwise esteemed bravery even in an enemy, fired on that occasion with an insolent joy, spoke thus to him: ‘Betis, thou shalt not die the death thou desirest. Prepare therefore to suffer all those torments which revenge can invent.’ Betis, looking upon the king with not only a firm, but an haughty air, did not make the least reply to these menaces; upon which the king, more enraged than before at his disdainful silence, ‘Observe,’ said he, ‘I beseech you, that dumb arrogance! Has he bended the knee? Has he spoke but even so much as one submissive word? But I will conquer this obstinate silence, and will force groans from him, if I can draw nothing else.’ At last Alexander's anger rose to fury; his conduct now beginning to change with his fortunes. Upon which he ordered a hole to be made through his heels, when, a rope being put through them, and this being tied to a chariot, he ordered his soldiers to drag Betis *round the city* till he died. He boasted his having imitated on this occasion Achilles, from whom he was descended; who, as Homer (sic!) relates, caused the dead body of Hector to be dragged in the same manner round the walls of Troy; as if a man ought ever to pride

¹ Vol. v. p. 74 (Amer. ed.).

himself for having imitated so ill an example. Both were very barbarous, but Alexander was much more so, in causing Batis to be dragged alive; and for no other reason, but because he had served his sovereign with bravery and fidelity, by defending a city with which he had entrusted him; a fidelity that ought to have been admired and even rewarded by an enemy, rather than punished in so cruel a manner."

It is plain, without consulting his citation of authorities, that Rollin has here simply translated Curtius. The variation of Alexander's ordering the outrage to be performed by his soldiers is merely a semi-pardonable misunderstanding of Curtius' language on that point, and cannot prove recourse to Hegesias. Rollin even makes his own the common error of having Homer represent Achilles as dragging Hektor's body round the *walls of Troy*.

Mitford does not so much as mention the legend, but reproduces Arrian's brief, and as I think controversial statement, that every man of the defenders died fighting at his post.

Thirlwall, it hardly needs saying, also utterly ignores the legend. Nothing else would be expected of so judicial a historian.

Grote, who is at his worst in his history of Alexander, is at his worst even as a historian of Alexander in his treatment of the Batis-legend:¹ "One prisoner alone was reserved for special treatment—the prince or governor himself, the eunuch Batis; who, having manifested the greatest energy and valor, was taken severely wounded, yet still alive. In this condition he was brought by Leonnatus and Philôtas into the presence of Alexander, who cast upon him looks of vengeance and fury. The Macedonian prince had undertaken the siege mainly in order to prove to the world that he could overcome difficulties insuperable to others. But he had incurred so much loss, spent so much time and labor, and undergone so many repulses before he succeeded, that the palm of honor belonged rather to the minority vanquished

¹ x. 91 ff. (Eng. ed.).

than to the multitude of victors. To such disappointment, which would sting Alexander in the tenderest point, is to be added the fact, that he had himself incurred great personal risk, received a severe wound, besides his narrow escape from the dagger of the pretended Arabian deserter [romantic invention]. Here was ample ground for violent anger; which was moreover still farther exasperated by the appearance of Batis — an eunuch — a black man — tall and robust, but at the same time fat and lumpish — and doubtless at the moment covered with blood and dirt. Such visible circumstances, repulsive to eyes familiar with Grecian gymnastics, contributed to kindle the wrath of Alexander to its highest pitch. After the siege of Tyre, his indignation had been satiated by the hanging of the 2000 surviving combatants [romantic tradition]; here, to discharge the pressure of a still stronger feeling, there remained only the single captive, upon whom, therefore, he resolved to inflict a punishment as novel as it was cruel. He directed the feet of Batis to be bored, and brazen rings to be passed through them; after which the naked body of this brave man, yet surviving, was tied with cords to the tail of a chariot driven by Alexander himself, and dragged at full speed amidst the triumphant jeers and shouts of the army. Herein Alexander, emulous even from childhood of the exploits of his legendary ancestor Achilles, copied the ignominious treatment described in the *Iliad* as inflicted on the dead body of Hector. This proceeding of Alexander, the product of Homeric reminiscences operating upon an infuriated and vindictive temperament, stands out in respect of barbarity from all that we read respecting the treatment of conquered towns in antiquity. *His remaining measures were conformable to received usage.*" Grote has here actually combined Hegesias with Curtius, an adulatory with a defamatory version of the legend, culling from each such details as can be made to tell in any way against the character of Alexander, and omitting all those features which either palliate the conduct of Alexander or reveal the untrustworthiness of the authorities for the outrage. "The bad taste of Hegesias as a writer does not diminish his credi-

bility as a witness," Grote concludes in a note. It is not the bad taste of Hegesias which leads us to reject his witness, but his utter lack of authority and respect among ancient critics, and the fact that, in this instance, he is merely recounting, with manifest perversions, an episode of romantic and sensational invention.

It is doubtless due to the influence of Rollin and Grote that this language finds a place in such an excellent manual as Fisher's *Outlines of Universal History*:¹ "Homer was his [Alexander's] delight, and in Homer he took Agamemnon [Achilles?] for his model; but the direst act of cruelty done by Achilles—that of dragging Hector after his chariot, he exceeded, when he dragged Batis, a general who had opposed him, at the tail of his chariot *through the streets of Gaza*."

The last edition of Oman's *History of Greece*, on the whole the best brief school history of Greece, at any rate the one now winning most favor from the general public, adds a new chapter to include Alexander's career. In this chapter is the following paragraph:² "When the place fell, the king determined to imitate his ancestor Achilles in the least praiseworthy of his actions: he had Batis bound to the tail of his chariot, and *dragged him along till he died*, because Achilles had dealt in the same way with the corpse of Hector."

No German historian of note admits the legend into his text. Droysen, in a foot-note, says:³ "Curtius or his immediate source has borrowed much material for his account of this siege from Hegesias. This is of no historical worth, particularly the attempted assassination of Alexander by an Arabian deserter, and the vengeance taken on Batis after his capture by Philotas and Leonnatos. Curtius omits these two names because he has already located Philotas in Tyre."

Holm, in a brief note, makes Hegesias the sole (ultimate) authority for the legend.⁴ "Grote accepts it," he says, "Droysen does not. A rhetorician is not a good source."

¹ p. 113.

² p. 533.

³ *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, i. 301.

⁴ *Griechische Geschichte*, iii. 383.

Niese, also in a foot-note, refers to Curtius' version of the legend, adding :¹ "This is invention, which is first given in characteristic fashion by the famous Hegesias."

The story of Alexander's outraging Batis is 'Erdichtung' — invention, pure and simple. The purpose of this paper is to show how it came to be invented, and when, and then how the invention grew and waxed strong till it disfigures the pages of so great a historian as Grote. Whether Hegesias be the ultimate source for the story, or romantic tradition crystallizing in Kleitarchos, as this paper maintains, does not affect the main point. There is no reputable authority for the grotesque incident. The memory of Alexander has well-authenticated crimes and follies enough to support without being loaded with any of romantic invention.

¹ *Geschichte der griech. und makedon. Staaten*, i. p. 82.

VI. — *The Acta ludorum saecularium quintorum and the Carmen Saeculare of Horace.*

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IN one of the rooms of the National Museum, in Rome, is now to be found the inscription containing the *Acta ludorum saecularium quintorum*, for which Horace composed the *Carmen Saeculare*. The story of the discovery of this inscription by Italian workmen engaged in constructing a sewer on the left bank of the Tiber, near the Ponte San Angelo, in September, 1890, is familiar to every one.¹

The fragments of the stone bearing the inscription have been set up on a square pillar resembling the marble column on which the account was first cut, soon after the occurrence of the festival in 17 B.C. The pillar is between nine and ten feet high, and is three and a half feet wide. The inscription consists of 168 lines in majuscule type, and is very clear and easy to read.

Mommsen's edition of the inscription, undertaken at the request of the Italian government, appeared first in the *Monumenti Antichi publicati per cura della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, Vol. I, 1891. A reprint was published in the *Ephemeris Epigraphica* for 1891 (pp. 225-274), though the copy was not ready for distribution until some months later. With the *Ephemeris* copy in hand, I made a study of the inscription while in Rome in the spring of 1894. The fragments of the stone have evidently been set up in their present position since Mommsen's reading was made. His brackets, showing breaks in the stone and consequent omissions of words or letters, include in at least twenty-five instances too few letters, showing that the stone has been rather roughly handled in the setting up.

¹ Cf. Lanciani, in the *Atlantic Monthly* for February, 1892.

A graver fault, however, in the Ephemeris copy, is the number of mistakes in the text, due doubtless in most instances to careless proof-reading. Since many students make use of the Ephemeris to the exclusion of other publications, it seems best to call attention to the mistakes in the copy.

Line 30,—read *collegio*, not *colle[*g*]io*. The word corresponds exactly to the word *collegio* in l. 40.

L. 34,—read *consuerunt*, not *consuerunt*.

L. 54,—after *propter* the stone shows no long vacant space.

L. 54,—read *atqui*, not *atqu[e]*. The *i* is doubtless the stonecutter's mistake, since *atque* is called for by the context.

L. 91,—read *eodem*, not *coi* []. A piece of stone has been added, bearing the letters *em*. The word now corresponds exactly to *eodem*, l. 109.

L. 99,—read *XV virum*, not *XV virorum*, an evident confusion with *XV virorum* two lines below. The long form of this genitive is used but once in the inscription (l. 101); the short form is found twice (ll. 97 and 99).

L. 114,—read *ed[ic]tum*, not *edictum*. The line may have been broken in moving.

L. 115,—A confusion is caused by using brackets where there is no break in the stone to show omission of the first letter of the word *Ilithyis*. The stonecutter has again made a mistake in omitting this first letter, as there is no break in the stone nor space left for the letter.

L. 151,—read *Arruntius*, not *Arruntins*.

Attention should be called to the strange form *atallam* in l. 107, which Mommsen fails to mention in his notes on p. 273.

My chief interest in the inscription, however, has been in the added light that it throws upon the interpretation of Horace's *Carmen Saeculare*. It is true that previous to the discovery of the *Acta* we had much information regarding the festival at which the *Carmen* was sung, mainly in Phlegon's and Zosimus' account of the Sibylline oracles, the best edition¹ of which appeared but a few months before the

¹ Diels, *Sibyllinische Blätter*, Berlin, 1890.

discovery of the *Acta*. The third of these oracles, which relates to the secular games given by Augustus, and the official programme arranged for the occasion by Ateius Capito and preserved in Zosimus II, 5, should, however, be interpreted and corrected according to the official report of the celebration found in the inscription. The articles on the *ludi saeculares* in the various encyclopaedias and dictionaries are misleading, especially in what they say of the ritual order of the games. This is true of Wissowa's edition of Pauly and of the Nettleship-Sandys edition of Seyffert. These authorities have clearly been misled by following Zosimus. Besides the Sibylline oracles there are minor references in various authorities, all cited by Mommsen in the *Ephemeris* edition of the inscription (p. 225).

The discovery of the *Acta* is of great importance for the commentary on the *Carmen Saeculare*, substituting positive and accurate statement for conjecture. Even so good an editor as Gesner could cite authorities who imagined that there was presented at this festival a sort of Horatian drama in five acts made up of selected odes and sung at various times and places during the celebration. The discovery of the *Acta* has made such vagaries impossible. One editor has already taken advantage of this discovery and incorporated into his edition the results of Mommsen's labors, to the great improvement of the commentary. I refer to the recent edition of the Odes and Epodes by Mr. Smith,¹ whose very satisfactory introduction to the *Carmen Saeculare* makes it possible for me to omit further reference to the *ludi saeculares* or to the contents of the inscription.

In December of 1891, soon after the publication of the inscription, Mommsen sent a communication to the Berlin weekly paper, *Die Nation*, in which he took occasion to criticise the *Carmen Saeculare* from an artistic point of view, finding it faulty in conception and in execution. He claimed that a greater poet than Horace would have made better use of the magnificent opportunity presented by the splendid

¹ Smith, *The Odes and Epodes of Horace*, Ginn and Company, 1894.

array of gods celebrated in the festival. Both in this article and in his edition of the inscription (p. 256) he states his belief that the *Carmen Saeculare* is a Processionslied, a conclusion which, he thinks, the *Acta* force upon us and the poem corroborates. To his arguments and conclusions Professor Vahlen replied in a paper read before the Berlin Academy and published in the proceedings for November 24, 1892.

Let us examine the arguments, first as to whether the poem was intended to be sung in procession, and second as to whether the poet has blundered in its execution.

From the *Acta* (ll. 148-150), *sacrificio perfecto puer. XXVII quibus denuntiatur erat patrimi et matrimi et puellae totidem carmen cecinerunt; eodemque modo in Capitolio Carmen composuit Q. Horatius Flaccus*, it is evident that the words *eodemque modo in Capitolio* refer to a singing of the *Carmen*, in whole or in part, on the Capitoline. From the poem, Mommsen thinks that it must have been sung in part only on the Capitoline, because it would be foolish (*ineptum*), he says, to have Jupiter and Juno mentioned neither at the beginning nor ending of a hymn that was to be sung in its entirety before their temple. But since Jupiter and Juno are called upon in the middle strophes of the hymn and not in the beginning or end, he concludes at once that the hymn is a Processionslied, the first strophes being sung on the Palatine to Apollo and Diana, the middle strophes on the Capitoline to Jupiter and Juno, and the final strophes on the Palatine again to Apollo and Diana. *Eodemque modo in Capitolio* refers, then, according to his interpretation, to this partial singing of the hymn on the Capitoline.

But can the words bear this interpretation? Aside from the internal evidence in the poem, which belongs to another part of the discussion, it seems clear from the plain meaning of the words that *eodemque modo in Capitolio* refers to the singing of the hymn in its entirety. Moreover, in two other places in the *Acta* (ll. 82 and 109); we find the expression *eodem modo* referring to the whole of a certain performance that has just been mentioned :

L. 82, — eodem modo fruges acceperunt.

L. 109, — eodemque modo sellisternia matres familiae habuerunt.

Vahlen believes that the success of the hymn was so great that an encore was immediately called for, and that for the convenience of the immense crowd of hearers, the Capitoline was chosen for its delivery; in other words, that the second singing was an extra performance, having no connection whatever with the festival proper, and therefore making any special recognition of the Capitoline deities, Jupiter and Juno, unnecessary.

Smith, in the edition of the Odes and Epodes referred to above, not accepting the Processionslied theory of Mommsen, thinks that the ceremonies of the Palatine in their main features, including the singing of the hymn, were repeated on the Capitoline; for, he says, the words *eodemque modo in Capitolio* do not appear to refer to the hymn alone.

This is impossible, for how could the sacrifices to Apollo and Diana (*i.e.* the ceremonies of the Palatine) be performed on the Capitoline, or anywhere except at the temple of Apollo and Diana? And the position of the words in the sentence quoted from the *Acta*, coming, as they do, between the statement as to the number of the singers of the hymn and the name of its composer, would naturally confine the reference to the *Carmen*. The ceremonies of the third day could not have been repeated on the Capitoline, and it is out of the question that the ceremonies of the first and second day should be repeated, since the sacrifices to Jupiter are two days past, those to Juno one day past, and their altars long since dead.

In support of an encore, Vahlen cites a second performance of the *Frogs* of Aristophanes and of the *Eunuchus* of Terence, given on the same day because of the great success of the first performance. But I find that both of these illustrations must be called into question. Koch in his last edition of the *Frogs* (Einleitung, s. 17) does not say that the *Frogs* was repeated on the same day, but does say that it was repeated without alteration in the same year. The proof

for the repetition of the *Eunuchus* rests upon a corrupt passage in Suetonius (Roth, p. 292): *Eunuchus quidem bis die acta est*, where the old editors omit *die* and Ritschl reads *deinceps* (Reifferscheid, p. 29).

To me it seems more probable that the hymn was sung a second time, not because the ceremonies of the Palatine were repeated on the Capitoline, nor as an encore, but as a pre-arranged part of the regular programme, and that the Capitoline was chosen by Augustus for the second singing, because, besides being a central position, it was the chief seat of the worship of the gods of the religion of the old state, and he was not ready to break entirely with the past. The words *eodemque modo in Capitolio* came in naturally, therefore, in the account of the festival inscribed on the column, and needed no emphasis and caused no confusion. Moreover, the silence of the *Acta* in regard to a reason for its repetition argues against its having been an encore.

Lanciani, who agrees with Mommsen, thinks the *Carmen* too long to have been sung twice on the same day. This might be true had not the arrangement for its second singing been made beforehand, and time allowed for it in the regular programme. For a repetition under such conditions, less time would be necessary than for the solemn procession contemplated in Mommsen's view.

So much for the proof from the *Acta* alone. Let us consider Mommsen's further point that the hymn itself sustains his theory. He interprets strophes 10-13 (ll. 37-52) as referring to Jupiter and Juno, citing line 49, — *quaeque vos bobus veneratur albis* — as proof, and sustaining his point by a reference to the *Acta*, where it is stated (ll. 103 and 122) that oxen were sacrificed to Jupiter and Juno on this occasion, and cakes (l. 140) to Apollo and Diana.

We admit, with Vahlen, that the *Acta* sustain Mommsen's conclusion so far as the thirteenth strophe is concerned; that *bobus albis* (l. 49) must be associated with the Capitoline deities. This is a point which, before the discovery of the *Acta*, editors have not granted, having, as a rule, referred all of strophes 10-13 to Apollo and Diana (cf. Nauck and Kiessling).

Though it be admitted that the thirteenth strophe refers to Jupiter and Juno, there seems no reason to think that the admission carries with it Mommsen's conclusion that strophes 10-12 also refer to Jupiter and Juno. Vahlen shows by a comparison with the sixth ode of the fourth book that strophes 10-12 of the *Carmen Saeculare* must of necessity refer to Apollo and Diana. In this sixth ode, written after the composition of the *Carmen Saeculare*, but before its rendition, Horace calls upon Apollo and Diana as the gods that rescued Rome from the ashes of Troy, and the reference to Troy in these strophes of the *Carmen Saeculare* points to a similar close connection between Apollo and Diana and the founding of Rome. *Roma si vestrum est opus* (C. S. 37), and *Romulae genti date* (C. S. 47) must, in the light of Book IV, 6, refer to none other than Apollo and Diana. This prayer is analyzed by Vahlen in order to show that Horace consciously maintains a fixed proportion in his requests of Apollo and Diana and of Jupiter and Juno; the first openly favorable to the descendant of the Trojan race, to whom he says simply, *Roma si vestrum est opus* (the word *si* connoting "of course it is"); the second known as the old enemy of the Trojan race, whom he approaches hesitatingly after stating reasons and offering proofs of good will.

If then strophes 10-12 refer to Apollo and Diana, there seems to be no reason for continuing to believe in the Proceßionslied theory. If but one strophe refers to Jupiter and Juno, Mommsen's argument from the poem falls to the ground. Jupiter and Juno find a place in the poem for the same reason that the deities of the three nights are mentioned, for the sake of completeness. The *Carmen Saeculare* is the final performance of the festival, and in it the poet has undertaken to sum up in a sense the whole celebration.

Mommsen's objection that the poem is badly constructed because in strophes 10-13 (ll. 37-52) the poet confuses the hearer by seeming to refer to Apollo and Diana at first, but really meaning Jupiter and Juno, as *bobus albis* (49) shows, has been answered by the argument given above, namely that Apollo and Diana are referred to in strophes 10-12.

The *Di* in strophe 12 (ll. 45-46) is general and inclusive, as was *dis* in line 7, and as *cunctos deos* at the end of the hymn. In strophes 10-13 we first find Apollo and Diana referred to, then the general reference in *Di*, and last the particular reference in line 49 to Jupiter and Juno. The *Di* looks back and includes Apollo and Diana, and at the same time looks forward and includes Jupiter and Juno. The omission of the names of Jupiter and Juno in this place is intentional and deliberate on the part of the poet. The sacrifices made to Jupiter and Juno had been an important part of the first two days of the celebration, and the memory of them would be fresh in the mind of every auditor on the third day of the festival.

Granting that the points made above are well taken, it remains to see if Horace had a well-defined plan in his mind or if his order of mentioning the gods is loose, meaningless, and void of ideal significance, as Mommsen claims.

The hymn is first of all dedicated to Apollo and Diana, and all other deities are subordinated to them throughout the poem, but closely connected with this worship of Apollo and Diana is a strong undertone in praise and honor of Augustus, the giver of the celebration. Ever since the battle of Actium, Augustus had claimed Apollo as his special deity. He enlarged the old temple of Apollo on the promontory of Actium, and dedicated a magnificent temple to his worship on the Palatine (Propertius III, 31), and was desirous, as far as it seemed politic, of raising Apollo and Diana above all other gods as the special protectors of the new state. We see from the *Acta* that they are assigned the most important day of the festival, and from the *Carmen Saeculare* we see that it is from them that the greatest blessings are asked for the Roman race; the good morals of youth, the quiet of old age, wealth and children and every honor (ll. 45-48, reading the genitive and not the dative in lines 45 and 46).

It was a part of Augustus' plan that the new régime should be typified in this celebration, and to this end a complete break was made with the old manner of celebrating the *ludi saeculares*; instead of a three nights' festival, we find the

celebration continuing through three days and three nights; instead of Dis and Proserpina, gods of the underworld, worshipped with fear and trembling, we find at the night sacrifices the Ilithyiae, the Parcae, and Ceres, kindly intentioned deities worshipped with confidence; and in addition to these we find a group of the greater gods worshipped at the day sacrifices, the place of special honor in this group being given to Apollo and Diana, with avowed purpose on the part of Augustus, whose preference Horace makes the *Carmen Saeculare* serve; Apollo and Diana, the new gods of the Roman state, stand for new life and healing power, the new strength that under the protection of these favoring gods Augustus has imparted to the state.

The cycle is changed from one hundred to one hundred and ten years, and even the sacrifices are changed throughout; black lambs and goats for the Parcae, a black sow for Ceres, and cakes for the Ilithyiae take the place in the night offerings of a black bull and a black cow to Dis and Proserpina; Jupiter and Juno receive white oxen, the customary sacrifice of the greater gods, while an entirely new offering, cakes, is given Apollo and Diana, the same as to the Ilithyiae. This last seems to me to be a connecting link between the night and the day sacrifices, and to have been intentional and meant to be typical of the new order of things; to the Ilithyiae was entrusted Augustus' new legislation (*C. S.* 17-20), to Apollo and Diana Augustus' new state, and Horace very cleverly makes use of this design of Augustus.

The *Carmen Saeculare* divides itself into two separate prayers, aside from the invocations of the deities; the first includes strophes 3-8, closely and skilfully joined together, as may be seen on analysis; the second includes strophes 10-18 (ll. 37-72), which, besides naming the gods of the three days' sacrifices in such a way as to subordinate Jupiter and Juno to Apollo and Diana, allude to Augustus' connection with the Julian line, and consequently support his claim to be one of the race of Anchises. And it should be noted how hesitatingly the prayer (l. 51) is addressed to Juno

for a descendant of the hated Trojan race ; the confident *date* is dropped for the more modest *inpetret*, and proofs of Augustus' worth are offered ; he is *bellante prior* and *iacentem lenis in hostem*. This reference to his prowess furnishes the connection with the rest of the prayer, which consists in relating the benefits of his rule.

Mommsen seems to lose sight of all these facts when he condemns the poem as he does and accuses the poet of having blundered in its execution. Possessed with the theory that the hymn was sung in procession, he finds difficulty in knowing where to make divisions and finds confusion in the references to the deities and looseness in the order of naming them. But giving full significance to the fact that a new order is being ushered in with Apollo and Diana at its head and with Augustus as their earthly representative and special care, and interpreting the references to the gods as has been done in this paper, it must be granted that the *Carmen Saeculare* is one of the most carefully wrought out poems of a poet whose skill and cleverness are evident in the smoothness and finish of a large number of poems that have never been surpassed.

VII. — *The Devil and his Imps: an Etymological Inquisition.*

BY CHARLES P. G. SCOTT.

IN writing a paper on "English Words which hav Gained or Lost an Initial Consonant by Attraction," which has been published in three successive parts in the TRANSACTIONS for 1892, 1893, and 1894, I had occasion to deal, among other classes of words, with three classes of familiar household names, *Ned, Nan, Nell*, etc., *Hick, Hob, Hobbin, Hodge*, etc., *Dick, Dob, Dobbin*, etc., these three classes being derived by different kinds of Attraction, which I explained, from a fourth class, *Ed, Ann, Ell*, etc., *Rick, Rob, Robin, Rodge*, etc., and these being in turn derived, when not original, by mere curtailment from the full names *Edward, Ellen*, etc., *Richard, Robert, Roger*, etc.

Some of these short names and their diminutives, *Hick, Hichcock, Hob, Hobby, Hodge*, etc., *Dick, Dobbin, Dobby*, etc., were shown to be also used as common appellatives for a person marked by some physical or mental peculiarity, an awkward, clumsy man, a stupid fellow, a simpleton, a fool. See the paper mentioned (TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 231-236; xxiv. 113-120, 128-134; xxv. 118, 130-131).

Connected with these last uses there is a series of names of similar form applied to "the Devil and his Imps," the Devil himself, the devils his "flaming ministers," household goblins, rural demons, bogles, sprites, and fairies of all sorts. Tho some of these names are clearly identical with some of those treated in the paper, and might have been used in support of the etymologies I proposed, it seemed best, for lack of room and other reasons, to put these devil names aside. Indeed, it was clear that they should be treated by themselves; for I perceived that the etymologies which I had to suggest depended in part for their proof and acceptance on the peculiar atmosphere in which the names in question grew up and developed — an atmosphere of popular tradition,

superstition, humor, shrewdness, goodnatured ignorance, and ill-assimilated instruction, all complex, which only the systematic arrangement of the names, with abundant citation of historical proofs and literary quotations, could even partly reproduce, and in which alone my etymological inquisitions could be carried on to the conviction of others.

With this view, having recently felt moved to take the matter up, sooner than I expected when I laid it aside, I began to write up the Devil and his Imps, placing at first no limit on their number. I had no sooner thrown open the doors than the air was darkened by a grisly flight of black-winged demons, and the ground was covered by a trooping host of uncanny creatures of vague unseemly forms and unassorted sizes. Devils, Devilets, Devilings, Dablets, and other Imps, Black Angels, Black Men, Black Bears, Black Bulls, Black Dogs, Boggles and Bogies and Boggards, Bollies and Boodies, Bugs, Bugaboos, and Bugbears, Bullbears, Bullbeggars, Barghests and Boghests, Boggleboes and Boboggles, Boocows and Boomen, Churchgrims, Demons, Dobbies, Doolies, Gallybeggars, Galliments, Goblins, Hobs, Hob-Goblins, Hob-Thursts, Hob-Thrusts, Hob-Thrushes, Hodge-Pokers, Lobs, Padfoots, Pokers, Pookas, Pucks, Puckles, Pugs, Thuruses, Urchins, Woodwoses, Banshees, Cluricaunes, Leprechauns, Logherimans, Mermaids, Mermen, Merrows, Kelpies, Necks, Nicks, Nickers, Nixes, Nixies, Niogles, Shagfoals, Shocks, Shucks, the family of Ghosts, Specters, Spooks, Vampires, Fetches, Swarths, Warths, Waiths, Wraiths, the half-saved tribes of Elves, Fairies, Fays, Brownies, Buccas, Spriggans, Knockers, Nisses, Piskies, Pixies, Colepixies, Drows and Trolls, with Jack with the Lantern, Kit with the Candlestick, and Will with the Wisp lighting their darker kinsmen, and the Shoopiltie, the Shellycoat, the Ganfir, the Bwbach and his Welsh brethren in the background; the Deuce, the Devil, the Dickens; Ragamuffin, Ruffin, Humdudgeon, and Tantrabobus, and all their company; the neglected family of Scarecrows and Wussets—all these came up for an historical and etymological review. I might have been appalled by the troop of dark and yelling demons and boggles, or by the task of

explaining their denominations; but it is well known that in the still air of etymology no passions, either of fear or hate or joy, can exist, and that etymologists, indeed, consider it their duty to feel no emotions, unless it be gratification at finding their work improved and their errors rectified, by another and a better etymologist. This sometimes happens.

My course was simple. I detained my visitors until I had taken their names and had drawn up as well as I might their interesting and sometimes venerable pedigrees, with extracts from their records; and then I laid the manuscript aside, taking out only those portions which relate to the names of the kind I have specially mentioned, and which form the subject of this paper; namely, names of the Devil or of devils, demons, goblins, sprites, which are derived from or are connected with household English names, as *Dick, Hob, Jack, Kit, Tom, Will*, or involve the constant epithet *Old* (to which *Dick* and *Dobby* owe their initial), or otherwise tend to throw light upon the etymological and psychological history of the principal names treated.

I need not say that my purpose in these dealings with the Devil and his Imps is entirely etymological and literary, and that my remarks are entirely serious. I hope this collection will be of service to writers of folklore, compilers of fairy-books, and theological commentators, as well as to the etymologists on whose ensanguined altars I lay these shrinking lambs of opinion and fact.

Any one who knows in what a desperate state of etymology the Devil and his Imps have been weltering these many generations, must applaud even the feeblest attempt to mitigate their forlorn condition. I need not therefore apologize for my subject, since etymology is my object. If I mention the Devil more than once, I beg the reader to observe that it is the only way to get him before the public. I might of course call him by other names—indeed I shall do so presently; but until my present task is ended, it is of no use to beat the Devil about the bush. Indeed, there is no reason to scruple about naming what the race has not scrupled to invent.

I must apologize for some deficiencies in my orthography. Conservativ instincts would lead me of course to prefer the longest and most awkward and erroneous forms of spelling, but out of deference to the declared opinions and recommendations of the Philological Association I allow the use of some shorter spellings, like *definit*, *derivativ*, *exprest*. Conservativ readers wil find the orthodox forms in any safe dictionary; many wil no dout be able to conjecture the meaning of the words even in their alterd form.

My text wil be found in a striking passage in Reginald Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, publisht in 1584 (reprinted 1886; second edition 1651). In this great work, a work which does immortal honor to the man who stood almost alone to speak with boldness the words of truth and reason in the face of bitter and bloody superstition, the whole mass of popular delusion, from the harmless pleasantries of Robin Goodfellow to the horrible cruelties of the human demons who proved thereby the possibility of what they profest to believ, is examind, in a singularly rational manner, and the superstitions exposed, disproved, and flouted, with the most refreshing candor and courage.

It is not my purpose to enter into the intent of the work. My numerous citations from it ar merely to illustrate the lighter phases of the subject. The passage which servs me as a text mentions the Devil and his Imps in a comprehensiv way, and wil suggest the general contents of this paper, tho many of the Imps mentiond ar excluded from my present limits.

It is a common saing; A lion feareth no bugs. But in our childhood our mothers maids have so terrified us with an ouglie divell having hornes on his head, fier in his mouth, and a taile in his breech, eies like a bason, fanges like a dog, claws like a beare, a skin like a Niger, and a voice roring like a lion, whereby we start and are afraid when we heare one crie Bough: and they have so fraied us with bull beggers, spirits, witches, urchens, elves, hags, fairies, satyrs, pans, faunes, sylens [read syrens], kit with the cansticke, tritons, centaures, dwarfes, giants, imps, calcars, conjurors, nymphes, changelings, Incubus, Robin good-fellow, the spoorne, the mare, the man in the oke, the hell waine, the fierdrake, the puckle, Tom thombe, hob goblin, Tom tumbler, boneles, and such other bugs, that we are afraid of our owne shadowes; in so much that some never fear the divell, but in a darke night.

1584 R. Scot, *Discoverie of witchcraft*, bk. 7, ch. 15
(repr. 1886, p. 122; ed. 1651, p. 112).

I began my inquisition with the Devil himself, as is his due; and set forth the history and forms of his principal name — *Devil, Divel, Deevil, Deyvil, Deal, Deil, Dool, Dowl*; with innumerable forms in other languages, chasing them even into the isles of the sea; but the record is too long to find a place here. I can give only some of his particular names, and some particular names of his Imps, as bearing upon the original etymological purpose.

I arrange the names in alphabetic order, but alter the sequence in particular groups to suit my purposes. The quotations are selected from a much larger number in the original manuscript. They are all taken directly from the original sources having the titles and dates specified, except when a secondary source is expressly mentioned after the original signature. Two or three facsimile reprints are treated as originals. The quotations have been carefully verified. As a rule the earliest available quotation is given, but this is not to be presumed unless the fact is asserted. The aim has been to support each form by at least one verified quotation. Owing to the "profane and common life" which many of the terms have led, early records are sometimes lacking, and names certainly centuries old must be supported only by recent examples.

1. **Dick**, a familiar name used as the individual appellation of certain devils, and also applied to a goblin.

The origin of *Dick* I have explained in the paper before mentioned. See TRANSACTIONS for 1893, xxiv. 126-128. It arose from *Old Hick*, with the *d* attracted as in *Dob, Dobby*, etc.

Dick seems to have been little used as name for a devil or goblin, but its derivative *dickens* has become very familiar in that function. See DICKENS, following. Traces of *Dick* in this use, however, exist. "Lusty *Dick*" was the name of one of the devils "cast out" by the priests whose performances were exposed by Harsnet. *Dick a Tuesday* is a spirit to be mentioned hereafter; and *Melsh Dick*, a silvan spirit, is the protector of hazel-nuts.

Lusty *Dick* [name of a devil].

1603 HARSNET, *A declaration of egregious popish impostures*, ch. 10 (N. & Q. 1859, 2d ser. 7: 144).

Melsh-Dick. A sylvan goblin, the protector of hazel-nuts from the depredations of mischievous boys. *North*. 1847 HALLIWELL.

The meaning of *melsh* here is not clear.

Dick is also found as a common appellativ of a dwarf or pigmy; and dwarfs wer regarded as dubious Christians, if not as imps of Satan. The following lines refer to one "of perfon as pretty as a Pigmey":

In bodies deft of dapper *Dicks*
Great vertue ofte doth dwell.

1577 KENDALL, *Flowers of Epigrammes* (Spenser Soc., 1874, p. 222).

"A queer *Dick*" is a queer fellow, one odd in appearance, or eccentric in conduct.

Dick also appears in some obscure slang or cant phrases, where it may be the attenuated ghost of some former diabolic allusion. "Up to *Dick*" means 'up to the mark,' 'in good condition.' "It is all *dicky* with him" means 'it is all up with him.'

Dick. In the phrase up to *Dick*, meaning up to the mark, in good form. I suppose this is connected with the ordinary slang word *Dickens*.

1891 CHOPE, *Dial. of Hartland* (E.D.S.), p. 40.

2. *Dick a Tuesday* occurs once as the name, it seems, of some goblin; why 'of Tuesday' must be left to conjecture. According to the Rabbins quoted by Reginald Scot, all goblins and 'bugs' were created, imperfectly, on Friday.

Ghosts, hobgoblins, Will-with-wispe, or *Dicke-a-Tuesday*.

1636 SAMPSON, *Vow breaker* (Nares, 1858, p. 238).

3. *Dicken*, the Devil. The right of *Dicken*, judging by the records alone, to be a devil and with the devils stand, is unhappily very slender. But his title, tho it can not be read clear, can be read. The only direct testimony must be rejected, for it seems to be a misprint; but the indirect evidence is strong, and I am willing, at least on Sunday, to admit *Dicken* the Devil, like other lovers of "personal liberty," to his appropriate place, by the side door.

The direct testimony for *Dicken*, the Devil, is in Halliwell:

Dicken. The devil. Var. dial. *Odds dickens*, a kind of petty oath.

1846 HALLIWELL. (Hence 1857 WRIGHT.)

But *Dicken*, tho ascribed to "various dialects," does not appear in any dialect glossary within my reach, and Halliwell's own additions, including a reference to Heywood (see the quotation below), indicate that he meant to print *Dickens*.

The indirect evidence for *Dicken* the Devil consists in the familiar use of the later form *Dickens*, in a restricted way, as a name for the same being (as explained in the next article), and in the limited use of *Dick* as a name for a devil and a goblin. See DICK and DICK-A-TUESDAY, before.

Was it accident, or Sir Walter Scott's fine instinct for the nomenclature appropriate to goblins, that led him to call the mischievous "imp" who figures in "Kenilworth" as the familiar of Wayland Smith, by the name of *Dick*, *Dickie*, *Dickon*—his surname being at least suspicious, *Sludge*, and his other alias being openly diabolic, from the "foul fiend" *Flibbertigibbet*?

Little *Dickie* . . . *Dickie* Sludge . . . *Ricarde!*

1821 SCOTT, *Kenilworth*, ch. 9 (1863, p. 81-83). [First mention.]

If I give thee not a Rowland for thine Oliver, my name is not *Dickon* Sludge.

1821 SCOTT, *Kenilworth*, ch. 24 (1863, p. 216).

I explain *Dicken* the Devil (and hence *Dickens* the Devil, which is treated, like the Devil himself, below), as simply a familiar use of the once common household name *Dicken*, *Dickon*. It means just 'little Dick,' or 'Dickie.' We have seen *Dick* itself used as the name of a devil and a goblin, and we shall see how *Dobby* and *Hob* and *Hobby* and *Hodge* and *Harry* and *Jack* and *Kit* and *Robert* and *Robin* and *Roger* and *Sam* and *Tom* are used in the same familiar manner.

The household name *Dicken*, *Dickon* I have explained, I think for the first time, as originally *Old Hickon*, or, what comes to the same thing, a diminutive of *Dick*, which was originally *Old Hick*; the *d* of *old* being attracted to the following word, and *old* subsequently omitted. See TRANSACTIONS for 1893, xxiv. 128-134.

The probability of this explanation is greatly increased by the fact that *old* appears in a great many familiar names for the devil. The very form *Old Harry* is conspicuous among them, and the regretted absence of *Old Hick* and *Old Tom* is soothed by the presence of *Dick a Tuesday* and *Tom Poker* as names of devils, and of *Old Roger*, *Old Sam*, *Old Boy*, *Old Clotie*, *Old Lad*, *Old Scratch*, and many other names with *old*, as nominations of the Devil. See the list in this paper, p. 145.

4. **Dickens**, the Devil. The etymology of *dickens* has been the object of much guessing, to little purpose. The etymology is very simple when one takes note of *Dicken*. *Dicken* I have just explained. *Dickens*, also spelt *dickons*, ought strictly to be written with a capital. It is a variant of *Dicken*, with an added -s, which is to be regarded

as a vague addition of emphasis, the plural or perhaps the possessive suffix -s with all meaning washt out. It is similar in status to other juratory forms, *fackins*, *facks*, *ifackins*, for 'in faith' or 'by my faith,' and *maskins*, *mackins*, *by the mackins*, for 'by the mass.' It will be noticed that in one of my quotations, from an obscure source hitherto overlooked, *Dickens* in the juratory form *By Dickens*, occurs in immediate connection with *maskins*. It is to be observed that *Dickens* comes into use just as *Dicken*, *Dickon* as a common name goes out.

The surname *Dickens* is in origin the possessive case of *Dicken*, *Dickon*, and means 'Dicken's son.' The full form remains in the surnames *Dickenson*, *Dickinson* (see TRANSACTIONS for 1893, xxiv. 128), also *Dickerson* for *Dickenson* (compare *Nickerson* for *Nicolson*, p. 122). How far the surname *Dickens* affected the use of *dickens* as a name for the Devil, I can not undertake to say.

There have been several false etymologies of *dickens* thrown on the dump of conjecture :

- (1) It was said to be a contraction of *devilkins*, 'little devils.'

Dickens (q. d. *Devilkins*, i.e. little devils).

1721 BAILEY, *Univ. etym. Eng. dict.* (1733).

Dickens (prob. a contraction of *devilkins*, *deelkins*, *dickens*, i.e. little devils). 1755 BAILEY, *New univ. etym. Eng. dict.*, ed. J. N. Scott, 4to.

But to say nothing of the kind of contraction implied, *devilkins* was never in any familiar use. In one passage cited to support it —

What devilkyns draper, sayd Litell Much, Thynkyst thou to be ?
c 1500 *A Lytell Geste of Robyn Hode*, l. 292 (Child, *Ballads*, v. 57).

there is no *devilkins* at all. The line should be printed "What devilkyns draper," etc. It means 'What kind of a draper,' etc., or, literally, 'A draper of what kind,' etc., *kyns* being the old genitive of *kin*, 'kind,' and *devil* an interpolated word of emphasis. See my explanation in TRANSACTIONS, xxiv. 149.

(2) Jamieson (1825) under the word *daikins*, which he identifies with *dickens* (see below, p. 88), explains *dickens* as derived from *God's bodikins*. Yet in his personal conduct he was an exemplary man.

(3) Oliphant, referring to Shakespeare's use of *dickens*, says, "Here the strange word is said to be akin to the Dutch" (1886 *The New English*, 2 : 24). This alludes, I suppose, to the L.G. *düker* cited in the discussion of *deuce*. See the *Bremen dictionary* (1767, s.v.).

The earliest instances of the use of *dickens* which I have noted occur at nearly the same time, 1600 and 1602, in plays, in the speech

of coarse common life. It is in the exclamation *the dickens*, used just like *the deuce*.

Hobs. By my hood, ye make me laugh. What the *dickens*? is it love that makes ye prate to me so fondly?

1600 HEYWOOD, *King Edward the Fourth*, first part (Shakespeare Soc., 1842, p. 40).

M. Pa. I cannot tell what (*the dickens*) his name is my husband had him of.

1602 SHAKESPEARE, *M. W. W.* 3. 1. (1623, F¹ p. 49).

The dickons, so spelt, is common in "Tim Bobbin":

Odds mee, Meary! whooa *the dickons* wou'd o thowt o' leeting o thee here so soyne this morning?

1750 COLLIER ("TIM BOBBIN") *Lanc. Dial.* (first sentence) (1823), p. 5. Hoo cou'd na opp'n hur meawth t' sey 'eugh or now; boh simpurt un sed iss; (*the dickons* iss ur un him too) sed I.

1750 COLLIER ("TIM BOBBIN") *Lanc. dial.* (1823), p. 10. [*The dickons* also on p. 28, '29; *the dickens* in *Works* (1862), p. 326.]

"Where *the dickens* is she?" he continued.

1847 C. BRONTË, *Jane Eyre*, ch. 1. (18.., p. 11).

Insted of *the dickens* is sometimes found *a dickens*; but it is all one. The definit article *a* is not commonly recognized, but it exists. It is a worn form of *the*.

What *a dickens* does he mean by a trivial sum? (*Afide*) But han't you found it, Sir? 1687 CONGREVE, *Old Bachelor*, ii. 1. (*Works*, 1710, 1: 24).

"Name!" said Lance; "why, what *a dickens* should it be but Robin Round — honest Robin of Redham."

1823 SCOTT, *Peveril of the Peak*, ch. 25 (1866, p. 222).

All the quotations given above present *dickens* with the definit article; a use which equates it with *the deuce* as an equivalent with *the devil*. But I find an other construction, *By Dickens* (1645). This is a slight piece of evidence for the original use of the term without the article, and therefore as a mere "Christian" name, as my etymology proposes.

. . . Mincing their oaths as if God would not espy them when as man may, as 'By Dickens, maskins, s'lid, barlady's foot,' &c.

1645 POWELL, *Summons for swearers* (Sternberg, *Northampt. gloss.* 1851, p. 66).

The word appears in the eighteenth century combined with the minced profanity of *ods*, *odds*, as a diluted oath. But this does not bear on the etymology. The addition is meaningless, like Bob Acres's "*odds triggers and bullets.*"

Dickens . . . a fort of oath, as *Ods Dickens*.

1721 BAILEY, *Univ. etym. Eng. dict.* (1733).

Dickens . . . As, *Odz dickens* . . .

1755 BAILEY, *New univ. etym. Eng. dict.*, ed. J. N. Scott, 4to.

Dictionary mention of *dickens* begins with Bailey 1721, as cited.

ickens. A kind of adverbial exclamation, importing, as it seems, much the same with the devil; but I know not whence derived. 1755 JOHNSON.
Dickens (s. used only in loofe and droll style). A kind of adverbial exclamation, the devil. 1775 ASH, *Dict. Eng. lang.*
 Odds *dickens*, Sall, we'll hev a spree, Me heart's as light as ony feather.
 a 1846 JOHN BROWN, *Neddy and Sally, a Lincolnshire Tale* (in Halliwell, pref., p. 24).
 Odds *dickens*, a kind of petty oath. 1847 HALLIWELL.

The *dickens* is stil in familiar use in the United States as a mere emphatic, expressiv of impatience.

Well, Brinkly, supposin' it is. Who in the *dickence* said it weren't?
 1871 R. M. JOHNSTON ("PHILEMON PERCH"), *Dukesborough Tales*, p. 5.

Here the word is spelt *dickence*, indicating the proper sound of *s*. In one dialect at least the word *dickens* appears in the form *diggens*, spelt in the quotation *digence*, *diggunce*. This is an other point in favor of the etymology which finds the source in the personal name *Dicken*, *Dickon*; for the personal name *Dicken*, *Dickon* has a variant *Diggen*, *Diggon*. See TRANSACTIONS for 1893, xxiv. 128.

Dig'ence, s. [*g* hard] [ed. 1869 adds *diggunce*]. The evil one; the devil.
 In some modern publication, which I have lately seen, this word is spelled *Dickens*; why, I do not know.
 1825 JENNINGS, *Dialects of the West of England* (Somerset), p. xiv.

Jamieson identifies with *dickens* a rare Galloway term *daikins*:

Daikins, interj. An exclamation or kind of oath. Galloway.
 1825 JAMIESON (1880).
 As Jocky passed through the slap—
 Ilk lass cock'd up her silken cap,
 Saying, *Daikins!* here's the fellow
 For them, that day.
 1789 DAVIDSON, *Seasons*, p. 76 (1825 Jamieson, 1880, 2: 7).

This seems to be an isolated instance. I think *daikins* has nothing to do with *dickens*.

5. *Dob*. Of the use of the simple *Dob*, like *Dobby* in the next article, as a name of a goblin, no evidence appears; but there seems to be an indication of it in the following title of an old "sensational" pamphlet:

Strange and Wonderful News from Oundle in Northamptonshire; giving an impartial Relation of the Drumming Well, commonly called *Dobse's Well*.
 1692 (title). (Lowndes, 1834, 3: 1381.)

"Dobse's Well" may represent **Dob's Well*, equivalent to **Hob's Well*, a well or pit haunted by a hob or goblin; a "drumming well"

would of course be supposed to be haunted. *Hob's Cave*, *Hob-hole*, *Thurse-hole*, *Thurse-well*, names of similar haunts, are mentioned under HOB and THURSE. For *Dob* as a man's name, see TRANSACTIONS for 1893, xxiv. 129.

6. *Dobby*, a goblin, a domestic spirit.

This *dobby*, spelt also *dobbie*, I take to be a familiar use of *Dobby*, a personal name which I have before explained as originally *Old Hobby*, a pet name of *Hobby* or *Hob* (see TRANSACTIONS for 1893, xxiv. 130). So *Dob* from *Old Hob*; see above. *Hob* is also applied, as we shall see, to a goblin of the same kind: as well as to the Imp otherwise called *Jack with the lantern*; and *Hobby* also recurs in the latter use. *Dobby*, a stupid person (Halliwell), is an other use of the same personal name.

That this etymology is probable will appear not only from a comparison of the uses of *Hob* and *Hobby*, but also from a comparison of the uses of *Dick*, *Dicken*, *Dickens*, similarly related to *old*, and of the numerous names of the devil beginning with that adjective.

The ideas respecting '*dobbies*' are the same as are held in Scotland with respect to '*brownies*.' Though naturally lazy, they are said to make, in cases of trouble and difficulty, incredible exertions for the advantage of the family; as, to stack all the hay, or house the whole crop of corn, in one night. The farmers' horses are left to rest, and stags, or other wild animals, are supposed to fulfil the orders of the demon. Some of the *dobbies* are contented to stay in outhouses with the cattle, but others will only dwell among human beings. The latter are thought to be fond of heat, but when the hearth cools, it is said, they frisk and racket about the house, greatly disturbing the inmates. If the family should remove with the expectation of finding a more peaceable mansion, their hopes would be frustrated, for we are informed that the *dobby*, being attached to the persons, not to place, would remove also, and commence his revels in the new habitation.

The *dobbies* residing in lone granges, or barns, and near antiquated towers, bridges, &c., have a character imputed to them different from that of the house-demons. Benighted travellers are thought to be much endangered by passing their haunts: for, as grave legends assure us, an angry sprite will sometimes jump behind a horseman, and compress him so tightly that he either perishes before he can reach his home, or falls into some lingering and direful malady.

1811 WILLAN, *Ancient Words used in the West Riding of Yorkshire*, in *Archæologia*, 1814, 17: 138-167 (E.D.S., 1873, p. 80; also Sternberg, *Dialect and Folk-lore of Northamptonshire*, p. 193).

A pleasant description of the *dobbies* is given by Irving. It is not an American subject, but then Irving, as Englishmen used to say, in order to explain the phenomenon of an agreeable style in an American writer, was merely an Englishman who happened to be born in America.

The parson assures me that many of the peasantry believe in household goblins called *Dobbies*, which live about particular farms and houses, in the same way that Robin Good Fellow did of old. Sometimes they haunt the barns and outhouses; and now and then will assist the farmer wonderfully, by getting in all his hay and corn in a single night. In general, however, they prefer to live within doors, and are fond of keeping about the great hearths, and basking at night, after the family have gone to bed, by the glowing embers. . . . But besides these household *Dobbies*, there are others of a more gloomy and unsocial nature; that keep about lonely barns, at a distance from any dwelling house; or about ruins, and old bridges. These are full of mischievous and often malignant tricks; and are fond of playing pranks upon benighted travelers. . . . Of the household *Dobbies* . . . it is remarked that they keep with certain families, and follow them wherever they remove.

1822 IRVING, *Bracebridge Hall*, ii. 86-88.

The Craven *dobbies* resemble the Northamptonshire fairies in the custom of visiting the cottage hearth.

1851 STERNBERG, *Dialect and Folk-lore of Northamptonshire*, p. 193.

Ghosts! Eigh, me lad, we've hed plenty on 'em i' Forness, but we'd anudder neeam for 'em; we've ol'as co'd em *dobbies* or freetnins. Here about U'ston we'd t' Plunton Ho' *dobby*, Swartmoor Ho' *dobby*, Ald Ho' *dobby*, Lebby Beck *dobby*, t' Swing Gate *dobby*, an' we had t' King's Arms *dobby*, tu.

1867 J. P. MORRIS, *T' Lebby Beck Dobby*, p. 3

(1875 Nodal and Milner, *Lanc. Gloss.*, E.D.S., p. 107).

Dobby, a ghost; lit. a stupid. See *Dobbie* in Jamieson's Scottish Dict.

1875 NODAL and MILNER, *Lans. Gloss.*, E.D.S., p. 107.

In mere literary mention or allusion *dobby* does not often appear.

He understood Greek, Latin and Hebrew; and therefore, according to the apprehension, and in the phrase of his brother Wilfred, needed not to care for ghaist or barghaist, devil or *dobbie*.

1818 SCOTT, *Rob Roy*, ch. 14 (1863, p. 107).

7. **Friar.** "The Friar" is Friar Rush; Milton gives him a lantern, as if he were Jack with the lantern. See JACK WITH THE LANTERN.

She was pincht and pull'd, she sed,
And he by *Friar's lantern* led;
Tell how the drudging Goblin sweat
To earn his Cream Bowl duly set.

1645 MILTON, *L'Allegro* (1891), l. 103-6.

8. **Friar Rush.** The history of Friar Rush is or was well known. It was told in quarto in 1620, and in other styles before. Friar Rush was a "merry devil," of the kindred of Robin Goodfellow and Puck.

Friar Rush was for all the world such another fellow as this Hudgin, and brought up even in the same schoole; to wit, in a kitchen; in so much as the selfe same tale is written of the one as of the other, concerning the skullian, which is said to have been slaine, &c. For the reading whereof I referre you to *Friar Rush* his storie, or else to John Wierus, *De præstigijs dæmonum*.

1584 R. SCOT, *Discourse upon divels and spirits*, ch. 21 (app. to *Discoverie of witchcraft*, repr. 1886, p. 438; ed. 1651, p. 374).

9. (1) **Gill Burnt-tail**, an other name for the Will of the wisp or Jack with the lantern. Jack and Gill wer old companions.

Will with the wispe, or *Gyl burnt tayle*.

1654 GAYTON, *Festivous Notes*, p. 97 (Nares, 1858, p. 362).

10. (2) **Gillian a Burnt-tail**, the same as *Gill Burnt-tail*.

An ignis fatuus, an exhalation and *Gillion a burnt taile*, or Will with the wispe. 1654 GAYTON, *Festivous Notes*, p. 268 (Nares, 1858, p. 362).

11. **Goblin**, a demon, often of a friendly disposition.

Goblin, formerly also *gobblin*, *goblīne*, *gobling*, M.E. *gobelīn*, *gobelyn*, from O.F. *gobelin*, F. *gobelin*, *goblin*, perversely *goguelin*; Bret. *gobilin* (1851 Corblet, *Glossaire du patois picard*, p. 427; 1851 Diefenbach, *Goth. wörterbuch*, 1: 150); M.L. reflex *gobelinus*.

This ludicrous fairy [the Welsh Bwbach] is in France represented by the *gobelin*. Mothers threaten children with him. 'Le *gobelin* vous mangera, le *gobelin* vous emportera.' 1880 SIKES, *British Goblins*, p. 32. Dæmon enim, quem de Dianæ fano expulit, adhuc in eadem urbe degit, & in variis frequenter formis apparens, neminem ledit. Hunc vulgus *Gobelinum* appellat.

a 1141 ORDERICUS VITALIS, *Historia* (in Ducange, 1762, 2: 499).

The origin of *goblin*, or of its Old French original, has been variously stated:

(1) From M.L. *cobālus*, *covālus*, Gr. *κόβαλος*, a malignant spirit, a rogue. So Scheler (1888). This implies a derivativ **cobālinus*, altered through Rom. to *gobelinus*. Wharton (*Etyma Graeca*, 1890, p. 71) associates *goblin* with Gr. "*κόβαλος*, rogue," as well as with Eng. *gabble*, *gibberish*, *gibe*, *jabber*.

(2) From G. *kobold* (whether this be derived from M.L. *cobālus*, as Scheler and others say, or from an other source). So Minsheu, 1617 (inter alia); Keightley, *Fairy mythology*, 2: 297, n. To get O.F. *gobelin* from *kobold*, M.H.G. *kobolt*, requires sustained effort.

(3) From W. *coblyn*, a "sprite, goblin" (1866 Spurrell, p. 78). But W. *coblyn* is also, and apparently first, a "thumper, pecker"; compare "*coblyn y coed*, woodpecker"; connected with *cobio*, "to thump" (Spurrell, *l.c.*; similarly, Owen, 1793). The sense 'goblin' may be due to confusion with the English word, and the legend of the mine-goblins called 'Knockers.'

(4) From F. *gober*, devour.

Goblin, G. *Gobelin*, ex *gobér*, i. glutire: quòd faciebant credere pueris & infantibus eos ab ip̄is malignis deuorari: because they made children believe that these Goblins would devour them.

1617 MINSHEU, lines 1-3 (Sim. Skinner, 1671, *Etym. ling. Angl.*).

(5) From the *Ghibellines* of medieval Italy. From the *Guelfs* came the *elves*. Grown men entertained this fancy.

Goblin, G. *Gobelin* . . . Aut potius vt placet Thomafio in fua animadu-
uerfione de Italia: vbi dicit hoc vocabulum *Goblin* prouenire ex
Guibellinis & Guelfis, duabus Italiae factionibus: quarum folum nomi-
nando pauor incutiebat pueris, &c. M. Thomas faith, that this word
Goblin comes from that famous faction of the Guibellines and Guelfes
of Italie, the names whereof strooke a terrour into their children, as the
name of Goblin and Hobgoblin among English Infants. Vi. *Hobgoblin*.

1617 MINSHEU, lines 3-8.

Goblins . . . Elves and *Goblins*, q. d. Guelfs and Ghibelins, quibus olim
terribiliffimis nominibus infantes territare folebant nutrices: Sic Præ-
ceptor meus, fed eft mera conjectura.

1671 SKINNER, *Etym. ling. Anglicana*.

(6) From *Oberon*. The *g* was prefixt, as Skinner would say,
“propter euphoniã.” We fhall find *Oberon* lugh in alfo to explain
Hob.

Goblins . . . Minshew . . . deflectit à verbo Fr. G. *Gober* . . . vel *ab*
Oberone, Dæmonum terreſtrium (i. e.) Dryadum, Oreadam & Faunorum,
nobis Fayriorum, Rege.

1671 SKINNER, *Etym. ling. Anglicana*.

But Minshew (1617) does not propound the etymology *ab Oberone*.

(7) From *goblet* — because the goblin shakes 'em.

Père l'Abbé intimates that the goblin gets his name from “shaking the
goblets and other vessels.”

1828 T. K[EIGHTLEY], *Fairy Mythology*, 2. 297.

Goblin occurs, but not often, in M.E. I find three examples :

Sathanas huere syre	Seyde on his sawe
<i>Gobelyn</i> made his gerner	Of gromene mawe.
c 1300 <i>Political songs of England</i> , ed. Wright, Camden Soc., 1839, p. 238.	
Of an arowe fliynge in the dai, of a [om. in 1 ms.] <i>gobelyn</i> goynge in derk- nessis [<i>earlier text</i> fro the nede goende in dercnessis thur3]; of a sail- ing, and a myddai feend.	c 1388 WICLIF, <i>Ps.</i> 90:6 (Purv.).

This in translation of the Vulgate :

A sagitta volante in die, a negotio perambulante in tenebris: ab incursu,
et daemónio meridiano.

Biblia sacra vulg. Ps. 90:6, ed. Romæ, 1861, p. 369.

In the English version of 1605 :

Nor of the pestilence that walketh in darkenes, nor of the plague that
destroyeth at noone day.

Ps. 91:6.

Goblin occurs once in the M.E. glosses.

Ravus, a thrusse, a *gobelyne*.

c 1460 *Medulla grammaticæ* (in Way, *Prompt. Parv.* 1865, p. 491, note).

The only description of goblins I hav found in M.E. is the follow-
ing. They ar placed in the land of Poitou.

We haue thenne herd sey and telle of our aunceyents, that in manye partes of the sayd land of Poytow haue ben shewed vnto many oon right famyl-erly many manyeres of things the which som called *Gobelyns*, the other *Fayrees*, and the other bonnes dames or good ladyes; and they goo by nyght tyme and entre within the houses without opnyng or brekyng of ony doore, and take & bere somtyme with them the children out of their cradelles, and somtyme they turne them out of theyre wit, and somtyme they brenne & Roste them before þe fyre, and whan they departe fro them they leue them as hoole as they were before, and som̄ gyvu grette happe & Fortune in this world.

c 1500 *Chronicle of Melusine*, ms. quoted by Skeat, Pref. to *Rom. of Partenay* (E.E.T.S. 1866), p. xiii.

Larua . . . a *goblin* . . . 1565 COOPER, *Thesaurus*.

Goe, charge my *Goblins* that they grinde their ioynts
With dry Convulsions; fhorten vp their finewes
With aged Cramps.

1623 SHAKESPEARE, *Tempest*, 4: 1 (F¹ p. 16).

Shakespeare uses *goblin* also in the sense of a ghost, that is, 'the spirit of one ded.'

Be thou a Spirit of health, or *Goblin* damn'd . . .
Be thy euent [intents] wicked or charitable . . .

1623 SHAKESPEARE, *Hamlet*, 1: 4 (F¹ p. 257).

Goblins. Siet *Hobgoblins*. 1648 HEXHAM, *Eng.-Netherdutch Dict.*

A *goblin* which manifests itself to the human eye, it seems to me, becomes natural, by bowing before the natural laws which rule in optics.

1880 SIKES, *British Goblins*, p. 248.

But it is the mind's eye — we wil call it mind — to which goblins manifest themselvs. See HOB GOBLIN.

12. *Goggie*, usually cald *Old Goggie*, a goblin of woods and orchards, invoked to deter children from stealing the fruit. The same function was performd by *Melsh Dick* (see DICK).

Goggie (gaog-i); *Awd Goggie*, W., a hobgoblin, who haunts woods and orchards, and is made use of as a protector of the fruit, children being told that if they go near such a tree 'Awd Goggie is seer to get em.'

1877 ROSS, STEAD, and HOLDERNESS, *Holderness Gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 68.

13. *Good Fellow*, written also *good-fellow* and *goodfellow* (in *Robin Goodfellow*), a friendly or euphemistic name for a goblin of the house, such as *Lob Lie-by-the-fire*, or the spirit cald especially *Robin Goodfellow*. For further remarks and additional quotations, see ROBIN GOODFELLOW.

The following quotation alludes to the household goblin who works while the family is asleep:

Cornelius Tacitus [marg. *Cor. Tac.*, l. 12] telles a merry tale . . . of a *good-fellow*-like Hercules, whom the Parthians worhipped. This kind-hearted god warned his Priests in a dreame, that neere to his Temple they should fet horses ready furnished for hunting, which they doe,

lading them with quiuers full of arrowes. These after much running vp and downe the forrest, returne home at night blowing and breathlesse, their quiuers being emptied. And Hercules (no nigard of his venifon) acquainteth the Priests at night by another vifion with all his disport, what woods he hath raunged, and the places of his game. They searching the places, find the flain beafts.

1613 PURCHAS, *Pilgrimage*, IV. iii. 299.

Hercules as Robin Goodfellow! This is not at all the usual "Ercles vein."

The following quotation refers to *Lob Lie-by-the-fire*.

And John Broom's curiosity was never quenched about the rough hairy *Good-fellow* who worked at night that others might be idle by day, and who was sometimes caught at his hard-earned nap lying, "like a great hurgin bear," where the boy loved to lie himself, before the fire on this very hearth.

1873 Mrs. J. H. EWING, *Lob Lie-by-the-fire* (18.., n. d.), p. 50.

The sometimes sinister subaudition in the term *Good Fellow* may be perceivd by the following :

Showing what base and unclean acts have been committed . . . by one Popham, well known to be a *good fellow*.

1648 GAGE, *New Survey of the West-Indias*, p. 203.

14. *Guytrash*, a goblin or specter.

This singular word is given, usually in the spelling *gytrash*, as a provincial term for "a spirit, or ghost" (Halliwell).

Guy-trash. An evil spirit, a ghost, a pad-foot.

1828 [CARR], *Craven Gloss*. 1: 202.

Gytrash. A spirit, or ghost. *Craven*.

1846 HALLIWELL. (Whence in 1857 Wright.)

The word is in literature ; for "Jane Eyre" is so regarded :

The din was on the causeway. A horse was coming . . . As this horse approached, and as I watched for it to appear through the dusk, I remembered certain of Bessie's tales, wherein figured a North-of-England spirit, called a "*Gytrash*," which, in the form of horse, mule, or large dog, haunted solitary ways, and sometimes came upon belated travellers, as this horse was now coming upon me. It was very near, but not yet in sight; when, in addition to the tramp, tramp, I heard a rush under the hedge, and close down by the hazel stems glided a great dog, whose black and white color made him a distinct object against the trees. It was exactly one mask of Bessie's *Gytrash* — a lion-like creature with long hair and a huge head; it passed me, however, quietly enough, not staying to look up, with strange pretercanine eyes, in my face, as I half expected it would. The horse followed — a tall steed and on its back a rider. The man, the human being, broke the spell at once. Nobody ever rode the *Gytrash*. It was always alone; and goblins, to my notions, though they might tenant the dumb carcasses of beasts, could scarcely covet shelter in the commonplace human form. No *Gytrash* was this, — only a traveller taking the short cut to Millcote.

1847 C. BRONTË, *Jane Eyre*, ch. 12 (18.., p. 124).

No one, so far as I know, has recorded any views as to the origin of this word. Yet one need not go far for a view. One of the most ingenious methods in etymology is to take the word as it stands to stand for what it professes. Apply this method to *guytrash* or *gytrash*. It is evidently a compound. Of what? Of *Guy* or *Gy*, in M.E. *Gy*, and *trash*. What *trash*? There are several words of this form in the dictionaries, but none apply. But in this paper another *trash* is recorded for another reason; and it applies. *Trash* is the name of a particular kind of specter. It is a variant of *trush* for *thrush*, and that is a variant of *thurse*, a goblin; as is fully set forth in this paper under THURSE. Hence *guytrash*, *gytrash*, is *Guy-Trash*, parallel to *Hob-Trush*, *Hob-Thrush* for *Hob-Thurse*, as I explain under these forms.

But what is this spirit called *Guy* or *Gy*? I was at a loss to tell, until I lighted upon a mention by Dunbar and Lyndesay, Scottish poets of the 16th century, of "the spreit of Gy" and "the gaist of Gye."

The larbar lukis of thy lang lene craig,
Thy pure pynit thrott, peilit and owt of ply,
Thy f koldirt fkin, hewd lyk ane saffrone bag,
Garris men difpyt thar flefche, thow *Spreit of Gy*.

1508 DUNBAR, *The Flyting* (Poems, ed. Laing, 1834, 2: 71).

And vit gif this be not I I wait it is the *spreit of Gy*,
Or ellis fle be the sky, And licht as the lynd.

1568 LYNDESAY, *Ane littill interlude of the Droichis
part of the play* (*Bannatyne poems*, 1770, p. 219).

In Lyndesay's "Dreme" he describes how he put himself in grotesque disguises to amuse the infant prince who became James V:

And sumtyme lyke ane feind, transfeurate,
And sumtyme lyke the greislie *gaist of gye* [*Guy*, Jam. 1808],
In diuers formis, oft tymes, disfigurate,
And sumtyme, dissagyist ful pleasandlye.

1552 LYNDESAY, *Dreme* (E.E.T.S.), i: 15.

One might suppose that this 'spirit of Guy' refers to Guy of Warwick, the hero of many legends—almost a "solar myth." But I do not recall any mention of Guy's ghost in the legends concerning him. Laing, in his glossary to Dunbar, enters "*Gy*, Sir Guy, of Romance."

The term *guy-trash* came to lose all reference to a particular spirit, and was applied to any apparition of terror; and then by mixture of fables, was imagined as an equine or a canine goblin, as in "Jane Eyre."

The word *guy*, meaning "any strange looking individual," an awkwardly drest person, "a fright," is regarded as an allusion to the effigy of Guy Fawkes, formerly carried about by boys on the fifth of November. I suppose this is true; but it may be that the fading "spreit of Gy," the *Gytrash*, is also present in this use of *guy*.

15. **Hob**, a rural spirit or goblin, cald also *Hobgoblin*. See HOB GOBLIN, below.

This is simply the rustic name *Hob*, used like other names of the same homely sort, as a friendly name for the countryside goblins. This combination, a piece of rude familiarity used to cover up uncertainty or fear, is quite in keeping with the rustical mind of England; and the proofs which appear in the quotations given below, and the similar names enumerated in this paper, ar hardly needed to confirm the etymology. See especially DOB, DOBBY, HOBGOBLIN.

Hob, as a person's name, is generally explaind as a 'nickname' for *Robert*. I hav explaind the process of the change in an other paper (TRANSACTIONS for 1893, xxiv. 110-11, 115) thus: *Robert* was shortend to *Rob* by detachment of the supposed suffix *-ert*; *Rob* in the frequent household phrases *our Rob*, *your Rob* became by fusion of the adjacent *r*'s, '*Ob*, and this' by conformity with other names was aspirated *Hob*, though stil actually pronounced, by the unaspiring multitude, '*Ob*.

One writer, following Keightley, proposes a pretty and therefore an erroneous etymology:

I look upon the usual derivation of *Hob* as mistaken, if not absurd. . . No doubt *Hobbie*, *Hob*, is the short for Halbert; but has it actually and popularly been the short for Robert? It seems much more likely that just as Oberon comes through the intermediate form *Auberon* from *Alberon* (Grimm's *D. M.*, p. 421), so *Hob* = '*Ob* comes through *aub* (comp. Clevel. *Auf*), from *alb* = *elf*.

1867 ATKINSON, *Gloss. Cleveland dial.* p. 263.

But *Oberon*, *Auberon* is to Englishmen a mere book-fairy, never heard of.

Hob occurs as the name of a particular spirit, one of those who figured in the "egregious popish impostures" exposed by Harsnet.

Hob. 1603 HARSNET, *Declaration of egregious popish impostures*, ch. 10 (in *N. & Q.* (1859), 2d ser. 7: 144).

It became a general appellativ for any goblin, elf, or domestic spirit.

From elves, *hobs* and fairies That trouble our dairies.
1639 BEAUMONT and FLETCHER, *Monsieur Thomas*, iv. 6 (*Sheff. gloss.*).

Hob. The appellation of a spirit, or being of elf-nature, who must once have occupied a prominent place in the belief or popular faith of the people of the district. [A long note follows, partly quoted below.]
1867 ATKINSON, *Cleveland gloss.* p. 262.

These hobs haunted caves, holes, crofts, fields, and other special places, which came to be known accordingly, *Hob's Cave*, *Hob-croft*, *Hob-field*, *Hob-yard*. It was so likewise with *Hob-Thurst*, *Hob-Hurst*, and *Thurse*; see these in their order. And see *Dobse's Well*, under DOB. Some places so named may have been named from persons; but the goblin origin of others is beyond doubt.

(1) *Hob's cave.*

Hob's Cave at Mulgrave. 1867 ATKINSON, *Gloss. Cleveland dial.* p. 262.

(2) *Hob-croft.*

Hob croft (arable) lying betweene Granamoore . . . *Hob croft* house [in Bradfield]. 1637 HARRISON, *Survey of Sheffield* (in Addy, *Sheffield gloss.* 1888, p. 109).

There is a lane in Moberley called *Hobcroft* Lane, and several adjacent fields called the *Hobcrofts*.

1886 HOLLAND, *Cheshire gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 166.

(3) *Hob-field.*

Hob-field. 1598 *Record* quoted in Addy, *Sheffield gloss.* (E.D.S. 1888), p. 315.

Hob feild lane. 1649 *Record* quoted in Addy, *l. c.*

(4) *Hob-hole.*

Item an intacke called *Hobb Hoyle* lying in Sheffield soake.

1637 HARRISON, *Survey of Sheffield* (in Addy, *Sheffield gloss.* 1888, p. 109).
Hob Hoyle, in Bradfield. 1888 ADDY, *l. c.* (referring to the above).

Here *hoyle* is a dialectal variant of *hole*.

Probably, like the nisses of popular faith in Denmark, there were many *Hobs*, each with a 'local habitation' and a local 'name.' Thus there is a *Hob Hole* at Runswick, a *Hob Hole* near Kempswithen, a *Hob's Cave* at Mulgrave, *Hob'rush* Rook on the Farndale Moors, and so on.
1867 ATKINSON, *Gloss. Cleveland dial.* p. 262.

(5) **Hob-house.* The existence of a word **Hob-house*, equivalent to *Hob-hole*, is indicated by the surname *Hobhouse*, and the analogy of the equivalent terms *Thurse-house* and *Thurse-hole*. See under THURSE.

(6) *Hob-yard.*

Hobb-yard. 1649 *Record* quoted in Addy, *Sheffield gloss.* (E.D.S. 1888), p. 315.

That it was common to associate such spirits with yards and fields is curiously proved by a story told by Dr. Henry More in a letter to the credulous Joseph Glanvil, concerning a man said by More to be of a skeptical mind, who, on receiving, in his own house, a blow from

an unseen hand, at once went out into "the yard and next field," to look there for the spirit which, as this skeptical man believed, had delt the blow.

But this he told me, when he did so much as think of it, while his Servant was pulling off his Boots in the Hall, some invisible Hand gave him such a clap upon the Back that it made all ring again. So thought he, now I am invited to the converse of some Spirit; and therefore so soon as his Boots were off and His Shoes on, out goes he into the Yard and next Field, to find out the Spirit that had given him this familiar clap on the back but found none, neither in the Yard nor Field next to it.

a 1689 H. MORE to Glanvil, in Glanvil's *Saducismus triumphatus* (1689), p. 24.

Some hobs, on the other hand, in stead of giving a name to their place of haunt, took their name from it, just like a medieval person or a modern Scottish laird — Robert of Gloucester, Robert of Brunne, Henry of Huntingdon, William of Nassington, Drumthwacket of that ilk. There was a spirit of some fame known as "Hob of Runswick."

Hob of Runswick. A hobgoblin haunting Hobholes, a cave in the cliff at Runswick, a fishing village near Whitby. He was famous for curing children of the hooping-cough or kin cough, when thus invoked by those who took them in —

"Hob hole hob! my bairn's gotten t'kin cough,
Tak 't off, tak 't off."

1855 [ROBINSON], *Whitby gloss.* p. 83.

The author repeats this in a different way, in a later edition (E.D.S. 1876, pref. p. xii). The same statement is made by Atkinson, *Gloss. Cleveland dial.* (1867), p. 262.

There was a Hob at Hart Hall:

Hob at Hart Hall, in Glaisdale, was, as the legend bears, a farm-spirit 'of all work,' thrashing, winnowing, stamping the bigg, leading, &c. Like the rest of the tribe who ever came under mortal eye, he was without clothes — nāk't — and having had a Harding-smock [read harden smock] made and placed for him, after a few moments of — it would seem ill-pleased — inspection, he was heard to say, —

"Gin Hob mun hae nowght but a hardin' hamp,
He'll come nae mair nowther to berry nor stamp."

1867 ATKINSON, *Gloss. Cleveland dial.* p. 263.

The same Hob, identified by his poetical skill, is "unearthed" by an other writer:

And we also get a report of a grumbling north country goblin. The Vicar of Danby writes: "I have actually unearthed a *Hob*. He is localized to a farmhouse in the parish, though not in the township of Danby, and the old rhyme turns up among the folks that could by no possibility have seen it, or heard of it, as in print —

"Gin Hob mun hae nowght but Harding hamp,
He'll come nae mair to berry nor stamp."

1879 HENDERSON, *Folk-lore of the northern counties*, p. 264.
(Northall, *Eng. folk-rhymes*, 1892, p. 179.)

A Yorkshire Hōb or Hobthrush was attached to the family residing at Sturlit Hall, near Reeth, and used to churn, make up fires, and so on, until the mistress, pitying his forlorn condition, provided him with a hat and cloak, he exclaimed—

“Ha! a cap and a hood,
Hob'll never do mair good.”

And has never been seen since.

1879 HENDERSON, *l.c.*

This Hob, a goblin, or an image of a goblin in some grotesque form, is probably present, unrecognized, in a phrase used in some parts of the United States. “To play Hob” is to “raise the devil,” to “raise Cain,” to create confusion and cause damage. The phrase is also used, within my personal knowledge, in sarcastic negation. A boy brags of what he is going to do. “You’ll play Hob,” answers his skeptical opponent, meaning ‘You can’t do it.’ I do not remember to have seen these uses mentioned in the books.

That there was once an actual playing of “Hob” appears from the following:

Old-Hob. A Cheshire custom. It consists of carrying a dead horse’s head, covered with a sheet, to frighten people.

1847 HALLIWELL, p. 587. (Similar entry in Leigh, *Cheshire gloss.* 1877, and Holland, *Cheshire gloss.* (E.D.S. 1886), p. 246.)

I suppose this referred at first to a goblin called “Old Hob,” and fancied to appear in the form of a horse, or with a horse’s head. Goblins in such shape are frequent in folklore. In some cases the association with a horse (or dog, or other animal) has arisen from a popular etymology, or some other blunder. See GUYTRASH, TRASH.

Hob enters into a good many phrase-names for goblins or spirits, either (1) as the first or “Christian” name, put before a descriptive surname, the two being in present use written in junction (e.g. *Hob-goblin*) or in union (*Hobgoblin*), but originally separate (*Hob Goblin*); or (2) as the principal name followed by a prepositional adjunct (e.g. *Hob of the lantern*), the latter being often reduced by ellipsis or contraction.

These phrase-names with *Hob* are given below, the two classes by themselves, with the original forms, each in their alphabetic order, with the variations following in adjusted order.

16. **Hob Goblin, hob-goblin, hobgoblin**, a spirit, usually of terror: a familiar equivalent for *goblin*. Other forms have been *hobgoblin*, *hobgoblin*, *hobbegoblyn*, and by perversion *hobgobling* and *hobgoblin*. This name was at first two words, *Hob Goblin*, being the familiar name *Hob*, applied, like other household names, as a “Christian”

name to a mischievous spirit, and made definit by the generic term or surname *Goblin*. Its formation is like that of *Hob Miller*, "*Piers Plowman*," *John Carter*, *Dick Smith*, *Tom Taylor*. Names of similar formation applied to goblins ar *Hodge Poker*, *Tom Poker*, and others mentioend below.

The binominal term was extended to any goblin or imp, and was then written in union as one word, *hobgoblin*. Now the first element is not felt to be significant. Indeed, few know the etymology.

The fact that *Hob* in *Hobgoblin* is in some way connected with *Rob* or *Robin* is crudely stated by Minshew and his line, Skinner, Phillips, Bailey.

Hobgoblins, Night-walking fpirits, quafi *Robgoblins*, *Robin good fellow*, . . .
1617 MINSHEU.

An other etymology draws *Hobgoblin*, without specifying the simple *Hob*, from the name of the fairy *Oberon*. See quotation from Skinner above, and the quotation from Atkinson under *Hob*.

An other jump at the etymology was made when *hob-* was "corrected" to *hop-*. This was done by Hexham, Tyrwhitt, and Jamieson.

Drol, a Bugbeare, or a *Hop-goblin*.

1648 (and 1658) HEXHAM, *Netherdutch and Eng. dict.*

This is such a prank as our *hob* or *hop-goblin* used to play.

a 1786 TYRWHITT (quoted in 1828 T. K[eightley], *Fairy mythology*, ii. 121].

Hopgoblin. 1808 JAMIESON, s.vv. *bogill*, *bogill-bo*, and elsewhere. [In edd. 1818 and 1879-82 changed to *hobgoblin*.]

A recent writer draws the 'hop' notion from Welsh ground, and adds a new etymology, which has the merit of simplicity — *hob*, suggesting the hearth, + *goblin*.

In the English *hobgoblin* we have a word apparently derived from the Welsh *hob*, to hop, and *coblyn*, a goblin, which presents a hopping goblin to the mind, and suggests the *Pwca* (with which the *Bwbach* is also confused in the popular fancy at times), but should mean in English simply the goblin of the hob, or household fairy.

1880 SIKES, *British Goblins*, p. 32.

Spenser seems to hav dreamd at the etymology of *hobgoblin*, and to hav given it up. It would hav been wel if he had shown equal diffidence in other philological attempts.

Ne let *hob Goblins*, names whose sence we see not,
Fray us with things that be not.

1595 SPENSER, *Epithalamium* (Wks. 1886), l. 341.

The use of *Hobgoblin* must hav begun before the year 1500, but the earliest instance I hav found is of the year 1530, and happens to present the form *hobgobling*.

Hobgoblyng, goblin, mavffe.

1530 PALSGRAVE, p. 231.

In the next mention *Hobgoblin* is individual, as in Scot and Shakespeare, soon to be cited :

Our faythfull Secretaries, *Hobgoblyn* and Blooodybone.
c 1550 *Wyll of Deuyll* (Collier), 13. (N.E.D. s.v. *bloody-bones.*)

About the same time *Hobgoblin* enters the English-Latin dictionaries :

Spyrite called a hagge, a *hobbegoblyn*, which appeareth in the night.
Larua, lemur. 1552 HULOET, *Abecedarium*. (C.A. p. 321.)

The next mention is in Reginald Scot's polemic, where *Hobgoblin* is individual, and in the past tense.

And know you this by the waie, that heretofore Robin goodfellow and *Hob goblin* were as terrible, and also as credible to the people, as hags and witches be now. 1584 R. SCOT, *Discoverie of witchcraft*, bk. 7, ch. 2 (1886, p. 105; 1651, p. 97).

Tom thombe, *hob goblin*, Tom tumbler, boneles.
1584 R. SCOT, *Discoverie of witchcraft*, bk. 7, ch. 15 (1886, p. 122; 1651, p. 112).

Hobgoblin appears often in Florio (1598) and Cotgrave (1611).

Fantasma, a ghost, a hag, a robin good-fellow, a *hobgoblin*, a sprite, a iade, the riding hagge, or mare.

1598 FLORIO. (Also s.vv. *phantasma*, *larua*, *scazzambrello*.)
Herbaut. The name of a merrie Diuell, or *Hobgoblin*, that appeared most commonly on horsebacke.

1611 COTGRAVE. (Also s.vv. *esprit folet*, *massoret*.)

In Shakespeare *Hobgoblin* is made individual, and identified with *Puck*, who is likewise made individual :

Thofe that *Hobgoblin* call you, and sweet Pucke,
You do their worke, and they fhall haue good lucke.
1623 SHAKESPEARE, *M.N.D.* 2: 1 (F¹ p. 148).

Crier *Hob-goblyn*, make the Fairy Oyes.
1623 SHAKESPEARE, *M.W.W.* 2: 5. 45 (F¹ p. 59).

A bigger kind there is of them called with us *Hobgoblins* and Robin Good-fellows, that would, in those superstitious times, grind corn for a mess of milk, cut wood, or do any manner of drudgery work.

1621 BURTON, *Anat. of melancholy*, p. 47 (quoted in
1828 T. K[eightley], *Fairy mythology*, 2: 110).

Hobgoblins or buggebeares, Bulle-mannen. 1648 HEXHAM.
This Opinion, in the benighted Ages of Popery, when *Hobgoblins* and Sprights were in every City and Town and Village, by every Water and in every Wood, was very common.

1725 BOURNE, *Antiquities of the common people*, ch. 10, in
Brand, *Observations on popular antiquities*, p. 108.

The next passage is in imitation of Spenser :

Ne let *Hobgoblin*, ne the Ponk [read *Pouk*] profane
With Shadowy Glare the Light, and mad the bursting Brain.

1757 WM. THOMPSON, *Poems on several occasions*, 1: 173
(*N. & Q.* 2d ser. 7: 746).

Hobgoblin. An apparition, fairy, or spirit. N. 1787 GROSE, *Prov. gloss.*

Hobgoblin is now merely a reminiscent literary word, no longer heard in the rural speech in which it arose.

17. **Hob-gob**, a reduced form of *Hobgoblin*; a riming disyllable.

Hob-gobs.

1886 HOLLAND, *Cheshire gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 166.
[See HOB-DROSS, after HOB-THRUSH.]

18. **Hob Houlard**, **hob-houlard**, *hobhoulard*, a hobgoblin. This term is like *Hob Goblin*, *hobgoblin* in form and sense. The second element *houlard* may be the same as the provincial English *hullart*, a variant of *hullet*, that is *howlet*, which has variants *ullet*, *ullert*, *owlert*, the same as *owlet*. *Hob Houlard* would therefore mean 'Hob Owl,' a term fit enough for a goblin of the night. Some goblins howld.

Hobgoblin. A ghost, or fiend. Sometimes termed a *Hobhoulard*.

1847 HALLIWELL.

- 19, etc. ***Hob Thurse**, ***hob-thurse**, **hobthurse*, *hobthrush*, etc.

Parallel to *Hob Goblin*, *hobgoblin*, and apparently a little earlier in date, was used, in the same sense, an other name, **Hob Thurse*, later **hob-thurse*, *hob-thurst*, *hob-thrush*, and other forms stated below, written with or without a hyphen. The forms are here for the first time collected and explained.

The original form was a name of two terms, **Hob Thurse*. The first term is *Hob*, the same familiar household name which appears in *Hob Goblin*, *hobgoblin*. The second term, the "surname," is *thurse*, M.E. *thurse*, *thyrs*, A.S. *þyrs*, a giant, a demon. See THURSE in alphabetic place further on. *Thurse* became obsolete, except in a few goblin names, where it underwent considerable variation, **Hob-thurse*, *-thurst*, *-thruss*, *-thrust*, *-thrush*, *-trush*, *-dross*, and in two such names *-trash*, namely, in *Guytrash* and *Malkintrash* (see these).

The forms which **hob-thurse* took are these: (1) **hob-thurse*; with variation of final *-s(e)* to *-st* (excrement *t*), (2) *hob-thurst*; with transposition, (3) *hob-thrust*; with variation of final *-s(e)* to *-sh*, (4) **hob-thursh* (not found in print); with transposition, (5) *hob-thrush*; whence, with alteration of *thr-* to *tr-*, (6) *hob-trush*; with further alteration to *dr-*, (7) *hob-dross*. With an irregular change, due to interference, it also appears as (9) *hob-hurst* (*Hob Hurst*). The historical proofs follow.

20. (1) ***Hob Thurse**, ***hob-thurse**, the supposed original form. Of this, owing, as it seems to me, to the natural absence of record of such homely terms at the time of their appearance, I have found no

examples. In late Middle English, when, as we shal soon see, the term in one of its forms is actually found, it would hav been normally **Hobbe-thyrse*. It would be possible, at the period mentiond, for a variant to arise, **Hobbe-thyrst*, whence the modern *Hob-thurst*, as next mentiond.

21. (2) **Hob Thurst, Hob-thurst, hobthurst**, a variant of *Hob Thurse*, etc. Owing to an early further variation to *Hob-thrust* and *Hob-thrush*, the form *Hob-thurst* is not actually recorded, so far as my quotations go, until 1750, but this late date is certainly a mere accident. The form must hav been in use long before. I suppose it to hav been existent as early as 1489, at which date the earliest instance of the word, in any form, is found, namely, *Hobbe Hyrste*. This form, which other writers hav not mentiond, I assume to be a mistake, in the only place in which it is found (*Paston letters*, ed. 1872, 3 : 362) for **Hobbe Thyrste*. But see HOB HURST, further on.

No instances of *hobthurst* in the plain sense of 'a goblin' appear. All the quotations I hav collected present the deflected sense 'a stupid, clumsy, or grotesque person.'

Both can easily pardon the mistake of this rude writer, nor are at all surprised at it as a novelty, that any ignorant rural *hobthurst* should call the spirit of nature (a thing so much beyond his capacity to judge of) a prodigious hobgoblin. 1682 *Annotations on Glanville*, &c. p. 91 (Latham, *Eng. dict.* 1882, 1 : 1166).

The next mention is in a "dialect story," which tells how —

"o feaw seaver lookt felley, weh o within kibbo he had in his hont, slapt o soart of a wither meazzilt feast mon sitch o thwang oth' scawp, ot aw varra reecht ogen with ;"

who, recovering from the blow —

"startit to his feet . . . un seete oth' black swarfy tyke weh boath neaves, un wautit him o'er into th' gal keer, full o new drink wortching."

Of course, as the reader wil easily conjecture, the man when he emerged was a sight to behold :

. . . 'Ta' [t'a] seen heawth' gobbin wur autert when ot they pood'n him eawt: un whot o *hobthurst* [ed. 1819 *hobthurst*, p. 53; ed. 1862 *Hobthurst*, p. 53] he lookt weh aw that berm obevt him.
1750 COLLIER ("TIM BOBBIN"), *Lanc. dial.* 1823, p. 14.

In recent use the word is defined as "an ungainly dunce," like *gobthurst* mentiond below.

"Theau great *hobthurst*." 1854 BAMFORD, *Dial. of S. Lancashire*, p. 188 (*Lanc. gloss.* E.D.S. 1875, p. 160).

Hobthurst, sb. An ungainly dunce.
1875 NODAL and MILNER, *Lanc. gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 160.
(With the two quotations above.)

The form *hob-thurst* suggested to some writers (Grose 1787, Holloway 1839) the etymology expressed by the sophisticated forms "Hob o' t'hurst" (Grose), "Hob of T'hurst" (Holloway), that is, as they imagined, 'Hob of the hurst,' 'Hob of the wood,' and the goblin was accordingly set down as "a spirit, supposed to haunt woods only" (Grose), a conjecture turned by Palmer into an historical dogma, "formerly a wood-goblin." Had these writers been aware of the existence of the form *Hob Hurst*, they would probably have considered their explanation proved. But there are difficulties. See further under HOB HURST, below.

Hob-Thrust, or rather *Hob of T'hurst*, a spirit supposed to haunt woods only, whence its name *Hob*, Robert, and *Hurst*, a wood. *North*.
1839 HOLLOWAY, *Gen. dict. of provincialisms*.

In the next quotation Holloway completes his sophistication, and changes *Hob-thrust*, in a special application, to *Hob o' t'hurst*. See HOB THRUSH below.

Hob o' t'hurst-lice. Millipedes, probably what we call in the South Woodlice from their living in old wood. *North*. 1839 HOLLOWAY, *op. cit.*

22. (3) **Hob Thruss**. This form, M.E. **Hobbe Thrusse*, a variant, with transposition, of *Hob Thurse*, is evidenced by the following entry, where the alphabetic order, as well as the other manuscripts, requires it in stead of the form which appears in the text. Compare *Hob-truss*, and *Hob-trush*.

A Thrwme, licium (A).
Hobb Trusse (A *Thrusse*, A), prepes, negocius. A *Thrusche*, prepes (A).
1483 *Cath. Angl.* (E.E.T.S., 1881), p. 387.
Hobb Trusse, hic prepis, hic negocius.
1483 *Cath. Angl.*, quoted by Way, *Prompt. Parv.* 1865, p. 491, note.

23. (4) **Hob Thrust**, **Hob-thrust**, *hobthrust*, a variant of *Hob Thruss*, with the common stop *t*. It is a familiar form in present dialectal use. Compare HOB THURST.

Hobthrust, or rather *Hob o['] t'hurst*. A spirit supposed to haunt woods only. *N[orth]*. 1787 GROSE, *Prov. gloss.* (additions as in ed. 1790).

As to the false second form see before.

Hobthrust, a local spirit, famous for whimsical pranks. In some farm-houses a cock and bacon are broiled on Fassens Eve (Shrove Tuesday); and if any person neglect to eat heartily of this food, *Hobthrust* is sure to amuse himself at night by cramming him up to the mouth with *bigg-chaff*. According to Grose he is supposed to haunt woods only: Hob o' t' hurst.
1825 BROCKETT, *North Country words*, pp. 97, 98.

Hob-thrust, a good-natured goblin who assists servant-maids in their early morning work. . . . Called also *hobthrush*. This is Milton's 'lubber fiend' in *L'Allegro*.

1877 ROSS, STEAD, and HOLDERNESS, *Holderness gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 76.

Hob Thrust, a satyr, goblin; a being only half human. When a man boasts of being a good workman, as of the great number of things he can make in a day, someone will say, 'Ah, tha can mak' 'em faster nor *Hob Thrust* can throw shoes out o' t' window.'

1891 ADDY, *Suppl. to Sheffield gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 29.

The added sense 'a stupid fellow,' parallel to *hobthurst* in a like sense (see before), is indicated by the use of *hobthrust* in one version of the quotation from Collier under HOB-THURST, and by the obvious sophistication *gobthrust* "a stupid fellow" (1847 Halliwell).

24. (5) **Hob Thrush, Hob-thrush, hobthrush**, a variant of *Hob Thruss*, with the common weakening of *-ss* to *-sh*. It is also found in present dialectal use. The form *thrush* itself is more than four hundred years old. See THRUSH.

Loup-garou: m. A mankind Wolfe . . . also a Hobgoblin, *Hob-thrush*, Robin-good-fellow; also a night-walker or flie-light; one that's never feene but by Owle-light. 1611 COTGRAVE.

Lutin: m. A Goblin, Robin-good-fellow, *Hob-thrush*; a spirit which plays reakes in mens houses anights. 1611 COTGRAVE.

If he be no *hob-thrush*, nor no Robin Goodfellow, I could finde with all my heart to sip up a sillybub with him.

1640 *Two Lancashire lovers*, p. 222. (H.)

Hobthrush. An hobgoblin, called sometimes Robin Goodfellow. *North*. See *Hobthrust*. 1790 GROSE, *Prov. gloss.* (Not in first ed. 1787.)

A Yorkshire Hob or *Hob-thrush*.

1879 HENDERSON, *Folklore of northern counties*, p. 264 (quoted in Northall, *Eng. folk-rhymes*, p. 179). (See the full quotation under *Hob*.)

Hobthrush, a local boggle. "The *hobthrush* of Elsdon Moat" was a browney or sprite who performed drudgery of all kinds during the night season. 1893 HESLOP, *Northumberland words* (E.D.S.), 2: 381.

Hob-thrush-louse, Millipes. 1828 [CARR], *Craven gloss.* 1: 230.

The millipes is called the *Hob-thrush-louse*.

1842 HALLIWELL. (See quotation 1839 Holloway, above.)

25. (6) **Hob Truss**. This is a further variant of *Hob Thurse*, being *Hob Thruss* with *thr-* reduced to *-tr*. While in the entry to be quoted the alphabetic order requires *Hobb Thrusse*, there is reason to believe that the *Hobb Trusse* which appears was a genuin variant, tho not originally so written in this place. Compare HOBTRUSH and HOB-DROSS.

Hobb Trusse (A *Thrusse*, A), prepes, negocius.

A *Thrusche*, prepes (A). 1483 *Cath. Angl.* (E.E.T.S., 1881), p. 387.

26. (7) **Hob-trush**, *hobtrush*. An other existent dialectal form.

Hobtrush, a word occurring in the designations *Hobtrush* or *Obtrush* Rook (a tumulus on the Farndale Moors), and *Hobtrush Hob*, a being once held to frequent a certain cave in the Mulgrave Woods, and wont to be addressed, and to reply, as follows:—

“*Hob-trush* Hob! Where is thou?”

“Ah’s tying on mah left-fruit shoe;

An’ ah’ll be wiv thee — Noo!”

1867 ATKINSON, *Gloss. Cleveland dial.* p. 263.

Obtrush Rook, as well as Hob Hole and the cave at Mulgrave, is distinctly said to have been ‘haunted by the goblin’ [etc.].

1867 ATKINSON, *Gloss. Cleveland dial.* p. 262.

27. (8) **Hob-dross**. This is the form the word took, as it seems, in the memory of an aged countryman :

Hob-dross, s. a kind of elf, fairy or boggart. John Morrell, an old man, who formerly used to live at Morley on the borders of Lindow Common, but who has been dead many years, used to profess considerable knowledge of the ways of these supernatural beings. He said there were different kinds, having different habits. Some were called *Hob-drosses*, others *Hob-gobs*. There is a lane in Moberly called Hobcroft Lane, and several adjacent fields called the Hobcrofts. These he said received their name from being the scene of the exploits of a noted *Hob-dross*.

1886 HOLLAND, *Cheshire gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 166.

28. (9) **Hob Hurst**, **Hob-hurst**. This form I find in only two passages, three hundred and seventy-two years apart. It is best to cite them before entering upon an explanation of the form of the name they present.

The first passage, has not been noticed heretofore. It is of date 1489.

An insurrection broke out in April, 1489, in the North of England. William Paston shortly after wrote to Sir John Paston, giving an account of the insurrection, and inclosing a copy of a proclamation the rebels had issued, as follows :

[The rebels’ proclamation:] “To be knowyn in all the northe partes of England, to every lorde, knyght, esquier, gentylman, and yeman that they schal be redy in ther defensable aray, in the est parte, on Tuysday next comyng, on Aldyrton More, and in the west parte on Gateley More, the same day, upon peyne of losyng of ther goodes and bodyes, for to geynstonde suche persons as is abowtward for to dystroy owre suffereyn Lorde the Kynge and the Comowns of Engelond, for suche unlawfull poyntes as Seynt Thomas of Cauntyrbery dyed for; and thys to be fulfilled and kept by every ylke comenere upon peyn of dethe.”

To which William Paston adds :

And thys is in the name of Mayster *Hobbe Hyrste*, Robyn Godfelaws brodyr he is, as I trow.

1489 (May) WILLIAM PASTON, in *Paston letters* (1872), 3: 362.

This letter is not in Fenn's edition (1787-9), but is printed by Gairdner (1872) for the first time.

The next mention of *Hob Hurst* is in the year 1861 :

Mr. Bateman opened a circular tumulus on Baslow Moor called '*Hob Hurst's* house.' It was a very interesting one. He says: 'In the popular name given to the barrow we have an indirect testimony to its great antiquity, as *Hobhurst's* house signifies the abode of an unearthly or supernatural being, accustomed to haunt woods and other solitary places, respecting whom many traditions yet linger in remote villages. *Ten Years' Diggings* (1861), p. 87.

1888 ADDY, *Sheffield gloss.* (E.D.S.) p. 109.

The form *Hob Hurst* presents difficulties. Tho it is found in M.E. (as *Hobbe Hyrste*), at a date only six years later than my earliest example of the word in any form (which is *Hobb T[h]russe*, found in the year 1483), it implies a meaning which the word has never possess. The second element of *Hob-Hurst* appears to be M.E. *hurst*, *hyrst*, mod. E. *hurst*, a wood. If so, the original form must have been **Hobbe of the Hurst*, or **Hobbe atte Hurst*, after the fashion of the recorded names *Simon de la Hirst*, *William de la Hurst*, *John de Herst*, *John atte Hurst* (Bardsley, *Eng. surnames*, 1875, p. 561, 564). It would have been possible for **Hobbe of the hurst* to have become reduced to **Hobbe o' the Hurst* and to **Hobbe Hurst*, even at the early date mentiond. Indeed, as I hav shown, Grose (1787) and others explain the modern form *Hobthurst* as *Hob o' th' hurst*, and so defined it as a goblin haunting woods. Had they known of the late M.E. form *Hobbe Hyrste*, they would hav skipt like the little hils for joy. It would have seemd a confirmation of their theory.

But the goblin was not a goblin of the woods. There is nothing in the stories about him that specially associates him with woods. He was a goblin of the house and of the neighboring fields and lanes. Moreover, the M.E. *hurst* was not very common, and it scarcely enterd into folk-speech. Further, this explanation of *-thurst*, tho it may seem to suit the forms *hob-thurst*, *hob-thrust*, does not apply at all to the forms with *-thrush*, *-trush*, *-truss*, *-dross*, and to the other words in which the word enters, namely *Guytrash* and *Malkintrash*, where *-trash* is certainly identical with the terminal element of *Hobtrush*, *Hobthrush*.

I would explain the M.E. *Hobbe Hyrste*, which occurs only once, as either a mere scribal error for **Hobbe Thyrste*, or else the result of a little popular etymology, which analyzed **Hobbe Thyrste* as *Hobbe o' th' hyrste*, which last form would naturally, after the analogy of other

names, fall to *Hobbe Hyrste*. It is worthy of note that the only quotations for *Hob Hurst* which I have been able to find, are one of the very earliest instances of the name in any form (1489) and one of the very latest (1861). The absence of intermediate proof seems to justify the supposition that the isolated early instance is a mistake, a scribal slip, and the isolated recent instance, another mistake, a piece of popular etymology associating the name with *hurst* or the surname *Hurst*.

29. Hob in the well. I make no doubt that this was a name given to a spirit whose voice was supposed to be heard in a well. *Hob over the wall* is of similar locative import. But I find *Hob in the well* only as the name or description of a tavern sign.

Hob in the well . . . [is a sign] at Port street, Lynn.
1866 LARWOOD and HOTTEN, *Hist. of Signboards*, p. 79.

Other spirits "in the well" were called *Jenny Green-teeth* and *Nelly Long-arms*. See these. For further notice of hobs and goblins in wells and caves, see *Hob's cave* and *Hob-hole* under HOB, and *Thurse-pit*, *Thurse-well*, under THURSE. See also DOB.

30. Hob over the wall is an early name for a concealed spirit, perceived only by his voice. In the "Towneley Mysteries," Cain, hearing the voice of the Deity, says, in the manner of such plays:

Whi, who is that *Hob over the walle*?
We, who was that that piped so smalle?
Com go we hens, for perels alle;
God is out of hys wit.

c 1450 *Towneley Myst.* (Surtees soc. 1836), p. 15.

31. Hob with a lantern, another name for *Jack with a lantern* or *Will with a wisp*. See these names.

With all these names there are variations of the preposition and the article. *Hob with a lantern* is found rarely, **Hob of the lantern* not at all. One or the other or both of these forms appear variously reduced *Hobby-lantern*, *Hobbady-lantern*, *Hobbady's lantern*, *Hob-lantern* (*lanthorn*, *lantan*).

Hob is the same familiar household name, used like *Jack* or *Will* in the other names for the ignis fatuus. All are regarded as imps of mischief.

Hobby Lantan. *Hob with a Lantern*—*Jack a lantern*—*Will with a wisp*—in other words. 1823 MOOR, *Suffolk words*, p. 172.

32. **Hobbady-lantern.** This represents either *Hob with a lantern* or **Hob with the lantern*, or possibly **Hob of the lantern* (*with a, with the > wi' the, with 'e > 'ithe > -ady*).

Hobbady-lantern, the ignis fatuus or Will-o-th'-wisp.

1895 SALISBURY, *S. E. Worcestershire gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 17.

33. **Hobbady's lantern.** This is an artificial possessiv form of *Hobbady lantern*. I find it spelt *Hobbedy's lantern*.

Hobbedy's lantern, n. Ignis fatuus.

1882 Mrs. CHAMBERLAIN, *West Worcestershire words* (E.D.S.), p. 15.

Hobbedy's-lantern, n. Will-o'-the-wisp.

1884 LAWSON, *Upton-on-Severn words* (E.D.S.), p. 19.

34. **Hobby-lantern**, also written *Hobby-lantan* and *Hobby-lanthon*; the same as *Hob with a lantern* or **Hob of the lantern*—of which, like *Hob-lantern* below, it is a reduced form.

Hobby Lantan. *Hob with a lantern*—Jack a lantern—Will with a wisp—in other words. 1823 MOOR, *Suffolk words*, p. 172.

Hobby-lanthon, s. a will-o' the-wisp; from its motion, as if it were a lanthorn ambling and curvetting on the back of a hobby.

1830 FORBY, *Vocab. of East Anglia*, 2: 162.

Hobby-lanthon. An ignis fatuus. Also termed a *Hob-lantern*. Var. dial.

1846 HALLIWELL.

35. **Hob-lantern**, the same as *Hob with a lantern* or *Hobby-lantern*, of which name it is a reduced form.

Hob-lantern, a Will-with-a-wisp; an ignis fatuus.

1825 BRITTON, *Beauties of Wiltshire, gloss.* (E.D.S., 1879), p. 38.

Hob-lantern, a Will-o'-the-Wisp, a Jack-o'-lantern. Ak[erman, 1842].

1883 COPE, *Hampshire gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 44.

36. **Hoherdidance** occurs in Harsnet's "Declaration of egregious popish impostures" (1603) as the name of a devil. Shakespeare adopted the name as *Hobbididance* and also as *Hopdance*. It seems possible that the original form was **Hob of the dance*, then *Hob o' the dance*. Compare *Hobbady-lantern* for **Hob of the lantern* or *Hob with a lantern*. *Hoherdidance* may show, initially, some confusion with *hoherdehoy*, now *hobbledehoy*. But we are not to look for precision in such names; and *Hoherdidance* must stand for the present as the nominal original.

Hoherdidance. 1603 HARSNET, *Declaration of egregious popish impostures*, ch. 10 (in *N. & Q.* 1859, 2d ser. 7: 144).

Hobbididance, prince of dumbness. 1623 SHAKESPEARE, *Lear*, 4: 1.

Hop-dance cries in Tom's belly for two white herring.

1623 SHAKESPEARE, *Lear*, 3: 6. (Not in F¹ p. 299.)

37. **Hodge Poker**, a goblin of perisht fame. See **POKER**. *Hodge Poker* and *Tom Poker* wer applied as "personal" names to individual goblins, and wer then extended to denote any goblin of the kind. The names thus become practically synonymous with *Hob Goblin*, *Robin Goodfellow* and similar names, which ar of the same etymological pattern.

Folletto, a little foole, a little, vaine, fottish foolish fellow. Also a spirit, a hag, a hobgoblin, a robin-goodfellowe, a *hodge-poker*, an elfe.

1598 FLORIO.

Follétto, a hobgoblin, an elfe, a Robin-good-fellow, a *hodge poker*. Also a little foole, or a paire of bellows.

1611 FLORIO.

Fistolo, a hobgoblin, a hag, a fprite, a robin-goodfellow, a *hodge-pocher* [read *pocker*?].

1598 FLORIO.

Fistolo, a Hag, a Sprite, a Hobgoblin, a Robin-good-fellow, a *Hodgepocher* [read-*pocker*?], vsed vulgarly for any euill thing.

1611 FLORIO.

38. **Imp**, in the sense of 'a young devil,' by which right it enters into this review, is short for *imp of Satan* or *imp of the devil*, meaning 'an offshoot,' that is, 'offspring' 'of Satan' or 'of the devil.' *Imp* meant at first 'a graft,' and hence 'an offshoot,' 'a young tree,' hence 'offspring,' 'a child'; ME. *impe*, *ympe*, etc. The etymology is wel known.

Dwarfes, giants, *imps*.

1584 R. SCOT, *Discoverie of witchcraft*, bk. 7, ch. 15 (1886, p. 122).

In the next two quotations *imp* appears in the light in which he is commonly regarded, and in which the name is used in our title — a "mischievous imp," "a very devil for mischief, yet not an ill-natured devil, either."

"And tell me," said Tressilian, "why you use me thus, thou mischievous *imp*?"

1821 SCOTT, *Kenilworth*, ch. 10 (1863, p. 86).

"This, then, was the meaning of the little *imp*'s token which he promised us. . . . 'Tis a very devil for mischief, yet not an ill-natured devil either."

1821 SCOTT, *Kenilworth*, ch. 11 (1863, p. 94).

"Either Flibbertigibbet," answered Wayland Smith, "or else an *imp of the devil* in good earnest." 1821 SCOTT, *Kenilworth*, ch. 24 (1863, p. 214).

I think the notion was, that her own child would stand fire, but an *imp* would either die, to all appearance, or be spirited away.

1865 HUNT, *Pop. romances of the west of England* (1871), p. 94.

In the next quotation the *imp* is very "mischievous" indeed. He is tormenting the wicked in hel — on the painted windows of a church.

And above that's a wite figur pitchin eadmost down a red devil's back, and e's got is red arms round the legs, and ther's is wite moulth and hyes and all the rest of is body's red — and ther's a *himp* a drawin up be'ind, you zee zir.

c 1868 *The old clerk's description of Fairford church windows* (in *Legends, tales, and songs . . . of Gloucestershire*, pp. 32, 33).

Imp, sb. always used in a bad sense.

1883 EASTHER, *Gloss. Almond-bury and Huddersfield* (E.D.S.), p. 69.

39. (1) **Jack with the lantern.** This is the earliest in order of time, as far as my quotations show, of the numerous names for the ignis fatuus which begin with *Jack* and end with *lantern*, and which mean 'the little imp or goblin called Jack, who goes about in the twilight or the dark with a lantern to delude unwary travelers.' He is also called *Hob with a lantern*, *Jack of the wad*, *Kit with the candlestick*, *Kitty with the wisp*, and *Will with the wisp*, in many variations of these names. He is also known as *Jemmy Burty*, and he has sisters called *Jenny with the lantern*, *Peggy-lantern*, and *Joan in the wad*. The earliest of these names in my quotations is *Kit with the candlestick*.

The forms with *Jack* are stated below in alphabetic order, with some adjustments to superior ends. The quotations, with those under the other names mentioned, present a curious history of the notions connected with the names. I let them tell their own tale.

Jack with the lantern does not occur, in any form, so far as I have noticed, in Florio (1598 and 1611), Cotgrave (1611), Sherwood (1632), Howell (1660), or in any previous dictionary. Hexham (1648) evidently does not know the name. It is not in his English part, and in his Dutch part he translates without recognizing a special English name for the light:

Dwaes-licht, ofte stal-licht. A Light in the night that mis-leads one.
1648 HEXHAM, *Netherdutch and Eng. dict.*

The earliest mention of *Jack with the lantern* which I have found is of the year 1663.

Evening. I am an Evening dark as Night,
Jack-with-the Lantern bring a Light.
Jack. Whither, whither, whither? [*Within*]
Evening. Hither, hither, hither.
Jack. Thou art some prattling Eccho, of my making.
Evening. Thou art a foolish Fire, by thy mistaking:
I am the Evening that creates thee.
Enter Jack in a black Suit border'd with Glow-worms, a Coronet of Shaded Beams on his head, over it a Paper Lantern with a Candle in 't.
Jack. My Lantern and my Candle waits thee.
1663 STAPYLTON, *The Slighted Maid*, act 3 (1663, p. 48) (in Arber's reprint (1868) of *The Rehearsal* (1672), p. 42, 43).

Jack with the lantern seems to have been soon displaced by the later forms. The entry in Halliwell evidently refers to some earlier passage.

Jack with the lanthorn, an ignis fatuus.

1847 HALLIWELL.

40. (2) **Jack with a lantern**, an other form of *Jack with the lantern*. As *with the* would easily fall to *wi' the*, pronounced, in the position it holds, the same as *with a*, the two forms may be regarded as identical. On grounds of idiom, as well as of date, the form *with the* in all these names is to be regarded as older.

Jack with a Lanthorn, a Meteor, Ignis fatuus.

1681 ROBERTSON, *Phraseologia generalis*, p. 752.

Jack with a Lantern, Feu folet. 1690 MIEGE, *Short French dict.*

Het Dwaal-licht, an Erroneous light, ignis fatuus, — *Jack with a lanthorn*.

. . . De Stalkaers, *Jack with a lanthorn*, will with a wisp.

1691 SEWELL, *Dutch-Eng. dict.* p. 76. . . . 372.

Jack with a lantern, een Dwaal-licht, ftalkaers.

1691 SEWEL, *Eng.-Dutch dict.* p. 241 (same, 1727, p. 220).

Jack with a Lantern, Ignis fatuus. 1708 COLES, *Eng. Lat. dict.*

Jack with a Lanthorn, a kind of fiery Meteor.

1708 KERSEY, *Gen. Eng. dict.*

He has played *Jack with a lantern*, he has led us about like an ignis fatuus, by which travellers are decoyed into the mire.

1765 JOHNSON, Notes on Shakespeare's *Tempest* (Latham, 1882, 2: 4). Of the Phenomenon, vulgarly called *Will* or *Kitty with the Wisp*, or *Jack with a Lanthorn*. This appearance, called in Latin, *Ignis fatuus*, has long been an article in the Catalogue of popular Superstitions. It is said to be chiefly seen in Summer Nights, frequenting Meadows, Marshes and other Moist Places.—It has been thought by some to arise from a viscous Exhalation, which being kindled in the Air, reflects a Sort of thin Flame in the Dark without any sensible Heat. It is often found flying along Rivers and Hedges, because, as it is conjectured, it meets there with a Stream of Air to direct it.

1777 BRAND, *Observations on popular antiquities*, p. 369.

Jack with [misprinted *wich*]-*a-lantern* (or *Will-with-a-wisp*), luz falsa que engaña los caminantes, fuerte de metéoro, que se llama fuégo errante, ò fuégo fatuo. 1786 BARETTI, *Dict. Eng. and Span.* p. 283.

41. (3) **Jack in the lantern**, also *Jack in the lanthorn*, and *Jack i' the lantern*. This can not be an original name. There is "no sense in it." It must be a misrendering of *Jack with the lantern*, as *Jack in a lantern* of *Jack with a lantern*. The words *with the*, reduced to *wi' the*, could and did easily run into *'i' the*, which would then as easily be rendered *in the*.

Jack-in-the-Lanthorn and *Joan-in-the-Wad*, s. The meteor usually called a *Will with the Wisp*. The existence of this Phenomenon has often been doubted: the late Dr. Darwin disbelieved in its reality altogether. Although conversant with marshy and boggy districts of the kingdom, I have never seen it. [etc.] 1825 JENNINGS, *Somerset gloss.*, p. 49.

Jack-i'-the lantern or *Jack-a-t-wad*, s. an ignis fatuus.

1837 PALMER, *Devonshire gloss.*, p. 57.

42. (4) **Jack in a lantern**. This appears in the records before *Jack in the lantern*, but must be a variant of it. It is rare.

Feu folet, Ignis fatuus, Will with a wisp or *Jack in a Lanthorn*.

1690 MIEGE, *Short French dict.*

In the English-French part Miege has *Jack with a lantern*.

43. (5) **Jack of the lantern.** This is given as the source of the reduced forms *Jack o' lantern* or *Jack a lantern*, but I find no original examples of the full form. That it existed is indicated not only by the reduced forms just mentioned, but by the parallel forms *Jack of the wad* and *Will of the wisp*.

44. (6) **Jack o' lantern, Jack a lantern,** the common short form for *Jack of the lantern* or *Jack with the lantern*.

Plenty of inflammable sulphureous matter in the air, such as ignes fatui, or *jack-a-lanterns*, and the meteors which are called falling stars.

1750 STEPHEN HALES, *On earthquakes*, p. 10. (Latham, 1882, 2:4.)

There is a similar negro notion of the Will of the wisp, a survival of the earlier horrors, or a mixture of superstitions.

A popular legend giving the origin of the *jack-o'-lantern* in Wales deals with the idea of a stupid devil. [The legend follows.]

1880 SIKES, *British goblins*, p. 204.

Jack o' Lantern. Ignis fatuus, the pisky Puck.

1880 COUCH, *East Cornwall gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 89.

Jack-a-lantern, the ignis fatuus.

1881 SMITH, *Isle of Wight words* (E.D.S.), p. 16.

Jack-o'-lantern, a will-o'-the wisp. See *Hob lantern*.

1883 COPE, *Hampshire gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 47.

The intelligence attributed to Jack a lantern is well illustrated in the following story, which tells how he was offered half a crown and a leg of mutton to reverse his usual habits and help a lost traveler on his way:

Jack-a-lantern, sb. Ignis fatuus. This I believe to be the only name known in the district. The phenomenon only occurs in certain parts of the boggy moorland of Brendon Hill and the Exmoor district. It is said that a farmer once crossing Dunkery from Porlock to Cutcombe, and having a leg of mutton with him, was benighted. He saw a *Jack-a-lantern* and was heard to cry out while following the light, "Man a lost! man a lost! Half-a-crown and a leg a mutton to show us the way to Cutcombe!" 1886 ELWORTHY, *West Somerset words* (E.D.S.), p. 375.

45. (7) **Jack the lantern.** This is a short form for *Jack of* or *with the lantern*.

Jack-the-lantern, Joan-the-wad [etc.].

1880 MISS COURTNEY, *West Cornwall gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 31.

(See full quot. under *Joan-the-wad*.)

46. (8) **Jacky-lantern.** This is an Irish "home-rule" version of *Jack a lantern*.

Well, sir, the heart was sinking in me, and I was giving myself up, when, as good luck would have it, I saw a light. 'Maybe,' said I, 'my good fellow, you are only a *jacky lanthorn*, and want to bog me and Modderaroo (his horse). But I looked at the light hard, and I thought it was too study (steady) for a *jacky lanthorn*.

1825 CROKER, *Fairy legends and traditions of the south of Ireland* (1862), p. 286.

47. (9) **Jack-me-lantern.** Other forms ar *Jack-me-lantun*, *Jacky-ma-lantun*, etc. All ar perversions of *Jack of the lantern*, or of one of the other forms before mentiond. *Jack-me-lantern* is found in the folklore of the southern negroes, as the name of a goblin on whose hed they accumulate the approved horrors.

The negroes of the southern seaboard states of America invest this goblin with an exaggeration of the horrible peculiarly their own. They call it *Jack-muh-lantern*, and describe it as a hideous creature five feet in height, with goggle-eyes and huge mouth, its body covered with long hair, and which goes leaping and bounding through the air like a gigantic grasshopper. This frightful apparition is stronger than any man, and swifter than any horse, and compels its victims to follow it into the swamps, where it leaves them to die.

1880 SIKES, *British goblins*, p. 18.

Jack-me-lantern, like other bogies, can be charmd off by turning one's coat inside out. This is one of the "charms of simplicity."

"Hey!" exclaimed Daddy Jack, "tu'n coat no fer skeer dead ghos'. 'E skeer dem *Jack-me-Lantun*. One tam I is bin-a mek me way troo t'ick swamp . . . I look, dey de *Jack-me-Lantun* mekkin 'e way troo de bush; 'e comin' stret by me. 'E light git close un close . . . Da' *Jack-me-Lantun*, 'e git-a high, 'e git-a low, 'e come close. Dun I t'ink I bin-a yeddy ole folks talk t'un you' coat-sleef wun da *Jack-me-Lantun* is bin run you . . . Jack-me-Lantun, 'e see dis, 'e lif' up, 'e say 'Phew!' 'E done gone!"

1881 J. C. HARRIS, *Nights with Uncle Remus* (1894), p. 160.

We ar even told why the spirit carries a lantern. He is looking for his money :

"I year tell," continued Aunt Tempy . . . "dat dish yer *Jacky-ma-Lantun* is a sho nuff sperit. Sperits aint gwine to walk un walk less'n dey got sump'n n'er on der min', un I year tell dat dish yer *Jacky-ma-Lantun* is 'casioned by a man w'at got kilt. Folks kilt 'im un tuck his money, un now his ha'nt done gone un got a light fer to hunt up whar his money is.

1881 *Id.*, p. 160.

48. **Jack of the wad** is an other name of *Jack of the lantern* or *Will of the wisp*. A wad is a wisp (H. p. 912). Compare *Joan in the wad*.

Jack of the wad, an ignis fatuus.

1847 HALLIWELL.

But this full form is not common. It is reduced to the form in the next article.

49. **Jack o' t' wad** is found, spelt *Jacketawad* (1746), *Jacket-a-wad* (1787), *Jack-a-t-wad* (1837).

Jacketawadd, an Ignis Fatuus.

1746 *Exmoor Vocabulary* in *Gent. Mag.* p. 405-408.

Jacket-a-wad. An ignis fatuus. Exm.

1787 GROSE, *Prov. gloss.*

Jack-i-the-lantern or *Jack-a-t-wad*, s. ignis fatuus. The latter term from

Wad, Belg. or *Vadum*, Lat. a swamp or ford.

1837 PALMER, *Devonshire gloss.*, p. 57.

The name *Jack* in the northern form *Jock* reappears in an other name of an other kind of exhalation, *Jock-startle-a-stobie*.

Jock-startle-a-stobie, s. The exhalations arising from the ground during warm weather, Roxb.; *Summercouts*, synon., S.B.; evidently a compound which has had some ludicrous origin. 1825 JAMIESON (1880, 2: 703).

An other light thus lightly named as *Jack*, is the light of the sun reflected from the water upon the ceiling of a room. It is cald in south east Worcestershire *Jack-a-makin' pancakes*. The splashes of light on the ceiling look like pancakes — and go, as we say, “like hot cakes.”

Jack-a-makin'-pan-cakes, the reflected sunlight thrown upon the ceiling from the surface of water, &c.
1894 SALISBURY, *Southeast Worcestershire words* (E.D.S.), p. 19.

A similar light reflected from a mirror or a piece of bright tin, as by thoughtful boys in school, is cald in Northumberland *Jack-o'-lattin*, as if referring to the sheet metal known as *lattin*. But this is a guise of *Jack-o'-lantern*.

Jack o' lattin, a bright spot of reflected light, such as is produced by a small mirror or a tin or “lattin” reflector.
1893 HESLOP, *Northumberland words* (E.D.S.), 2: 404.

50. **Jemmy Burty**, an other name for the ignis fatuus or *Jack with the lantern*.

I suppose *Burty* is a diminutiv of the dialectal *burt* (M.E. *berht*, A.S. *beorht*) for *bright*. ‘Jemmy Bright’ would be clear enough.

Jemmy-Burty. An ignis fatuus. Cambr. 1847 HALLIWELL.

51. **Jenny Green-teeth**, in the vernacular *Jinny Green-teeth*, is the pretty name of a female goblin who inhabits wells or ponds. She is one of the very few female goblins who hav compeld a recognition of their right to be as “free” and as frightful as male goblins. Among other champions of the sex who hav forced an acknowledgment of their being equally disagreeable as “the men” is Miss Nelly Long-arms. See her. Jenny with the lantern, Kitty with the wisp, and Joan in the wad, ar indeed mischievous damsels, but they ar fair to look upon, and hav no voracity.

Jinny Green-teeth, a ghost or boggart haunting wells or ponds. Often used as a threat or warning to children to prevent them going near the water, lest “Jinny Green-teeth” should have them. See also NELLY LONG ARMS. 1886 HOLLAND, *Cheshire gloss*. (E.D.S.), p. 182.

Jinny Green-teeth [etc., much as in Holland, above].
1887 DARLINGTON, *Folk-speech of South Cheshire* (E.D.S.), p. 233.

It must be acknowledged that Jenny Green-teeth's surname becomes less uninviting when one recognizes in it an allusion to the mossy brink of a well, or the verdurous edge of a pond.

52. **Jenny with the lantern**, a feminine name for the spirit commonly called *Jack with the lantern*.

Jenny wi' the lantern, the will-o'-the-wisp. Also called *Kitty-wi'-the-wisp*.
1893 HESLOP, *Northumberland words* (E.D.S.), 2:407.

53. (1) **Joan in the wad**, a name intended as the feminine counterpart of *Jack of the wad*, which is equivalent to *Jack of the lantern*, and *Will of the wisp*. But as in *Jack in the lantern* (which see), the *in* should be *of* or *with*. How this deceiving spirit came to have a feminine name is distantly suggested in my remarks on Jenny Green-teeth and Nelly Long-arms.

Jack-in-the-Lantern, and *Joan-in-the-Wad*, s. The meteor usually called a Will with the Wisp. [A note follows—see quot. under JACK IN THE LANTERN.]
1825 JENNINGS, *Somerset gloss.*, p. 49.

54. (2) **Joan the wad**. This is merely a reduction of *Joan in the wad* as *Jack the lantern* is of *Jack of the lantern*.

Joan the Wad, the name of an elf or pisky.
1880 COUCH, *East Cornwall gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 89.

The "elf or pisky" is the elf of the wandering light.

55. (1) **Kit with the candlestick**. This is the full form of an other name for the rural meteor called learnedly *ignis fatuus*. In the earliest instance I have found it is *Kit with the canstick*, and in other cases it is *Kit in the candlestick*. In later use I find *Kit of the candlestick*, and *Kitty candlestick*, as well as an other name with *Kitty*, namely *Kitty with the wisp*. See below.

Kit with the canstick occurs in Reginald Scot's enumeration of "bugs . . . bull-beggars, spirits, witches, urchens, elves," etc.

Kit with the canstick . . . Robin good-fellowe . . . the man in the oke . . .
1584 R. SCOT. *Discoverie of withcraft*, bk. 7, ch. 15 (1886, p. 122).
Kit-with-the-Candlestick.
1865, cited in Thoms, *Three Notelets on Shakespeare*, 1865, p. 80 (Britten, cited below).

56. (2) **Kit in the candlestick**. This is a modern form, with *in* for *with*, as with *Jack in the lantern*, etc.

Kit-in-the-candlestick, the Will-o'-the-wisp; *Ignis fatuus*.—Wise (1871).
1883 COPE, *Hampshire gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 50.

57. (3) **Kit of the candlestick**, the same as *Kit with the candlestick*.

Ignis fatuus, called by the vulgar *Kit of the Candlestick*, is not very rare on our downes about Michaelmas.

a 1697 AUBREY, *Nat. hist. of Wilts* (1844), p. 17. (In Britten's ed. of Aubrey's *Remaines of Gentilisme and Juduisme* (Folklore soc., 1881), p. 243.)

58. (4) **Kitty candlestick**. This is a modern form, historically a reduction of *Kit of the candlestick*, but practically a substitution therefor, with the name *Kitty*, now feminine, for *Kit*.

Kitty candlestick. *Ignis fatuus*, Will-o'-the-wisp. — *Kit of the Candlestick* (Aubrey's *Nat. Hist. Wilts*, p. 17, ed. Brit.). — S. W. Deverill.

1893 DARTNELL and GODDARD, *Wiltshire words* (E.D.S.), p. 89.

59. **Kitty with the wisp**. In origin this must be regarded as a diminutiv form of the name **Kit with the wisp*, which I hav not found. It is the same sprite called *Kit with the candlestick* or *Will with the wisp*. *Kitty* in this name is a diminutiv of *Kit*, the short of *Christopher*, but in present use it is clearly regarded as the feminine name, used, like *Kit* itself, as a diminutiv of *Kate* for *Katerine*, *Katherine*. *Kit* was also once used as a diminutiv of *Christian*, a feminine name (c 1553 Udall, *Roister Doister*, repr. Arber, 1869, p. 64).

Of the phenomenon, vulgarly called *Will* or *Kitty with the Wisp*, or *Jack with a Lanthorn*. [See full quot. under JACK WITH A LANTERN.]

1777 BRAND, *Observations on Popular Antiquities*, p. 369.

These vulgar Names are undoubtedly derived from its Appearance, as if Will, Jack or *Kit*, some Country Fellows, were going about with *Straw-Torches* in their Hands.

1777 BRAND, *l.c.*

Kitty wi' the wisp, the will-o'-the-wisp. Also called *Jenny-wi'-the-lantern*.

1894 HESLOP, *Northumbrian words* (E.D.S.), 2: 428.

60. **Lob**, the "Christian" name of a goblin.

Lob, as the name of a clumsy fellow, has been regarded as a particular use of *lob*, "a very large lump" (Halliwell, p. 525); but it may be derived, like *Dob*, from *Old Hob* — *Old Hob* giving *Dob*, *Ol' Hob* giving *Lob*. Certain it is that we find *Lob* used just like *Hob*, as a personal name, as a common appellativ for a country clown, and as the "Christian" name of a rustic sprite. And *Dobby* has like uses; see before.

In the following passage *Lob* takes from its context something of all three senses:

Farewell thou *Lob of spirits*, Ile be gon.

1623 SHAKESPEARE, *M.N.D.* 2: 1 (F¹ p. 148).

Lob as the name of a sprite appears with reference to *Lob Lie-by-the-fire*. See the next entry.

"It's *Lob Lie by the fire*:" . . . The cowherd . . . had seen *Lob* fetching straw for the cowhouse. "A great, rough black fellow," said he, and he certainly grew bigger and rougher and blacker every time the cowherd told the story.

1873 Mrs. J. H. EWING, *Lob Lie-by-the-fire; or, the Luck of Lingborough* (S.P.C.K. n. d.), p. 61.

61. **Lob Lie-by-the-fire** is the name of a goodnatured goblin of the hearth. See **LOB** before.

Lob Lie-by-the-fire — the Lubber-fiend, as Milton calls him — is a rough kind of Brownie or House Elf, supposed to haunt some north-country homesteads, where he does the work of the farm labourers. . . . It was said that a *Lob Lie-by-the-fire* once haunted the little old Hall at Lingborough.

1873 Mrs. J. H. EWING, *Lob Lie-by-the-fire; or, the Luck of Lingborough* (S.P.C.K. n. d.), p. 5. [See also p. 30.]

62. **Malkin**, the name of a devil. *Malkin*, also *Maukin*, *Mawkin*, is a diminutiv of *Mal*, *Mall*, now *Moll*, for *Mary*. It is used as a common appellativ of a slattern, and of a scarecrow. *Malkin* enters the goblin catalog as the name of a devil in Harsnet's book (1603), and in Middleton's *Witch* (1627); and *Grimalkin*, a fiend in feline form, is of the same company. It also occurs in goblin guise in *Malkintrash*. See this below.

Malkin, my sweet spirit, and I.

1627 MIDDLETON, *Witch* (1778), 3: 2. (Nares.)

63. **Malkintrash**, defined by Halliwell as "one in a dismal-looking dress" must be literally 'Moll Goblin,' a sister of **HOB GOBLIN** or **HOB THRUSH**, and a cousin of **GUYTRASH**. The element *-trash* is the same as **TRASH**, **TRUSH**, **THRUSH**, forms **THURSE**; see these.

Malkintrash, one in a dismal-looking dress.

1847 HALLIWELL.

64. **Mum Poker** is a nursery goblin, brother, no doubt, of *Hodge Poker*, and *Tom Poker*. His "Christian" name Mum alludes to his silent approach. See **POKER**, **OLD POKER**, **HODGE POKER**, and **TOM POKER**.

Mumpoker, a word used to frighten and quiet crying children. 'I'll zend the *mumpoker* ater ye.'

1881 SMITH, *Isle of Wight words* (E.D.S.), p. 22.

65. **Nelly Long-arms**. This demon damsel, *Helena Longimana*, dwelt in wells, whence she stretcht out her surname and drew in children who approacht the brink. Her cousin Jenny Green-teeth, with equal enterprise, availd herself of the same "new opening for women."

Nelly Long Arms, s. a sort of bogey for frightening children. This bogey was supposed to inhabit wells, and children were told that *Nelly Long Arms* would pull them in if they went too near.
1886 HOLLAND, *Cheshire gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 238.

66. *Nick*, the Devil. This celebrated name, which is commonly honored with the venerable prefix *Old*, is entitled to somewhat more than respectful mention here. It is one of the names for whose etymology and restitution this paper was undertaken; and while I can not hope to add any luster to a sufficiently illustrious, tho much misunderstood character, I may be able at least to restore his good name.

For *Nick* is a good name, a true Christian name; and it did not come up out of the pit — even the water-pit of the Nicker.

Before entering upon the etymology of *Nick*, it will be well to give what quotations I have found tending to establish its date and associations.

The earliest instance of *Nick* which I have found is of a date about the year 1695, but *Old Nick* is found in 1678, and both must have been in use before the civil war.

Nick did Baldoon's posterior right deride,
And, as first substitute, did seize the bride.
c 1695 Sir W. HAMILTON, *Verses upon the late Viscount Stair and his family*
(quoted by Scott, *Introd. to the Bride of Lammermoor*) (1863, p. vi.).
Ah *Nick!* ah *Nick!* it is na fair.
1796 BURNS, *Poem on life*, st. 5 (Poet. wks., 1883, 1: 261).

Nick figures largely in the "Ingoldsby legends," as he does under other names in other legends of saints:

The Saint made a pause As uncertain, because
He knew *Nick* is pretty well 'up' in the laws,
And they *might* be on *his* side — and then, he'd such claws!
1837-45 BARHAM, *Ingoldsby legends* (Lay of St. Cuthbert) (1890, p. 219).
Hark! as sure as fate, The clock 's striking Eight! . . .
When *Nick*, who by this time was rather elate,
Rose up and address'd them. " 'Tis full time," he said,
"For all elderly Devils to be in their bed." 1837-45. *Id.* p. 220.
Old Nick . . . *Nick* [many times].
1837-45 BARHAM, *Ingoldsby legends* (Saint Medard) (1890, p. 246-252).

Nick as "the Old Gentleman" sometimes receives a gentleman's prefix, *Mister*.

Now, None of your lies, *Mr. Nick!* I'd advise
You to tell me the truth without any disguise.
1837-45 BARHAM, *Ingoldsby legends* (Brothers of
Birchington) (1890, p. 287).

Nick is regarded as so far unliterary that it is entered in dialect glossaries. So *Old Nick*.

Nick, the devil. 1877 PEACOCK, *Manley and Corringham gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 179. (Ed. 1889, p. 369.)

But *Nick* is more commonly cald *Old Nick*. See the Devil's many names with *Old*, pp. 64, 65.

Our *Old Nick*. 1678 S. BUTLER, *Hudibras* III. i. 1313 (Nares² p. 602).

This fool imagines, as do mony sic,
That I 'm a Wretch in compact with *auld Nick*.

1725 RAMSAY, *Gentle shepherd* (in Brand, *Obs. on pop. antiq.* 1777, p. 323, note).

Eigh, for if *Owd-Nick* owt meh o spite, he pede meh whoam weh use.

1750 COLLIER ("TIM BOBBIN"), *Lanc. dial.* (1823), p. 19.
[Other examples, p. 20, 27.]

There sat *auld Nick*, in shape o' beast;
A twozie tyke, black, grim, and large.

1791 BURNS, *I'am o' Shanter* (Poet. wks. 1883, 1: 204).

Old Nick. The devil. 1823 MOOR, *Suffolk words*, p. 258.

So to *Old Nick's* appeal, As he turned on his heel,
He replied, ' Well, I 'll leave you the mutton and veal.'

1837-45 BARHAM, *Ingoldsby legends* (Lay of St. Cuthbert) (1890, p. 219).

Old Nick. 1837-45 *Id.* pp. 225, 239, 241, 246, 248, 249, 250, 284.

Barham has a variation, *Elderly Nick*, for politeness or meter.

They dash'd up the hills, and they dash'd down the dales,
As if *elderly Nick* was himself at their tails.

1837-47 BARHAM, *Ingoldsby legends* (Blasphemer's warning) (1890, p. 270).

It's one of Old Nick's Diabolical tricks.

1849 SAXE, *Poems* (1857), p. 175.

Nearly all writers who hav deliverd an opinion on the etymology of *Nick* concur in the statement that *Nick* is derived from the Anglo-Saxon *nicor* or its equivalent Icelandic *nykr*, or its Swedish and Danish forms, meaning a spirit of the waters. This is the view of Sir William Temple (*a* 1699), Serenius (1741), Lye (1743), Warburton and Z. Grey (1744), Johnson (1755), Webster (1828, 1864, 1890), Grimm (1844), Craig (1849), Worcester (1860), Stormonth (1879), the *Imperial Dictionary* (1881), *Chambers's Etym. Dictionary* (1882), and it is also the view of Skeat (*Etym. Dict.*, 1882), and of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1884, 17: 483).

But *Nick* is not from Anglo-Saxon *nicor* or Icelandic *nykr*. The termination *-or*, *-r* would not thus fall off. Moreover, the history of *nicor*, ME. *niker*, etc., shows no connection, either in notion or in time, with the familiar use of *Nick*. The proper representativ of the AS. *nicor* is *nicker*. See under NICKER following.

But the asserted connection with the name of the water-spirit is often based on the modern Scandinavian forms, Swedish *neck*, Dan. *nök*; to which I add the Swedish dial. *nikk* (Rietz 1867), which is quite to the point, tho the form and its meanings seem to hav been unknown to most of the writers whom I hav mentiond. These forms ar cognate with the Icelandic *nykr* and the A.S. *nicor*, names of water-spirits, treated in omitted portions of this paper.

The notion that *Nick* or *Old Nick* was originally the demon of the waters appears first, so far as I hav observd, in Sir William Temple (*a* 1699). It is thus stated by Serenius (1741), with an alteration ("Old Neck") to suit the Swedish form :

Necken, f. *Old neck*, the god of the sea, Neptunus.

1741 SERENIUS, *Dictionarium Suethico-anglo-latinum*, p. 146.

Lye (1743) repeats the notion, which was accepted by Brand (1777, *Observations on popular antiquities*, p. 115), and Molbech (1833, *Dansk ordbog*, 2 : 101). Sir Walter Scott ads a touch of his own, making Old Nick, as a "genuine descendant of the northern sea god," a special terror to "the British sailor, who fears nothing else" (1830, *Letters on demonology and witchcraft*, p. 91). But is Old Nick unknown to the British soldier?

All the Scandinavian forms ar treated at length in the articles *Neck*, *Nick*, and *Nicker*, names of water-spirits, in omitted portions of this paper. I can only say here that I hav found no proof, in the uses of the Scandinavian forms, that they ar the source of the English *Nick* as a name for the Devil.

It is true that some of the Scandinavian forms, as the Swedish dialectal *nikk*, ar now to some extent associated with the notion of an evil spirit, and of the Devil himself; but this association appears to be the result of popular etymology or of recent literary sophistication.

It is my opinion that the English *Nick*, whatever its later associations, had in its origin nothing to do with the nicks or nickers or nixes or nixies of Teutonic mythology. In the first place, there is no historical connection, in the records, between the Nick of modern allusion and the nickers and nixies of mythology. The nickers and nixies ar, in medieval and modern times, almost wholly literary demons. They ar absent from popular legend; and the nixes and nixies ar demonstrably of recent introduction into English notice.

In the second place, the nickers, nixies, nixes, ar demons of the water; and whatever other hard things may be justly said of Old

Nick, no one ever accused him of a partiality for water, holy or plain. In the artificial classification of spirits according to their element, he is a salamander, not an undine; and if he leaves his burning fiery furnace to go about upon the earth, "he walketh through *dry* places, seeking rest—and findeth none." (*Matthew* xii. 43.)

What, then, is the true origin of *Nick* as a name for the Devil? I think it is to be found in the English personal name *Nick* as representing *Nicholas*, or *Nicol*.

This *Nick* is now regarded and used as a short form, the Nick-name, so to speak, of *Nicholas*; but in its first use it was a short form of *Nicol*, the earlier English representative of the name *Nicholas*. *Nicol* was once very common as a given name. In this fact lies the explanation of its application to the Devil. *Nicol* was in early modern English spelt *Nicoll*, *Nicole*, *Nichol*, etc. Tho now almost obsolete as a given name, it exists in a score of surnames, most of them common. I find the surnames *Nicol*, *Nicoll*, *Nichol*, *Nicholl*, *Nickol*, *Nickle*, *Nickel*, *Nickell* (in part perhaps German); with the patronymic genitiv, *Nicols*, *Nicolls*, *Niccols*, *Nichols*, *Nicholls*, *Nicholes* (1615), *Nickles*, *Nickels*, *Nicles*; also *Nicolson*, *Niccolson*, *Nicholson*, *Nickelson*, with the variant *Nickerson*; *McNicol*, *McNicol*, *McNichol*, *McNicholl*, *MacNichol*, *MacNickle*, *McNickle*, *McNickel*, *McNicol*, etc. These surnames testify to the former frequency of *Nicol* as a given name. *Nick* itself is found as a surname.

Nicol was in Middle English *Nicol*, *Nicole*, *Nicholle* (c1450), *Nichole* (c1240), from Old French *Nicole*, French *Nicole* and *Nicholas*, Spanish *Nicolás*, Portuguese *Nicoláo*, Italian *Nicola*, *Nicolò*, *Nicolò*, Dutch *Nicolaas*, *Nikolaas*, *Niklaas*, German *Nicolaus*, *Niklas*, also *Nickel*, Russian *Nikolai*, *Nikola*, etc.; also in curt familiar forms, French *Colas* and *Colin* (whence Eng. *Colin*, *Collin*, *Collins*), Italian *Cola*, Dutch *Klaas*, *Klass*, German *Klaus* (whence Eng. *Claus*, in *Santa Claus*). All these forms are from the Middle Latin *Nicolas* (from Greek *Νικόλαος*), or Late Latin *Nicolāus*, from Greek *Νικόλαος*, Ionic *Νικόλεως*, Doric *Νικόλας*, a man's name. The name came into medieval and modern use in honor of the legendary Saint Nicholas, or rather *Nicolaus*, who is said to have lived in the fourth century—he must have existed, else how could they have found out his name? The English form *Nicholas* is modern. It should be spelt *Nicolas*.

Nick could be also in part derived from *myne Hick*, as *Ned* from *myn Ed*, as I have explained before (TRANSACTIONS for 1892, xxiii. 297-301). That is, the two *Nicks* melted into one—the one *Nick*, namely Old Nick, is supposed to resist melting.

Nick, derived from either *Nicol* or *Hick*, would be in the same class with *Dick*, *Dickens*, *Hob*, *Robin*, *Jack with the lantern*, *Will with the wisp*, and other household "Christian" names, applied to the Devil or his Imps; and in so far as *Nick* is derived from *my*n *Hick* it would be radically identical with *Dick*, *Dicken*, *Dickens*, which are derived, as I have shown (TRANSACTIONS for 1893, xxiv. 125-128) from *Old Hick*, *Old Hickon*, etc.

In considering the application of the name *Nick* thus derived, and of other familiar personal names, to the Devil, we are not to think of that personage as the black malignant theological spirit of evil, but rather as a goblin of limited powers, a "poor" devil, who may be half daunted, half placated, by a little friendly impudence or homely familiarity.

Of the familiar use of *Nicol* as a mere flippant name, like "Tom, Dick, and Harry," I gave a good Middle English example in my explanation of *eddy* (TRANSACTIONS, xxiii. 217). Noah's shrewish wife calls him "Nicholle Nedy," as much as to say 'Tom Fool' (c1450 *Towneley Myst.*, p. 30).

Of the familiar use of *Nick*, an abbreviation of *Nicol*, the sixteenth century supplies examples.

Quince. Answere as I call you. *Nick* Bottome the weauer . . . You *Nicke* Bottome are fet downe for Pyramus.

1600 SHAKESPEARE, *M.N.D.* 1:2 (F¹ 1623, p. 147).

Lamentable complaints of *Nick* Froth the Tapster and Rule Rost the Cooke.
1641 (title of a book). (1834 Lowndes.)

That *Nick*, the Devil, has some connection with *Nicholas*, has long been thought, or at least humorously assumed; but no one, so far as I know, has explained it as simply a familiar application of the familiar name *Nick*, and has explained that directly as a familiar short form of *Nicol*.

On the contrary, it has been thought necessary to appeal to Saint Nicholas, "the patron saint of children, travellers, and thieves," and by allusions to "Saint Nicholas's clerks" and other phrases, to make out the supposed transfer of the name from the saint to the anti-saint. But I think that when the name was given to the Devil, there was no thought of the saint.

Samuel Butler made in jest an assertion that some repeated in solemn earnest, that Nick, or Old Nick, was so called after "Nick" or Nicholas Machiavel, in Italian Niccolò Machiavelli, of whose precepts in "The Prince" it was the fashion to express great horror,

as if they wer alien to the thought and practice of every "prince" save the nominal prince for whom the book was written.

Nick Machiavel had ne'er a trick,
Though he gave name to our *Old Nick*,
But was below the least of these.

1678 S. BUTLER, *Hudibras*, III. i. 1313. (Nares, p. 255.)

The following passage seems to allude to Nicholas Machiavel, under the name "Nicholas Malevolo," and associates him directly with the hosts of hell, as their chief — Old Nick himself:

Out vpon it! How long is Pride a dressing herself? Enuie, awake!
for thou must appear before *Nicholas Malevolo*, great muster-master of
hel. 1592 NASH, *Pierce Peniless's Supplication to the Devil*
(Shak. Soc., 1842), p. 31.

I think that all these associations with *Nicholas*, saint or Italian, ar after the fact. Tho *Nick* is ultimately derived from *Nicholas* or rather *Nicolas*, it is through the older form (in English) *Nicol*, and this was never applied to the saint, or to the sinner Machiavel. Tho *Nicol*, in *Old Nicol*, and *Nicholas*, also *Old Nicholas*, occur in humorous verse as names for the Devil, they ar to be regarded as modern expansions for humorous effect, not as representing more original forms of the devil's name.

67. *Nicholas*, also *Old Nicholas* and *Mr. Nicholas*, names for the Devil. See above. *Nicholas* the saint once attacked *Nicholas* the Devil *vi et digitis*:

The fiend made a grasp the Abbot to clasp;
But *St. Nicholas* lifted his holy toe,
And, just in the nick, let fly such a kick
On his *elderly-namasake*, he made him let go.
1837-45 BARHAM, *Ingoldsby legends* (Lay of St. Nicholas) (1890, p. 65).

St. Cuthbert also was severè on "Nicholas":

"You rascal!" quoth he, "This language to me!
At once, *Mr. Nicholas!* down on your knee." . . .
Old Nicholas trembled, — he shook in his shoes,
And seem'd half inclined, but afraid, to refuse.
1837-45 BARHAM, *Ingoldsby legends* (Lay of St. Cuthbert) (1890, p. 219).
Old Nick look'd North, *Old Nick* look'd South;
Weary was *Nicholas*, weak and faint.
1837-45 BARHAM, *Ingoldsby legends* (Saint Medard) (1890, p. 248).

68. *Nicol*, with the epithet *old*, *Old Nicol*, in Scottish form *Auld Nicol*. This I find in only one passage, where it is apparently *Old Nick* extended to *Nicol* for the sake of rime.

Fause flatt'ry nane but fools will tickle,
That gars me hate it like *Auld Nicol*.
1719 RAMSAY, *Epistle to Arbuckle*. (P. p. 255.)

The easy road from *Nick* to *Nicol* appears in a discourse of the worthy bailie Nicol Jarvie :

My father the worthy deacon . . . used to say to me — 'Nick — young Nick,' (his name was *Nicol* as weel as mine; sae folk ca'd us in their daffin', young *Nick* and *auld Nick*) — 'Nick,' said he, 'never put out your arm farther than ye can draw it easily back again.'

1818 SCOTT, *Rob Roy*, ch. 22 (1863, p. 156).

69. **Nickie**, the Devil: a diminutiv of *Nick*. Also *Old Nickie-ben*.

So *Nickie* [var. *the Devil*] then got the auld wife on his back.

a 1796 BURNS, *Song*, 'There liv'd once a carle,' st. 6.
(*Reid, Concordance to Burns*, 1889, p. 336.)

But, fare ye weel, *auld Nickie-ben*!

O wad ye tak a thought an' men'!

1785 BURNS, *Address to the deil*, st. 21 (Poet. wks. 1883, 1: 52).

70. **Nicker**, the Devil. I find this name, in this sense, only with the epithet *old* — *Old Nicker*, in a limited provincial use. It is equivalent to *Old Nick* and *Old Nicol*. I take it to be an extension of *Old Nick*, as if it wer a variation of *Old Nicol* (compare *Nicker-son* from *Nicolson*). It may be from the Dutch form mentiond below. There is probably some old association, if not original connection, with *nicker*, a water-spirit, which, however, I think it necessary to separate from the present word.

Nicker, sb. The Devil. People in the parish of Eckington often speak of the Devil as "*owd Nicker*."

1891 ADDY, *Sheffield gloss.* suppl. (E.D.S.), p. 40.

The form *Nicker*, as applied to the Devil, or a devil, occurs in Dutch :

Nicker, The Devil.

1678 HEXHAM, *Netherdutch and Eng. dict.* [Not in ed. 1648, 1658].
de *Nikker*, (drommel,) Imp [ed. 1727 adds fiend], devil.

1691 SEWEL, *Dutch and Eng. dict.*, p. 215.

71. **Peggy-lantern**. This is a feminin form of *Hobby-lantern* and *Jacky-lantern*, originally known as *Hob with the lantern* and *Jack with the lantern*. Other feminin names for this meteor sprite ar *Jenny with the lantern*, *Joan in the wad*, *Kitty with the wisp*. See these.

Peggy-lantern. — Will of the wisp, very commonly seen on Eagle and Whisby Moors before they were drained and enclosed: called also *Billy of the wisp*.

1886 COLE, *Gloss. Southwest Lincolnshire* (E.D.S.), p. 108.

72. Poker, a hobgoblin, the Devil. This word, formerly spelt also *pocar* and *pocker*, seems to be identical with the Swedish *pocker*, *pokker*, the devil, the deuce (1867 Rietz, 1888 Öman; not in Serenius, 1741, or Høltze, 1882), Dan. *pokker*, the Devil, the deuce, used chiefly in exclamation (1833 Molbech, *Dansk ordbog*, 2 : 196; 1845 Ferrall and Repp, *Dansk-engelsk ordbog*, p. 249 (with a wrong etymology); 1889 Kaper, *Dänisch-Norwegisch-Deutsches handwörterbuch*, p. 370).

A mother when her child is wayward . . . scareth it with some *pocar*, or bull-begger. 1601 DENT, *Pathway to heaven*, 109. (N.E.D. 1 : 1168.)

Poker is commonly known as OLD POKER, which see. Of the same family are HODGE POKER, MUM POKER, and TOM POKER. From this *Poker* we hav the adjectiv *pokerish*, applied to localities or circumstances that suggest ghosts or things of fear.

73. Robert, a name given to several individual devils, like *Robin*, below. *Robert*, as a name for the Devil himself, does not appear; but the use of *Roger* as such a name makes a like use of *Robert* not improbable; and the legend of "Robert the Devil" may contain in the name of its hero an allusion to the nomenclature of the real Fiend himself.

The witches were taught to call these imps by names, some of which might belong to humanity, while others had a diabolical sound. These were *Robert* the Jakis, Saunders the Red Reaver, Thomas the Feary, . . . Thief of Hell . . . *Robert* the Rule, Hendrie Craig, and Rorie.

1830 SCOTT, *Letters on demonology and witchcraft*, p. 246.

74. Robin, a name given, like *Robert*, to several individual devils. It is mentiond here chiefly because it enters into the familiar goblin name *Robin Goodfellow* (which is also used as the generic name of a class of goblins), and because *Robin* represents *Robert*, the ultimate source of *Hob*, which is used, alone and conjunct with *goblin*, as an other name of the same class of imaginary beings. See ROBERT, and HOB and HOBGOBLIN.

Brian Darcies he spirits and shee spirits, Tittie and Tiffin, Suckin and Pidgin, Liard and *Robin*, &c.

1584 R. SCOT in *Discourse upon divels and spirits*, ch. 33, in *Discoverie of witchcraft* (repr. 1886, p. 455; ed. 1651, p. 388).

A later witch invoked the devil by the name of *Robin* :

That when she hath a desire to do harm, she calls the Spirit by the name of *Robin*, to whom when he appeareth, she useth these words, O Sathan, give me my purpose. 1681 GLANVIL, *Saducismus triumphatus* (1689).

p. 352. [Another example, p. 361.]

In other instances *Robin* used alone as a goblin or fairy name, refers to the famous *Robin Goodfellow*, otherwise cald *Puck*. In the stage directions in Shakespeare's "Midsummer night's dream" *Robin* and *Puck* are used indifferently.

Enter *Pucke* Enter *Robin*. . . *Rob*. . . *Puck*.
1600 SHAKESPEARE, *M.N.D.* 3: 1 (F¹ 1623, p. 152).

It has been shown under *HOB* and other words how these goblin names ar in many cases perpetuated in the names of fields, crofts, lanes, and other localities in which the original reference to goblins has been for the most part lost. By the side of *Hob croft*, *Hob field*, already cited, I can here cite the corresponding *Robin croft*, *Robin field*.

An other close of pasture called *Robin feild* *Robin field* near Pits moore. . . . *Robin croft*.
1637 HARRISON, *Survey of Sheffield* (Addy, *Sheff. gloss.*, E.D.S., 1888, p. 192).

75. Robin Goodfellow. This name, written also *Robin Good-fellow*, in late M.E. *Robyn Godfelaw*, consists of the familiar diminutiv name *Robin*, before mentiond, with the half friendly, half euphemistic or deprecatory "surname" *Goodfellow*, originally *Good Fellow*. The fairies wer cald the *Good Folk* or the *Good People*, even the Devil was cald the *Good Man*; and *Good Fellow*, as a name for the mischievous but placable sprite of the house and stable, only reflects the real feeling and the determind superstition of the people.

Ten Brink's suggestion that "Robin Goodfellow corresponds to the German Knecht Ruprecht" (1891 *Early Eng. Literature*, i. 148), so far as it implies a joint connection of name and legend, is not to be accepted.

The first mention of Robin Goodfellow which I hav found is in a letter of the year 1489, M.E. *Robyn Godfelaw* :

And thys [rebels' proclamation] is in the name of Mayster *Hobbe Hyrste*,
Robyn Godfelaws brodyr he is, as I trow.
1489 WILLIAM PASTON in *Paston letters* (1871), 3: 362.

See the full context quoted under *HOB HURST*, *HOB THURSE*.

The next is in the name of the woodlouse, cald also *Thurse-louse* and *Hob-thrush-louse* :

Robin-good-fellows-louse.
1552 HULOET, *Abecedarium*. (*Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1860, p. 19.)

Robin Goodfellow is often mentioned, and his character is described, in Reginald Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*.

And know you this by the waie, that heretofore *Robin goodfellow* [ed. 1651 *good fellow*] and Hob goblin [ed. 1651 *Hob-goblin*] were as terrible, and also as credible to the people, as hags and witches be now; and in time to come, a witch will be as much derided & contemned, and as plainlie perceived, as the illusion and knaverie of *Robin goodfellow* [ed. 1651 *good-fellow*]. And in truth, they that mainteine walking spirits, with their transformation, &c: have no reason to denie *Robin goodfellow* [ed. 1651 *good-fellow*], upon whome there hath gone as manie and as credible tales, as upon witches; saving that it hath not pleased the translators of the Bible, to call spirits, by the name of *Robin goodfellow* [ed. 1651 *good-fellow*], as they have termed divinors, soothsaiers, poisoners, and couseners, by the name of witches.

1584 R. SCOT, *Discoverie of witchcraft*, bk. 7, ch. 2 (repr. 1886, p. 105; sim. ed. 1651, p. 97).

But certeinlie some one knave in a white sheete hath cousened and abused many thousands that waie; speciallie when *Robin good-fellow* kept such a coile in the Countrie.

1584 R. SCOT, *Discoverie of witchcraft*, bk. 7, ch. 15 (repr. 1886, p. 122; sim. ed. 1651, p. 112).

By the first quotations above Scot implies that the belief in Robin Goodfellow had almost disappeared in 1584. In the next passage he plainly, but in his own manner, says so.

By this time all kentishmen know (a few fooles excepted) that *Robin goodfellowe* is a knave.

1584 R. SCOT, *Discoverie of witchcraft*, bk. 16, ch. 7 (repr. 1886, p. 407; sim. ed. 1651, p. 348).

Virunculi terrei ['earthly dwarfs'] are such as was *Robin good fellowe*, that would supplie the office of servants, speciallie of maids; as, to make a fier in the morning, sweepe the house, grind mustard and malt, drawe water, &c: these also rumble in houses, draw latches, go up and downe stairs, &c.

1584 R. SCOT, *Discourse upon divels and spirits*, ch. xxi. (app. to *Discoverie of witchcraft*, repr. 1886, p. 437; ed. 1651, p. 374).

Robin Goodfellow is utilized by the "myriad-minded" Shakespeare, who locates him in ancient Athens. A man of one mind and of simple geography would not have done so. This is Shakespeare's first mention of *Robin Goodfellow*:

Enter a Fairie at one doore, and *Robin good-fellow* at another.

1600 SHAKESPEARE, *M.N.D.* 2 : 1 (F¹ 1623, p. 148).

In the current editions *Puck* is substituted for *Robin good-fellow*. In the passages that follow, *Robin Goodfellow* is wel described :

Either I mistake your shape and making quite,
Or else you are that fhrew'd and knaish spirit [read *ffrite*]
Cal'd *Robin Good-fellow*. Are you not hee [etc.].

1600 SHAKESPEARE, *M.N.D.* 2 : 1 (F¹ 1623, p. 148).

Robin Goodfellow is named in Harsnet's book :

And if that the Bowl of Curds and Creame were not duly set out for
Robin Goodfellow . . .

1603 HARSNET, *Declaration of egregious popish impostures*,
ch. 10 (in *N. & Q.*, 1859, 2d ser. 7:144).

Robin Goodfellow, his mad Pranks and merry Jestes. Full of honest Mirth;
and is a fit Medicine for Melancholy.

1628 (title of a book, "supposed unique"). (1834 Lowndes, 4:1571.)

In the next two centuries little mention is made of Robin Goodfellow, except as a literary reminiscence.

Hobgoblins (q. Rob.) *Robin-good-fellow*.

1692 COLES, *Eng. dict.*

The last echo of the old superstition is heard in the following note of provincial speech, of sixty-five years ago :

Proverbial sayings . . . "To laugh like *Robin Good-fellow*."—i.e. A long, loud, hearty horse-laugh. Thus the memory of the merry goblin still lives amongst us. But though his mirth be remembered, his drudgery is forgotten. His cream-bowl is never set; nor are any traces of the "lubber fiend" to be found on the kitchen hearth. He is even forgotten in the nursery. 1830 FORBY, *Vocab. of East Anglia*, 2:431.

76. Robin Hood. Robin Hood seems to have been sometimes confused in kitchen tales with Robin Good-fellow, and so to have been regarded in the light of a fairy—or in the dark of a goblin. Reginald Scot, speaking of Hudgin, a German goblin, says :

There goe as manie tales upon this Hudgin, in some parts of Germanie, as there did in England of Robin Good-fellow. But this Hudgin was so called, because he alwaies ware a cap or a hood; and therefore I thinke it was *Robin Hood*.

1584 R. SCOT, *Discourse upon diuels and spirits*, ch. 21 (app. to *Discoverie of witchcraft*, repr. 1886, p. 438; ed. 1651, p. 374).

Keightly, no conclusiv authority, mentions *Robin Hood* as an other name for Puck or Robin Goodfellow :

Puck . . . his various appellations: these are Puck, Robin Goodfellow, *Robin Hood*, Hobgoblin.

1828 T. K[EIGHTLEY], *Fairy mythology*, 2:118.

77. Roger, the Devil. *Roger* as the name of the Devil or of a spirit, is but scantily recorded, but I think it exists in *Roger's blast*, which is explained below, it occurs in *Old Roger*, and it comes out again, in the homely form *Hodge*, in the term *Hodge Poker*, used like *Hob Goblin*. See HODGE POKER. I recognize it also in the local names, *Roger house*, *Roger field*, mentiond below.

The familiar use of *Roger* outside of its proper application, appears also in the fact that in provincial speech it means also 'a ram.' *Roger of the buttery* (1847 Halliwell) as well as *Tib of the buttery*

(1717 Coles, *Eng. dict.*) was a humorous name for 'a goose.' *Roger* meant also 'a rogue' (1847 Halliwell) and a 'a cloak bag' (1717 Coles, *Eng. dict.*).

Old Roger has been heard, I am told, in New England and Illinois, and no doubt elsewhere, as a name for the Devil. It is like *Old Harry*, *Old Nick*, and other such names. Of a horse it is said, for example, "He ran as if *Old Roger* were after him."

I find *Old Roger* also in a piratical use I think with a diabolic allusion :

Captain Solgard, of his Majesty's ship *Grayhound*, brought a sloop with 36 pirates into Newport [in 1723]. Of these 26 were convicted, and hung under their own "deep Blew Flagg," "*old Roger*."

1890 WEEDEN, *Economic and Social hist. of New England*, 2: 562.

Roger's blast is a provincial name given to a sudden whirlwind, whether that which lifts the dust of the road in little whirls, or a sudden blast of wind over the water. The name has been left unexplained, tho the explanation has been asked for. It means 'a blast caused by Roger,' the Devil, to wit; who must of course be the cause of all otherwise unexplainable disturbances of the atmosphere, and who, if he be indeed

The prince of the power of the aire, (1613 BIBLE, *Eph.* 2: 2)

or in Tyndale's version (1535)—

The governer that ruleth in the ayer,

must be responsible, as it has been plausibly argued, for the weather in general — nearly all weather being bad.

Roger's-blast, s. a sudden and local motion of the air, no otherwise perceptible but by its whirling up the dust on a dry road in perfectly calm weather, somewhat in the manner of a waterspout. It is reckoned a sign of approaching rain.

1830 FORBY, *Vocab. of East Anglia*, 2: 280. (Copied in Halliwell, 1847.)

I find the phenomenon inquired about by a writer who gives the name, doubtfully, as *Rodges blast*. *Rodges blast* is, I think, merely the heard form of *Roger's blast*; *Roger's* being pronounced, in South British speech, exactly like *Rodges*; a heinous but an existing fact.

These *rodges blasts* seem to come with a southwest wind. . . . The cutter *Zoe*, with all sail set, was moored by a strong rope to a tree. It was a dead hot calm, when without any warning, a whirling puff of wind came upon us. The *Zoe* was thrown over almost on her beam-ends. She snapped the mooring-rope like a piece of thread, shot out into the river, and then luffed up herself . . . and drove her bowsprit through the wood-casing of the staithe and deep into the soil behind. . . . The blast passed in a moment, and there was again a dead calm.

1884 C. DAVIES, *Norfolk broads and rivers*, p. 55
(*N. & Q.*, Feb. 11, 1893, 8th ser. 3: 106).

We have not been able to trace the etymology of the name by which these blasts are known, and it is spelt as it is pronounced. It is really a rotary wind-squall or whirl-wind, and is most likely to occur with a southwest wind. Sometimes the blasts are very violent, and come without warning. [See more, *l.c.*]

1884 C. DAVIES, *Ib.* p. 265. (*N. & Q., l.c.*)

The superstition of a blast of wind caused by the Devil, and used to work harm to mortals, comes out in the old stories of witchcraft; and witches themselves were thought to have influence over the air, and sold winds, as they told stories, to the marines. A poor old woman on trial for witchcraft, when questioned by her pious tormentors as to her diabolic practices, answered that —

When sundrie persons came to her to seek help for their beast, their cow, or ewe, or for any barne that was *tane away with ane evill blast of wind*, or elf grippit, she gait and spirit at Thom what might help them.
c 1600 in PITCAIRN, *Crim. trials* (1830-33), I. 2. 51 et seq.
(1880 T. A. Spalding, *Elizabethan demonology*, p. 110).

Roger also appears in certain old place-names.

Roger house . . . *Roger field* . . . *Rodger wood*.
1637 HARRISON, *Survey of Sheffield* (ms.), (in Addy, *Sheffield gloss.* E.D.S., p. 193).

Roger thorpe in Badsworth, near Pontefract.
1888 ADDY, *Sheffield gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 193.

These are parallel with *Hob field*, *Hob croft*, *Hob yard*, *Hob-thrust well*, *Robin field*, *Robin croft*, previously mentioned as local names, all originally implying a supposed haunt of a goblin. In any one case the name may have arisen directly from the name of a person, but the parallelisms are conclusively as to the principal origin.

78. Thurse, a demon, a goblin. This is an interesting and important word, once well known in English, widely spread in Teutonic speech, still extant in the Scandinavian region, and existing also, almost unrecognized, in English provincial speech. It underwent various transformations, and in its proper form disappeared; and it was in consequence neglected by the dictionaries.

Thurse is found in several forms, all of which are treated in this paper under one or the other of the several types *thurse*, *thurst*, *thruss*, *thrush*, *trash*, as below, or (in composition) (*Hob-*)*thrust*, (*Hob-*)*trush*, (*Hob-*)*truss*, after HOB-THURSE.

Thurse is in Middle English *thurse*, *thursse*, *thurs*, *hurs*, **thyrs*, *thirs*, *thyrce*; also transposed *thrusse*, *thrusse*, *thrisse* (see THRUSS, below), and *thrusche* (see THRUSH, below); AS. *þyrs*, a giant, demon, devil; O. Fries. not found; Fries. *dròs*, D. *droes*, L.G. *dros*, *droos*

(*drōs*), *druuss* (*drūs*), *droost* (*drōst*) (see below); O.H.G. *durs*, *duris*, M.H.G. *durse*, *dürse*, *dürsch*, also with initial *t*, O.H.G. *turs*, *thuris*, M.H.G. *turse*, *türse*, *türsch*, a giant, demon (Grimm. *D. M.*; Schade), Swiss *dürst* "the wild hunter" (Grimm), *dusel*, a night-spirit (Grimm); Icelandic *þurs* (Egilsson, Cleasby) rarely *þors* (Egilsson), assimilated *þuss*, modern Icelandic *þuss* (Cleasby, Aasen), a giant, a goblin, a dull fellow, Norwegian *tuss*, *tusse*, *tust*, a goblin, elf, dull fellow (see below), Swedish *tuss*, *tussa*, in various uses (see below).

Before considering the ultimate etymology, special notice must be taken of some of the forms mentioned, and of their meanings.

A word found in Anglo-Saxon, in Old Icelandic, and Old High German, especially a word of this sort, might be confidently looked for in the Low German tongues. In the expected form **durs* it does not appear; but we do find a word *drūs*, *drōs*, *drōst*, used in exclamation and mild cursing, in the sense of 'the devil,' 'the deuce'; and considering the ease with which words that have lost their original status and have fallen into the hapless condition of "swear-words," are twisted from their original form, it seems probable that *drūs* is the missing word, transposed from the original **durs*, lengthened to *drūs*, and varied to *drōs*, *droos*. The last form appears with a stop, *-t*, in the Hamburg and Osnaburg *droost*. These forms are thus not only akin, but are almost identical phonetically, with the English *thruss*, (hob-)*thruss*, (hob-)*thrust*, (hob-)*dross* as transposed from *thurse*, *thurst*.

An Old Friesic form does not appear in Richthofen or Hetteema, because, we may suppose, of the technical (legal) character and small quantity of the extant records. In modern Friesic the word is *drōs*.

Drōs, Heimr. S. 25, wird der böse Feind dieser Orten genannt. [Other references are given.]
1837 OUTZEN, *Glossarium der friesischen sprache*, p. 49.

The Low German form cited by E. Mogk in Paul's *Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie* (1891) 1: 1041, as an unquestioned cognate of AS. *þurs*, etc., is *drōs*. The form in Hamburg is, or was, *drūs*, spelt in 1755 *druusz*.

Druusz . . . Wann man aber fluchtet, dat dy de druusz hale, so ist folches nach Hn. Wächters Meinung so viel, als: dasz dich die Hexe hole . . . [More, of little use]. 1755 RICHEY, *Idioticon Hamburgense*, p. 44.

In the same region existed the form *drōs*, in the extended form *drōst*, spelt *droost*.

Drooft: ist ein Wort, das mancherley Bedeutung hat, nachdem man dieses oder jenes Beywort hinzusetzet, doch mehrentheils in übelm Verstande. Z.E. *Een dummen Drooft*; ein alberner Mensch; *een groten Drooft*: ein großer Gaft; *een leegen Drooft*: ein schlimmer Schelm, &c. 1755 RICHEY, *Idioticon Hamburgense*, p. 43.

The phrases point clearly to the earlier sense, which Strodtmann, the next year, after a perusal of Richey, thus set forth :

Drooft: bedeutet etwas anders, als in Hamburg, nämlich den Teufel. *De Drooft förde een da und da hen*; d.i. der Teufel. 1756 STRODTMANN, *Idioticon Osnaburgense*, p. 43.

This form *droost* is very like the English form (hob-) *thrust*, (hob-) *dross*.

The forms *droos* and *droost* coexisted at Bremen :

Droos, gemeiniglich, aber unrecht, *Droost*. Es ist hier eben so wie in Hamb. ein unbestimmtes Scheltwort, das seine Bedeutung von den Beywörtern empfängt. *Ein dummen Droos*: ein alberner Mensch, ein dummer T * * I. SR. Nächst dem braucht es auch der Pöbel im Fluchen für den Teufel. *Dat di de Droos flaa*: dasz dich der T—. *Bim Droos*: bey T * * . 1767 *Versuch eines bremisch-nieder-sächsischen wörterbuchs*, I: 257.

The Dutch form is *droes*, a giant, devil, fiend.

Droes. Gigas, homo valens, homo membris & mole valens, fortis bellator. 1598 KILIAN, *Etym. Teut. ling.* (1777), I: 123.
Droes, A Gyant, a man of a great stature. 1648 HEXHAM, *Netherdutch and Eng. dict.* Also 1658.
Droes (M.), a Devil, Fiend. 1727 SEWEL, *Dutch-Eng. dict.* 2: 84. [Not in orig. ed. 1691.]
Droes . . . En eindelijk komt het voor, in den zin van eenen reus, een groot sterk mensch, en, in de gemeenzame verkeering, voor eenen boozen geest, voor den duivel: de mensch van ik en weet wat dommen droes gedreven. J. De Deck. 1790 WEILAND, *Nederduitsch taalkundig woordenboek*, I: 591.
Droes, m. gmw. duivel; *de droes* hale mij als ik het weet. 1884 VAN DALE, *Nieuw woordenboek*.

The etymology of the Dutch *droes* and its congeners has exercised several minds. Kilian, true to the classical warp of his time, farfetched it from the Latin name *Drusus*.

Droes . . . Fortè nomen sumptum a Druso Tiberij fratre, Germanorum & Saxonum domitore acerrimo. 1598 KILIAN, *Etym. Teut. ling.* (1777), I: 123.

The editor of the *Bremisch-niedersächsisches wörterbuch* (1777), under *droos* (I: 257), complains of the etymologists who "drag in Drusus by 'the hair'" to explain such German words; "as if the German language could hav no words of its own."

The word *thurse*, Icelandic *purs*, *puss*, etc., has had a rich develop-

ment in the Swedish and Norwegian dialects. Swedish dial. *tuss* is defined as (1) a mountaineer, so cald in districts bordering on mountain regions; (2) wandering foreign people; (3) a stupid person, a blockhead; (4) a wolf; (5) a bear, in composition *myrtussar*, 'swamp-creatures.' The other form *tusse* means (1) a giant; (2) an unruly person, usually applied to a child; (3) a wolf—in some dialects also cald *tass*, and in composition *gråtass* 'grey creature.' So *spirtusse*, a spirit which, like a brownie, stays in a person's service, and earns money for him; *tassa-mark*, 'goblin-field,' a lonely cheerless place. All these in Rietz, *Svenskt dialektlexikon*, 1867, p. 765.

Similar forms, with similar but less numerous uses, appear in the Norwegian dialects. Norw. *tuss*, dial. *tusse*, and *tust*, a goblin, kobold, elf, a dull fellow, in plural *tussar*, goblins, elves, in composition, *tussefolk*, 'thurse-folk,' elves, *tussekall*, 'thurse-carl,' a male elf, *tussekvende*, 'thurse-quean,' a female elf, *haugtuss*, 'how-thurse,' 'hill-elf,' troll, *tussen*, a mysterious disease of cattle. All these in Aasen, *Norsk ordbog*, 1873, p. 848, 269.

All these senses proceed from that of 'a giant,' 'a monstrous creature.' The English *creature* as used with the common implication of something fierce, non-human, or uncanny, answers closely to the uses mentiond. So the rude mountaineer, a gipsy, a bear, a wolf, ar all counted under the one name. The English uses of *thurse*, *thruss*, *thrush*, and *hob-thrush*, *hobthrust*, hav similar aspects. See the examples.

The ultimate etymology of *thurse*, AS. *þyrs*, O.H.G. *durs*, O. Icel. *þurs*, is uncertain. Schade (1872-1882, 1:116) following Kuhn, (*Zeitschrift für vergl. sprachforschung*, 10:105), inclines to make the original sense 'activ at work,' 'fond of building,' and hence 'builder,' connecting the word with Gr. *τύρσις*, later *τύρπις*, in Suidas also *τύρσιος*, a tower, = Lat. *turris* (whence Eng. *tower* and *turret*), and with the folk-name, Gr. *Τυρσηνοί*, *Τυρρηνοί*, Lat. *Tyrrhēni*, explaind as 'wall-builders.' He finds the root in O.H.G. *dwëran* 'turn about quickly,' to which he refers many Slavic words. The Cyclopes wer reputed great builders; and western Europe once swarmd with giants who built towers, walls, and "causeways."

Wharton, in his *Etyma Graeca*, 1890, equates Gr. *τύρσις*, *τύρπις* with Lat. *turris*, and connects them with A.S. " *thryðlic* strong " and Lith. " *twirtas*, *twérti* seize, enclose." In his *Etyma Latina* of the same date, he makes Lat. *turris*, a 'loan-word' from the Gr. *τύρπις*, *τύρσις*, and that a "loan-word" from some unknown source.

Another view of the etymology of *thurse* is presented by Grimm (*D.M.* 1844; tr. Stallybrass, 1883, 2: 522). According to this view, which is put aside by Schade, but accepted as probable by E. Mogk (in Paul's *Grundriss*, 1891, 1: 1041) the source is in the root of Goth. *þairsan*, E. *thirst*; as Mogk puts it, definitely, *thurse* (O.H.G. *durs*, etc.) is probably cognate with Skt. *tr̥śús* 'thirsty,' 'greedy.' This word is referred by Whitney (*tr̥śú*) to the root *tr̥ś*, 'be thirsty' (*Sanskrit roots*, 1885, p. 66).

This view, if correct, associates *thurse* with the English *thirst*, formerly spelt *thurst*; and it forms a parallel with the usual view of the etymology of the other Anglo-Saxon word for 'giant,' namely A.S. *eoten*, M.E. *eten*, *zeten*, later *etin*, *ettin*, Icel. *jötunn* (Cleasby), *iötunn* (Grimm), Norw. *jutel*, Sw. *jätte*, Dan. *jette*, which is usually explained (as by Grimm and Mogk *l.c.*) from A.S. *etan*, etc., 'eat,' as if it meant *edax*, 'the eater' or 'the hungry.' Taking into account the ways and pranks of the goblins like Robin Goodfellow, Puck, and the Dobbies, we have thus revealed the simple philosophy of the goblin tribe, "Let us eat, drink, and be merry."

But the explanation of *eoten* from *etan*, 'eat,' presents difficulties which not even a giant can overcome; and the explanation of *thurse* from *tr̥ś*, 'thirst,' tho not phonetically difficult, smacks rather of folklore than of history.

I now proceed to the history of *thurse* within the English pale.

79. (1) **Thurse**, the normal type. The earliest form, A.S. *þyrs*, had the senses 'giant, demon, mythic monster.' It is used to gloss the Latin *Orcus* and *Cacus* and *Cyclops*, having in two instances the synonym *heldeofol*, *heldiobol*, 'hell-devil' — a vigorous gloss.

The glosses are the earliest examples:

Orcus, *þyrs*, heldiobol. c 725 *Lat.-A.S. Vocab.* (Wright, *Vocab.* 1884, 36: 15; Hessels, 1890, p. 86).

Orcus, orc, *þyrs*, oððe heldeofol. c 1000 *Glosses, Lat. and A.S.* (Wright, *Vocab.* 1884, 459: 31).

Caci, *þyrser*. c 1000? *Glosses, Lat. and A.S.* (Wright, *Vocab.* 1884, 376: 19).

This refers to *Cacus*, the cattle-lifter, the giant son of Vulcan. The "bad" personages of classic mythology were commonly regarded by the Anglo-Saxon translators and glossarists as 'devils,' 'demons,' or 'specters,' and treated accordingly.

Cyclopum, *þyrsa*.

c 1000 *Glosses, Lat. and A.S.* (Wright, *Vocab.* 1884, 378: 25).

Here the Cyclopes, other bad characters of ancient fable, are explained by the same term *þyrs*, which may be translated here 'giant' or 'ogre.'

The Anglo-Saxon word occurs chiefly in glosses, but it is also found in context in verse. It comes once in *Beowulf*, where it is applied, with *aglæca*, to the monster Grendel:

And nu wið Grendel sceal
Wið þam aglæcan, âna gehegan,
þing wið *þyrse*. c 1000 *Beowulf*, l. 424-426.

It also occurs in more artificial verse, "sentences," and riddles:

þeóf sceal gangan in þýstrum wederum, *þyrs* sceal on fenne gewunian,
Âna innan lande.
c 1000 *Gnomic verses* (Cott.), l. 42. (Grein, *Sprachschatz*, 2: 347.)

Bosworth makes the meaning 'robber.'

Ic mēsan mæg meahtelicor,
An efn-etan ealdum *þyrse*,
And ic gesælig mæg symle lifgan,
þeah ic ætes ne sý æfre tō feore.
c 1000 *Riddles*, 41, l. 62-65. (Grein, *Sprachschatz*, 2: 389.)

In an early M.E. passage *þurs*, 'demon, devil,' is applied by way of deserved vituperation to a persecuting emperor:

Under þis, com þe *þurs* Maxence,
þe wed wulf, þe heaðene hund,
Aþein to his kineburh.
c 1200 *Life of St. Katherine*, l. 1858-60 (E.E.T.S., 1884,
p. 90) (Abbotsford club ed. 1841, l. 1880).

Here "þe þurs Maxence, þe wed wulf, þe heaðene hund" ('the demon Maxentius, the mad wolf, the heathen dog') is a free translation of the Latin "imperator."

Ichabbe isehen þene *þurs* of helle.
c 1200 *Seinte Marherete* (E.E.T.S., 1866), p. 11. (C.A. 387.)

References exist (as in Herrtage's notes to the *Catholicon Anglicum*, E.E.T.S., 1881, p. 387) to *þurs* as occurring in the *Ancren Riwele* (c 1230); but the word there (ed. 1852, p. 280), *þurse*, is a bracketed "correction" by the editor for the *wurse* of the manuscript. *Wurse* is an other name for the Devil.

Thurse (*thirs*) is Wyclif's translation of the Latin *lamia*:

Ther shal lyn lamya, that is a [om. in 4 mss.] *thirs* [var. in 4 mss. *thrisse*]
or a beste hauende the bodi lic a womman, and horse feet. [In later
version: Lamya schal ligge there (*marg.* Lamya is a wondirful beest
[etc.]), c 1388 Purvey.] c 1380 WYCLIF, *Isaiah* 34: 15.

This is a translation of the Vulgate :

Ibi cubavit *lamia*.

a 400 *Biblia sacra vulgatae editionis* (1582) (Romae 1861, p. 456).

In the current English version it stands :

The *screech owl* [1613 *shrichowle*, 1606 *scrichowle*] [*marg.* Or, *night-monster*] also shall rest there.

In the Revised version (1884) the passage reads :

Yea, and the *night-monster* [*marg.* Heb. *Lilith*] shall settle there.

In other versions of the Bible the Latin *lamia* of the Vulgate or the *lilith* of the Hebrew is translated thus: Dutch *het nachtgedierte* (1874, p. 470), 'the night-beast'; German, *der Kobold* (1877, p. 648), 'the goblin'; Swedish, *elfwor* (1876, p. 619), 'elves'; Danish, *en Vætte* (1875, p. 702), 'a wight,' 'a goblin'; French, *l'orfraie* (1874, p. 623), 'the osprey'; *la Fee* (1566, f. 259 verso), 'the fay'; Spanish, *lamia* (1874, p. 618); Portuguese, *os animaes nocturnos* (1870, p. 678), 'the night-beasts.'

Thykke these [ed. 1865 *erron. theefe*] as a *thurse*, and thikkere in the hanche,

Greess. growene as a galte [1865 *galt*] fulle grylych he lukez.

c 1440 *Morte Arthure* (E.E.T.S., 1871), l. 1100. [Sim. ed. 1865.]

Thyrce, wykkyd spyryte (*thirse*, gost, K. *tyree*, S.A.), Ducius.

1440 *Prompt. parv.* (Camden soc. 1865), p. 491.

The spelling *tyrce* implies a form **turse*, of which *trusse* would be the transposed form; but neither has a firm standing.

A *thurse*, an apparition, a goblin. *Lanc.* a 1728 KENNETT. (Way.)

The history of *hob*, *hobthrush*, and *Robin*, which I hav given, and of *boggard*, *boggart*, *puck*, *pixy*, and other goblin names which I hav had to omit, makes it almost necessary that a goblin name of any considerable range should appear in the local appellations of caves, fields, lanes, and other small geography. It is so with the *thurse*. The *thurse* comes out from a long retirement in these same caves and obscure places, and not only claims his conceded own, but shows a clear title to various dwelling-places which hav been illegally deeded to Thor, a personage who has been altogether too much favor'd in the distribution of etymological honors.

(1) **Thurse-cave*. This, I think, is the true original of *Thor's Cave*, a locality so named. What should Thor be doing with a cave? It is just the place for a *thurse*. *Thurse-hole*, *Thurse-house*, and

Thurse-pit designate similar places. And I find *Goblin's Cave* and *Goblin's Den* in Scotland. Clearly Thor must leave this cave.

Thor's Cave, Wetton. 1861 BATEMAN, *Ten years' diggings* (Addy, *Sheffield gloss.*, E.D.S., 1888, p. 258).

Thor's Cave, wide cavity, overlooking the river Manyfold, Staffordshire, near Wetton. 1893 BARTHOLOMEW, *Gazetteer of the British Isles*.

(2) *Thurse-hole*, a cave supposed to have been the dwelling of a thurse or goblin. Such caves were sometimes used as habitations of men.

A *Thurs-house* or *Thurse-hole*, a hollow vault in a rock or stony hill that serves for a dwelling-house for a poor family, of which there is one at Alveton and another near Wetton Mill, Co. Stafford. These were looked on as enchanted holes.

a 1727 KENNETT (quoted by Way, *Prompt. parv.* (1865), p. 491).

(3) *Thurse-house*, the dwelling of a thurse: the same as *thurse-hole*.

A *Thurs-house* or *Thurse-hole*.

a 1727 KENNETT (see quotation under *Thurse-hole*).

(4) *Thurse-pit*, the same as *thurse-hole*. I recover this word, in the form *thurst-pit*, spelt also *thirst-pit*, in the following scraps of a local record:

Item a payne sett that William Outrem shall sett the water in the Ewe flatt and *thurst pyttes* in the right course and soe keepe the same before the feat of All Saynctes vpon psine of iij. s. iiij. d.

1595 *Holmesfield court rolls* (quoted in Addy, *Sheffield gloss.* E.D.S., 1888, p. 258).

Memor: we present and say that the *thirst pyttes* makes itt selfe all cutt from the laid ash to a water course a litle from the corner.

1743 *Holmesfield court rolls* (Addy, l.c.).

(5) **Thurse-well*, also *thruswell*, a well frequented by a thurse. I find it also a surname, *Truswell*.

Item, a peice of arrable land lying in *Thruswell* Feild.

1637 HARRISON, *Survey of Sheffield* (Addy, l.c.).

(6) **Thurse-wood*. This may be the correct form of a place-name given as *Thor's wood*. There is no particular reason for allowing *Thor* a wood.

On the same day we opened two more barrows in land near Stanton called *Thor's Wood* or *Back-of-the-Low*.

1861 BATEMAN, *Ten years' diggings* (Addy, l.c.).

The word *thurse* is probably present, tho equally unrecognized, in some local proper names, and some surnames of local origin, namely *Thursfield*, 'goblin-field,' equivalent to *Hob-croft*, *Hob-field*, *Hob-*

yard, *Puck's field*; in *Thursley, Thursly, Trusley*, of similar meaning; and perhaps in *Thursby, Thurscross, Thruscross, Thursford, Thurs-ton, Thruston, Throston, Tursdale*, and other names in which *Thor*, in the genitive *Thor's*, is supposed, no doubt in part truly, to be present. There are several local names involving *Thor*, in Icelandic: *þórsmörk, þórsnes, þórsá* (Cleasby). Isaac Taylor (*Words and Places*, 1864, p. 343) refers all the English names to *Thor*, ignoring the existence of *thurse*. I find also the surnames *Thrush, Trush*.

There is an other compound, not local: *thurse-louse*, the little crustacean, in popular view an "insect," called also a *wood-louse* or *sow-bug*.

The Latines call it [the wood-louse] *Asellum, Cutionem, Porcellionem*; Pliny said not well to call it *Centipes*, since it hath but fourteen feet; the English from the form call them *Sowes*, that is, little Hogs; from the place where they dwell, *Tylers-louse*, that is, Lice in roofs of houses: they are called also *Thurstows* [read *Thurstlows*], or Jovial Lice, from a spirit that was not hurtful, to whom our Ancestors superstitiously imputed the sending of them to us. In some places they call them *Cherbugs*, and *Cheslips*, but I know not why.

1658 J. R., tr. Mouffet, *Theater of insects* [*Insectorum sive minimorum animalium theatrum*, Londini, 1634], p. 1048 (quoted by Herrtage, *Cath. Angl.* 1881, p. 387, note).

The "spirit that was not hurtful" was the *thurse*; but the translation "Jovial" implies that the writer took *Thurs-* for *Thor's*, identifying *Thor* with *Jove*.

Thurfelice, Millepedes, Afelli, 'Ovtaκοι, à *Thor* príforum Saxonum & Gothorum Jove, q. d. Joviales vel Jovi sacri Pediculi. Et fanè hoc animalculum, licèt aspectu fordidum, tamen ob eximias virtutes quibus contra calculum, Icterum, Ophthalmiam & alios morbos pollet, dignum est quod Jovi consecratur.

1671 SKINNER, *Etym. ling. anglicanæ*.
Thurse-Loufe [ed. 1755 *Thurse Loufe*, 1775 *Thurse-loufe*] (q.d. *Thor's Loufe*), an Insect. 1733 BAILEY, *Eng. dict.*

That the first element is *thurse* is indicated by the other name *Hobthrush-louse*, and proved by the equivalent name *Robin-good-fellow's-louse* in Huloet (1552).

80. (2) **Thurst.** This is a stopt form of THURSE. I find it in *thurst-pit* (1595), also *thirst-pit*, before, and in *hob-thurst* and *hob-thrust* for **hob-thurse*.

81. (3) **Thrust.** An other variant of THURSE, namely a transpose of *thurst*. I find it only in *hob-thrust*.

82. (4) **Thruss,** a transposed form of THURSE. It is found in late M.E., written *thrusse, thrwasse, thrisse*. A trace of it may be

detected in the recently existing *hob-dross*, one of the forms of **hob-thurse*, *hob-thrush*, *hob-thruss*, which see. *Hob-dross* represents **hob-truss*, *hob-thruss*. *Thruss* became later *thrush*, which see.

Lamia, that is a *thirs* [var. *thriss*].

c 1380 WICLIF, *Isaiah* 34: 15. (See full quotation under *thurse*.)

Dusius, i. demon, a *thurse*, be powke.

c 1460 *Medulla grammaticæ* (in Way, *Prompt. parv.* 1865, p. 491, note).

Ravus, a *thurse*, a gobelyne.

c 1460 *Medulla grammaticæ* (in Way, *Prompt. parv.* 1865, p. 491, note).

hobb *Trusse* (A *Thrusse*, A), prepes, negocius.

1483 *Catholicon Anglicum* (E.E.T.S., 1881, p. 387).

Here the alphabetic order shows that *hobb Trusse* should be *hobb Thrusse*. See HOB-THRUSH.

I find *thruss*, pronounced with the earlier sound of the vowel, and spelt *thurse*, mentioned as in use in Lancashire in 1860. It is not found in the *Lancashire glossary* (E.D.S. 1875).

This *Thurse* (A.S. *thirs* or *thyrs*) was an old Anglo-Saxon spirit of a very uncertain character. . . . In Lancashire he is viewed in the light of Orcus, or Hades, and is called *Thurse*, a connecting link between

Thurs and Thrush.

1860 E. ADAMS, *On the names of the wood-louse*
(in *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1860-1, pp. 17-18).

83. (5) **Thrush**, a variant of THRUSH, which is a transposed form of THURSE. See above. *Thrush* is in late M.E. *thrusche*. It is a variant, with the common change of *-ss* to *-sh*, of *thruss*. Compare *brush* for **bruss* (F. *brosse*), *push* for **puss*, *cash* for *cass*, 'cashier,' *leash* for *lease*, and the like. For the further etymology, see THRUSH and THURSE. For the use, see the examples below, and under HOB-THRUSH.

A *Thrusche*, prepes (A).

1438 *Catholicon Anglicum* (E.E.T.S., 1881), p. 387.

This follows, in the printed copy, the equivalent entry :

hobb *T[h]russe* (A *Thrusse*, A), prepes, negocius. [See THRUSH and HOB-THRUSH].

Thrush scarcely occurs in modern use except in composition, namely in *hob-thrush*, one of the forms of *hob-thurse*, and in *thrush-louse*. See also TRASH.

Thrush-lice. In Cole's [Coles, 1708] *thurse-lice*. Vid. *Hob thrush lice*.

1828 [CARR], *Craven gloss.* 2 : 204.

Thrush-lice. Millepes. *North*.

1847 HALLIWELL.

84. (6) **Trash**, a specter. This word occurs alone, tho rarely, and in composition, *Guy-trash*, *Malkin-trash*. See these. It is a

dialectal variant of *trush*, and this, which I find only in composition (*Hob-trush*) is a variant of *thrush* (alone and in *Hob-thrush*) for the original *thurse*. See THURSE, THRUSH, above, and HOB-THURSE, HOB-THRUSH, HOB-TRUSH.

In most parts of England there is a belief in a spectral dog, which is generally described as 'large, shaggy, and black, with long ears and tail. . . .' It is commonly supposed to be a bad spirit, haunting places where evil deeds have been done, or where some calamity may be expected. In Lancashire, this spectre-dog is known as '*Trash*' and '*Striker*,' its former name having been applied to it from the peculiar noise made by its feet, which is supposed to resemble that of a person walking along a miry, sloppy road, with heavy shoes. . . .

1893 T. F. T. DYER, *Ghost-world*, p. 111.

This seems to imply that *Trash* as so used is derived from the provincial verb *trash*, 'tramp through mud,' 'go shuffling,' a dialectal form of *thrash* used in the same sense. But it is only popular etymology which connects *Trash*, the specter, with this verb. It is to be regarded as an other form and an other use of the old goblin name *thurse*, as above said. The names *guy-trash* and *malkin-trash*, considered with *hob-trush*, *hob-thrush*, confirm this view.

85. Tom Loudy, a goblin of the nursery.

Tom-loudy, W., a goblin conjured up to frighten children.

1877 ROSS, STEAD and HOLDERNESS, *Holderness gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 149.

This is of course the loud blustering goblin who shakes the window-panes, and whistles and moans through the lattice. He was cald of old by various names of similar allusion —

Aquilo raucus.

a 102 MARTIAL, *Epig.* 1: 50.

Boreas saevus.

a 54 B.C. CATULLUS, 23: 3.

Boreas and Cæcias and Argestes loud

And Thrafsacias.

1667 MILTON, *P.L.* (facsim. 1877), 9: 699.

and his demon rage was known —

Rabies saeva ventorum.

a 17 OVID, *Metam.* 5: 7.

The same goblin, in a diminutiv form, is thus expland for us, in the best "University extension" manner:

Tommy-loudy, E., the whistling noise made by the wind; a high wind.

1877 ROSS, STEAD and HOLDERNESS, *Holderness gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 149.

86. **Tom Poker**, a mysterious being, brother of *Hodge Poker*, and *Mum Poker*; three lurking goblins. See POKER and HODGE POKER and MUM POKER.

Tom Poker, pr. n. The great bugbear and terror of naughty children, who inhabits dark closets, holes under the stairs, unoccupied cock-lofts, false-roofs, &c. Such places are often called from him *poker-holes*. His name is from Sui-G. *tomte-poeke*, q. d. the *house-puck*, the domestic goblin. 1830 FORBY, *Vocab. of East Anglia*, 2: 352.

The etymology given by Forby is of course wrong. There are still many writers who abhor a plain, obvious, plebeian etymology, and love to fly abroad for something pretty or mysterious.

87. (1) **Will with the wisp.** This is the earliest of the seven or eight names beginning with *Will* and ending with *wisp*, for the tricky twilight spirit who shows his deceptiv torch or lantern on the dusky edges of the marsh or beside the dark hedge or along the unseen river. He is cald in the books *Ignis Fatuus*, which is interpreted 'foolish fire'; but it is 'fooling fire,' 'deceiving light.'

The vernacular name *Will with the wisp* has undergon the usual variations, *Will with a wisp*, *Will with wisp*, *Will of the wisp*, *Will o' the wisp*, *Will o' wisp*, *Will a wisp*, *Will in a wisp*, with minor differences beside. The other names are *Jack with the lantern*, *Hob of the lantern*, *Jenny lantern*, *Peggy lantern*, *Joan in the wad*, *Kit with the candlestick*; most of them with similar variations. See them in their order.

Will as a name for a goblin is not common. *Wilkin*, the diminutive of *Will*, was the name of a devil "cast out" by the priests denounced by Harsnet (1603). The thinnest possible diminutive, *Billy*, appears in a recent variation of the name of *Will of the wisp*.

A *wisp*, as used in this name, is a twist of straw used as a torch. In an other name it is cald a *wad*. See JOAN IN THE WAD.

According to my quotations, *Will with the wisp* first appears in the middle of the seventeenth century (1654); but its earlier existence is indicated by the shortend form, *Will with wisp*, of earlier date (1636). The other form, *Will with a wisp*, comes not long after, and *Will o' wisp* follows early in the eighteenth century.

Will with the wisp. 1654 GAYTON, *Festivous notes* (Nares, 1858, p. 362).

Will with the Wisp, or Jack in a Lanthorn. See *Jack*.

1690 MIEGE, *Short French dict.*

Mr. Bradley, F.R.S. supposes the *Will with the Wisp* to be no more than a Group of smail enlightened infects.

1777 BRAND, *Observations on popular antiquities*, p. 372.

88. (2) **Will with a wisp.** This form appears a little later than the one with the definite article. It runs through the dictionaries from 1690 to 1775 and 1828, almost to the exclusion of the other forms.

Feu folet, Ignis fatuus, *Will with a wisp*, or Jack in a Lanthorn.

1690 MIEGE, *Short French dict.*

Will with a wisp, een Dwaal-licht, stal-kaers.

1691 SEWEL, *Eng. Dutch dict.*, p. 714.

De Stalkaers, Jack with a lanthorn, *will with a wisp*.

1691 SEWEL, *Dutch-Eng. dict.*, p. 322.

Will with a wisp, or Jack in a Lanthorn, a fiery Meteor, or Exhalation that appears in the Night, commonly haunting Church-yards, Marfhy and Fenny Places, as being evaporated out of a fat soil; it also flies about Rivers, Hedges, &c.

1707 *Glossographia Anglicana nova.*

Will with a Whisp [1755 *Wisp*], a fiery Meteor or Exhalation [etc. as above, 1707, with the addition:] and often in dark Nights misleads Travellers by their making towards it, not duly regarding their Way; Jack in a Lanthorn.

1733 BAILEY, *Eng. dict.*

Will with a wisp. Jack with a lantern; ignis fatuus; a luminous appearance sometimes seen in the air over moist ground, supposed to proceed from hydrogen gas.

1828 WEBSTER, *Amer. dict. of the Eng. lang.*, vol. 2 (under *Will*, 'choice').

89. (3) *Will with wisp*. This is the oldest form I have found (1636), but it represents *Will with the wisp* or *Will with a wisp*, of earlier date, tho not found until some years later.

Ghosts, hobgoblins, *Will with wispe*, or Dicke-a-Tuesday.

1636 SAMPSON, *Vow Breaker* (Nares, 1858, p. 238).

90. (4) *Will of the wisp* is now, especially in the form *Will o' the wisp*, the most common form. The forms with *with* are obsolete. I find few examples of *Will of the wisp* before the nineteenth century.

All this hide and seek, this *will-o'-the-wisp*, has no other meaning than a Christian marriage for sweet Mrs. Belinda.

1697 VANBRUGH, *Provoked wife* (17..) 5: 3. (C.D.)

Like *Will-o'-the-wisps*, lead them astray into bogs and marshes.

1828 T. K[EIGHTLEY], *Fairy Mythology*, 1: 283.

Puck as *Will-o'-the Wisp*. 1865 THOMS, *Three Notelets on Shakespeare* (title of a chapter), p. 59-72.

And counting all wealth a mere *Will-o'-the-Wisp*,

Disposes of Quekes to Sir Nicholas Crispe.

1837-45 BARHAM, *Ingoldsbys legends* (Brothers of Birchington) (1890, p. 290).

The truth is, hobgoblins, from Puck to *Will-o'-the-wisp*, are apt to play practical jokes and knock people about whom they meet after sunset.

1873 Mrs. J. H. EWING, *Lob Lie-by-the-fire* (18..), p. 62.

Wicked sea-*will-o'-the-wisp*!

Wolf of the shore! dog, with thy lying lights

Thou hast betray'd us on these rocks of thine.

1877 TENNYSON, *Harold*, 2: 1.

A *will-o'-the-wisp* luring him over the bog with its goblin glebe.

1893 JANE BARLOW, *Irish idylls*, p. 122.

A picturesque variation of the name and form of the Will of the wisp is presented in one of the stories of "Uncle Remus." The ever ingenious Brer Rabbit made a call on Brer Bar when Brer Bar and his family were absent. Brer Rabbit "got to fooling" in the cup-

board, and upset a bucket of honey over himself. He went into the woods and rold in the leavs to get rid of the clinging sweetness. When he came out into the road he was a fearful sight. The "creeturs" all fled before him. Brer Wolf and Brer Fox did indeed stop to interrogate him :

Brer Wolf . . . he stop and ax Brer Rabbit who is he. Brer Rabbit, he jump up and down in de middle er de road, en holler out: "I'm de *Wull-er-de-Wust*. I'm de *Wull-er-de-Wust*, en youer the man I'm atter!"
1881 J. C. HARRIS, *Nights with Uncle Remus* (n.d.).

The author adds a note :

Or *Wull-er-de-Wusts*. Probably a fantastic corruption of Will-o'-the-wisp, though this is not by any means certain.

There is no dout of it. A similar fantastic transformation of the form and idea of *Jack with the lantern* appears also in the "Uncle Remus" stories. Both ar regarded as demons.

91. (5) Will o' wisp, Will a wisp, a shorter form of *Will of the wisp*.

How *Will a Wisp* misleads night-faring Clowns,
O'er Hills and sinking Bogs, and pathless Downs.

1714 GAY, *Shepherd's week*, vi. 58 (Pp. 440).

Will-o-wisp, Will with a wisp. An ignis fatuus.

1797 SHERIDAN, *Complete dict. of the Eng. lang.*

The '*Will o' wisp*,' which appeared to promise the night-wanderer warmth or guidance, but led him into a bog, had its excellent directions as to the place to avoid perverted by an unhappy misunderstanding into a wilful falsehood, and has been branded ignis fatuus.

1879 CONWAY, *Demonology and devil-lore*, 1: 213.

In Altmark, '*Will o' wisps*' are believed to be the souls of unbaptized children — sometimes of lunatics — unable to rest in their graves; they are called 'Light-men,' and it is said that though they may sometimes mislead, they often guide rightly, especially if a small coin be thrown them, — this being also an African plan of breaking a sorcerer's spell.

1879 *Id.*, 1: 225.

92. (6) Will in a wisp, an uncommon variant of *Will with a wisp*.

Will with a Wisp, or *Will in a Wisp*, a meteor better known among authors by the name of *ignis fatuus*, an exhalation that appears in the night; Jack with a lanthorn. *Will with a wisp* is of a round figure, in bignefs like the flame of a candle, but sometimes broader, and like a bundle of twigs fet on fire; fometimes brighter, at other times more obfcure, and of a purple colour. It wanders about in the air, and is generally about 6 feet from the ground, commonly haunting marfhy and fenny places and church-yards, as being evaporated out of a fat foil; it also flies about rivers, hedges, &c. . . It commonly appears in fummer, and at the beginning of autumn, but it burns nothing. Some that have been catched were obferved to confift of a fhining, vifcous, and gelatinous matter like the spawn of frogs; fo that the matter feems to be phofphorous, prepared and raifed from putrefied plants or carcaffes by the fun; which is condenfed by the cold of the evening, and then fhines. Mufchenbroek. . . 1755 BAILEY, *New universal etym. Eng. dict.*, folio.

93. (7) **Willy-ba-wisp**, a limited dialectal form of *Will with a wisp*. The change would be **Will 'ith a wisp* to **Willy tha wisp*, whence by vague variation, or confusion with *Will with wisp*, **Will wi' wisp*, the form *Willy-ba-wisp*.

Willy-ba-wisp (wil' i-bu' wisp), N. and W., the ignis-fatuus.

1877 ROSS, STEAD and HOLDERNESS, *Holderness gloss.* (E.D.S.), p. 158.

94. (8) **Billy of the wisp**, a modern Lincolnshire variant of *Will of the wisp*. 1886 Cole, *Gloss. southwest Lincolnshire* (E.D.S.), p. 108. (See the quot. under PEGGY LANTERN.)

95-133. There ar many names for the Devil, chiefly of a popular or provincial cast, which ar always, or nearly always, accompanied by the epithet *Old*. The most familiar examples ar *Old Boy*, *Old Harry*, *Old Nick*, *Old Scratch*. I hav room here only for the bare list without the supporting quotations. The list includes some names which ar also found without the epithet *old*. Some of these ar enterd under the simple form. There ar 41 names with *old*: *Old All-ill-thing* (Scotch *Auld-A'-ill thing*), *Old Belzebub* (not *Old Beelzebub*), *Old Bendy*, *Old Bogie*, *Old Boots*, *Old Boy*, *Old Chap*, *Old Clottie*, *Old Cloots*, *Old Deluder*, *Old Devil*, *Old Enemy*, *Old Fellow*, *Old Fiend*, *Old Gentleman*, *Old Gooseberry*, *Old Hangie*, *Old Harry*, *Old Horny*, *Old Lad*, *Old Lucifer*, *Old Mahoun*, *Old Man*, *Old Mischanter*, *Old Mischief*, *Old Mischy*, *Old Nick*, *Old Nickie-ben*, *Old Nicol*, *Old Nicholas*, *Old One*, *Old Poker*, *Old Roger*, *Old Sam*, *Old Scrat*, *Old Scratch*, *Old Serpent*, *Old Shock*, *Old Shuck*, *Old Soss*, *Old Thief*.

Of the frequent use of *old* with reference to the Devil, not merely in traditional and current names like those given above, but in casual names, examples ar numerous from an early period. The occurrence of these numerous names of the Devil, all with the element *old*, and the occurrence of the names *Dick*, *Dickens*, *Dobby*, as appellatives of the Devil or his Imps, tend to confirm my view that the *D-* in these latter names is derived by Attraction from *old*. See TRANS-ACTIONS for 1893, xxiv. 125-127.

Here I must pause. The roll of the Devil and his Imps has not been cald to the end; but I hope I hav shown, by the examples I hav selected, that the formidable roster of the shadowy host presents some interesting problems of etymology, and that some of these problems hav been solvd, as to the form of the names, by the appli-

cation of the methods I hav used, and as to the meanings and associations of the names, by the reproduction of the peculiar atmosphere in which they arose.

It may be said, or thought, of many of the etymologies I hav proposed, in this and in previous papers, especially the etymologies drawn from familiar household names, *Hick, Hob, Hobby, Hodge, etc., Dick, Dicken, Dob, Dobbin, Dobby, Nick, etc.*, that they ar too simple, too trivial, too easy, to be true; and even if they seem plausible in themselvs, the lack of a literary atmosphere, of an historical pedigree alreidy in print, of some known popular or poetic or homiletic sanction, may leav some dout unremoved.

But previous sanction need not be proved in the courts of philology; and origins ar apt to be simple and rude. The very qualities which may seem an objection to these etymologies, I regard as tending to confirm them. The etymology of words, and especially of names of common use, is largely of a common, rude, and undignified kind. It is the pretty, the poetical etymologies, that ar to be suspected. The truth is usually in prose.

It may be set down as almost a law of etymology, that when two explanations of the origin of a word ar offerd, one beautiful, or poetical, or noble, creditable to the taste or manners of the people, or pleasing from a patriotic or religious point of view, and the other commonplace, or prosaic, or ignoble, or coarse, or rude, it is the latter which is true. Language has grown out of the common thought and conduct, and these out of the common nature of mankind—a soil which does not owe its fertility to its sweetness.

This view of the commonness of common speech, of the humble, rude, and often sordid origin of common words and names, is not only confirmd by undeniable facts of philology, but it is just what the general laws of evolution, as accepted in the fields of physical science, require. The early forms and states of things, as classified in our books of science and on the bony shelves of our museums, show from what low and sordid origins, amid what indignity and humiliation, the things that hav life, including that proud Vertebrate who has learnd to classify the rest, hav come to their present state. Speech and thought, like plants and animals, must be composed of the elements in which they grow, or amid which they liv; and, no less than terms of humble look, all names of fame, all titles of honor and grace, all high and glorious words, hav their roots in the dust.

VIII.—*The Fluency of Shakespeare.*

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FLUENCY of speech at the lowest, vocal fluency, implies promptly working nerv connection between the concepts of vocal sounds and the muscular movements necessary to produce the sounds; and, also, promptly working connection between the vocal concepts of words, so that a stream of words may flow freely without attention to the meaning. Children of lerned households often hav this fluency erly, and, if deficient in intellect, exhibit it painfully thru life. But it is a great gift for the student of languages, in original reserches in etymology, for exampl, and for the orator and the poet. Shakespeare's possession of it attracts attention in his playing with words euphuistically, in his puns, and in nonsense-talk like that of Pistol or Dogberry. It is closely connected also with his command of musical expression, in prose or rime.

Intelligent fluency implies further promptly working nerv connection between the concept of each vocal sound and the thought concepts of which it is the sign. This thought concept may be an image of sum object which the word denotes, or of sum quality which it connotes; more often it is an indefinit group of qualities, and relations, and feelings not strictly connotativ or denoted. The fluent man may need to hav the sound concept rize and the muscular utterance follow upon any one of these qualities or relations.

The power of Shakespeare's utterancy has often been thought to be here, and to consist in a peculiarly close connection between words as sounds and particular natural objects which the words denote, in the identification, it is said, of the word and the object, so that his speech is without effort the presentation of pictures, or lively groups of con-

crete thoughts and facts. It is plain that there is truth in this, but how the peculiar Shakespearian charm is connected with it, and how far it reaches, needs to be studied in the particular facts. To find what there is new in Shakespeare's speech I have caused an examination to be made of the words in A in Murray's Dictionary to see how many of these words appear for the first time in Shakespeare, and in how many meanings any appear for the first time.

The date of the play is first given, then an abbreviation for the name of it, followed by an alphabetic list of the words having meanings which appear for the first time in the play. Words which appear for the first time are starred.

- 1588, L. L. L., 25 — abate, abbreviate, abrogate, academe*, accidentally*, acute, adjunct*, affected, ajax*, embassy, animal, anon (2), antic (2), apathaton*, apology, apostrophe, art, athwart, attack, attainder, attending*, audaciously*.
- 1588, Tit. And., 7 — abjectly*, aged, aim, alphabet, anchorage, appoint, architect.
- 1590, Com. Err., 8 — abet, acquaint, adjudged, alluring, anatomy, apparel, aspect, assembly.
- 1590, Mds. N. D., 18 — abridgment, acheron*, acorn, adamant, after-supper*, age, air, airy, along, amazedly*, and, apprehension, apt, arm, ass, at, aunt, austerity.
- 1591, Two Gent., 10 — about, accused, advise, after, allicholly*, anthem, applaud, at, attend, augury.
- 1592, Rom. and Jul., 15 — abused, addle, ahighlone*, alack, along, ambling, ambuscado*, amerce, anatomy, and, arbitrate, aside, atomy, attending, awakening*.
- 1592, Ven. and Ad., 3 — Adon*, amaze, ashy.
- 1593, 1 Hen. VI., 11 — abrupt, accomplice, across, add, against, arbitrator, assembled*, atilt, attorneyship*, audacious, await.
- 1593, 2 Hen. VI., 10 — abortive, abrook*, accuse*, again, aidance*, anend, approach, arouse*, at, await.
- 1593, 3 Hen. VI., 8 — a, abode*, abodement*, abuse, answer (2), artificial, assail.
- 1593, Rich. II., 10 — accused*, administer, amazing*, antic, appellant*, army, ascend, ask, atone*, awful.
- 1593, Lucre., 3 — acquit, answer, attempt.
- 1594, Rich. III., 14 — accessory, adore, aerie, after, afternoon, air, all, all (in combs), anchor, answer, apology, attainder, attorney*, aweless.
- 1595, John, 7 — absey, accent, adjunct*, adulterate*, affect, almost, amazement.

- 1596, *M. of Ven.*, 10—*a*, above, acceptance, accoutred*, act, agitation, air, along, appropriation, attribute.
- 1596, *Taming of Sh.*, 6—aglet, agreed, amends, anything, appendix, artillery.
- 1596, 1 *Hen. IV.*, 11—advised, air, alien, all-hallow, amble, anchovy*, answerable*, applaud, armed, athwart, attribution.
- 1597, 2 *Hen. IV.*, 19—aboard, about, absolutely, accite, accommodate, aconite, active, agate, aid, alarum-bell, among, ancient, answer, antiquity, appearing, apple-john*, appliance, atomy, avoirdupois.
- 1598, *Merry W.*, 16—about, accoutrement, adhere, admirable, admittance (2), adoption, affecting, affliction, allicholly, anthropophaginian*, arched*, armiger*, arras, arrest, article.
- 1599, *Hen. V.*, 11—abreast*, abutting*, accomplishment, action, advised, answer, arbitrament, argument, arrive, attain, attest.
- 1599, *Much Ado*, 9—accordant, accordingly, ache*, action, answer, apprehend, approved, assault, attired.
- 1600, *As Y. L.*, 7—accent, all, allottery, animal, assembly, atone, attend.
- 1600, *Lover's Comp.*, 3—acture, annexion, art.
- 1600, *Sonnets*, 3—alchemy, art, assail.
- 1601, *Jul. C.*, 6—acting*, afoot, airless*, ambitious, apparition, apprehensive.
- 1601, *Twel. N.*, 5—adoration, ahungry, air, attract, author.
- 1601, *All's Well*, 9—acquire, acutely*, admiringly*, adoptions*, aid, appliance*, application, arm, auspicious.
- 1602, *Hamlet*, 16—abhorred*, actively, alley, amazement, ambition, annexment*, apoplex*, argal*, arouse, aslant, assay, assign, assume, attractive, attribute, avouch.
- 1603, *M. for M.*, 23—about, absolute, actor, adoptedly*, advantaged*, advertising*, after, akin, allied, ambassador, answer, appear, apprehend, apprehension, approbation, arch-villain, arrest, athwart, attempt (2), avail, ave, awaken.
- 1604, *Oth.*, 13—ability (2), abuse, accommodation, action, addiction, adopt, advocacy, aerial, affection, affrighted*, antre*, arrivance*.
- 1605, *Lear*, 9—abhorred, able, address, affect, aheight*, alarmed*, allow, anchoring*, attack.
- 1605, *Macb.*, 13—adhere, air, alarm, all-hail (2), anticipate, applaud, arbitrate, armed, aroint*, assailable*, assassination*, attempt.
- 1606, *Ant. and Cl.*, 5—abhorring, accumulation*, antic*, Arabian*, auguring*.
- 1606, *Tr. and Cr.*, 23—abruption*, acquired*, added*, addition, affectionately, affront, allayment*, amazement*, antiquary*, appalled, apertainment*, apprehend, arch, asinego, aspiration, assumption, at, attachment, attend, attest*, attributive*, awkward.
- 1607, *Coriol.*, 12—achieve, adopt, adversely*, after, agreed*, aidless, allaying*, anhungry*, appear, arithmetic, as, ascent.

- 1607, Timon, 4 — apperil*, applauding*, attempt, attraction.
 1608, Pericles, 3 — anear*, appearer*, attraction.
 1610, Temp., 9 — abstemious, act, advantage, advantageous*, ahold*,
 answer, arch, aspersion, auspicious.
 1610, Cymb., 14 — accessible*, acorned, act, adorer, affirmation, affront,
 air (2), allayment, arm, assault, attempt, attemptable, aver.
 1611, Wint. T., 4 — admiration, aired, altering*, attorney*.
 1613, Hen. VIII., 8 — acquire, act, agreed (2), alleged*, allegiant*, ap-
 pliance, attempt.

It appears that there ar 95 words appearing for the first time, and 317 having meanings which appear for the first time; and that enuf words with more than one new meaning appear, to make the hole number of new meanings 420. The hole number of words in A in Schmidt's Shakespeare-Lexicon is 1066, so that more than one word in three has a new meaning. If the proportions ar the same thru the alfabet, there ar about 1900 new words and about 8400 new meanings due to Shakespeare. From Milton ar recorded in A in Murray 42 new words, 120 new meanings (his prose and poetry giving numbers nearly equal), from Tennyson four new words and eighteen meanings.

The number of new words and meanings in a play is not much affected by Shakespeare's age, so far as the table enables one to judge; they depend upon the subjects talkt about. The three plays in which the number is greatest (25-23) Love's Labor Lost (1588), Measure for Measure (1603), Troilus and Cressida (1606), ar nearly of the same dates with Titus Andronicus with 7 words; Julius Cæsar, 6, and Twelfth Night, 5; Antony and Cleopatra, 5. The sonnets, Venus and Adonis, and Lucrece, hav each three new meanings and no new words, except *Adon*. The familiar Roman plays hav few new words.

A large part of the new words ar to be clast with the once-uzed words which wer discust in a paper at Cornell (PROCEEDINGS for 1886, p. xxx.). They ar not striking poetic compounds like many of Tennyson's. They ar largely familiar stems with living affixes, *accidentally, audaciously, abjectly*, etc.; *attending, awakening*, etc.; unfamiliar Anglicizing of

foren words, *academe*, *ambuscado*, *Adon*, *apathaton* (epithet). The new meanings ar also largely exactly such unuzual variations as we commonly call blunders, as in *epithet* uzed for *expression* or *frase* in general. Ben Jonson would willingly hav playd the professor to them and corrected them by the hundred. Perhaps Shakespeare would hav "blotted a thousand" if he had prepared his plays for the press. But a large part of the new meanings hav been accepted, and many hav displaced the erlier meanings.

A considerabl number ar characteristically Shakespearian, characteristic utterances of that profound, sweet, tender spirit who has charmd the world, whom we all rejoice in being akin to. They all flow easily in Shakespeare's lines, and their number and their kind strongly suggest that his fluency is not the unprompted, unguided flow of establisht association, but the movement of intelligent wil.

I hav caused an examination to be made of the characteristic words most frequently uzed, bringing the passages of their use together from the Concordance, to examin, among other things, whether they fall into stereotyped frases like the kennings of erly poetry, in Homer, Beowulf, and the like, elements of a mechanical or instinctiv fluency.

They do not take such forms. We find

	SHAKESPEARE.	MILTON.	TENNYSON.
gentle	393	36	12
gentleman	445	0	7
sweet	865	90	80
love	2602	144	634
heaven	856	517	143
heart	1083	103	388
God	1149	446	191
come	2592	247	586

} Tennyson's most frequent word.

But except *gentleman*, which might be taken as a compacted kenning, we find none to mention. The happy passages seem to be beamings and breathings of a free spirit. See further, PROCEEDINGS of Am. Phil. Ass., XXI, xxxi.

Literary fluency, a fluency grateful to lovers of literature, implies an easy flow of words in the familiar idioms of literary

English. Fluent prose has its musical cadences, and Shakespeare's fluency is the more acceptable in his early works for running often in the current forms of Marlowe, Lily, Lodge, and Spenser.

Poetic fluency implies a connection of words by their sound with the ideal cadences of certain established meters.

Poetry has its life in harmony, in the accords of two musical series of sounds, the regular melody of the typical verse, and the varying melody of the poet's words. There must be established connection of concepts by which the poet's words flow into the familiar meters. An examination of the different metrical combinations of syllables, feet, and hemistichs, found in Shakespeare, shows him to have the freest use of the harmonic combinations in English iambic verse. Professor Price enumerates twenty-seven types of perfect verse in *Othello*.

In the early plays the typical melody of the verse is often dominant; it sounds constantly. Its equal cadences lead on the music of the words, making verse more fluent than prose, and when feeling moves with it, making music of the simplest utterances, as when Lear says :

Her voice was ever soft,
Gentle, and low, an excellent thing in woman,—

or :

Pray you, undo this button : thank you, sir,—

In the late plays the music of the thought and words is dominant; when the speech is without poetic thought or feeling it is often hardly distinguishable from prose.

Sometimes besides the typical melody of the stanza a poet has a strain of music proper by which he builds his rhyme. Some of Shakespeare's songs so sing themselves as to persuade us that he had prior tunes to which he composed them.

The laws of suggestion which describe the connection between objects of thought are given in psychologies as resemblance, contrast, contiguity in time and place, and cause and effect. These may all be applied in Shakespeare, as

elsewhere. But poetic fluency, freely working imagination, implies inner connection between feeling and the vocal concepts. We are familiar with it when pain produces groans, or tickling laughter. With the poet, with Shakespeare eminently, fainter feelings have quick connections with musical tones and with the sounds of articulate speech. The instruments of all orchestras are ready in that fonograf, the brain. An esthetic-longing will set the horns of elf-land faintly blowing. The whole orchestra sounds with the passion of Lear. These vocal sounds bring with them concepts of objects they are signs of, and hence the similes and metaphors which give to airy nothing a local habitation and a name.

Shakespeare had glad periods, had melancholy years; and the plays are glad or sad accordingly.

Shakespeare's fluency is not always in perfect exercise. There is effort, struggle, evident now and then, even when what is said has marked Shakespearian quality. Prior to all these fluencies, vocal, intelligent, literary, poetic, musical, there is the living power which flows, with its charm of personal qualities which are Shakespearian. This power flows forth most freely, Shakespeare utters himself most easily, when speaking through a second person.

In one of the great plays of Shakespeare the primary creation is a being, a person, a person begotten by Shakespeare, life of his life.

Then follow the particular facts and acts which exhibit the newly created character, especially the language. All talk Shakespearian, as in an opera all sing. At the sheep-shearing in *Winter's Tale*, Florizel, Perdita, and Polixenes all talk far above singing. In the forest of Arden under the shade of melancholy boughs, wise saws of true Shakespearian quality flow freely from girls and fools and philosophers. These are all prior phenomena of Shakespeare's world. The personality, the environment, the language, are all so beautiful, because all are the creative utterance of the man Shakespeare, a character delightful, lovable, charming with all charms.

The facts we have observed about his language seem to show that his plays and poems are not a mechanical or instinctive

flow of thoughts and words, but his conscious creation as a free self livelily selecting from a copious instinctiv supply of materials, and seeming to act so easily and perfectly, because he has such wonderfully comprehensiv and rapid self activity.

APPENDIX.

- I. PROCEEDINGS OF THE SPECIAL SESSION, PHILADELPHIA, PA.,
DECEMBER, 1894.
- II. PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL SESSION, CLEVELAND, O., 1895.
- III. TREASURER'S REPORT (p. v.).
- IV. LIST OF OFFICERS AND MEMBERS (p. lxxii.).
- V. CONSTITUTION OF THE ASSOCIATION (p. lxxxvi.).
- VI. PUBLICATIONS OF THE ASSOCIATION (p. lxxxviii.).

The Special Session was held in conformity with a vote passed at the last Annual Session (see PROCEEDINGS for 1894, p. xxvi.). By this vote it was provided that the Association should hold a Joint Meeting with various other organizations, and that this Joint Meeting should be especially commemorative of the services of the late Professor Whitney.

The following organizations participated in this Joint Meeting :

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.
AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.
SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS.
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION.
AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY.
SPELLING REFORM ASSOCIATION.
ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA.

The program of the general sessions, and of the separate meetings of the above societies, other than the Philological Association, are found at the end of this number of the PROCEEDINGS. The papers commemorative of Professor Whitney will be published in a separate volume.

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., December 27, 1894.

The Special Session of the Association was called to order at 2.35 P.M., in College Hall of the University of Pennsylvania, by the President, Professor John Henry Wright, of Harvard University.

The Secretary, Professor Herbert Weir Smyth, of Bryn Mawr College, having no report to make at this time, the business transacted by the Executive Committee is here inserted.

1. As members of the Association the Executive Committee has elected:—

C. P. Bill, Adelbert College.

William F. Biddle, Philadelphia.

Robert G. Bury, M.A., Lecturer on Greek and Latin Literature, Bryn Mawr College.

Mitchell Carroll, Ph.D., Fellow by Courtesy, Johns Hopkins University.

William H. Klapp, Ph.D., Academy of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Philadelphia.

A. H. Mabley, Adelbert College.

Charles Peabody, Cambridge, Mass.

Myron R. Sanford, Professor of Latin, Middlebury College.

2. As a Committee to represent the Association in all matters connected with the publication of papers presented at the General Sessions of the Congress of Philologists, the Executive Committee appointed Professors Wright, Gildersleeve, and Smyth.

At the opening of the meeting there were about seventy in attendance.¹ At subsequent meetings the number was somewhat larger.

The reading of papers was at once begun.

1. Sophocles *Trachiniae*, 26-48: a Study in Interpretation, by Mortimer Lamson Earle, Ph.D., of Barnard College.

The writer maintained that all these verses are to be regarded as genuine and closely connected in thought. He endeavored to trace the development of the

¹ It has been found impossible to present an accurate list of the members of the ASSOCIATION present either at our own meetings or at the general sessions. From the information furnished by the pamphlet issued by the Local Committee and from other sources, it is estimated that there were present at the general sessions about one hundred and thirty members of the Association.

thought in detail, discussing several interpretations advanced by Sophoclean scholars. Special attention was paid to vv. 31-37, the most difficult portion of the entire passage. It was undertaken to prove that the difficulty here is due to a failure to understand an anacoluthon. The only change of reading recommended was that of $\delta\eta$ to $\delta\epsilon$ in v. 31. In other respects the traditional reading was defended, though improvements in punctuation were suggested.

This paper will appear in full in the *Classical Review*, May, 1895.

Professor W. W. Goodwin, of Harvard University, then moved that, at 3.30 P.M., on Friday, December 28, half an hour be devoted to the following motion:

Resolved: That the AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION recommend that all schools which prepare pupils in the classics for American colleges shall provide at least three years of instruction in Greek.

The motion was carried without dissent.

2. The Delphian Hymns and the Pronunciation of the Greek Vowels,¹ by Professor Louis Bevier, Jr., of Rutgers College.

The evidence of the Delphian musical inscriptions for pronunciation was recognized by their first editor, but has not yet received adequate treatment. The date of the hymns, now known to have been composed by Cleochares, an Athenian, is approximately 200 B.C. (See *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* XVIII. 70 ff.)

The evidence for pronunciation is based upon two principles. The first is that a diphthong sung to two short notes is resolved into its elements, the first element being written under the first note and the second under the second. This serves on the one hand to distinguish genuine diphthongs from mere digraphs, and on the other hand to determine in a measure the actual phonetic value of the two elements then heard.

The second principle is that a simple vowel sound, whether expressed by means of one character or of two (as a digraph) is written twice, once under the first note and once under the second. This peculiarity enables us to say with assurance which of the so-called diphthongs were heard as simple sounds in the pronunciation of the time. Incidentally also we may fix somewhat the phonetic value of one or two digraphs.

The diphthongs av and ev when analyzed are written aov and eov respectively. This can only be interpreted as signifying $a-u$ and $e-u$, and makes for the diphthongal values au and eu , confirming well-known facts. The change of u to a fricative had not yet set in.

The diphthong ai is written three times $ai\epsilon i$ and twice $a\epsilon i$. This inconsistency has not been explained and has been in part misunderstood. It is clear that ai was diphthongal and had not become ϵ . It is also well known from inscriptional evidence that it did become ϵ in the course of the next century. It is further clear that ϵi , which was surely monophthongal long before this, is intended to

¹ See the abstract of a paper by Professor F. D. Allen, in the PROCEEDINGS for 1894, p. xx.

represent the second element of the diphthong. ai became ϵ through the mutual approach of its two elements, thus $ai = ai > a\epsilon > \epsilon\epsilon > \epsilon$. This assimilation had certainly made great progress by 200 B.C. The first element was no longer a , but was in all probability \dot{a} . For this sound by itself the Greek had no symbol. For $\dot{a}\epsilon$ therefore aei ($= a-\epsilon$) was not satisfactory, and $ae\epsilon$ ($= \dot{a}\epsilon-\epsilon$), though not an accurate analysis of $\dot{a}\epsilon$, was rather to be preferred. The hesitation between the two is clearly due to the absence of any strictly correct method of analyzing the diphthongal sound, which I take to have been about $\dot{a}\epsilon$.

The simple vowel sounds are all written twice when sung to two notes, so $a, \epsilon, \eta, o, \omega, i, u$ appear as $aa, \epsilon\epsilon, \eta\eta, oo, \omega\omega, ii, uu$ respectively. Similarly $ov, \epsilon i, oi$ severally appear as $ovov, \epsilon i\epsilon i, oi oi$ respectively, showing that they were simple vowel sounds at this time.

ov had long before this become the general Greek symbol for the sound u . ϵi too had become monophthongal perhaps two centuries before the date of our inscriptions. It had not yet however become indistinguishable from i , although confusion had already begun in the inscriptions, showing that it was a very close ϵ . The second element of ai was certainly not i but rather a close e , hence ϵi was a very proper spelling for this sound.

The history of oi has been thoroughly misapprehended. Meisterhans (*Gr. d. A. J. p.* 28) says: "Von allen Diphthongen ist oi am spätesten monophthongisch geworden." Now the evidence of our inscriptions seems clear that oi was by 200 B.C. a simple sound. If so, what was it? It had already in the Boeotian dialect become identical with v (Beermann, *Curt. Stud.*, IX. 41 f.), that is $= \ddot{u}$, but throughout Greece in general it did not coincide with v till the third century after Christ; and v and oi did not become i till Byzantine times. The history of the change from $oi = o\dot{i}$ to $v = \ddot{u}$ and then to i has been generally given as $o\dot{i} > u\dot{i} > \ddot{u} > i$ (cf. Curtius, Zacher, etc.), but the true history, $oi = o\dot{i} > o\epsilon\dot{i} > \ddot{o} > \ddot{u} > i$, has been seen by Beermann (l.c.), Brugmann, Meyer and others. They arrived at the step \ddot{o} merely on grounds of inherent probability, and had no means of dating. These inscriptions enable us to say that at 200 B.C. oi was monophthongal. It certainly was not yet \ddot{u} . It must therefore have had the value of a more or less close \ddot{o} .

Remarks were made by Professors Emerson, B. I. Wheeler, Smyth, and Dr. Miller.

3. Plutarch as a Philologist, by Professor Alfred Gudeman, of the University of Pennsylvania.

The aim of this study is to give an exhaustive account of Plutarch's utterances, discussions, and opinions, so far as they legitimately fall under the head of philological research, the term "philology" being used in its broadest signification.

The scope of such an inquiry is naturally a very wide one, and the following remarks purport to be nothing more than a skeleton outline of the principal topics dealt with at length in the complete treatise.

In order to gain a firm foothold in an investigation of this nature, it would under ordinary circumstances be of paramount importance to ascertain what particular sources of information were still accessible to the author. This would have

to be followed by an examination not only of those sources which are expressly quoted, but also of those which can be shown, on more or less convincing grounds, to have been directly or indirectly consulted.

In the case of Plutarch, however, such a preliminary inquiry is after all not so essential a prerequisite, for an even cursory perusal of his voluminous writings at once reveals the perfectly encyclopedic sweep of a marvellous erudition, embracing virtually all the fields of human knowledge.

To give, at least, some concrete confirmation of the statement just made, it may suffice to mention in this place that there is perhaps not a single writer of repute in Greek literature whose name is not met with in Plutarch's pages. In all, he cites, whether at first or second hand we need not here inquire, 430 authors, among whom are 65 poets. Homer leads with 750 citations, omitting innumerable quotations of single words. Plato comes next with 440 passages. Euripides is quoted 250 times, Herodotus 125 times, Pindar and Sophocles about 100 times, Simonides and Aeschylus 70 and 60 times respectively, Aristophanes, Thucydides, Demosthenes, and Aristotle 50 times, and of all the remaining authors of the classical period not one is referred to less than a dozen times. No ordinary learning certainly for a "philosophical washerwoman," and a Boeotian at that!

Such being the extent of Plutarch's erudition, our investigation resolves itself not so much into the question, what sources and how many did he use, though this must never be lost sight of, but rather *how* did he employ this vast material at his disposal.

To answer this methodically, we must base our inferences primarily upon those philological discussions, of which the originals, consulted by the author, are still extant. Having thus by careful comparison acquired a tolerably clear insight into Plutarch's philological methods of procedure, we shall have secured safe criteria also for those portions of his writings, for which the original sources are no longer available, their contents, however, being either fairly well known or, as is but too often the case, not at all. So much, in brief, for the methodological principles upon which this study is based.

The entire discussion may be conveniently grouped under the following heads :

1. Plutarch as a textual critic.
2. His hermeneutical methods.
 - a. Literary and aesthetic exegesis.
 - b. Allegorical interpretation.
 - a. Physical. β. Ethical.
3. Methodology of history.
 - a. Historical criticism.
 - b. Chronology.
4. Archaeology and art.
5. Etymology.

1. Regarding the first of these topics, to use the words of Quintilian, "ut Aratus a Iove incipiendum putat, ita nos rite coepturi ab Homero videmur."

In the so-called Lamprias catalogue, containing a list of Plutarch's writings, we find a special treatise, entitled 'Ομηρικὰ μελέται, in four books. From citations in Gellius, N. A. II. 8, 9, IV. 11, the scholiasts to Iliad XV. 625, Eurip. Alc.

1128, the Etym. Mag. s.v. ἀνεμοτρεφὲς κύμα, we must infer that this work dealt with a great variety of topics, from philosophical exegesis, pure and simple, down to verbal interpretations, such as we still find scattered in great number up and down his extant writings. But whether these μελέται, as has been asserted, also dealt with text-critical questions appears to me doubtful. There is no evidence of any kind in favor of this supposition, the very title, in fact, being perhaps an argument against it.

So far as the extant works are concerned, I have no hesitation in saying, upon the strength of my collectanea, that Plutarch did not allow text-critical questions in Homer to disturb his reflections to any noticeable extent. The great Aristarchus—mirabile dictu—is cited but once, and then only to be censured for obelizing four lines in the speech of Phoenix (Iliad, IX. 458 ff.). Aristarchus had condemned the lines in question, διὰ τὸ ἀπρεπές, but to Plutarch they appeared genuine, and to inculcate a valuable moral lesson. The particular interest that attaches to this criticism lies in the fact that these four lines, three of which are again cited by Plutarch, are not found in our MSS. of Homer, the scholia also ignoring their existence. This proves that Plutarch's text was independent of the Aristarchean recension, an inference confirmed by many other Homeric citations. It is also clear that our author's defence of the passage under notice was not due, at least not primarily, to any conservative attitude toward MS. tradition, for he elsewhere has no scruples in advocating most radical alterations, his panacea being διὰ τὸ ἀπρεπές. Abundant use of this dangerously subjective method was made in Plutarch's commentary to Hesiod's Works and Days, which, apart from scattered criticisms in his extant writings, is known to us from Proclus and Tzetzes, who quote from this work so frequently as to dispel all doubt as to the source whence they drew the bulk of their information. Thus, we learn, e.g., that he condemned seven lines (Op. vv. 267-273) *en bloc*: but in v. 311 he, in turn, came to the rescue of the poet against unscrupulous athetizers (μηδὲς λοιδορεῖτω τὸν στίχον, etc.). Plutarch, as appears especially from his admirable essay, De audiendis poetis, had a very lofty idea of the office of the poet as a moral teacher, and hence he came to conjure up an ideal standard of poetic excellence, regarding all passages that failed to conform to it as interpolations, unworthy of the poet,—an attitude of mind perfectly analogous to that of Hofman—Peerlkamp, Lehrs, Gruppe, and Ribbeck, who applied similarly subjective and pernicious principles to Horace, Tibullus, Ovid, and Juvenal. Ethical propriety, as Plutarch understood it, seems, in fact, to judge from his text-critical observations on Homer, Hesiod, and Euripides, to have been his sole criterion of genuineness and correctness.

Of textual criticism proper, such as the weighing of MS. authority, correction of scribal errors, of recensio and emendatio, there is of course not a trace in Plutarch, his attitude toward the text of his author being solely determined on internal grounds of what he believed the poet to have said or ought to have said.

2. This leads naturally to a consideration of Plutarch's hermeneutical principles. This writer, as has been said above, seems not to have been very conversant with the results and methods of the philologists of Alexandria. In fact he occasionally shows his contempt for the guild of γωνιοβδμβυχες in unmistakable language. Nor is it in the least surprising that a man of such pronounced ethical predilections should rather sympathize with the great rival school at Pergamum.

which throughout its existence deliberately antagonized the micrologists of Alexandria, often for the mere sake of opposition; and attempted to amalgamate Stoic philosophy with philological interpretation.

This method is conspicuously manifest in the attempt to discover allegorical meanings in the old poets. The space at my disposal will not permit me to enter upon any discussion of this subject. Suffice it to say that Plutarch is a staunch champion of this curious aberration which was, however, in high favor till the days of the Byzantine scholars. A large number of illustrations from Plutarch which are fairly typical of the method were given and discussed.

3. This paragraph deals with Plutarch's historical principles. Here it was possible to confine myself to a relatively brief exposition, as this is the one phase in which Plutarch has always attracted the widest attention and in consequence received the most minute analysis. His own attitude is, moreover, finally and explicitly avowed in a number of passages, and perhaps best crystallized in the beginning of his *Life of Alexander*: *οὐχ ἱστορίας ἀλλὰ βίους γράφομεν*. To Plutarch, history is indeed made up of a great number of isolated achievements of commanding individuals, and hence it is not difficult to understand the cynical indifference to chronology which he repeatedly displays. Development of political conditions, influences of environment, and like elements with which the modern historian operates, are not yet dreamt of in Plutarch's philosophy. There is even comparatively little psychological analysis of character, such as we find in Thucydides and Tacitus. Critical, unbiassed weighing of authorities was also not in his line, for whatever was calculated to throw a sidelight upon the character of his *dramatis personae*, was eagerly seized upon, although it was clearly apocryphal, as he himself occasionally confesses with charming *naïveté*.

4. Plutarch, as an archaeologist and art critic, also calls for no lengthy discussion. The passages dealing with artists, occasional descriptions of works of art, have all been collected and utilized by writers on Greek art. These passages show that Plutarch was fairly well conversant with the subject; but that it had enlisted a more than passing attention, I am inclined to gather from a circumstance which seems not hitherto to have been noticed or at least not brought into its proper correlation. I mean the extremely frequent use our author makes of metaphors taken from the field of art in general. Some of these are skilfully elaborated, the most noteworthy being enumerated in my paper, no attempt being made at completeness, inasmuch as a great many of these figurative phrases are not peculiar to Plutarch or else not sufficiently striking to admit of any inference as to the influence, exerted upon Plutarch's thought and style, by the contemplation of the numerous works of art still visible in his day.

5. There are perhaps few things more surprising to the student of ancient literature than the irresistible fascination which etymologizing exerted upon Greeks and Romans at all times. They are as persistently attracted to it as the moth to the light, and with equally disastrous results, for even Plato is no exception to the rule. It is true modern scholars, such as Steinthal and even Jowett, acting on the conviction that 'the king can do no wrong,' are disposed to regard his absurd etymologies, especially in the Cratylus and Euthydemus, as so much playful banter and delicious irony, lightened up here and there by a close approximation to scientific truth. But an irony that is so subtle and deep that it was not recognized as such for two thousand years, would seem to call for a more elastic

9^o $\pi\lambda\alpha\delta\text{-}\alpha\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma < *t\lambda\delta\text{-}\alpha\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$; $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\mu\alpha < *t\epsilon\lambda\delta\mu\alpha$, Skr. $tad\ddot{a}ga < tar_2d\text{-}\bar{m}go$ (for $\text{-}\bar{m}\text{-}go$; cf. the author A. J. P. l.c. 470); perhaps Lat. *tellus* belongs here with a primary meaning of 'moist land' (cf. *terra* 'dry land').—10^o *globus* || *glomus*, gen. *glomeris*: I assume r/n inflexion: nom. **globur* gen. **globris* || **glomuis*; *glomus* for **glomur* affected by *globus* (cf. *scelus*, *sceleris*). For $\beta\omicron\lambda\beta\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ we should expect * $\beta\omicron\lambda\beta\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$: can we assume reduplicating intention?—11^o $\beta\lambda\acute{\alpha}\pi\text{-}\tau\omega$ 'injure' also means 'cause to rave' (ϕ 294); for $\beta\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\omicron\varsigma$ we can thus assume a sense 'raving.' Wackernagel (Kz. xxxiii 42) derives $\beta\lambda\alpha\sigma\phi\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu$ from $\beta\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\omicron\varsigma$ and $\phi\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega$. There are two semasiic associations in this group of words: 1st with Skr. $\text{v}\bar{m}rc$ 'injure,' 2d with $\text{v}\bar{d}r\bar{p}$ 'rave'; $\beta\lambda\acute{\alpha}\xi$ 'fool' has the meaning of $\text{v}\bar{d}r\bar{p}$ and the form of $\text{v}\bar{m}rc$; $\beta\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\omicron\varsigma$ (for * $\beta\lambda\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\varsigma$) has reduplicating consonantization, cf. Lat. *balbus* 'stammering'; *calumniā* (< * $g\bar{l}p\text{-}no$) has been affected by *clamor*.—12^o $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega$ may come from * $\pi\alpha\lambda\delta\gamma\omicron$, or *ld* gives $\lambda\lambda$ in Greek (?).¹ Prellwitz s.v. defines 'schüttele, werfe los,' cf. Skr. $\text{v}\bar{t}ad$ 'shoot (arrows)'; with tadit 'lightning,' cf. $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$ $\kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu$ (Ar. Av. 1714).—13^o $\text{B}\epsilon\lambda(\epsilon)\mu\upsilon\alpha$ (< * $\beta\epsilon\lambda\delta\text{-}\mu\upsilon\alpha$); $\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega$ 'strike' must belong here too. Hesychius's $\zeta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega$ would prove a primitive 'velar,' but Arcadian inscriptions read only $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega$. Language moves in phrases; corresponding to Attic $\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ $\beta\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\theta\rho\nu$, the Arcadians may have said $\omicron\zeta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ $\zeta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\theta\rho\nu$; for $g\bar{l}\acute{a}dius$ we should expect * $g\bar{l}\acute{a}dius$ (< * $d\bar{l}d\text{-}$) according to Brug. Gr. I § 306, but all of the $\bar{l}\acute{a} < \bar{l}$ examples given are liable to a different explanation. Lat. *deleo*,² Grk. $\delta\eta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ 'destroy' belong here.—14^o Whitney (Roots, etc. s.v. 2 $\text{v}\bar{d}r$) remarks: "Only with prefix \bar{a} and with pass. pres. system suggesting specialisation from $\text{v}\bar{d}r$." With this view I entirely concur. The semasiy is alive to us in Eng. 'penetrate,' and parallels are numerous. I note Lat. *sagitta* 'arrow': *sagax* 'sharp' (mentally); Eng. *smart*: Lat. *mordere* 'bite'; Skr. $\text{v}\bar{k}id$ 'cut off' (cf. *scindere* 'split') + $\text{p}\bar{a}ri$ 'genau bestimmen': Lat. *scisco* 'know' (< * $scid\text{-}sco$), cf. *de-scisco* 'revolt' (i.e. 'split off from'); Ger. *gescheit* 'judicious,' 'discreet': *scheiden* 'cut'; Lat. *cerno* 'separate' (i.e. 'split apart'), 'determine': Skr. $\text{v}\bar{k}rt$ 'cut,'³; Eng. *clever*: *cleave* (?); Eng. *saw* 'maxim,' 'tool for cutting.' This semasiy explains the 'skipping' in $\sigma\acute{\kappa}\epsilon\pi\tau\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ beside Lat. *specio* 'look into.' Its concrete congener is $\sigma\acute{\kappa}\epsilon\pi\alpha\rho\omicron\nu$ 'adze,' affected by $\sigma\kappa\alpha\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta$ 'mattock,' $\sigma\acute{\kappa}\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\omega$ 'dig' (cf. Lith. *skabēti* 'dig,' *skapoti* 'slice'). In Lat. *specus* 'cave' (i.e. 'cleft'), Skr. $s\bar{p}\acute{a}ra$ 'fetter' (strip for tying?) we have

'sceptre-holding.' The two epithets are not used by Homer of the same person: the former is an Iliad word (15 times, 2 times in the Odyssey); the latter occurs somewhat more frequently in the Odyssey (5 times, 3 times in the Iliad).

¹ Exceptions to this assumption can be otherwise explained: thus in $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\delta\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\omicron$ || $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\theta\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\omicron$ (cf. Prellwitz s.v.) we may have a conscious adaptation of the *da* || *dha* suffixes; $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\delta\omega\rho$ 'wish' shows a consciousness of $\delta\acute{\omega}\rho\omicron\nu$ 'present' with a semasiy meeting in 'boon' [cf. *duonos* (i.e. $d^{w}onos$) > *bonos* with d^{w} by 'anticipative rounding' (cf. the author PROC. for 1894, p. ix)]; $\mu\epsilon\lambda\delta\omega$ and $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\lambda\delta\acute{\omega}\nu\omicron$ are in touch with $\beta\lambda\alpha\delta\alpha\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, $\mu\alpha\lambda\theta\alpha\kappa\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ (Brug. Gr. ii § 690). For positive proof of $\lambda\lambda < ld$ I cite $\mu\epsilon\lambda\iota\chi\omicron\varsigma$ 'gracious' (Aeol. $\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\iota\chi\omicron\mu\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon$) < * $\mu\epsilon\lambda\delta\text{-}$: Skr. $m\bar{r}g\acute{a}dik\bar{a}$ 'grace' (Brug. I. F. I. 172).

² The Romans had, I believe, associated the pf. *delevi* with the simple verb *levi* (pf. of *lino*), cf. Bréal et Bailly s.v. *deleo*. Here belongs probably *bellum* 'war' < * $d^{w}el\text{-}nom$ (cf. note 1).

³ Interesting is the semasiic connection between Skr. $\text{v}\bar{k}rt$ 'cut' and $\text{v}\bar{v}\bar{k}rt$ 'spin.' It must be borne in mind that the noun frequently precedes the verb in its semasiic development, and the new sense is subsequently reflected back to the verb. I note that English *splint* 'a thing split off' becomes as a verb 'to join with splints'; the verb *piece* means 'join pieces together,' and *splice* means 'join split ends together.'

the sense of 'split,' cf. further $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\omega$ 'shear,' 'comb.' By this semasy Lat. *fidus*, Grk. $\pi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ 'trusty' can be connected with \sqrt{bhidh} 'split' (cf. supra Germ. *gescheit*, and *certus* 'sure' to *cerno* 'split'). Skr. \sqrt{dr} 'split' is Aryan $\sqrt{del} \parallel \sqrt{der}$.¹ Parallel with $\beta\lambda\text{-}\acute{\epsilon}\pi\text{-}\omega$ 'see' is $\delta\rho\text{-}\acute{\epsilon}\pi\text{-}\omega$ 'cut with a sickle'; $\delta\epsilon\nu\delta\iota\lambda\lambda\omega$ 'peer' is a reduplicated form of the same root.

Against the change $dl^o > \beta l^o$ Grk. $\gamma\lambda\upsilon\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$: Lat. *dulcis* 'sweet' may be urged. The kinship is, I take it, real, but the aberrant term is *dulcis*. I note Paulus's gloss *glucidatum* suave et jucundum. Plautus uses *dulcis* as an epithet of the 'sweetheart' (*deliciae*), e.g. Rud. 364 ut dulcis es, Asin. 614 O melle dulci dulcior tu es; *diligio* 'love' and *indulgens* 'gracious' may also have played a rôle. I connect $\gamma\lambda\upsilon\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ with the kin of Lat. *gula* 'throat,' with a semasy alive in 'palatable,' 'toothsome.' I note Skr. *guda* 'ball of sugar,' congeneric with $\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma$, Lat. *glandes* 'edible acorns.'

5. Reflected Meanings; a Point in Semantics, by Professor C. R. Lanman of Harvard University.

The doctrine of the principles that underlie the processes of the development of the meanings of words may be called semantics or semasiology.² When one considers how much study has been devoted to the history of the form of words, it is astonishing that so little has been devoted to that of their logical contents. In turning up the article *semasiology* in *The Century Dictionary*, I found the following citation, which proved to be from a book review by Professor Bloomfield in the *American Journal of Philology* (vii. 100), and which is worth reprinting:

"Semasiology in all its various aspects does not offer much that is as regular even as the phonetic life of words; so much the more worthy of attention are the parallelisms in the development of meanings, which repeat themselves oftentimes in most varied surroundings, inviting even to a search for a psychological cause for this persistence."

I presume that his first clause is not intended to deny the existence of certain general and clearly defined categories under which very many of the changes in the meanings of words may be subsumed. Some of the commonest and most important of these may be designated by the ancient terms synecdoche, metonymy, and metaphor. These and others are described and illustrated by Suchier in Gröber's *Grundriss*, i. 632-634, with several bibliographical notes. Further discussion may be found, *ibidem*, p. 239 f.; and in Paul's *Grundriss*, i. 698 f. The whole matter is highly interesting and important, not only intrinsically, but also from the practical point of view; as has indeed been set forth with considerable fulness by the present writer in the preface to his *Sanskrit Reader* (pages vi and vii), and abundantly exemplified by him in the vocabulary thereto belonging. For I take it that the progress of adult students in the acquisition of a foreign vocabulary is rendered far more easy and sure by attention to the his-

¹ Cf. Prellwitz s.vv. $\delta\alpha\iota\delta\alpha\lambda\omicron\nu$, $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega$. To endow the Aryans with unrelated roots *der*, *del* 'split' is impossible to my mind. Whether the explanation be by the current theory of dissimilation in reduplicated forms or by sporadic and partial phonetic variation, we must finally accept the fact of variation to a greater extent than we now do.

² Not, with Murray, *New English Dictionary*, i., preface, p. xi, *sematology*.

torical and logical development of the meanings so far as that is feasible; and that this attention is likely to increase the power of the teacher as a successful interpreter and as a vivacious and forcible instructor.

There is one way in which a word acquires a secondary or later meaning, to which, so far as I know, public attention has never been expressly directed. Perhaps the process might most appropriately be termed 'reflection'; and the resultant meanings, 'reflected meanings.' The purpose of this paper is to give a few illustrations of the process and the results.

To begin with an English one: the verb *execute* derives, through the mediaeval Latin *excūtāre*, from the stem of the Latin *ex(s)ecūtus*, participle of *exsequi*; and means, accordingly, 'follow out,' 'carry into effect,' for example, 'the bidding of the King,' and, especially, a judicial sentence of death. The act of carrying such a sentence into effect was called *execution of the sentence of death*; or, more briefly, *execution of death*; or, more briefly still, *execution*, which thus became equivalent to 'act of inflicting capital punishment.' It is, now, by the reflection of this specialized meaning of the action-noun back into the (English) primitive verb *execute* that the latter won its meaning 'to inflict capital punishment upon, to put to death in pursuance of a sentence.'

I do not believe it is possible that the meaning 'put to death' can be derived from the meaning 'carry into effect' by any direct process. And the difficulty (if not the impossibility) of derivation by direct method is evidently felt by Dr. Murray, or perhaps rather Mr. Bradley, as may be seen from his note under the verb *execute*, II., just before the meaning 6, in the great *English Dictionary*. But as soon as we admit the actuality of this process of reflection, the course of development becomes entirely clear. For the detailed facts concerning *execute* and its kin, I am indebted to Dr. Murray's monumental work.

At the Philadelphia meeting, Professor Bloomfield suggested that some apparent cases of reflected meaning might be nothing more than ordinary denominatives based on a noun with peculiarly altered meaning. In order that his suggestion may be applicable, it is evidently necessary that both the noun and the denominative be coincident in form with the original verb.¹ Here is an example: "At the end of Professor ——'s forty-three years of service, his colleagues voted to address him," i.e. (not 'to speak to him'—but) 'to present to him an elaborate parchment with a formal address engrossed thereon.' Evidently also, in such a case, neither explanation excludes the other.

In this connection, it is interesting and instructive to note that from the action-noun *execution* in its specialized sense was formed in fact the denominative verb *to execution* as secondary and the agent-noun *executioner* as tertiary. All this is of course in accord with the most ordinary processes of direct development of meaning and of formation, and no instance of 'reflection,' as I have termed it.

From *execute*, 'hang, behead,' was formed the agent-noun, *ex'ecutor* 'hangman, headsmen.' We thus had two pairs: the pair of denominative origin, *to execution* and *executioner*; and the pair of 'reflected' origin, *to execute* and *ex'ecutor*. Of these, the verb of the denominative pair, *to execution*, died out; and so did the agent-noun of the 'reflected' pair, *ex'ecutor*. There survived only *to execute* and *executioner*, which thus formed a new pair, whose curious non-correspondence of

¹ This condition would rarely obtain in an ancient Indo-European language.

form is thus explained. Had the denominative, *to execution*, lived, it is likely that the use of *to execute* in the reflected sense 'hang' would not have arisen, or that, having arisen, it would have died out; just as, on the other hand, *ex'ecutor*, 'hangman,' did die out, leaving the equivalent *executioner* in sole possession of the field.

Thoughtful scrutiny of the English dictionary would doubtless reveal many other examples. Several may be adduced. To *undertake* is 'to take in hand, to enterprise.' Its agent-noun, *undertaker*, is now most commonly used, in a narrowed and specialized sense, of the undertaker of funeral arrangements. From this noun, the special sense is reflected back into the verb, so that *he undertakes* is sometimes heard with the meaning 'he does the work of an undertaker.' I am inclined to see a similar process in *communicate* 'to partake of the Eucharist' (cf. *communion*); in *operate* when used transitively, 'to perform a surgical operation upon' (cf. *operation*); in *provoke*, 'excite disagreeably' (cf. *provocation*).

A more clear and striking example could hardly be found than the Sanskrit *smṛta*. The verb *smarati* means 'remember'; and from its root is formed the noun *smṛti*. This means properly 'remembrance'; but it has come to be a very important technical term and to have a very special meaning as designating 'memorial tradition,' and in particular, the 'sacred law' as distinguished from *ṣṛuti*, 'audition, revelation, the Veda,' to which it is the pendant. The participle *smṛta* should mean simply 'remembered'; in fact, it often means 'taught or pronounced by the *smṛti* to be' so and so. Thus, Yājñ. i.81: *striyo rakṣyā yataḥ smṛtāḥ* (not 'for women are remembered as requiring to be looked after,' — but), 'for women are declared by the *smṛti* to be in need of watching,' 'for women, tradition says, need looking after.' The couplet at *Indische Sprüche*² 6496, yields an excellent example of *smṛ*, and one of *ṣru* as well: *eṣa dharmāḥ striyā nityo vede loke ṣṛutaḥ smṛtaḥ*: '[Let the wife obey her husband.] This is the eternal law for women, as revealed in the Veda and taught by human tradition.' Here undeniably the peculiar special senses of the nouns have tinged the verbal derivatives of *smṛ* and *ṣru*.

The root *dhā* with *abhi* means 'put upon.' From it comes quite easily *abhi-dhānī*, 'a halter.' At Atharvaveda iii.11.8 we read: *abhi tvā jarimā ahita gām ukṣānam iva rājivā*, 'Old age hath haltered thee as it were a cow, an ox, with a rope.' So iv.16.7: *ṣatēna pāṣāir abhi dhehy enam*, 'with a hundred bonds do thou halter him.' And iv.36.10: *abhi tm nixṛtir dhaitām dṣvam ivāṣvābhidhānyā*, 'Let Perdition halter him as a horse with a horse-halter.' Similarly, v.14.6. The Petersburg Lex., s.v. *dhā + abhi* 3), says: *anlegen, umlegen mit Etwas*. Between *anlegen* and *umlegen mit Etwas* there is a pretty wide logical gap. It is bridged in an entirely satisfactory manner by the fact of reflection from the noun *abhidhānī*.

A most striking case is that of *kṛtvārī*, occurring at Atharvaveda iv.18.1d, in a hymn against witchcraft or *kṛtyā*. From *kṛ*, 'do,' comes *kṛtyā*, 'doings,' i.e. 'das Anthon, sorcery, a bewitching.' *Kṛtvān* is properly 'doing, active, busy'; but in AV. iv.18, the meaning of *kṛtyā*, which occurs in the context (2, 4, 5), is clearly reflected into the verbal so that it means 'bewitching ones or sorcerers.'

Systematic search would bring out many other instances. I have casually noted a few. Perhaps *vinīta* in the sense 'well-behaved' may derive directly

from *nī+vi*; but I cannot help thinking that the common word *vinaya*, 'good behavior,' has been the principal factor in determining the common meaning of the participle. The relation of *prasiddha* and *prasiddhi* may be similar; but the genesis of their common meanings is unclear to me. Plain, I think, is the influence of *ud̥yoga* upon *ud̥yukta*: e.g., *ud̥yukto vid̥yāntam ad̥higacchati*, *Ind. Sprüche*, 2679. The use of *abhinidhīyante*, noted in the *Pet. Lex.*, s.v. *dhā + abhini*, in the sense of 'be subject to the *abhinihīta-saṁdhi*,' is a very plain case. One of the best of all follows: from *as + sam-ni* comes the familiar word with very technical sense, *saṁnyāsīn*, 'one who has renounced the world'; but at *Manu* vi.94 we have: *saṁnyased dvijaḥ*, 'the twice-born should become a Sannyāsīn.' If it were a true denominative in form as well as in meaning, I suppose it would be *saṁnyāsīyēt*. Similarly the last verse of *Bhartṛhari's* "*tuṅgaṁ veçma*." These cases with *dhā + abhini* and *as + saṁni* I owe to the kindness of Professor Bloomfield.

In Pāli, as is quite natural, this process is frequent. *Pavāreti* means 'give a man his choice,' 'offer'; but also, — by reflection from the technical *pavāraṇā*, 'the festival at the end of *vassa*,' — 'to join in the *pavāraṇā*-festival.' There can hardly be a doubt that the meaning of *upasampanna*, 'having priestly orders,' is not directly deducible from that of *upasampajjati*, 'attains,' but rather from that of *upasampadā*, 'the taking of priestly orders' — see, e.g., *Jātaka* i.116⁴. Again, *upādāna*, from *dā + upā-ā*, has the technical sense of 'attachment'; *upādīyati* means 'take hold of, cling to,' and so, perhaps directly, 'have *upādāna*'; but in the use of the participle *upādīnna* in this way (as in *taṇh-upādīnno*, *J.* i.146¹¹, 'devoted to lusts'), I should rather see a reflex of the noun. *Gata* etc. reflects the peculiar meaning of *gati*, 'destiny': cf. *J.* i.56, line 23 with line 18.

The history of *paṭisandhi*, 'rebirth,' is not plain to me; but the use of *paṭisandahati*, 'be reborn' (e.g., *Milinda*, p. 46), seems to be due to reflection. *Nibbuta*, 'happy,' corresponds in form to *Skt. nir-vṛta*, 'uncovered, happy'; but it also serves in the meaning 'having attained *Nirvāna*' as participle to *nibbāti*, and that instead of *nibbāta*, as we should expect. Perhaps the explanation is to be sought in some fact like those here considered.

The following case is somewhat peculiar. At *Jātaka* i.176²³ we read: *chandaṁdi-vasena agati-gamanam gacchatha*, 'You are courting the course of the Non-courses by way of lust (*chanda*) etc.' i.e. 'you are following the four Evil courses of lust etc.' The *agatis* are *chanda*, *dosa*, *moha*, and *bhaya*. But at ii.2⁸, for example, we have *chandaṁdi-vasena a-gantvā*. True, the literal sense quite suffices as a rendering, 'Without going by the way of lust etc.'; but it can hardly be questioned that *a-gantvā* suggested to the pious Buddhist the idea of 'Avoiding the *a-gatis* of lust etc.'

Another aspect of the same process of reflection is seen where differences of number give opportunity for the development of differences of meaning. Thus *Skt. gaṇa*, singular, means 'a troop'; in the plural, 'the troop-deities, inferior deities which regularly appear not singly but in troops; and so especially those that compose the retinue of *Çiva*'; then, as singular again, 'a single one of *Çiva's* attendants, a *Gaṇa*.'

From the Greek an instance or two may suffice by way of example: *γράφειν* is 'to write'; *γραφή* is 'a writing,' and especially in a technical legal sense, 'an indictment'; whence *γράφουσι τινα* means 'to indict a man.' The denomina-

tive would be presumably **γραφαῖν* or *γραφεῖν*. The verb *αὔξεσθαι* is 'to increase'; *αὔξησις* is 'increase, growth,' but comes to be specialized in the works of the grammarians so as to mean the grammatical 'augment'; and this meaning is reflected into the verb so that it is used in the sense of 'take the augment.'

Remarks were made by Professors Ashmore, B. I. Wheeler, Ingraham, Bloomfield, Wright, Fay, and by the author of the paper.

6. Notes on the Diction of the *Apocolocyntosis Divi Claudii*, by Professor Karl P. Harrington, of the University of North Carolina.

This paper will confine itself to words coming under one of the following classes: 1. Grecisms; 2. Colloquialisms; 3. Words of unusual form; 4. Newly coined words; 5. Those that in themselves, or in their signification in the passages cited, properly belong to the especial period of Latinity to which the *Apocolocyntosis* is supposed to belong. Some evidence may perhaps be thus obtained with regard to the probable authorship of this famous lampoon. The references will be according to Buecheler's 3d ed. of Petronius, the Priapeia and Satire fragments, by section and line on the page.

1. Although Greek quotations abound in the satire, Grecisms in diction are comparatively infrequent. 2, 28. *horologia*: rather common. 3, 9. *mathematicos*: post-Aug. in this sense of 'astrologers.' 5, 6. *philologos*: rare as an adjective (here it agrees with *homines*, expressed); cf. its use as a noun by Seneca, Ep. 108, 29 and 30. 7, 28. *alogias*: (Gk. *ἀλογία*) probably first used here, perhaps not elsewhere with this meaning ('nonsense'). 8, 21. *praepulio*: a hybrid (= *prae* + *πρόθιον*) rare; here quoted from Varro. 9, 8. *mimum*: in this sense of 'a farcical, or unreal thing,' a favorite expression in Seneca; perhaps only post-Aug. cf. Ep. 80, 7; 26, 5. 9, 24. *metamorphosis*: a title seldom referred to in Latin literature. 13, 9. *podagricus*: rare; cf. Sen. Ep. 95, 22; 24, 14; de Ira, 2, 33, 4; Petron. 132. 13, 18. *phantomimus*: rare; post-Aug.; but cf. Sen. Ep. 95, 56; 47, 15; de Ira, 1, 16, 29; Q. N. 7, 32, 3.

2. The following, at least, may be classed as Colloquialisms: 1, 7. *buccam*: cf. American slang 'mug'; not uncommon; frequent in Seneca and Petronius; cf. Petr. 43 (*durae buccae* = "jaw-bone of an ass"); 44 (*buccam panis*, cf. 'chaw o' tobacco'); 64. 4, 21. *ebullit*: rare as an active verb; evidently colloquial with *animam*; cf. Petr. 42; 62. 4, 25 and 26. *concacavi* and *concacavit*: rare; vulgar; cf. Petr. 66. 5, 31. *bene*: rather common; cf. Sen. De Vita Beata, 23, 2; De Otio Sap. 28, 4. 6, 20. *calcasti*: cf. Eng. 'hoof it'; Hor. C. 1, 28, 16; Petr. 118. 9, 3. *post-meridianus* [*consul*]: clearly a jesting use of the word, indicating the hollow and ephemeral character of the office at that time; and one that may have been often repeated.

3. Only a few forms are noteworthy: 2, 25. *vindemitor*: usually *vindemiator*. 7, 7. *sterquilino*: usually *sterquilinio*. 12, 19. *Persida*: the post-Aug. form of the acc. 12, 25. *Brigantas*: the post-Aug. form of the acc.; occurs again in Tacit. Ann. 12, 32. 15, 20. *culmina*: the common post-Aug. form.

4. The following may probably be regarded as coined by the author for immediate use: 6, 20. *perpetuarius* [*mulio*]: 'a muleteer steadily employed.' (*Mulio*, too, is largely post-Aug.) 7, 27. *fatuari*: ἄπαξ λεγ. 9, 15. *nummu-*

lariolus: ἀπαξ λεγ.; cf. Petr. 56 for *nummularius* (post-Aug.), from which it is derived. 9, 16. *civitatulus*: perhaps coined here; doubtful if it is used elsewhere in this sense ('citizenship in a small city'). 14, 6. *laturam* [*fecisse*] (= 'to have borne'): rare; mostly late Latin. Here may be mentioned also: 13, 11. *subalbam* [*canem*]: incorrectly classed as ἀπαξ λεγ. in Harper's Lat. Lex. 14, 7. *sufflaminandam*: ἀπαξ λεγ. in literal sense ('clog'); Seneca's father credits Augustus with having used it in the figurative sense (Sen. Excerpta ex Contr. IV. praef. 7); and so Aug. was probably its coiner.

5. (a) The following belong properly to the post-Aug. period: 2, 31. *inquietent*: cf. Sen. Vit. Beat. 12; Petr. 1. 3, 16. *pauculos*: ante- and post-classical; no instance is recalled of its substantive use elsewhere. 4, 26. *convolvens*: cf. Sen. Ep. 94, 67. 4, 27. *abrupit*: cf. Sen. Herc. Oet. 895. 4, 16. *adfusio*. 4, 21. *expiravit*: mostly post-Aug. in prose. 5, 37. *pererraverat*: cf. Sen. Q. N. 3 praef. § 6; Petr. 97. 7, 33. *profatu*. 7, 40. *praerapido*: cf. Sen. Q. N. 1, 1, 1; also in another sense, De Ira, 1, 12, 5. 7, 10. *notorem* (= *cognitorem*): cf. Sen. Ep. 39, 1; Petr. 92. 8, 23. *Saturnalicus*. 9, 5. *notarius* ('short-hand-writer'). 10, 34. *compescui* (post-Aug. in prose). 10, 5. *proneptes*. 10, 6. *abnepotem*. 12, 1. *aeneatorum*. 12, 11. *planctus*: cf. Sen. Cons. ad Marc. 6, 2; Troades, 92; Petr. 81; Luc. 2, 24. 12, 13. *cordatus*: mostly ante- and post-classical. 12, 41. *fritillo*: cf. §§ 14 and 15.

(b) Some peculiar significations of words not otherwise worthy of remark may be mentioned: 1, 8. *iuratores* (= 'vouchers'): post-Aug. in this sense, which is very rare, and not recognized in Harper's Lexicon. 5, 4. *Graeculo*: = *Graeco*; post-Aug. 6, 22. *excandescit* (he 'flared up'): so once in Cicero, but there *ira* is expressed; here, absolute; post-Aug.; cf. Petr. 53 and 57. 6, 25. *decollare* ('behead'): used with personal object; post-Aug.; cf. Sen. De Ira 3, 18, 3; Petr. 51. 8, 29. *stude* (= 'apply yourself to learning'): post-Aug. 8, 30. *curva*: 'faults'; cf. "make our crooked paths straight"; as a plur. subst. apparently post-Aug.; cf. Pliny Ep. 5, 9, 6. 9, 13. *auctoratos*: 'gladiators'; mostly post-Aug. 12, 5. *procedebant*: 'appeared'; mostly post-Aug. in prose; cf. Petr. 2. 13, 5. *compendiaria*: rare and chiefly post-Aug. subst., but especially common in Seneca and his contemporaries: cf. Ep. 119, 1; 27, 5; Petr. 2; cf. also *compendiarium* (Ep. 73, 11). 13, 8. *proclivia*: rare in literal sense; mostly ante- and post-classical. 15, 16. *recollectos* [*talos*]: literal sense mostly post-Aug.; cf. Sen. De Benefic. 1, 9, 4.

(c) Some other words may be grouped here, which, though used in other periods, are either especially rare, or peculiar in their meaning in the cases cited, or especial favorites of Seneca and his contemporaries: 1, 3. *offensae*: a favorite with Seneca in various senses; cf. Ep. 7, 1; De Tran. An. 2, 1. 1, 6. *fatuum*: rather rare; cf. Sen. Ep. 50, 2 for fem. form; see also *fatuari*, coined in § 7. 3, 22. *incomitatum*: rare; chiefly poetic. 3, 25. *convictoribus*: rather common in Sen.; cf. Ep. 7, 6; De Ira 3, 8, 1; also § 14, 36. 4, 28 and 29. *comas, capillos, crinem*: note apparent bathos in the arrangement, where all refer to the same person's hair. Is it intentional ridicule cast on the Fates? 4, 32. *pensa*: poetic for a thread spun by the Fates; cf. Sen. Herc. Fur. 181; but cf. regular usage just below here. 4, 4. *demite*: seems like an absolute use; which is unique. 4, 7. *lassis*: not rare, but rather poetic; largely post-Aug.; often in Seneca; cf. the proverb, *a lasso rixam quaeri* (De Ira 3, 10, 1); also his use of the word with

Acc. (*lassus pondus*, Herc. Oet. 1599). 4, 8. *silentia* [*rumpel*]: the poetic plur. is rare in this sense, the pleasant state of inactivity. 4, 9. *discutiens*: it is highly poetic to use this in its more literal and rarer sense of 'disperse' with such an object as *astra*. 4, 11. *solutis*: a favorite with Seneca in a wide variety of significations; hardly natural here. 4, 13. *axes*: synecdochical use for 'chariot' comparatively rare; cf. Sen. Herc. Oet. 1441; even rarer in plur., as here. 5, 2. *implicatam* [*vocem*]: perhaps unique in this sense. 7, 2. *adluit*: favorite in Sen.; cf. Hippol. 1232; Oedip. 475. 7, 3. *altrix*: a favorite with Seneca; cf. Hippol. 251: Herc. Oet. 450. 9, 37. *mapalia*: here in unusual sense of 'follies'; or, does it mean that the Curia was now as devoid of dignity as a 'hut'? 12, 16. *Citato*: often in Seneca; cf. Herc. Fur. 179; Hippol. 1062. 13, 25. *novissime*: rare in sense of 'lastly'; cf. Sen. De Ira 3, 5, 2. 14, 33. *subscriptionem*: this sense, rather rare elsewhere, is common in Seneca; cf. De Benef. 3, 26, 2; Cons. ad Marc. 22, 3. 14, 37. *advocationem*: common in this sense ('adjournment') in Seneca; cf. De Ira 1, 16, 12; Cons. ad Marc. 10, 3; Q. N. 7, 10, 1. 14, 8. *missionem*: cf. Petr. 52; Sen. Ep. 37, 2; De Benef. 2, 20, 3.

It appears from the foregoing: (1) that a large proportion of the words cited are paralleled or duplicated in Seneca and Petronius; (2) that the Satire undoubtedly belongs to the period of these two men, judging from its diction alone, apart from the many other claims for the same period; (3) that, considered from the diction alone, either Seneca or Petronius might have been its author. There are many similarities between the *Apocolocyntosis* and Petronius's longer work. Did either Petronius or Seneca imitate the other? Seneca might have thought it would be attributed to Petronius. As Petronius afterward imitated some of Seneca's poetry, this might be thought of as an earlier attempt of the former to cultivate the style which both afterwards developed. Just before his death, Petronius sent Nero a very bitter satire. Can the *Apocolocyntosis* be an earlier attempt on the same line? Petronius had been in public office; and might well have lost all patience with Claudius, and been glad to welcome the new régime of the jovial Nero in such a way as this; he certainly was entirely capable of such a work. There is, however, more in favor of Seneca's authorship, even in the diction alone.

7. Notes on Thucydides, by Professor W. A. Lamberton, of the University of Pennsylvania.

1. I. 2. Φαίνεται μὴ ἢ νῦν Ἑλλάς καλουμένη οὐ βεβαίως οἰκουμένη κτέ.

The participles *οἰκουμένη*, &c., construed with *φαίνεται* Classen regards as imperfects. The combination is unquestionably imperfect in coloring, as the tenses that prevail in the chapter prove; but it seems to me better to regard the participles themselves as presents: since we have here only an intensification of the pictorial effect of the imperfect, the relative dating of the circumstances being given by the nature of the circumstances themselves and from the context.

In I. 14 an exactly similar example is found: φαίνεται δὲ καὶ ταῦτα — τριήρεσι μὲν ὀλίγοις χρώμενα, πεντηκοντόροις δ' ἔτι καὶ πλοίοις μακροῖς ἐξηρτυμένα.

In 3. 88: τὴν νύκτα φαίνεται πῦρ ἀναδιδούσα is radically different.

The only other instances of present ptc. with *φαίνεσθαι* in Thuc. are in speeches: II. 11 (bis), III. 13, 42, 56, IV. 86, VIII. 47.

Elsewhere aorist ptc. are found: I. 3, 9, 10, 11, 13, II. 65, VI. 2, 55, VIII. 68, 97.

In one case, I. 10 (end), no ptc. is expressed, but the context seems to point to *γενομένη* rather than *οὔσα*.

2. I. 2. Advocating Poppo's reading: *καὶ παράδειγμα τὸδε τοῦ λόγου οὐκ ἐλάχιστόν ἐστι διὰ τὰς μετοικίας τὰ ἄλλα μὴ ὁμοίως αὐξήθηναί.*

As *μέτοικος* (and hence *μετοικία*) was almost a technical word at Athens, and hence very likely to be used by Thuc., and as the development of Athens, thanks to such settlers from abroad, is the very point of the argument, as the subsequent clauses show, it does not seem difficult to understand, and hence to accept *μετοικίας*, giving it, as is but natural, a somewhat wider sense than was usual in Athens. In the rest of Greece there were perpetual *μεταναστάσεις*, in Attica *ἀνθρωποὶ φέκουν οἱ αὐτοὶ αἰεὶ*: nay more, what seemed *μεταναστάσεις* proved to be in the case of Attica *μετοικίαι*.

In point of interpretation, the clause *διὰ—αὐξήθηναί* was interpreted, as was done by Croiset and others before him, to be the *παράδειγμα*; and Poppo's objection to the simple inf. *αὐξήθηναί*, instead of the articular inf. or a *ὅτι* clause, was thought to be obviated by taking the inf. as exegetic of the demonstrative *τὸδε*, a sufficiently frequent construction.

3. *ὅσπερ καὶ*. This phrase has two uses:

1. To give an emphatic expression of identity, stress being laid on the relation between relative and antecedent. The antecedent may be a pronoun, noun, proper name, a clause, or may be omitted.

2. To lay stress not so much upon the coincidence of antecedent and relative clauses, as upon the actuality of the relative clause, leading at times to a suggestion of surprise that the statement in the relative clause should be true and correct.

Both of these uses in Thucydides give a syntactical device by means of which the author is enabled to add or interweave remarks of his own, which are not needed in the context for the proper setting forth of the events narrated, though they generally convey information that it may be interesting for the reader to get, and which it may be desirable to give him just when these events are fresh in his mind. It enables Thuc., as it were, to put off the formal historian and annotate, or comment upon, his text.

One instance of this, out of a number, is VIII. 108: *ὑπὸ Ἀρσάκου—Τισσαφέρηνς ὑπάρχου, ὅσπερ καὶ Δηλίου τοῦς Ἀτραμύττιον κατοικήσαντες ὅτε ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων καθάρσεις ἔνεκα ἀνέστησαν, ἔχθραν προσποιησάμενος ἄδηλον καὶ ἐπαγγέλλας στρατιᾶν αὐτῶν τοῖς βελτίστοις, ἐξαγαγὼν ὡς ἐπὶ φιλίᾳ καὶ ξυμμαχίᾳ, τηρήσας ἀριστοποιουμένους καὶ περιστήσας τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ κατηκόντισεν.*

This, in length and relation to the context, approaches very much a modern footnote.

4. I. 5. *δηλοῦσι τῶν τε ἡπειρωτῶν τινες ἔτι καὶ νῦν, οἷς κόσμος καλῶς τοῦτο δρᾶν, καὶ οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ποιητῶν κτέ.*

Classen follows Steup in joining *ἔτι καὶ νῦν* to the relative clause. But this throws overboard the evident chiasmus in *ἔτι καὶ νῦν* and *οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ποιητῶν*, when taken with the remainder of their respective clauses. And in the passages to which he refers in support of this punctuation, II. 46 and III. 39, the relative

clause is placed first, and it is the important substantive alone that precedes the relative; his third passage, 6. 31. 1, seems to be a mis-reference. Besides, *ἔτι* nowhere begins a relative clause in Thuc., nor indeed a clause of any kind unless it immediately precedes a postpositive conjunction. VI. 63 *ἔτι πλέον κατεφρόνησεν* is preceded by an *ἐπειδή* clause and VI. 86 (end) *ἔτι βουλήσεσθε* by a rel. clause. These, the only exceptions, are more apparent than real.

5. I. 9. *Εὐρυσθέως μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὑπὸ Ἡρακλειδῶν ἀποθανόντος.*

Eur. Heracl. 860 puts this battle at the Scironian rocks. Hence Poppo and Krueger think Thuc. takes Attica in a sense wider than usual. But in Strabo VIII. 377 a different tradition, not so far as I know hitherto noticed, seems to be imbedded. *Εὐρυσθεὺς μὲν οὖν στρατεύσας, εἰς Μαραθῶνα ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἡρακλέους παῖδας καὶ Ἰόλαον βοηθησάντων Ἀθηναίων ἱστορεῖται πεσεῖν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο σῶμα Γαργηττοῖ ταφῆναι, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν χωρὶς ἐν Τρικυρόνθω κτέ.* The battle would seem from this to have been fought in the heart of Attica. May not Thuc. have had in mind this or a similar tradition?

6. In I. 10: *καὶ ὅτι μὲν Μυκῆναι μικρὸν ἦν ἢ εἰ τι τῶν τότε πόλισμα νῦν μὴ ἀξίωχρον δοκεῖ εἶναι*, take *ὅτι* = because and *εἰ τι κτέ.* as a parallel expression of cause, couched in conditional form, and all difficulties disappear. The change of form is due to the change from a definitely named city to an indefinite and supposititious town.

8. Local Cults in Homer, by Dr. Arthur Fairbanks, of Yale University.

The epic poems are the main source of our knowledge of early Greek religion, but the knowledge thus obtained is fragmentary and perhaps does not give a fair idea of the whole. Inasmuch as the Homeric descriptions of the gods have a purely aesthetic end, we infer that the poet selects and arranges his material so as to please his audience, and in this process the familiar forms of beings that men worshipped may have been entirely transformed and transfigured in the new light of poetry. Farther, the poet's audience is found now in one locality, now in another; his songs must take a shape that will hold good for all of Greece, whatever may be the source of his material, so that they cannot dwell on local phases of the gods and local forms of worship. The question whether such local cults had the same important place in Greek religious life in earlier times that they held in later times deserves careful attention, for if any real religion existed then, it must have had some other form than that described in the epic.

Allusions to local cults by epic singers I find 1) in the statements that particular gods were worshipped in particular localities, 2) in references to the favorite abodes of the gods, and 3) in the interest of particular gods in particular peoples, in the children they have among men, and in the persons they are represented as loving or hating.

1. *Zeus*.—Vide Θ 238-241. 1. Olympos, A 497-499, E 753-754, Λ 80-81, E 398, A 570, 609, etc. Zeus resides on Olympos. The close association of Zeus with Olympos is most naturally explained as due to worship in that region, and to a celebration of the gods worshipped there by schools of early poets.

2. Troy and Ida. In X 169-172 and Θ 48-49 are references to a worship of

Zeus on the acropolis of Troy. In general the Zeus of the Troad is closely associated with Mt. Ida. His seat is on the lofty peaks of many-fountained Ida, Λ 183, Ξ 157, Θ 47; on Gargaros, Ξ 292 (cf. Ξ 292, O 147, Θ 438). Wind, thunder, and cloud, M 253, Θ 170, P 594, O 153. To this Zeus both Greeks and Trojans pray, Γ 376, 320, H 202, Ω 308; X 170, Hektor sacrifices on Ida; Θ 48, sacred precinct and smoking altar of Zeus on Gargaros; Π 604, priest of Zeus Idaios. Such a local shrine naturally means a peculiar local form of worship. Zeus is the god of the race of Priam, so that Hektor and Aineias boast descent from him. From the epic standpoint, Zeus on Ida is simply the Olympian god taking a place near the scene of action, but even this differs from the epic account of the other gods. The god of Ida is closely associated with Apollo, and rebukes Hera and Athene sharply Θ 381-431; but when Zeus is observing the battle from Olympos, Athene is his dear child whose will is one with his.

3. Dodona and Thessaly. Π 233-235, ξ 327, τ 295; cf. μ 62. At Dodona is a peculiar worship of a Zeus differing in some degree from Zeus Olympios, and the fame of the oracle is recognized all over Greece. The race of Achilles is traced back to Zeus of Thessaly, Φ 187-189; Λ 773-775 family worship of Zeus by the father of Achilles.

4. Allusions to the connection of Zeus with other localities. As the father of Peirithoos and grandfather of Polypoites, Zeus is connected with Elis, and the legends of the Pelopidae connect him specifically with Olympia. Legends of Dardanos and his race seem to have been transplanted from Arkadia to Troy, and in their origin they may probably have been associated with the all-important worship of Zeus in Arkadia. Through the Aiakidai, Zeus is associated with Aegina as well as with Thessaly; in legends of Rhadamanthys and Minos we have the Zeus of Crete, and by his son Sarpedon he is associated with Lycia. In these legends Zeus is closely associated now with one locality, now with another, nor is he quite the same in any two instances. The epic Zeus is a new creation on the basis of very many different ideas of Zeus, and it is hardly probable that these local phases of Zeus were worshipped in just the same way everywhere.

II. *Apollo*. — 1. Pergamos, Ilios. Apollo's care for Ilios, Φ 515. His residence on Pergamos, Δ 508, H 21. His temple on sacred Pergamos with a great adyton H 82-84, E 445-448. The word Pergamos is used mainly with reference to Apollo, so that perhaps it is in some way associated with the worship of Apollo. Besides the leaders of the Trojan army, Apollo cares for the son of Panthoos, O 522 (Verg. Aen. II 430 makes Panthoos a priest of Apollo).

2. Chryse, Killa, Tenedos. In *A* we become familiar with Apollo Smintheus, god of Chryse. He is a much more religious figure than Apollo elsewhere in the poems. The worship of Apollo Smintheus is so important in this region later, that we may fairly regard the religious character of this Apollo in the epic as due to his intimate relations with the actual worship of the region.

3. Lycia. Apollo cares for the burial of Sarpedon in Lycia, Π 670 sq., and Glaukos prays to Apollo "Whenever thou art in the rich land of Lycia or in Troy," Π 514.

4. Zeleia. Here Pandaros receives his bow from Apollo B 827. To Apollo he prays, vowing to sacrifice a hekatomb of firstling lambs when he should have returned to sacred Zeleia, Δ 119-121.

5. Ismaros. ε 198 sqq. The priest and sacred grove indicate a local worship of Apollo; and the character of the gifts suggest that this Apollo was allied to Dionysos in his nature.

6. Reference to altar at Delos. § 162.

7. Pytho (Delphi). Treasures, I 404-405. Oracle, θ 79.

8. Apollo reared in Peræa of Thessaly the mares that the son of Pheres drove, B 766.

Finally, the references to the feast of Apollo in Ithaka (*e.g.* v 207-208) show that the idea of recurring feasts, quite possibly annual, celebrated in particular localities in honor of some particular phase of the god, was not unfamiliar to the poet.

III. *Hera*.—Δ 51-52. Argos and Sparta and Mykenai. Argos, Δ 8, E 908; interest in Eurystheus of Argos, T 115-124. The special helper of Menelaos of Sparta, Δ 7-8, δ 513.

IV. *Athene*.—1. Athene is associated with Olympian Zeus and with Olympos more closely than any of the other gods.

2. Troy. Goddess of war protecting the citadel, with a peculiar form of worship, Z 85 sq., 275, 290 sq.

3. Alalkomenai (Boeotia). Δ 8 and E 908. Pausanias found here a very old sanctuary of Athene.

4. Athens. Home, η 80, and sanctuary, B 547, at Athens, in connection with the worship of Erechtheus.

5. Argos. Diomedes is her special favorite, K 294 sq., and by her aid he can wound the gods, Δ. Diomedes is closely associated with Athene in later worship at Argos. (Athene and Tydeus of Aitolia, Δ 390, K 294 sq.)

The existence of a grove of Athene and a place sacred to her just outside the city of the Phæacians, § 292, shows that such sacred places were by no means unfamiliar to the poet.

V. *Artemis*.—When she is mentioned in connection with places where in later times she is worshipped, Kalydon, I 530, Taygetos, and Erymanthos, § 103, the description has a very different tone from the references to her as an Olympian goddess, *e.g.* in T and Φ.

Penelope prays to Artemis in a manner that can be most easily explained on the assumption of some such connection between the two as is suggested by Pausanias VIII. 12, 5.

VI. *Aphrodite*.—Aphrodite has the epithet Kypris four times in E, and in θ 363 she goes to Paphos, where are her sacred precinct and fragrant altar. Called Kythereia, θ 288, σ 193. Connected with Troy in the person of her son Aineias, T 105, E 311-313. Cf. Art. *Aeneias* in Pauly, Realencyclopaedic, ed. 3.

VII. *Hephaestus*.—Lemnos, A 593, E 10, θ 283. Priest Dares, E 9.

VIII. *Ares*.—Thrace, N 298-301, θ 360. Connected with Orchomenos by his son Askalaphos, B 512, N 518, O 111 sq.

IX. *Poseidon*.—1. Helike, Θ 203, many offerings; T 404, bull.

2. Aigai. Θ 203, many offerings: ε 380, N 21. Later the worship of Poseidon Helikonios and Aigaïos was important in North Peloponnesus and elsewhere.

(3. Samothrace N 13.)

4. Pylos. γ 43, sacrifice of Nestor, grandson of Poseidon. Poseidon worshipped with the river Alpheios, Λ 728.

5. Amphimachos of Elis is a beloved son, Λ 752, N 185-207.

6. The connection of Odysseus with Poseidon may possibly be explained in connection with the worship of Poseidon in Arkadia; cf. λ 121-133.

7. Onchestos (Boeotia). B 506.

8. Geraistos. γ 177-179.

X. *Demeter*. — Pyrasos in Phthiotis, B 695.

A few local deities, in particular river-gods, have been retained as such in the poems; and many others are included among the nymphs and semi-divine beings who make up the *άγορά* of the gods.

9. Aristotle on the Faults of Poetry; or Poetics xxv. in the Light of the Homeric Scholia, by Dr. Mitchell Carroll, of the Johns Hopkins University.

From a study of the Porphyrian¹ *Ζητήματα* of the Homeric scholia, of which the "*προβλήματα Ὀμηρικά*" of Aristotle and his followers were a source, it becomes evident that the much misunderstood twenty-fifth chapter of the Poetics contains the elements of a systematic treatment of the faults of poetry and of the inconsistencies of Homer. The design of the "*προβλήματα Ὀμηρικά*" was to consider and answer the criticisms and censures of Homer by philosophers and sophists, and, in consequence, the fragments preserved to us furnish numerous illustrations of the principles stated in this chapter, which discusses the objections of critics to poetry and proper methods of answering them. This is evident from the following analysis:

Aristotle begins by laying down certain general propositions as a basis for the consideration, both of *έπιτιμήματα*, or objections of critics, and of *λύσεις*, or solutions of objections (1460 b 5-23). These have reference to:

A. *The objects of representation*. The poet being an imitator, as the painter or sculptor, must represent either actual occurrences (*ὅσα ἦν ἢ ἔστιν*), or current traditions and beliefs (*ὅσα φασιν καὶ δοκεῖ*), or 'the higher reality,' the universal, the ideal (*ὅσα εἶναι δεῖ*).

B. *The means of representation*. This is language, which employs either ordinary terms, or rare terms, or metaphors; besides, many modifications of language are conceded to poets.

C. *The standard of correctness in poetry*. This is not the same as the standard of correctness in other arts. In poetry there are two kinds of faults possible — those which affect its essence, and those which are accidental. If the representation of the poet is faulty through want of ability, the error is inherent in the poetry; but if merely the poet's conception of what he proposes to imitate be

¹ The fragments of Porphyry's *Ζητήματα Ὀμηρικά* have been collected and edited by Hermann Schrader, in two volumes: *Porphyrii Quaest. Hom. ad Il. . . . Reliq.*, Leipzig, 1880, and *Porphyrii Quaest. Hom. ad Od. . . . Reliq.*, Leipzig, 1890. Citations from the schol. Por. are from these volumes.

incorrect, if *e.g.* he has represented a horse advancing both right legs at once, the fault is accidental, as in the *μῆσις* the demands of art could be fully met.

1. The Ἐπιτιμήματα.

Aristotle expressly mentions five sources of objections (1461 b 22-24). Poetry is censured as containing elements which may be regarded either (1) as impossible, *ὡς ἀδύνατα* (cf. Poet. 1451 b 19, 1460 a 27, b 24, schol. Por. Γ 144, Δ 105, E 7, etc.), or (2) as irrational, *ὡς ἀλογα* (Poet. 1454 b 6, 1460 b 13, schol. Por. A 63, Γ 121, M 25), or (3) as hurtful to morals, *ὡς βλαβερά*, or (4) as contradictory, *ὡς ὑπεναντία* (schol. Por. A 52, B 844, Ξ 434), or (5) as contrary to artistic correctness, *ὡς παρὰ τὴν ὀρθότητα τὴν κατὰ τέχνην*. In addition, the scholia recognize, (6) the unseemly, *ἀπρεπῆ* (schol. Por. A 18, A 31, I 186, etc.; cf. Poet. 1454 a 30, 1459 b 33), (7) the absurd, *ἀτοπα* (schol. Por. Δ 297, I 591, K 194; cf. Poet. 1460 a 2, a 35), (8) the inconsistent in character, *ἀνώμαλα* (schol. Por. Σ 198, Λ 489; cf. Poet. 1454 a 32), and (9) the inexpedient, *ἀσύμφορα* (schol. Por. Ζ 224, λ 405, ι 106).

2. The Λύσεις.

Twelve solutions of objections are stated in the chapter, which Aristotle treats in the following order (1460 b 23-1461 b 10):

1. Λύσεις from a consideration of artistic correctness.

I. The end of poetry (*εἰ τυγχάνει τοῦ τέλους τοῦ αὐτῆς*, 1460 b 22 sq.) is the object of appeal in answer to censures of representations as being *ἀδύνατα*, *ἀλογα*, *βλαβερά* (cf. 1461 b 10, 21). *e.g.* The pursuit of Hektor, which contains elements regarded as both impossible and improbable (cf. 1460 a 15, schol. Por. X 205).

II. To the accidental (*κατὰ . . . συμβεβηκός*, 1460 b 30-32) are to be referred all inaccuracies due to a faulty conception of what was to be represented. It is a less serious matter not to know that a hind has no horns than to paint one inartistically.

2. Λύσεις from a consideration of the objects of representation.

III. The ideality peculiar to poetry (*οἷα εἶναι δεῖ, ἀλλ' ἴσως δεῖ, βέλτιον*, 1460 b 33, 1461 b 10), which is aesthetic rather than moral, can be urged if the fault consists in the representation not being true to fact, or not possible, etc. Thus, Sophocles said that he represented men as they ought to be; Euripides, men as they are.

IV. To current legends and traditional beliefs (*οἷα φασι καὶ δοκεῖ, πρὸς ἃ φασι*, 1460 b 35, etc.) an appeal is made in case the representation is censured as neither idealistic nor true (*οὔτε βέλτιον οὔτ' ἀληθῆ*) or not possible or not rational; *e.g.* the poetic representations of the gods, cf. schol. Por. T 108, Σ 489, T 67.

V. An appeal to the custom, to what actually occurred (*οἷα ἦν ἢ ἔστι, οὔτως εἶχεν*, 1461 a 2) is made in case the aesthetic ideality of a representation is questioned. The example cited is Il. K 152, *ἔγχεα δὲ σφιν ὄρθ' ἐπὶ σαυρωτῆρος ἐλήλατο*. Cf. the scholia: *φαύλη δοκεῖ εἶναι ἢ τῶν δοράτων ἐπὶ σαυρωτῆρος στάσις· καὶ δὴ πανταχοῦ θόρυβον ἦδη πεποίηκε ἐν μόνον πεσόν. λυεῖ δ' Ἀριστοτέλης λέγων*

δοι τοιαῦτα δεῖ ποιεῖ "Ομηρος οἷα ἦν τότε. ἦν δὲ τοιαῦτα τὰ παλαιὰ οἴαπερ καὶ νῦν ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις κ.τ.λ. Kindred passages are schol. Por. K 194, Ψ 269, Ω 15, 16. In the scholia this appeal to the custom receives a technical designation ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθους, and serves for the removal of objections to passages regarded as containing, (1) ἀδύνατα (schol. Por. Γ 379, Ε 7, Κ 11, etc.), (2) ἀπρεπῆ (schol. Por. Β 8, Ι 203, γ 72), (3) ὑπεραντία (schol. Por. Β 827, Δ 2, κ 103), (4) ἀτοπα (schol. Por. Δ 297).

The remark following, περὶ δὲ τοῦ καλῶς ἢ μὴ καλῶς κ.τ.λ. (1461 a 4-9) emphasizes a relativity of judgment in the criticism, not of the morally good and bad in the words and actions of poetic characters, as Vahlen and Butcher take it, but of the poetically good and bad. This is shown from a comparison of kindred passages of the Poetics (1451 b 8 sq., 1454 a 33, 1461 b 19), from a study of Aristotle's use of καλῶς (1447 a 10, 10, 1453 a 12, b 25, etc.) and of σπουδαῖος and φαῦλος (in 1451 b 36, 1461 b 30, 1462 a 9, etc.) and from its frequent application in the scholia. It is a general observation emphasizing the necessity of perfect conformity of words and actions to the characters of those speaking or acting and to the occasion, and brings in application the third λύσις of the aesthetic ideality of poetry. In the scholia its usual application is in answer to strictures on the words and actions of Homeric heroes, where the appeal to the person receives the technical designation, ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου, that to the occasion ἀπὸ τοῦ καιροῦ. ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου solves, (1) ἀπρεπῆ (schol. Por. Α 42, ζ 244, ι 5, λ 489), (2) ἄλογα (schol. Por. Γ 122, Μ 25, χ 412), (3) ὑπεραντία (schol. Por. Β 649, Ζ 265, Ζ 488, Ξ 434), etc.: ἀπὸ τοῦ καιροῦ solves, (1) ἄλογα (schol. Por. Α 420, Γ 315, Κ 194), (2) ἀπρεπῆ (schol. Por. Α 18, Ι 186, Ι 453, λ 489), (3) ὑπεραντία (schol. Por. Β 848, Δ 2, Υ 329), (4) ἀτοπα (schol. Por. Ι 591), etc.

3. Λύσεις from a consideration of the means of representation.

The interpretation of the linguistic expression was the readiest and most frequently applied means for the solution of προβλήματα, as is shown by the scholia in which it bears the technical designation ἀπὸ τῆς λέξεως. The following citations indicate its varied applications: (1) ἀδύνατα (schol. Por. Γ 144, Δ 105, Ε 7), (2) ἄλογα (schol. Por. Α 62, Γ 121, Ε 341), (3) ὑπεραντία (schol. Por. Α 3, Β 844, Ε 576), ἀπρεπῆ (schol. Por. Α 31, Α 42, Β 8), etc. These amply illustrate the various λύσεις depending on a study of the language which Aristotle states, with examples, in the following order (1461 a 9-b, 10):

- VI. γλώττη, a solution by an appeal to the use of a rare term.
- VII. κατὰ μεταφοράν, by an appeal to metaphor.
- VIII. κατὰ προσφθιάν, by a change in accent or breathing.
- IX. διαίρεσις, by a change in punctuation.
- X. ἀμφιβολία, by a study of the ambiguity of an expression.
- XI. κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς λέξεως, by an appeal to the custom of speech.
- XII. ποσαχῶς ἂν σημήναι, κ.τ.λ., by an appeal to the various possibilities of meaning in a word.

The remaining section of the chapter (1461 b 10-21) contains general observations on the treatment of certain ἐπιτιμήματα.

10. Notes on Horace, by Dr. Charles Knapp, of Barnard College.

1. Satires I. 1. 36:

Quae, simul *inversum contristat* Aquarius *annum*,
non usquam prorepit et illis utitur ante
quaesitis sapiens . . .

With *inversum annum* the editors generally compare the Homeric phrases *περιπλομένων, περιτελλομένων ένιαυτών*; Theocr. 13. 26 *τετραμμένω έλαρος ήδη*; Xen. Hell. 3. 2. 25 *περιόντι τῷ ένιαυτῷ*; Thuc. 1. 30 *περιόντι τῷ θέρει*. These passages, however, are not in point, for (1) we hardly look for translations of Greek poetic epithets in the prosaic satires; and (2) assuming that we have a translation of any Greek epithet, *inversus* is surely not a fair equivalent for *περιπλόμενος, περιών, περιτελλόμενος*. Vergil translates *περιπλομένων ένιαυτών* by *volventibus annis* (Aen. 1. 234); cf. *redeuntibus annis* Aen. 8. 47 and Cong. ad loc. Nor is *annus vertens*, Macrob. Sat. 1. 14. 4 (cited by Orelli-Mewes and Kirkland) identical with *annus inversus*. The fault with these views, as well as those of Wickham and Palmer, is over-subtlety. *Inversum* here simply = *altered, changed*. The indefiniteness of this sense is relieved by the very next word *contristat*. *Inversum annum contristat* = *invertit annum et contristat*. Translate "As soon as winter brings a saddening change o'er the year." This interpretation is perfectly simple, requiring on the one hand no recourse to any Greek original, and on the other according fully with the context. This interpretation, indeed, makes it necessary to regard Aquarius as used generally for any winter sign. But surely this can create no difficulty. The sun's passage through A. (see Porphyrio) was attended by cold and storms. Hence the selection of A. here would be precisely parallel with the selection of *Aufidus* in Sat. 1. 1. 58, or of *Auster* Sat. 1. 1. 6, or of *Pontica pinus* Carm. 1. 14, or *Cypria trabs* Carm. 1. 1. Just as *Aufidus*, the mechanism of the verse apart, = simply *flumen*, as *Auster* = *ventus*, so *Aquarius* = *hiemps*.

2. Satires I. 4. 22:

beatus Fannius *ultra*
delatis capsis et imagine, cum mea nemo
scripta legat volgo recitare timentis . . .

Since Porphyrio's time, editors have exercised their ingenuity in guessing as to the meaning of the words *ultra delatis capsis et imagine*. In this fact that, in the absence of definite knowledge, all commentators alike have been reduced to conjecture, is to be found the apology for the present paper. One thing is certain: the words in question refer to some act of Fannius himself. See Kirkland, Kiessling, Schütz and Wickham ad loc. These editors lay special stress in this connection upon *ultra*. It should be noted, also, that in the absence of any new subject for the ablative absolute phrase, it must be assumed that its subject is Fannius. Hence Lambinus' view, which was adopted by Maclean and Palmer, falls to the ground at once.

The progress of knowledge is from the known to the unknown. Hence, in attempting to explain *ultra . . . imagine*, we must begin with the clause *cum . . . timentis*. The sense of these words is plain. Horace says of himself that he has no constituency of readers. Since by means of the adversative *cum* =

although, whereas, this clause is opposed to the preceding one, it follows that *ultra* . . . *imagine* ought to refer in some way to the possession by Fannius of such a constituency or of some effort to secure one. Accordingly we may say that Schütz, Kiessling and Kirkland have taken a step in the right direction in interpreting Fannius' act as that of sending his books and his bust or portrait to a bookseller's shop, for this act is one whose purpose is the obtaining of a constituency of readers. But is this view entirely right? Can *deferre* of itself = "to send to a bookseller's shop"? Can the terminus *ad quem* be omitted, if the verb *deferre* means to send at all? I would suggest the following: (1) Take *capsae* as = *writings* (so *scrinia* is used satirically of the writings of Crispinus, Sat. 1. 1. 122). (2) Interpret *imago* as referring to the portrait of the author on the title-page: see Kiessling ad loc., and Friedländer Sittengeschichte 3⁶, p. 239. (3) Take *deferre* here as meaning to give, and interpret the whole of the sending out of complimentary copies of one's published writings. For the practice of distributing such author's copies cf. Cic. ad Att. 2. 4. 1 *Fecisti mihi pergratum quod Serapionis librum ad me misisti, ex quo quidem ego—quod inter nos liceat dicere—millesimam vix intellego: pro eo tibi praesentem pecuniam solvi imperavi, ne tu impensum muneribus ferres . . .*; Mart. 4. 72, 4. 82, 7. 80, 12. 1. We have then this antithesis: Fannius voluntarily endeavors to give his writings the widest publicity; I do not, for I do not publish my writings (Sat. 1. 4. 71), nor do I recite promiscuously.

Remarks were made by Professors Sihler and Ashmore.

Adjourned at 6 P.M.

11. Remarks upon Gower's *Confessio Amantis* chiefly with reference to the text, by Professor M. W. Easton, of the University of Pennsylvania.

This paper described the manuscripts of the *Confessio Amantis* in the British Museum, and gave some details relating to the text, with special reference to the edition of Pauli. The paper is now in press, and will form a part of the series published by the University of Pennsylvania.

12. A National Form of Verse the Natural Unit for the Thought, by W. C. Lawton, of Philadelphia.

The title indicates the thesis, which is perhaps to be regarded rather as a tendency than as a law. In that early stage of language when poetic forms and ideas are both most plastic, the union of song, dance, and music increases the need of strong emphasis and marked pauses. Naturally, the verse and the thought try to fit themselves to each other. In any sustained poem, like an epic, such a restful general effect is a necessity. Yet exceptions are needed no less, to prevent monotony.

Advance in culture may make the thought too complex, too large, for the old measure. Hence the doubling of the former unit, which it is generally believed produced the dactylic hexameter of the Iliad. Still, thanks to the elastic dactyls

and the vocalic nature of Greek, the old suture, which we call caesura, is decidedly less marked than the end of the half-line in the Niebelungen. The new measure was, however, somewhat longer than the language required. This may have been largely the cause for the retention of "resolved" endings, and longer forms generally, side by side with shorter ones. The former must have been as a rule archaisms. The "fixed epithets" are also evidence in the same direction, being often unexplained or actually inappropriate.

The Greek verses invented later were all shorter than the hexameter. Trochaic tetrameter, the usual form in early tragedy (Aristotle's Poetics 4. 14), has but $7\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{3}{8} = 22\frac{1}{2}/8$ notes as against $6 \times \frac{4}{8} = 24/8$ in the hexameter. To judge from the Persians, few trochaic lines exceeded the minimum of fifteen syllables, while a third of Homer's hexameters contain seventeen. The choral anapaests, and the iambs of later dialogue, were of course still shorter. Aristotle may refer partly to this question of length when he calls iambs the metre nearest to prose, though he doubtless alludes chiefly to the articles, prepositions, and other short monosyllables, with which most Attic — like German or English — word-groups normally begin.

There is a counter-tendency toward fuller expression, — because the thought is growing more complex, — shown by the increase of dactylic and other trisyllabic substitutions in, *e.g.*, the Iphigeneia at Aulis. (Shakspeare's Winter's Tale shows the same overweighting of lines by the crowding thoughts.) But on the whole the capacity of the language for curt, compact expression had steadily increased from Homer to Euripides.

The French Alexandrine, the Italian verse of, *e.g.*, terza rima with female rhyme, and English pentameter, perhaps indicate roughly the relative space needed by the three idioms to utter the same thought (12 : 11 : 10). But other facts blur this conclusion. The persistent retention of the final *e* in tragedy indicates that the French line is too long. Italian is astonishingly elastic. Dante often packs into a line what in prose might be sixteen or more syllables, *e.g.*,

Non ra-gi-o-ni-a-mo di loro ma guarda e passa!

And our blank verse hardly has a final pause at all. The first ten lines of Thanatopsis close without a comma! Indeed without rhyme our iambs are hardly distinguishable from prose movements. When rhyme marks the close clearly, the ten-syllable line is too long for our real needs, as would be expected in a speech so stript of all inflections. Nearly all such verse is padded with otiose adjectives or diluted with Latinisms. Scott's octosyllables are more forcible, though less dignified, than any pentameters, and Conington packed Vergil's meaning into the same space.

Though nearly all Latin metres of the classic period are confessedly exotic, Catullus' rushing hendecasyllables but labored elegiacs indicate (like Cicero's letters, Plautus, etc.), that colloquial Latin was swift and crisp.

Both the iambic tendency and the curt monosyllabic nature of English will always make any approach to the hexameter movement in it doubly difficult. Perhaps Latinized vocabulary and even occasional circumlocutions may be made apparent beauties by a masterful hand, but, especially in the fascinating task of a line-for-line version of Homer, the hexameter will always prove dangerously long.

Remarks were made by Professor West.

At 3.30 P.M., in accordance with the vote of the day before, Professor Goodwin's motion was taken up.

Remarks in favor of its adoption were made by the following members: Wright of Harvard, Goodwin of Harvard, Ashmore of Union, Seymour of Yale, Kelsey of the University of Michigan, Lamberton of Pennsylvania, West of Princeton, Elwell of Amherst, Allinson of Williams, Harkness of Brown, Merrill of Wesleyan, Miss Webster of Wellesley, Miss Leach of Vassar, J. R. Wheeler of Vermont, Paton formerly of Middlebury, Harrington of North Carolina, Hale of the University of Chicago, and Weston of Standfordville (Christian Biblical Institute).

Professor Hale moved the following substitute for the motion of Professor Goodwin:

Resolved: That, in the opinion of the American Philological Association, in any program designed to prepare students for the classical course, not less than three years of instruction in Greek should be required.

Unanimously adopted by a rising vote.

Professor Goodwin moved that "unanimous" be inserted before "opinion." Carried.

Professor Goodwin moved that a Committee of Twelve be appointed by the Chair to carry the motion into effect.

Unanimously adopted.

Professor West offered the following motion:

Resolved: That the question of the amount of Latin needed for the various courses in the secondary schools be referred to the Committee of Twelve.

Unanimously adopted.

Remarks were made by the Chair on the probable functions of the Committee.

The Committee of Twelve was subsequently appointed. It consists of:

- W. W. Goodwin, Harvard University (Chairman).
- C. F. P. Bancroft, Phillips Academy.
- Franklin Carter, Williams College.
- W. G. Hale, University of Chicago.
- W. R. Harper, University of Chicago.
- F. W. Kelsey, University of Michigan.
- G. L. Kittredge, Harvard University.
- Abby Leach, Vassar College.
- T. D. Seymour, Yale University.
- C. F. Smith, University of Wisconsin.
- M. Warren, Johns Hopkins University.
- A. F. West, Princeton University.

13. Confusion of *δέκα* and *τέσσαρες* in Thucydides, by Professor Frank L. Van Cleef, of Cornell University.

Gow (Journ. of Philol. XII, 278 ff.) has shown that the first traces of the Greek system of numeral notation, in which the letters of the alphabet with the addition of stigma, koppa and san represent the units, tens, and hundreds in their order, are to be found in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Prior to this, the Herodianic method prevailed. At some time, therefore, in the Alexandrian period a change must have been made from the older system to the newer in the MSS. of those writers, by whom so frequent use of numerals was made as to render it probable that symbols rather than words were employed. When these symbols were finally translated into words, it becomes conceivable, if not quite probable, that the translator, familiar with both systems, may now and then have confused them. Such confusion, however, must have been quite limited in extent, because of the great difference in the significance of the same symbol in the two systems. But in the case of the symbol Δ the possibility of confusion was the greatest, signifying as it did in the older system *ten*, in the newer *four*. The following passages of Thucydides seem to indicate that Δ, denoting *four*, was occasionally translated *ten*.

1. I. 57. 6. The Athenians were on the point of sending thirty ships and one thousand hoplites to the coast of Macedonia Ἰσχυροῦ τοῦ Λυκομήδους μετ' ἄλλων δέκα στρατηγόντων. That the eleven here mentioned were not the official στρατηγοί of Athens, whose number never exceeded ten, but special military officers is disproved by the consideration of the use of στρατηγέω in Thucydides. A change being necessary, it is most probable that Krueger's τεσσάρων is to be read.

2. I. 103. 1. The Helots in Ithome, besieged by the Spartans, capitulated ἐν δεκάτῳ ἔτει. If this were correct, Thucydides would expose himself to the charge of unchronological treatment of facts, a thing reprehended in Hellenic (I. 97. 2.). Furthermore the surprising endurance of the Helots is incredible. Classen emends to τετάρτῳ and the event falls into its proper place, no matter what view of the chronology of the pentekontaetia be taken. The emendation is approved by the later historians, Abbott, Holm, Busolt. It is another instance of the confusion mentioned, for the ordinal was represented by the same sign as the cardinal, the ending alone being added to show the case.

3. The two passages suffice to show the tendency to confusion. A third may perhaps be found in V. 25. 3., in which δέκα μήνας, whether the *terminus a quo* be the σπονδαί or the συμμαχία of the spring of 421, would expire in mid-winter, when an outbreak of active hostilities is quite improbable. Ullrich's proposed change of τέσσαρες for δέκα removes much of the difficulty of the passage and would be merely another illustration of the confusion spoken of above.

By way of further confirmation, investigation of the use of δέκα (*δέκατος*) and τέσσαρες (*τέταρτος*) shows: (a) that the former largely prevails (74 to 39); (b) that in all but four instances in which the latter is used, the context demands the number *four* instead of *ten*, while in only half the cases in which the former is used is any information easily accessible to show that *ten* is meant and not *four*.

14. Women's Speech in Classical Literature, by Dr. B. Newhall of Brown University.

It was noticed by Aristotle (Rhet. III. 7. 6) and by Theon (116. 2 Sp.) that women have a distinctive style of their own and use forms of expression not employed by men. Many writers, however, fail to imitate this peculiar style and none exhibit *all* its characteristics. In history and tragedy mimicry would usually seem too familiar for a dignified and lofty theme, and in Homer, though the manner is so naïve, much uniformity is also given to the language by the mechanical phraseology of the epic. Lysias is the only orator who introduces women into his speeches, Plato has no female characters, and even Lucian does not seem to vary the language of his speakers. The chief sources, then, for our study are the comedians and letter-writers.

I. *Discontinuity of thought* and lack of logical sequence are generally agreed to be essential to the female mind. The garrulity and diffuseness of Chaucer's Wife of Bath and of Juliet's Nurse illustrate this tendency in English literature. The woman in Or. 32 of Lysias exhibits incoherence by her asyndeton, polysyndeton, and excess of finite verbs, while in Alciphron and Herondas asyndeton is much more frequent in the language of the women than in that of the men. In Hdt. III. 53, however, the peculiar structure seems due to the gnomic character of Periander's wisdom (cf. Stein *ad loc.*). Donatus, too, notices the frequent insertion of a parenthesis (Hec. 87) to break the continuity; this is quite common in Alciphron and is found in Herondas (VI. 34. 70) and in Livy (26. 49. 12, 39. 10). The only specimens of Latin prose actually written by a woman are the two short letters of Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi; in these we notice the frequent repetition of phrases, and indeed Donatus comments (Hec. 741) on the *femineum tardiloquium*. In Plautus and Terence, unfortunately, tricks of speech which might seem appropriate to women are usually as often employed by the slaves.

II. *Conservatism*. Plato tells us (Crat. 418 C) that *αἱ γυναῖκες μάλιστα τὴν ἀρχαίαν φωνὴν σώζουσιν* and alludes elsewhere (Meno. 99 D, I Alcib. 120 B) to their tenacity in preserving old-fashioned modes of expression. Again, he intimates that they are fond of stories, proverbs, and gnomes (Rep. 350 E, Gorg. 512 E), while Cicero (De Orat. III. 12) tells us that Laelia spoke like Plautus or Naevius, since 'facilius mulieres incorruptam antiquitatem conservant.' This tendency is exemplified in Cornelia's letters, where we find not only *laborem tradere* (cf. *malum dare, etc.*) and *preces expetere* (cf. Pl. Rud. 258), but one of the compounds with *per* so frequent in comedy, and the rare and old construction of *atque* with a comparative. In her vocabulary we note *deierare* and *pausa* with *quatenus* in the sense of *quoniam*, all ante-(or post-) classical. The only cotemporary of Cornelia that has so archaic a style is her son, C. Gracchus; and Cicero states (Brut. 58) that the perusal of her letters shows 'filios non tam in gremio educatos quam in sermone matris.' The only other example under this head is furnished by Lysias, in whose Or. 32 the speaker employs *θέλω* instead of *ἐθέλω*, a usage confined in prose to old and familiar phrases. Women, too, use more proverbs than men in Herondas, and they come thick and fast in Theocritus' XVth Idyll, but elsewhere, their frequency is not so noticeable. It has further been remarked that the Caribbean and Kafir women have a different set of words

and phrases for certain objects and ideas, which is taboo for the men, and this is due to a desire to avoid words which resemble the names of their male relatives. The use of Prakrit by the women in the Sanskrit dramas shows no lack of conservatism, but simply an inferior education.

III. *Pathos*. Women are more often influenced by their emotions, so that their language manifests different forms of pathos (in the Greek sense of the word). The woman in *Lys.* 32 combines with asyndeton a passionate use of anaphora, and this figure is found with similar force in Alciphron (*Frag.* 5. 2), in Dionysius (*Antiq. Rom.* VIII. 40. 5) and in Cassius Dio (44. 13, *Ante* 36. fr. 4. 6). The last instance contains five different words, each repeated twice, while asyndeton adds to the effect. Similarly the fourfold *ecquando* in Cornelia's letter reflects the fiery energy of the writer, seen also in strong expressions like *relictos atque desertos*. This exaggeration abounds in Alciphron's letters and appears also in the address of Veturia (*Rom. Ant.* VIII. 51. 1), which exhibits constant pathos in thought as well in the versions both of Livy and Dionysius.

IV. *Oaths*. As early as the Wife of Bath we find English women swearing with great freedom, and Dame Quickly puts an oath into nearly every sentence. Hotspur's rebuke to Kate (*1 Hen. IV.* 3. 1. 240) shows that the women had peculiar oaths of their own, and such was also the case in Greece. There women swore by no god but Zeus, and men by no goddess save Demeter, for it was noted as a personal peculiarity when Socrates swore by Hera or Demosthenes by Athena. Oaths by Aphrodite and τὴ θεῶ were especially characteristic of women (cf. *Ar. Eccl.* 156, 189, *Phryn.* § 171), and women swear more frequently than men in Aristophanes and the letter-writers. In early Latin Gellius (*XI.* 6) plainly states that 'neque mulieres per Herculeum deiurant neque viri per Castorem,' and this is confirmed by the literature, though by the time of Apuleius women swore by Hercules. In Terence *pol* is the most common oath for both sexes, but in both comedians the women swear more often, the *matrona* most of all. So Cornelia's use of *Ne ille sinat Jupiter* seems unnecessary and Pantheia in the *Cyropaedia* is over-fond of oaths. Among interjections *au* is the exclusive property of women, while they never use *attat, euge, vah, ei, heus*. But this may be due to chance.

Remarks were made by Professors Sihler and Wright.

15. St. Paul and the *Lex Iulia de vi*, by Professor E. G. Sihler, of the University of the City of New York.

Under what specific legal safeguard was the life of St. Paul sheltered in his appeal to his *civitas*, both at Philippi, *Acts* 16, 37, and at Jerusalem, *Acts* 22, 25? — The name *praetores* (στρατηγῶν) was not vain affectation on the part of the executive chief magistrates of the colony of Philippi, cf. *Orelli-Henzen*, *Index*, p. 156, *Mommsen*, *Staatsrecht*, II, 185, n. 3, III, 617. This point of stricture by Lewin and by Farrar is pointless. Cf. also *Wettstein* on *Acts* 16, 20.

Mommsen, indeed, on the other hand, unduly depresses the importance of the legal aspect of the occurrence at Philippi, *Str.* III, p. 819, n. 2. — he calling it a case merely calling for the maintenance of public peace — "ein Polizeiverfahren." . . . Do not the words, 16, 21, καταγγέλλουσιν ἔθνη ἃ οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἡμῖν παραδέχασθαι οὐδὲ ποιεῖν Ῥωμαῖοι οὖσιν, suggest the possibility of making a charge of introducing a *religio illicita*? Cf. *Wettstein*.

The modern exegetical and biographical writers are in substantial accord as to the political laws which sheltered Paul. Lewin, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, 1875, 3d ed. II, p. 147, on Acts 22, 24-29, cites the *lex Valeria* Liv. II, 8, "de provocatione adversus magistratus ad populum," and the *lex Porcia* "of 248 B.C.," also an edict of Augustus against beginning a *quaestio* with flogging, Digest. 48, 18, 1. Similarly, Holtzmann, *Handcommentar z. N. T. I.*, p. 388, citing Cicero, *Verres*, II, 5, 57, and ib. 66, also Zöckler on Acts 16, 37 (1887), T. A. Alexander on Acts, 1864, Vol. II, p. 129. Conybeare and Howson, 1864, I, p. 310, cite the *lex Valeria* of 508 B.C., and the *lex Porcia* of 300 B.C., and Digest. 48, 18. The same references are found in Farrar, *Life and Works of St. Paul*, I, p. 502; Professor Lumby, of Cambridge, Eng., on Acts, Vol. II, p. 214. H. B. Hackett, Andover, 1877. Similarly Lange and Meyer. Baumgarten, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, Halle, 1852, cites Hugo Grotius. And indeed every antiquarian point of any specific value in all these writers is directly traceable to Grotius. Was Grotius right?

Was the *provocatio* of 500 and 300 and 200 B.C. the same as that of the Claudian and Neronian era of the empire?

Provocatio was essentially (cf. Mommsen, *Stor.* III, 351) a republican institution. This appeal ultimately lay not to the Senate, but to the *comitia* of the people gathered in their judicial character and actual bearers of the sovereignty of the state. Cf. Polybius, VI, 14, "θανάτου δὲ κρίνει μὲνος," scil. ὁ δῆμος. The successive establishment of the *quaestiones perpetuae* (*peculatus, ambitus, de parricidio, de vi publica, maiestatis*) greatly limited that exercise of judicial sovereignty. At the beginning of the "princirate," 28-27 B.C., the last fragments of the judicial function of the people vanished. The *ostensible* partition of the administrative and judicial functions between the *princeps* and Senate and the cumulation of almost all the important magistracies on the person of the princeps really emphasized the lapse of the sovereignty of the people. A citizen threatened with violence stood indeed still under the protection of laws; but these laws had their root not in the sovereign *maiestas* of the people, but in administrative regulations of the princeps, in checks placed on the administrative representatives and agents of the emperor. Such a check was contained in one of the several provisions of the *lex Iulia de vi*. The citation of statutes specifically republican in character on the part of Grotius may therefore be fairly called an anachronism. — We read in the Digest. 48, 6, 7, ad legem Iuliam de vi publica, from Ulpian, Book VIII, de officio proconsulis: "*Lege Iulia de vi publica tenetur, qui, cum imperium potestatemve haberet, civem Romanum adversus provocacionem necaverit verberaverit insueritque quid fieri aut quid in collum iniecerit ut torqueatur. Item quod ad legatos oratores comitesve attinebit si quis eorum (quem) pulsasse, eive iniuriam fecisse arguetur.*" Under this provision, Festus, too, even if he had desired to, would not have been permitted to disregard Paul's *provocatio* to Rome, and that appeal lay to the princeps. It seems impossible to determine whether this *lex Iulia* was devised by Caesar or by Augustus. There was a *lex Iulia de vi aut maiestatis* of the former, Cic. Phil. I, 9, from which oration, too, we learn that *aqua et igni interdicti* was the penalty. Antony had proposed (promulgare) new legislation, subversive of these particular laws, viz. "ut et de vi et maiestatis damnati ad populum provocent si velint," which would have reduced the regular courts, i.e. the *quaestiones*, to absolute impotence. — Rein in Pauly v. *vis*, p. 2676, states that Sigonius, Bach, Ernesti, Löw, Petermann,

Wächter, Laboulaye, assumed two distinct and successive legislations *de vi*, by Caesar and by Augustus, while others ascribe all to Caesar. Of more recent authorities, Bruns and Mommsen (*Fontes Iuris antiqui*, 5 ed. 1887, p. 110 sq.) unite the two categories as "Lex Iulia de vi publica et privata," remarking in the footnotes: "utrum Caesaris sit an Augusti non constat." Equally indefinite and uncertain the matter appears to Madvig (*Verfassung und Verwaltung des Römischen Staates*, Vol. II, p. 274): "Later we hear of a lex Iulia of Caesar (Cic. Phil. I, 9), perhaps the same which appears in the Digest. 48, 6-7, as two laws, lex Iulia de vi privata and l. I. de vi publica, with loose determinations of the differences between the two kinds."

Remarks were made by Professor Wright.

16. Some Spartan Families under the Empire, by Dr. James M. Paton, of Cambridge, Mass.

This paper appears in full in the TRANSACTIONS. Remarks were made by Professors Sihler and Wright.

17. Pliny's Laurentine Villa, by Professor H. W. Magoun of Oberlin College.

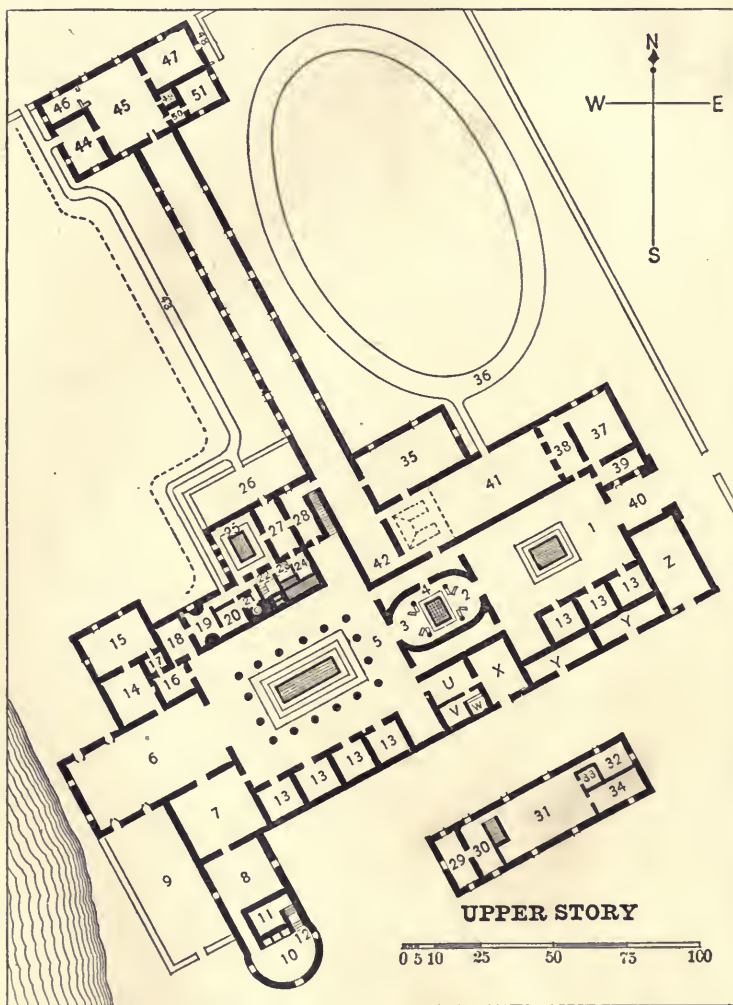
The plan of Pliny's villa here presented grew out of an attempt to give my class a better idea of the meaning of his description (II. 17) than they were able to obtain without a diagram. It was practically done before I knew of the existence of other plans, and was completed in all its details before any of them were available. The only one thus far seen (Hirt's) differs from my own in almost every particular save the points of the compass. Castell's, though daily expected for some time past, has failed to come. Cowan's and a plan in the *Jahrbuch des deutsch. arch. Instituts* for 1891, which I had confidently expected to have ere this, are still unfortunately not at hand. There may be others. I do not know of any; but information concerning any which may have escaped me would be gratefully received. In the meantime, it has seemed best on the whole to publish my own plan just as it is with little or no discussion of the points at issue, and omitting the description from lack of space. In a later article, I hope to present copies of plans heretofore made, a brief review of the views of others, and a careful consideration of the reasons which have led me to the conclusions reached. For the present a few words of explanation must suffice.

The *duae cellae* of the letter (23 and 24 of the plan) seem to have been a *caldarium* and a *tepidarium* respectively, and the use of a special room for the *caldarium* is the ground for putting the *laconicum* (21 of the plan) next the furnace. Behind the *duae cellae*, I have placed the reservoir, which seems to have been a part of the regular outfit in such cases.

Although Pliny's statement that the rest of the side of the house first described was devoted to the use of his freedmen and slaves at first led me to divide the whole of the space not appropriated into small rooms, it has seemed best to make some changes. The inexpensiveness of keeping up the villa (II. 17), coupled with the fact that he had there only a house and gardens (IV. 6) indicates a comparatively small number of servants. Storerooms, a kitchen with accessory rooms, and a

stable, must have been included in the estate, and I have finally come to believe that they were located as given.

There remains the question of the *atrium* and the *cavaedium*. In all that I have thus far read, it has seemed strange to me that no one has raised the



question whether the word *cavaedium* may not have varied in its application in different periods. It seems clear that in the early period the *atrium* and the *cavaedium* were the same practically, though the latter term seems to have been a more general one including the *alae* when there were any. Varro, LING. LAT.

IV. 45: *Cavum aedium dictum, qui locus tectus intra parietes relinquebatur patulus, qui esset ad communem omnium usum. . . . Atrium appellatum ab Atriatibus Tusci.* In such villas as that of Diomedes at Pompeii which, in accordance with the new fashion in such houses, had no *atrium*, the word *cavaedium*, if used at all, must have been applied to the *peristylum*. There was no other room to which it could be applied, precisely as in the early days there was only an *atrium*. That it was so applied, I cannot doubt; for that it was a general term and not a particular one seems perfectly clear in spite of Becker and his school. On this ground, I have taken the *cavaedium* to be simply a *peristylum*, and have so represented it, supposing that it would come to be the fashion in villas which had an *atrium* to still apply the term *cavaedium* to the *peristylum*, and certainly nothing could be more natural. Indeed, as the family life ceased to concentrate itself in the *atrium* and withdraw into the expanding house beyond, the term *cavaedium* would naturally go with it and come to be used of the inner part of the house, as it clearly is used by writers of the later period. Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* II. 483 ff. Varro, in the passage cited, speaking historically, uses it of course, in its original sense as synonymous with *atrium*. We should expect the same usage in Vitruvius, the architect, and so indeed we find it. Believing that this is the solution of this vexed question, I have taken *atrium* literally and so represented it.

With the help of the list given below, it will be easy to follow Pliny's description (II. 17), which is to be found in almost all editions:

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1. atrium | 31. cenatio |
| 2. 3. porticus | 32. cubiculum |
| 4. area | 33. apotheca |
| 5. cavaedium | 34. horreum |
| 6. triclinium | 35. triclinium |
| 7. cubiculum (amplum) | 36. gestatio |
| 8. cubiculum (minus) | 37. cenatio |
| 9. hibernaculum | 38. 39. diaetae |
| 10. cubiculum (in hapsida curvatum) | 40. vestibulum |
| 11. dormitorium membrum | 41. hortus (pinguis) [with trichila (?)] |
| 12. transitus interjacens | 42. cryptoporticus |
| 13. servants' rooms | 43. xystus |
| 14. cubiculum (politissimum) | 44. heliocaminus |
| 15. cubiculum (grande) | 45. cubiculum |
| 16. cubiculum (munimentis hibernum) | 46. zotheca |
| 17. procoeton | 47. cubiculum (noctis) |
| 18. cubiculum (aliud) | 48. andron |
| 19. cella frigidaria | 49. hypocauston |
| 20. unctorium | 50. procoeton |
| 21. hypocauston | 51. cubiculum |
| 22. propnigeon | U. culina (?) |
| 23. caldarium (?) | V. larder (?) |
| 24. tepidarium (?) | W. latrina (?) |
| 25. piscina | X. kitchen storeroom (?) |
| 26. sphaeristerium | Y. general storerooms (?) |
| 27. 28. 29. 30. diaetae | Z. stabulum (?) |

18. The pre-Themistoclean Wall at Athens, by Professor John Williams White, of Harvard University.

Was ancient Athens protected by a city-wall before the invasion of Xerxes? If it was thus protected, when was the wall built and when was it destroyed?

These questions have had conflicting answers. The evidence is exclusively literary. Dörpfeld denies the existence of a city-wall prior to 479 B.C. Before this time the fortifications of Athens were confined to the Acropolis. Ernst Curtius believes that there was a wall; that probably it was built by the tyrants, but that it was not completed so as to be capable of defence against Cleomenes in 511-10 B.C. Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff holds that Athens was a walled town in the time of Theseus, that the wall stood in the time of Cylon but was destroyed by Pisistratus, that at least it was not in existence at the end of the sixth century B.C.

The most important part of the literary evidence for the existence of a city-wall before the time of Themistocles is the following:

Thuc. I. 89, *καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ τὰ τεῖχη· τοῦ τε γὰρ περιβόλου βραχέα εἰστήκει καὶ οἰκίαι αἱ μὲν πολλοὶ πεπτώκεσαν, ὀλίγαι δὲ περιῆσαν.* The town and the walls were to be *rebuilt*. Only small remains of the *περίβολος* were left standing. *ὁ περίβολος* must here mean an encircling wall, and is identical with *τὰ τεῖχη*.

Thuc. I. 93, *μείζων γὰρ ὁ περίβολος πανταχῆ ἐξήχθη τῆς πόλεως.* That *περίβολος* here means enclosing wall (not 'circuit') seems to be established by Thucydides's use of the word. He employs it five times in addition to its use here: I. 89 (above); I. 90, *ξυγκαθελεῖν τοὺς περιβόλους*; II. 13, *ἐξήκοντα μὲν σταδίων ὁ ἅπας περίβολος, τὸ δ' ἐν φυλακῆ* (*cf. τοῦ κύκλου τὸ φυλασσόμενον* just above in the same chapter) *ὃν ἡμῖς τούτου*; III. 21 *bis* (the double wall of circumvallation about Plataea). The statement of Thucydides, therefore, in I. 93 seems, in its very form, to be a proof of the existence of a wall about Athens prior to the great wall of Themistocles.

Dörpfeld believes that the only wall which existed before the wall of Themistocles was the old Pelasgian wall which encircled two thirds of the summit of the Acropolis and was continued below as the outer wall of the Pelargicon. Is this view invalidated by the evidence of the two passages already quoted? In the numerous passages which refer to this old Pelasgian wall on the Acropolis and to the Pelargicon (*Rius. Descrip. Arc. Athen.*, Jahn-Michaelis, c. 28, 13) there is without exception an exact designation of the place, which is indicated by the introduction into the statement either of the word *ἀκρόπολις* or of the word *πελαργικόν* or its equivalent, and in no one of them is this encircling wall called *περίβολος*. The presumption, therefore, in Thuc. I. 89 and 93 is that Thucydides is not referring to the fortifications of the Acropolis. Further, in I. 93, *ὁ περίβολος τῆς πόλεως* cannot be interpreted as Dörpfeld proposes unless we give to *πόλις* a questionable meaning. I have endeavored to prove elsewhere (*Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*, 1894, *Sp.* 51 ff.) that in the time of Thucydides the word *πόλις* could not designate, as Dörpfeld claims, the Acropolis and the space at its foot included within the limits of the Pelargicon.

Dörpfeld's belief that there was no pre-Themistoclean city-wall at Athens seems to be contradicted by Thuc. VI. 57. In this passage *ἔξω ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ* and *εἰσω τῶν πυλῶν* are explicable only on the supposition of a wall. The

situation of the πύλαι is fixed by ἐν τῷ Κεραμειῳ̄ as a starting-point and παρὰ τὸ Λεωκόριον as the scene of the slaughter of Hipparchus. The Leocorium, on the authority of Demosthenes (LIV. 7) and Harpocration (*s.v.* Λεωκόρειον) was ἐν ἀγορᾷ, ἐν μέσῳ τῷ Κεραμειῳ̄. The gate through which the conspirators rushed could not have been in a wall that encircled the summit of the Acropolis and an enclosed space at its western and southwestern foot.

The passage is so decisive that there is no escape unless you deny its validity as testimony. This is done, and the discrepancy between the account of Thucydides and that of Aristotle (*Resp. Ath.* 18) is cited to prove that the description in Thucydides is untrustworthy. A discrepancy does exist. Aristotle says that Harmodius and Aristogeiton were watching Hippias on the Acropolis and rushed down thence when they thought themselves betrayed and slew Hipparchus near the Leocorium, but this does not in the least invalidate the testimony of Thucydides as to the πύλαι. There is nothing in the account of Aristotle that casts doubt upon the existence of the gate; he simply has no occasion to mention it. His silence is indeed proof of its existence, for elsewhere in the narrative he is deliberately correcting Thucydides, and if the latter had invented the gate,—an impossible supposition,—we should have heard of it from his critic.

The evidence seems to prove then that there was a pre-Themistoclean city-wall. Later writers, who need not now be cited, believed that there had been such a wall. To the literary evidence that has been brought forward may be added the consideration that Athens was altogether singular, if she was not a walled town before the Persian Wars. Olynthus, Potidaea, Thebes, Eretria, these and many others, it can be proved, had walls at this time. The Lacedaemonians proposed to the Athenians, after the fight at Plataea (Thuc. I. 90), τῶν ἔξω Πελοποννήσου μᾶλλον ὄσοις εἰστήκει ξυγκαθελεῖν μετὰ σφῶν τοὺς περιβάλλουσ. Xerxes and Mardonius had destroyed the defences of many cities in Northern Greece; the Lacedaemonians proposed that they and the Athenians should complete the work.

When was the wall first built? On the west side of the architrave of the arch of Hadrian is the inscription, αἰδ' εἰς' Ἀθῆναι Θησέως ἢ πρὶν πόλιν. This arch is conjectured to have marked an ancient traditional boundary; von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff says that it marks a point in the pre-Themistoclean wall (*Aus Kydathen*, p. 98). But recent investigations have shown that it is probable that just here ran the wall of Themistocles, not east, but west of the Olympieum; further, with regard to the inscription itself, to speak of Athens as Θησέως ἢ πρὶν πόλιν would have been appropriate enough at any time before Hadrian. Such an expression must not be pressed, especially in the mouth of a would-be poet in the second century A.D. who was composing a bit of doggerel for a show gate.

Another argument urged by Wilamowitz, that the siege of Athens by Minos and by the Amazons implies a walled town, is hardly more convincing. These mythical events imply defences, but we must not forget that, before the pre-Themistoclean wall, Athens had an elaborate system of fortifications on and about its Acropolis.

The orator Lycurgus, in speaking of Codrus at the time of the Dorian invasion of Attica, says (86), κατὰ τὰς πύλας ὑποδύντα φρόγανα συλλέγειν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως. So Pherecydes in Pollux X. 128. We may be disposed to dismiss the tradition about Codrus as a later invention, but still the words κατὰ τὰς πύλας and πρὸ τῆς

πόλεως seem to imply a definite conception in the mind of Lycurgus, namely that Athens, at the time to which he refers, was a walled town. He can hardly be referring to the Acropolis with its defences, for Thucydides expressly testifies (II. 15) that the Athens which Theseus handed down to his descendants was a great city. We may doubt, however, the value of the orator's conception — how-ever definite — as historical evidence.

A similar argument, based by Wilamowitz on the phraseology of Thucydides's account of Cylon in I. 126, rests on a bad misinterpretation. Thucydides does not expressly say, as Wilamowitz declares (*Aus Kydathen*, p. 100), that the altar of Zeus Meilichios lay, in Cylon's time, έξω τῆς πόλεως. His language is ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναίους Διάσια κτλ. Thucydides is speaking of his own time.

Curtius has repeatedly expressed the view that the pre-Themistoclean wall was never completed (last in his *Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, p. 90). His opinion is based on Herod. V. 64. The fact, he says, that the Pisistratids retired within the πελασγικὸν τεῖχος to make their defence against Cleomenes proves that the city-wall was not capable of defence. The conclusion is illogical. The tyrants may have preferred, for some other good reason, to make their stand in the Pelargicon. The reason is given, in fact, by Herodotus when he says that Cleomenes besieged them ἅμα Ἀθηναίων τοῖσι βουλομένοισι εἶναι ἐλευθεροῦσι. Aristotle is equally distinct (*Resp. Ath.* 19), ἐπολιόρκει μετὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων. Hippias was fighting not only Sparta, but also his own subjects. This evidence does not prove that the wall was at that time incapable of defence.

Wilamowitz argues from the silence of Herodotus that the pre-Themistoclean wall could not have been in existence at the time of the Persian Wars (*Aus Kydathen*, p. 97 f.). "Marathon und Salamis ist bei einem befestigten Athen undenkbar!" It is true that Herodotus in VIII. 51 and IX. 3 says nothing about the wall, but simply that Xerxes and Mardonius, on their arrival at Athens, found the town deserted; elsewhere, however, he speaks of the wall. In describing the withdrawal of Mardonius, he says (IX. 13), ἐμπρήσας τε τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ εἰ κού τι ὀρθὸν ἦν τῶν τειχέων ἢ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἢ τῶν ἱρῶν, πάντα καταβαλὼν καὶ συγχώσας. The words τῶν τειχέων are not naturally referred simply and solely to the fortifications of the Acropolis, and they have not been so referred by the commentators.

Athens was at no time the scene of the great conflict, — either in 490, or in 480, or in 479. Herodotus, consequently, had no occasion to speak of its defences. There are, further, good reasons to prove that the Athenians preferred to fight at Marathon and Salamis. It is illogical, therefore, to conclude, that because they did not fight at Athens, Athens lacked the defence of a city-wall.

In their first struggle the Athenians expected the help of the Spartans, who had no experience in defending walls but were good fighters in the field. The moving spirit in the struggle was Miltiades. His urgent appeal to the polemarch Callimachus explains his determination to fight at Marathon in the open field. He had before his eyes the miserable fate of Eretria. The Eretrians, shortly before this, had retired within their own walls before the Persians, had stood a six days' siege, and then had been betrayed by two of their own citizens. There were many adherents of the tyrants still at Athens, and Hippias was now leading the Persian invaders. Miltiades preferred a decisive action in the field to such chances of a siege.

The Athenians fought at Salamis and not at Athens, not simply because the land force that was coming against them was overwhelming, nor simply because, if they had fought behind the walls of Athens, they must have fought alone, but chiefly, as Lysias says (II. 33), in order that they might divide the enemy's forces. Fighting in their ships at Salamis, while practically bringing all their own whole force into action, they made the infantry of the Persians inoperative. Themistocles had already made them a sea-folk.

Against Wilamowitz's opinion, further, must be set the fact that the form of statement used by Thucydides in the first two passages quoted in this paper is the language of a man who is speaking not of something that has long since been destroyed, but rather of something that recently existed.

This brief consideration of the evidence seems to justify the following conclusions: that Athens had a city-wall before the great wall built after the battle of Plataea; that we cannot determine when it was built; that there is no evidence that it was not in existence at the time of the Persian Wars; on the contrary that probably it was then standing and was destroyed by the invaders.

19. The etymology of *ἄρα* and of *μάψ*, by Professor Hermann Collitz, of Bryn Mawr College.

A recent etymology (proposed by Brugmann in *Berichte d. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, Phil. hist. Cl., 1883, p. 37 seq.) identifies *ἄρα* with Lithuanian *ir*, "and, also," and holds that both of these words originated from a Primitive Aryan syllabic *r*. This etymology, however, is open to several objections. First, it would reduce *ἄρα* to a connective particle, while *ἄρα* is in Homer more generally met with either in combination with a connective particle, where an additional connective particle would seem superfluous (e.g. *δ' ἄρα, ἥδ' ἄρα, οὐτ' ἄρα, οὐδ' ἄρα*), or in relative or causal sentences (*ὅς ῥα, ὡς ἄρα, ὅτι ῥα*, etc.). Furthermore, it would be hard to account for a Primitive Aryan word consisting merely of an accented syllabic consonant, while the development in Greek of an original syllabic *r* into *apa* would also seem irregular.

We may arrive at a more satisfactory etymology by assuming that *ἄρα* was originally an adverb, like *τάχα, κάρτα, βεῖα, ἦκα, μάλα*, etc. The adjective **ἀρλ-s*, from which it was derived, has in Greek generally been supplanted by *ἀγαθός*. Yet its comparative *ἀρελων* and its superlative *ἀριστος* were kept; and the adjective itself is still found, though in a rather faded meaning, in compounds like *ἀρλ-γυνος, ἀρλ-ζηλος, ἀρλ-πρεπής* (cf. *Am. J. of Phil.*, vol. 12, p. 308). The formation of *ἄρα* from *ἀρλ-s* is in accordance with the rule that adverbs derived from oxytone adjectives in *-l-* or *-ú-* throw the accent back; e.g. *τάχ-α* : *ταχ-ύ-s*; *ῶκ-α* : *ὠκ-ύ-s*; *βέ-α* or *βε-ῖ-α* (or *βῆ-α?*) : **βῆ-l-s* (cf. *βῆ-l-τερος* and *βῆ-l-διος*).

The adjective *ἀρλ-s* is identical with Sskr. *ari-* and closely connected with Sskr. *aryá-*, "loyal, faithful, devout," and *árya-*, "Aryan" = Avest. *airya*. The original meaning of both *ari-* and *aryá-* seems to have been very nearly that of German *treu*, i.e. "loyal, brave, true." The primitive signification of the adverb *ἄρα* may accordingly be assumed to have been that of English "truly, in truth, forsooth." There are in Homer a number of passages in which, according to Bäumlein (*Untersuch. üb. griech. Partikeln*, Stuttgart, 1861, p. 21 seq.), *ἄρα* is used "um etwas ohne weiteren Beweis und eines solchen nicht bedürftig als un-

mittelbar gewiss, unbestritten und ausgemacht hinzustellen." Bäumlein is right in starting from these passages and in urging their importance as a means of ascertaining the proper meaning of *ἄρα*, although his translation, "eben, nun einmal," is better replaced by "wahrlich," i.e. "in truth, forsooth." While in these passages *ἄρα* may be said to have still preserved (or at least very nearly preserved) its original function of an adverb, it serves more generally as an affirmative or emphatic particle; yet it may be doubted whether its meaning has anywhere in Greek faded to that of a mere connective.

ἄρ before consonants in Homer is analogous to *πάρ* = *παρά*, *ἄν* = *ἀνά*, or *κάτ* = *κατά* (in *κάτ-θαυε*, *κάβ-βαλε*, *κάγ γόνυ*, etc.). Like the latter forms in Homer it should be reckoned among the characteristics of the Aiolic dialect.

ῥα differs from *ἄρα* and *ἄρ* not only by its enclitic character and the absence of the initial vowel of *ἄρ(a)*, but also in that it seems to have been originally confined to the combination with monosyllabic words like *ὅς*, *ἦ*, *καί*, *ὤς*, *φῆ*, *βῆ*, etc. (see Hiller, *Hermes*, 21, p. 563-569). It may also be argued that *ἄρ(a)* and *ῥα*, as regards their meaning, are not used quite indiscriminately; *ῥα* seems to have, as a rule, less weight than *ἄρ(a)*, and is more apt to assume the part of an explicative rather than of an emphatic particle. These facts seem to indicate that *ἄρ(a)* and *ῥα* were originally two different words, although from the outset words of a similar meaning.

ῥα may be regarded as the nom.-acc. sing. neuter, used as an adverb, of the Primitive Aryan adjective *ῥt-*, the basis of Sskr. *ῥt-* (= Avest. *aša-*) and *ῥtí-*. The primitive signification of the adjective *ῥt-* having apparently been "righteous, just, due," that of its adverb may be rendered by Latin *rīte* and *vēre*, or by English "duly" and "just." This adverb in Greek passed regularly into *ῥα*. Its function at an early date changed to that of a particle, usually appended as an enclitic to monosyllabic words. Since from the outset its signification approached that of *ἄρ(a)*, and Greek *ἄρ(a)* and *ῥα* had become much alike in form, it is only natural that both should have more and more appeared to be but slight variations of one and the same word.

As regards *μάψ*, it is noteworthy that in the nine passages in which it occurs in Homer this adverb is always followed by a word beginning with a vowel. Like the datives in *-οις* of the second declension (now generally explained as originated before vowels from the form in *-οισι*), or the adverb *ἀγκάς* (for **ἀγκάσι*, the old locative plur. of *ἀγκών*), *μάψ* seems to have been originally a locative plural **μαψί*, which form probably survives in *μαψί-δῖος* and *μαψί-λογος*. This theory would support the etymology given by Prellwitz in his *Etymol. Dictionary*, since Skr *maksí* and Lat. *morx* may likewise be regarded as locative forms.

Adjourned at 6.25 P.M.

SATURDAY, December 29, 1894.

The meeting convened at 9.45 A.M. with Vice-President Minton Warren, of the Johns Hopkins University, in the chair.

20. The Literary Evidence for Dörpfeld's Enneakrounos, by Professor J. Irving Manatt, of Brown University.

Was the only spring in primitive Athens—the Kallirrhoe which Peisistratos afterward transformed into a splendid city fountain—in town or out of town? That is the pith of the Enneakrounos problem—apart from its important bearings on other points in old Athenian topography. The writer believes that Dr. Dörpfeld's excavations, though still unfinished, have substantially settled this question in favor of the site at the base of the Pnyx; and this paper is simply an attempt to put together the literary evidence which has now been confirmed by the spade.

The main authorities cited are Herodotos vi. 137; Thoukydides ii. 15; Polyzelos (a poet of the Old Comedy quoted in the Etym. Magnum sv. 'Εννεάκρουνος); Isokrates *Antidosis* 287; [Plato] *Axiochos* i.; Pausanias i. 14; Harpokration; Photios and the Etym. Magnum (s. v.); while the tradition is further traced in the Wiener Anonymus (xv cy.), Père Babin (1672), Spon and Wheler (1676) and the later topographers and travellers.

Of the ancient witnesses, Herodotos, Polyzelos, and Isokrates attest a city-fountain of popular resort under the sole name of Enneakrounos; while the Platonic Axiochos attests a Kallirrhoe on the Ilissos—which is *not* an Enneakrounos—at the very time when the Tyrant's new fountain, by its new name, is in everybody's mouth.

But the important witnesses are Thoukydides and Pausanias, and on the harmony of their evidence the question must turn.

Passing immediately from the statues of the Tyrannicides—a fixed point under Areiopagos—Pausanias groups four landmarks: Odeion, Enneakrounos, Eleusinion, Temple of Eukleia; in describing the pre-Theseian *polis*, Thoukydides groups with the Enneakrounos four *ιερά*: of Olympian Zeus, the Python, of Gê, of Dionysos in Limnis,—all lying *ὑπ' αὐτήν [τὴν ἀκρόπολιν] πρὸς νότον μάλιστα*.

Regarding Pausanias as an orderly observer and his text intact, we must look for his landmarks in the neighborhood of the Tyrannicides and not too remote from the Temple of Hephaistos ('Theseion'), whence he sets out on his next walk. Of these landmarks one at least is a fixed point. For the Eleusinion we have clear inscriptional evidence that it was *ἐν ἄστει* (C. I. A. i 1, 37 f., II. 834b); and *ὑπὸ τῆ πόλει* (ib. III. 5), confirming Clem. Alex. *Prot.* 13 *ὑπὸ τῆ ἀκροπόλει*. Of course an Eleusinion in Agrai beyond the Ilissos could be neither under the Polis or Akropolis nor in the Asty. But the precise location is shown by Philostratos (life of Herodes Attikos ii. 15: description of Panathenaic ship's course), viz. under the Akropolis and adjoining the Pelasgikon on the Sacred Way to the citadel gate.

The other two monuments cannot be so positively placed. But Dr. Dörpfeld (Mith. 1892), in an exhaustive account of Athenian Odeions, makes a strong case for identifying Pausanias' 'Theatre which they call the Odeion' with 'the theatre in the Kerameikos which goes by the name of the Agrippeion' (Philostratos, *Vit. Soph.* ii. 5, 4; 8, 4) and which may be placed provisionally over against the Areiopagos on the road to the Observatory (Nymphs' Hill). The Eukleia temple can hardly be any other than that of Artemis Eukleia, of whom Plutarch (Arist. 20) says: 'She has an altar *in every market-place* and offerings are made to her by brides and bridegrooms before marriage,' so that we should expect to find her in the Agora—not on the Ilissos—and near the fountain which furnished the bridal bath. Now Dörpfeld conjectures that this is no other than the shrine dedicated by Themistokles ('near his house in Melitê' by the Barathron)

to Artemis *Aristoboulê*. The new epithet was but another iteration of Themistokles' claim to have been the 'best counsellor to the city and the Hellenes'; and what more natural than that the singular and odious name should give way to the familiar and yet kindred Eukleia, which carried no invidious suggestion? A temple of Eukleia, or of Eukleia and Eumonia, is attested by at least six extant inscriptions (C. I. A. ii. 2. 34; iii. 61; etc.); and it is highly probable that under the three kindred names the goddess had but one sanctuary, and that the one built from the spoils of Marathon by Themistokles in Melitê—the city deme which included Areiopagos and Pnyx.

Now for the landmarks of Thoukydides. The historian is aiming to show how small the ancient *polis* was, and on the Ilissos theory his instances carry us beyond the walls even of Hadrian's city. But Thoukydides is not in the habit of being incoherent, whatever be the case with Pausanias. He gives the impression of monuments grouped about the front of the Akropolis, and there, in fact, on ancient testimony, every one of them—with a single exception—may be demonstrated. (1) The Pythion is attested by Euripides (*Ion* 11 ff., 492 ff., 936 ff., 1400) as the trysting-place of Apollo and Kreousa—'the northward rocks 'neath Pallas' hill of the Athenians' land'—and as Ion's birthplace 'hard by Pan's adyta and altars.' It is confirmed by Pausanias, by Strabo (ix. 404), and decisively by Philostratos (l.c.) as the precinct by which the ship is moored after passing the Eleusinion and Pelasgikon. The Pythion is then the cave-shrine of Apollo under the Propylaea on the northeast. (2) The hieron of Olympian Zeus is fixed by Strabo (l.c.) in immediate contiguity to the Pythion: the watch-post of the Pythaistai is 'the hearth of the lightener Zeus between the Pythion and the Olympieion.' And here again Euripides (*Ion* 285) clearly associates this signal station with the scene of Apollo's amour and Ion's birth: 'this spot the Pythian honors and the Pythian lightnings.' (3) The hieron of Gê (Kourotrophos) is one of the last landmarks mentioned by Pausanias as he enters the Propylaea, and literary evidence is not wanting to fix it here at the Akropolis' front. (4) Dionysos in the Marshes cannot on this line of evidence be so positively fixed; but we may at least say that the data of Thoukydides (l.c.) and [Dem.] *against Neaira*, p. 1371, cannot apply to the Dionysiac theatre and shrines as we know them.

We may claim then that Thoukydides and Pausanias are at one in reckoning the Enneakrounos with a complex of landmarks lying demonstrably or with a high degree of probability before the Akropolis; that the Platonic Axiochos gives us an Ilissos-Kallirrhoe which is not an Enneakrounos; and finally, that for an Ilissos-Kallirrhoe-Enneakrounos we have no earlier voucher than an eleventh century lexicographer, who in turn rests his case on an inference from a bit of horse-play in an old comic poet.

21. The Greek Duals in $-\epsilon^1$ by Professor Benjamin Ide Wheeler, of Cornell University.

The old and for a long time generally accepted view that the Greek dual ending $-\omega$ represented an Indo-Europ. $-\bar{\delta}$ resulting from the contraction of the stem-vowel $\bar{\delta}$ with the $-\bar{\epsilon}$ which appears in the Greek $-\epsilon$ of $\pi\bar{\delta}\delta\epsilon$ must now be regarded as untenable, and for the following reasons: (1) The two Vedic endings

¹ This paper will be published in full in the *Indogermanische Forschungen*.

\bar{a} and \bar{au} have been shown to represent an original I.-E. variation according to position before consonants and vowels respectively (Meringer, K. Z. xxviii, 217 ff.). The \bar{au} < I.-E. \bar{ou} is therefore the original form. (2) The oxytonesis of Greek \bar{u} forbids the assumption of I.-E. contraction; cf. Streitberg, Dehnstufe, p. 71. (3) The genitive-locative dual, Skr. \bar{os} < I.-E. \bar{ous} , has the appearance of a genit. sing. like Skr. $\zeta\acute{a}tr\bar{os}$, Goth. \bar{sindus} from a stem in u : $\delta\eta$.

As no bond of connection between the \bar{e} -ending and the other nomin. dual endings appears, our only recourse is to regard it either as an originally distinct device for indicating duality or as a later and secondary formation. That the former of these suppositions is *a priori* unlikely, following considerations tend to show: (1) All the other endings stand in close relation to forms of the word for 'two'; cf. $\acute{a}m\bar{ou}$ > Skr. $\acute{d}v\bar{au}$, Gr. $\acute{d}\acute{u}$; Skr. $\acute{ab}h\bar{au}$, Gr. $\acute{\alpha}\mu\bar{\omega}$, Lat. $\acute{amb}\bar{o}$; Skr. $\acute{a}j\bar{a}\bar{n}$, Gr. $\acute{\delta}kt\bar{\omega}$, Lat. $\acute{o}cl\bar{o}$, etc.; so also neuter $\gamma\acute{u}\bar{g}\bar{e}$, I.-E. \bar{oi} in its relation to the $\eta\acute{e}\bar{i}$, $\eta\bar{i}$ of $\eta\acute{e}ik\bar{nti}$ (Gr. $\acute{f}\acute{i}k\bar{a}t\bar{i}$, Lat. $\acute{v}\bar{i}g\bar{i}nt\bar{i}$). (2) The dual is a sharply individualized type of the noun with limited use. It stood for a unity made up of a natural alliance of *two*; it was *ambal* rather than dual. It was evidently originally a sort of collective singular referring to pairs. Multiplicity of inflexional signs is therefore improbable.

The traces of an ending \bar{e} in I.-E. are scanty and uncertain. The ending has an assured existence only in Greek. Is it possible to account for its existence as a separate product of the Greek?

With the exception of $\acute{d}\acute{o}\bar{u}\bar{p}\bar{e}$ and $\acute{d}\acute{o}\bar{s}\bar{s}\bar{e}$, which in various ways (cf. the use of $\acute{d}\acute{o}\bar{s}\bar{s}\bar{e}$ with a singular and plural verb and the absence of an $\ast\acute{d}\acute{o}\bar{s}\bar{s}\bar{o}\bar{i}\bar{u}$) show themselves foreign to the dual, the ending \bar{e} is limited to consonant stems of masc. or fem. gender. If it be certainly ascertained that the ending is *not* Indo-Europ., it may be explained with perfect simplicity as a product of the proportion: $\ast\bar{os}$: \bar{o} : \bar{e} : \bar{e} : \bar{e} ; *i. e.* $\ast\acute{i}\pi\bar{p}\bar{\omega}\bar{s}$ (old nomin. plur. of *o*-stems) is to $\acute{i}\pi\bar{\omega}$ (nom. du.) as is $\acute{k}\acute{u}\bar{v}\bar{e}\bar{s}$ (nom. plur. cons. stems) to $\acute{k}\acute{u}\bar{v}\bar{e}$ (the new dual cons. stems). If the ending should be ultimately demonstrated to have an Indo-Europ. existence, then it must be regarded as a product of the last period prior to the separation, and according to the same proportion, stated, however, in terms of Indo-European elements.

22. A note on Alexander Polyhistor (Euseb. *Chron.* I. 15, 16 Schöne), by Professor John Henry Wright, of Harvard University.

In preparing for publication the paper on "A Votive Tablet to Artemis Anaitis and Mên Tiamu," read at the Williamstown meeting, I have had occasion to examine an important and much discussed passage in Berosus as reported by Alex. Polyhistor (*ap.* Euseb., *ap.* Syncellum, 52, 15 ff.), which relates to "Homoroka" and Thamte ("Thalath"). The following reconstruction of the passage is proposed, as probably nearer the text of Polyhistor than what is given us by Syncellus:

(Monsters) . . . $\acute{\omega}\bar{n}$ $\acute{k}\acute{a}\bar{l}$ $\acute{\tau}\acute{a}\bar{s}$ $\acute{e}i\bar{k}\acute{o}\bar{n}\bar{a}\bar{s}$ $\acute{e}\bar{n}$ $\acute{\tau}\acute{\omega}$ $\acute{\tau}\acute{o}\bar{u}$ $\acute{B}\eta\bar{l}\bar{o}\bar{u}$ $\bar{n}\acute{\alpha}\bar{\omega}$ $\acute{\alpha}\bar{n}\acute{\alpha}\bar{k}\acute{e}\bar{i}\bar{s}\bar{\theta}\bar{a}\bar{i}$, $\acute{\alpha}\bar{r}\chi\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{n}$ $\acute{d}\acute{e}$ $\acute{\tau}\acute{o}\bar{u}\bar{\tau}\acute{o}\bar{w}\bar{n}$ $\acute{\pi}\acute{\alpha}\bar{n}\bar{\tau}\bar{w}\bar{n}$ $\gamma\bar{u}\bar{n}\bar{a}\bar{i}\bar{k}\bar{a}$ $\eta\bar{n}$ < $\acute{B}\eta\bar{l}\bar{o}\bar{s}$ $\acute{e}\bar{s}\chi\bar{i}\bar{s}\bar{e}\bar{n}$ [$\acute{\omega}$ $\eta\bar{n}$ > $\acute{d}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{m}\bar{a}$] \acute{o} $\acute{M}\bar{o}\bar{r}\bar{d}\acute{o}\bar{k}\bar{a}$. $\acute{e}\bar{i}\bar{n}\bar{a}\bar{i}$ $\acute{d}\acute{e}$ $\acute{\tau}\acute{\alpha}\bar{u}\bar{\tau}\eta\bar{n}$ $\acute{\Sigma}\bar{a}\bar{l}\bar{d}\bar{a}\bar{i}\bar{s}\bar{\tau}\bar{i}$ $\acute{m}\acute{e}\bar{n}$ $\acute{\Theta}\acute{\alpha}\bar{\mu}\bar{t}\bar{e}$ $\acute{E}\bar{l}\bar{l}\eta\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{s}\bar{\tau}\bar{i}$ $\acute{d}\acute{e}$ $\acute{m}\bar{e}\bar{\theta}\bar{e}\bar{r}\bar{m}\eta\bar{n}\acute{e}\bar{u}\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{t}\bar{a}\bar{i}$ $\acute{\theta}\acute{\alpha}\bar{l}\bar{a}\bar{s}\bar{s}\bar{a}$ [$\acute{k}\bar{a}\bar{\tau}\acute{\alpha}$ $\acute{d}\acute{e}$ < $\acute{\tau}\acute{\alpha}\bar{d}$ > $\acute{i}\bar{s}\bar{o}\bar{\phi}\bar{\eta}\bar{\phi}\bar{o}\bar{n}$ $\acute{s}\bar{e}\bar{l}\bar{h}\eta\bar{n}\eta$]. $\acute{o}\bar{u}\bar{\tau}\bar{w}$ $\acute{d}\acute{e}$ $\acute{\tau}\acute{\omega}\bar{n}$ $\acute{d}\bar{i}\bar{l}\bar{w}\bar{n}$ $\acute{s}\bar{u}\bar{n}\bar{e}\bar{s}\bar{\tau}\eta\bar{k}\acute{o}\bar{\tau}\bar{w}\bar{n}$ $\acute{e}\bar{\pi}\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{e}\bar{l}\bar{\theta}\bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{a}$ $\acute{B}\eta\bar{l}\bar{o}\bar{n}$ $\acute{s}\chi\bar{i}\bar{s}\bar{a}\bar{i}$ $\acute{\tau}\eta\bar{n}$ $\gamma\bar{u}\bar{n}\bar{a}\bar{i}\bar{k}\bar{a}$. . .

In line 3, W. Robertson Smith's certain correction of Θαλάθθ to Θάμτε is adopted. In line 2, the Ms. of Syncellus reads ἦ (for ἦν), and in line 3, τοῦτο (for ταύτην). All clauses, words, and letters within angular brackets <> are supplied by me. The passages within square brackets [] are what appear to me to be interpolations of Polyhistor's. He perhaps took ΟΜΟΡΔΟΚΑ to be one word; the Armenian Version, however, gives us Mar<do>kaje. Μαρδδκα would be the closest transliteration of the forms of the first syllable most common on the Babylonian Tablets. The Ptolem. Canon, however, has, in one word, —μορ (Μεσημορδδάκου, gen., = Mušiši-Marduk); cf. Mordekhai.¹ — At lines 3, 4, Polyhistor may have given κατὰ δὲ τοὺς Φρύγας σελήνη, which, as written in "uncials," would, from the palaeographical point of view, easily pass into κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἰσόψηφον.

I. Hitherto Homoroka (Omoroca, Omorca) has been accepted as a proper name referring to the female demon of unorganized nature and the watery abyss, who is mentioned below as Thamte, and on the Babylonian Creation Tablets as Tiamat, and various explanations of the word have been proposed. But her name is not needed at this point, since it is given with unusual fulness below. As the Tablets report that Bel-Marduk conquered and dismembered Tiamat, it is highly probable that the name Marduk was used by Berossus, who transcribes from the Tablets (ἀναγραφαι). *δνομα* suggests that *δμορ<δδ>κα* was an epithet, evidently of Βῆλος, to distinguish him from Bel as mentioned in the preceding clause. The words Βῆλος ἔσχισεν ᾧ ἦν are, of course, not the only possible reading; they give merely the general sense of a clause or line, the loss of which, for whatever cause, led to the present corrupted text. Perhaps for ἔσχισεν, which I have taken from line 4, we should write ἔπαυσεν, following Berossus as reported by Eusebius (Euseb. *Præf. Ev.* IX. 41): λέγεται δὲ πάντα μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὕδωρ εἶναι θάλασσαν καλομένην Βῆλον δὲ σφε ἔπαυσεν χώρην ἐκάστῳ ἀποειμῶντα [Cod. reads σφεα, but the Arm. Vers. has . . . mare dicebatur, quod quidem Belus compescuit].

II. The clause κατὰ δὲ ἰσόψηφον σελήνη has been rejected by many scholars as a post-Eusebian, perhaps Syncellian, interpolation. A. v. Gutschmid defends it as early: he would read Ὀμόρκα (which is Scaliger's emendation of the Ms. *δμόρκα*), since the sums of the numerical values (κατὰ ἰσόψηφον) of the several letters of Ὀμόρκα and of σελήνη are identical (301). Ingenious as this is, we are not obliged to adopt a meaning of ἰσόψηφον that forces the emendation Ὀμόρκα upon us. As Dindorf remarks: "nugarum metam . . . attingit qui ἰσόψηφα in numeris et non in sensu parietate quaerit." *ἰσόψηφον* may mean 'equivalent to,' in a general sense. If, then, we retain ἰσόψηφον, we shall have as a probable translation of the passage: "This woman, in Chaldean, was called Thamte, which translated into Greek is Sea, and is equivalent to Moon." Now the Phrygians, about whose antiquities Polyhistor, himself a native of Miletus, wrote at least three books, had a double god known as Μῆν Τιάμου. Polyhistor, in transcribing from Berossus, throws in the clause "equivalent to Moon (σελήνη, Μῆνη, Μῆν)," because he regards Tham-te, Tiāmat (Hebr. *ῥῶμι*, Aramaic * *T'hām*), as identical with Τιάμου.

If, however, we are ready to adopt for κατὰ δὲ <τὸ> ἰσόψηφον the emendation

¹ Several other forms of the word have been cited and discussed by the writer in a note on "Homoroka a Corruption of Marduk," in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, X, 1895, pp. 71-4.

κατὰ δὲ τοὺς Φρύγας, which well fits the course of thought (Χαλδαῖσι, Ἑλληνιστὶ, κατὰ τοὺς Φρύγας), the sense becomes: "Thamte (i.e. Tiamu), according to the Phrygians, is Μῆν."—The difference in sex between Tiamat, fem., and Τιάμου, masc., is not a fatal objection to the identification. On the figured monuments the demon is often represented with masculine attributes. It may be that in the Aramaean regions of the West, through which (*ex hypothesi*) the conception passed on to Phrygia, the divinity was viewed without reference to sex. The monsters over which Tiamat presided were bisexual as well as amorphous.

We may therefore assume, supposing our reasoning to be sound, that the identification of Tiamu, in the Phrygian pair Μῆν Tiamu, with the Babylonian divinity was believed in as early as B.C. 50 at least by Polyhistor, and if we adopt the reading κατὰ τοὺς Φρύγας, probably also by the Phrygians. This new example of the wide extension of a very ancient mythological conception is, to say the least, interesting and significant.

23. On Greek Tragic Anapaests, by Professor Herbert Weir Smyth, of Bryn Mawr College.

In the extant tragedies there are about twenty-eight hundred anapaests.

It was the object of this paper to attempt their division into such classes as shall mark, first, their metrical construction and ἦθος, and secondly, their dialectal affinities. Indirectly, certain results were reached in reference to the value of the Mss. in general, and of some Mss. of Euripides in particular, in respect of the transmission of such delicate and elusive stylistic artifices as the forms of Doric complexion.

No one scheme of dividing tragic anapaests is entirely satisfactory, as no one principle will explain all the dialectal phenomena. There are cross-divisions and chronological distinctions that cannot be overlooked. Euripides' later procedure is different from his earlier procedure; and Sophocles in the Trachiniai may have been influenced by Euripides.

On the basis of their metrical construction the whole body of anapaests may be divided into two classes:

March (or severe, or legitimate).

Melic (or free, or illegitimate).

A. Anapaests of the parodos.

A. Complete systems.

B. Anapaests at the beginning of the episodes.

B. Isolated verses.

C. Anapaests at the end of the episodes or of the play.

D. Anapaests between strophic songs.

MARCH ANAPAESTS.

I pass over any description of certain peculiarities of the severe class. It is sufficient to state that a melic anapaest is not to be inferred necessarily:

1. When the dimeter shows syllaba anceps or hiatus in violation of Bentley's law.
2. When the dimeter shows elision.
3. When the third foot of the paroemiac is a spondee.
4. When the caesura falls in the middle of a word.

Monometers are not a standard of divisions between melic and severe anapaests. But when a dimeter would end in the middle of a word, we may assume the existence of a monometer that we otherwise might not suspect.

1. If we now examine in detail the four classes of the march type of anapaests, we find that the first division, viz., anapaests recited by the coryphaeus on the entrance of the chorus, is represented by the Suppliants, Persai, Agamemnon, Eumenides of Aischylos, by the Aias of Sophokles, and by the Hekabe of Euripides (273 verses). The language is contemporary Attic with a slight admixture of the so-called poetic dialect, such as *κούρος*, *ξείνος*. For the few forms that do not show contemporary Attic phonetics, I would formulate the following rule: No form with \bar{a} is admissible except it occurs in trimeters, either in exactly the same, or in an analogous, word. Thus *ναός* etc., *νάϊος*, *ταγός*, recur in trimeters; *φύξανορία*, *πολυάνορος* recall *φιλάνορ*, *όξυβόαν* recalls *βόαμα*. There are but two possible exceptions: (1) *Ἄτρειδᾶν*, Agam. 44, where many editors read *ξεύγος* *Ἄτρειδαν*; and (2) *ἀγανά* in a corrupt passage in Agam. 101. Verrall's suggestion that ν , like ρ , evinces a preference for a following a is worthless. The non-Attic *Ἄσιήτις* of M in Persai 61 is not unassailable, though it would give to the word an Ionic and over-sea coloring.

2. Anapaests recited at the beginning of an episode, either by the coryphaeus, who announces the arrival of a new actor, or by the actor himself, especially when he takes the part of a god or goddess. (About 400 verses.)

It is almost invariably the case that, when a new personage appears, his arrival is made known by anapaests of the march type. It occasionally happens however that melic anapaests are employed; as in the Trachiniai where the dying Herakles is borne in. The language is Attic as a rule. When, as in the Persai, the chorus turn aside from their salutation of the approaching Xerxes, to bewail, in the *proōdos*, the disaster that has befallen his expedition, the change from Attic to Doric is instantaneous. Aischylos and Sophokles admit Doricisms only under special circumstances, as in the monometer in the Septem (861), where the chorus say that it is meet that they should "sing the cruel triumph of Death" (*Ἄϊδα τ' | ἔχθρὸν παιᾶν' ἐπιμέλπειν*). Like stress on a proper name may be seen in the *Οἰδιπόδα* of Antig. 380. The Greek understood the pathos that is in proper names. In fact such a preference for non-Attic forms is not remarkable, when we recall the fact that even in the Attic prose of Thukydides, Xenophon, and Plato, proper names often occur in the epichoric form. Names of divinities too tend to appear in Doric dress. Thus in colloquial speech the Athenians said ω *Δάματερ*, as they said *Ἑλλάνιε Ζεῦ*. A certain aloofness may be seen in the use of *τάλις* Antig. 629, a word called Aiolic for *νύμφη*. *μάκιστος* in O. T. 1301 has its counterpart in trimeters; but *δύστανος* here and in Troades 573 is suspicious. In the matter of Doricisms, Euripides is practically as strict as his predecessors. *εὐπατρίδαν* is used (in the Hippolytos) of Theseus by Πάλλας *Ἀθάνᾶ*, as she calls herself,—the Doric forms to enhance the glory of the Attic hero and goddess. *εὐπατρίδαν* is a noteworthy exception to the tendency to use only Attic forms in the introductory speech of an actor. If *θνᾶτός* gives more emphasis than *θητηός*, it is possible to retain it in I. A. 598 and Suppl. 1120, but the Mss. are very inconsistent in respect of the use of this word; and it may be shown that, with the exception of the Lipsiensis of Aischylos, the tendency of the Mss. to substitute Doric for Attic in anapaestic passages, is more marked than the contrary. This

is especially the case with the Palatinus 287 (*B*) and the Florentinus 32 (*C*) of Euripides. Finally there are one or two irregular Doricisms in the Troades, but, even in the case of these irregularities, the rule holds that only such Doricisms are permissible as have a place also in choric songs.

3. The anapaests at the end of an episode or at the end of the play are full of sententious wisdom derived from the events that have just been witnessed; oftentimes they express praise, blame or lament, sometimes exhortation; or they even rise to the elevation of an appeal to the gods. All of Euripides' plays, except four, end in anapaests. About 550 verses belong to this class.

As the tone of this class is not unlike that of the trimeter, the language rarely rises from the level of the normal Attic. *Οἰδιπώδα* occurs again in the Septem, and is the only Doricism in Aischylos. Sophokles uses only Attic. In Euripides cases of Doric are exceedingly few and all are suspicious. *δύστροφος*, Medea 357, is the only possible exception, apart from *ράνδε* in the Bacchai 1374, a place called exceedingly corrupt by Kirchhoff. The passage may, however, belong in the next class. It is noteworthy how few anapaests there are in the Bacchai, considering Euripides' excessive fondness for this metre in his early plays.

4. The fourth class of severe anapaests stands midway between the three divisions just described and the Melic type. The metrical structure is analogous to that of the severe anapaests, but the verses in question (about 600 in number) are placed between strophic songs and laments, and are thus not far removed from purely melic metres. The mesodic systems are rarely antistrophic in character. The tone of these verses is often that of ordinary dialogue, but it often rises to that of a sustained lament, such as we frequently find in the free anapaests. It must be emphasized that the severer systems may be employed for longer threnodies, such as we observe in the Prometheus, the Medea, and the Hippolytos. In Euripides there are many verses that fall under this class, which do not differ a whit from the iambs of unimpassioned dialogue. While the mental excitement may be intense, I venture the statement that the tone of the laments is in general milder than in the melic verse. In single speeches or songs composed in this form of anapaestic verse, Doricisms are permissible, provided the word in question is capable of receiving the emphasis, and therewith attaining the dignity, that follows from the use of this dialect. In scenes of mental tension of every kind, only Doric is used; but when the passion has given way to calm, only the quieter Attic is in place; but occasionally both dialects are employed, as the psychic state fluctuates.

When the anapaestic systems of this class are independent, that is, when they are clearly separated from measures to which Doric is appropriate, they contain no Doricisms. Attic forms are adopted when it is clear that the anapaests are intended to afford "a relief to the lyrics before and after them." The Doric forms however pass over into the legitimate anapaests when it is imperative that the "continuity of the lyric character" should be preserved.

From the many interesting topics for discussion that fall under this class, I single out some matters that are especially significant.

After the murder of Agamemnon, wherever the coryphaeus speaks, Attic is the dialect used; so too Klytimestra employs Attic (except *Πλεισθενιδᾶν*); but the three *στίχοι* of the chorus make use of both dialects.

Both Aischylos and Sophokles avoid mesodic anapaests that require Doricisms, and Euripides employs Doricisms sparingly in his older plays.

In cases where a personage of elevated and one of inferior station sing amœbaean songs, the first named uses Doric, the latter Attic. This is not due so much to the difference in rank in itself, but to the greater capacity for emotion on the part of the more elevated character. Examples in point are the scenes between Medeia and the nurse, Phaidra and the nurse, Hektor and the chorus of guards, Agamemnon and the *πρσβύρης*. In the scene in the Trachiniai, Herakles speaks Doric at first, the old man Attic. Later on, however, the agitation of the hero abates, and he has recourse to Attic. But this scene may be regarded as an example of melic verse, because the change of person and caesura do not agree.

MELIC ANAPAESTS (about 900 verses).

Melic anapaests are sung, now by the chorus, now by the single actor in threnodic monodies, now by the chorus and actor alternately (commatic passages), now by two actors alternately. The melic anapaests of Aischylos and Sophokles are closely conjoined with melic parts, and are themselves either completely antistrophic or nearly so. In Euripides, a fact not noted by Hermann, antistrophic anapaests are conjoined with other melic verses (Medeia, 148-150, 173-175). Anapaests are found in an antistrophic threnos only once in Euripides. Melic anapaests may also be alloestrophic.

When the tone is that of a resigned melancholy, spondaic verses are especially common, while the long syllables begin to be resolved as soon as the hero gives way to agitation, and the *ἦθος* of the measure changes.

The mint-marks of the melic anapaests are: Their occurrence in close conjunction with bacchics, syncopated iambics and trochaics, logæodic verses, and dochmiacs, from which they are hard to distinguish when a catalectic prosodiac consists entirely of long syllables. A succession of paroemiacs is also a sign of the presence of melic anapaests. In the fourth class of severe anapaests two paroemiacs may not occur in immediate succession, but in the free anapaests sometimes even more than two follow each other. The paroemiac often abandons its position at the end of a series of cola in favor of an acatalectic dimeter. The absence of a paroemiac at the end of a system is sometimes an indication of mental excitement.

Furthermore, in melic anapaests, we find dactyls followed by anapaests, even in paroemiacs; and dactylic or proceleusmatic feet are not very rare.

When paroemiacs occur only at the end even of short systems, it is a question whether we should not regard the verses in question as belonging to the fourth division of the severe anapaests. Many passages which have been regarded as melic I should prefer to put in the fourth class, either entirely or in part. But I cannot admit that we should remove to the fourth class those passages which contain a few catalectic dimeters, even in a mass of regular, severe anapaests.

When catalectic dimeters occur, save at the end of a system, we have melic anapaestic verse. The greater the prominence of these dimeters, the more pronounced the Doric coloring. But Sophokles, in the anapaests preceding the strophes of the parodos, uses Attic forms even in the catalectic dimeters of Elektra's monody.

Aischylos uses Doric throughout (except *μήν*) in the commos of the Persai.

Some general considerations may be noted in conclusion.

As anapaestic verse is constructed in systems, the tendency is to adhere to the same dialect in each system, — a principle that occasionally gives way to the higher requirements of pathos. And in one and the same lament we may expect a series of gradual transitions from agitation to calm and from calm to excitement, varying usually with the different systems.

When diction and tone remain the same, the dialect will remain the same.

Due regard, too, must be paid to the possible preferences of the fine Attic ear. We shall therefore hold to the Ms. *δυσφήμους φάμας, ἄτλητα τλᾶσα*, and to some cases of participles in *-σας*, where an iron system of uniformity might induce us to adopt the *ā* forms throughout. In certain words, such as *ψυχά, θνατός, δύστανος*, there is an element of doubt. Many erroneous Doricisms may be explained by the assumption of the influence of the dialect of the preceding or following verses. But in the case of these words it is difficult to reach any consistent conclusion. It is here that delicacy of judgment and fine philological tact are indispensable to the editor.

24. Two Ancient Persian Names in Greek, *Ἀρταύκτης* and *Φαίδυμη*, by Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, of Columbia College in the City of New York.

The formation and signification of these two ancient Persian names preserved in Herodotus may be illustrated from the Avesta. The name *Ἀρταύκτης* of the Persian governor of Sestos, who was put to death by being nailed alive upon a plank (Hdt. 7. 33, cf. also 7. 78; 9. 116-120, 122), contains in its first part the element *άρτα-* 'right' (= Old Pers. *arta-*, Avestan *aša-*) familiar in Persian proper names. The name is cited among the examples of *άρτα-* in Fick, *Die griechischen Personennamen*, p. cxviii. The second element *-υκτης* becomes clear by comparison with the Avestan *uhta-* (*vac-*), or *aohta* 'spoken' in *aohō-nāman-* 'having one's name mentioned,' *vacj-*, cf. Bartholomae, A. F. iii. 11. The entire name thus answers to Av. **ašaohta-* or 'Bene-dict'; compare the similarly formed adjectives Av. *aršuuḥša-*, *aršuuḥša-* (*vac-*).

The second proper name, *Φαίδυμη*, the name borne by the daughter of Otanes who discovered the imposture of the false Smerdis (Hdt. 3. 68, 69), has not been identified, so far as I know, with any Persian form. Rawlinson, reading *Φαίδιμη* (Herodotus translated, Vol. IV. p. 214), speaks of the name as having a suspiciously Greek appearance. The variant *Φαίδιμη* may, it is true, be due to the influence of the Gk. adj. *φαίδιμος* 'shining,' common also as *nomen proprium* *Φαίδιμος* 'Bright' but *Φαίδυμη* (*sic*) may be etymologically explained, I think, as a genuine Persian cognomen.

Phonologically the appellation *Φαίδυμη* would answer to an old Iranian **Hvaētumā*; compare the derivative adjective Av. *hvaētumaiḥya-*. The fundamental element **Hvaētum-* would be the Av. *hvaētum-* 'family, kin,' a word of special religious significance in Zoroastrianism, cf. Geldner, B. B. xv. 253. The phonetic correspondence between Av. *hv* and Gk. (Pers.) *φ* may be illustrated by the familiar names *Φαρναδάτης* = Av. **Hvarənuō-dāta-s* 'Glory-given,' cf. adj. *hvarənuōdāh* 'majestät verleihend' (Justi, *Handbuch der Zendsprache*, s.v.); *Ἀρταφέρνης*, cf.

Av. *ašhvarənah-* 'right glorious,' Gk. (Pers.) *Φαρνάσπης, Φαρναξάθρης,* and similar names which contain the Av. word *hvarənah-* 'glory.'

The final element of **Hvaētumā, Φαιδύμη* is simply a formative suffix found also in the Av. patronymic *Spītāma,* and in the adjectives Av. *zantuma-, dahyuma-* 'belonging to the tribe or nation.' The suggested proportion might thus be given, **Hvaētumā (Φαιδύμη)*: Av. *hvaētū-* 'kith, family': Av. *zantuma-*: Av. *zantu-* 'clan.' The notion conveyed by the name would seem to be pretty nearly 'Patricia, Generosa, Gentilis, Nobilis.'

25. Some Remarks on the Moods of Will in Greek, by Mortimer Lamson Earle, Ph.D., of Barnard College.

In the imperative—the mood of command—the issuer of the command, the speaker, is always distinct from the grammatical subject. Commands imply superiority on the part of the speaker. But let the speaker be one of a body the members of which act, or are to act, together: in urging to action the speaker will be urging to joint action, he will include himself with the others, he will use the first pers. pl. The resultant verbal form will be the first pers. pl. of the subjunctive. In the case of this "hortative subjunctive" as in that of the imperative, it is the speaker that urges to action; the grammatical subject (in this case including the speaker) is to carry out the action. Exhortation addressed to oneself takes the form of the first sing. of the subjunctive. In exhortation the attitude of the speaker is one of confidence: he is, to a certain extent, the leader. But let an element of hesitation or uncertainty enter the exhorter's mind and instead of an exhortation we shall have an appeal. This will take the interrogative form. Thus: *ἴωμεν* "let us go"; *ἴωμεν* "wilt thou (will ye) that we go?" (That such is the meaning that the Greeks attached to the interrogative expression is shown by the prefixing of *βούλει* [*βούλεσθε*] and *θέλεις* [*θέλετε*]. This is not a case of parataxis proper. We might fairly term the prefixed verb a *verbal preposition*.) In the exhortation the speaker constitutes himself, to a certain extent, a leader; in the appeal he defers to the will of others, and, in so far, constitutes himself a subordinate. This element of subordination leads to the wider use of the subjunctive in appeals to persons not included in the grammatical subject, whether such persons be human superiors or supernatural entities (gods, fate, &c.). I have chosen to treat the extended appeal in its interrogative form, as more obviously evolved: but the exhortation is similarly extended. (I use the term "appeal" to cover both.) So it comes, at length, that the imperative is the mood of the ruler, the subjunctive that of the "man under authority." From logical the subjunctive passes to grammatical subordination. (In *Od.* 5, 465 the construction is simply a formal extension of the appeal. Both in this passage and its parallel, *Il.* 11, 404, *Odysseus* appeals to his *θυμός*. The context is against Professor Hale's interpretation [*Anticip. Subjunctive*, p. 13].) — The appeal may be more or less abject: yet the form of expression remains the same. The attitude of the speaker is thus dwelt upon in order to draw attention to the fact that in the subjunctive *the will of the speaker is always conditioned*. He desires, he strives, he urges, he appeals; but he is always limited in his action by some one or something external. He is always conscious of an obstacle. *He is never con-*

sciously free. I would, therefore, call the subjunctive the mood of *trammelled effort*. — The reflex of trammelled effort might well be an expression of resignation — naturally negative. Thus *ἴωμεν* “let us go,” *μὴ ἴωμεν* “let us not go”; but *οὐκ ἴωμεν* “we shall not go.” This may explain II. 1, 262. Should we resort here to the familiar Greek device of emphasizing the negation by making it a separate sentence, we should expand this passage to *οὐ γὰρ πω — οὐδ’ ἔστιν ὅπως ἴδωμαι*. We shall thus have traced to its origin a form of expression that has given much trouble. For a different view cf. Professor W. G. Hale’s valuable *Extended and “Remote” Deliberatives in Greek* [Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc., Vol. XXIV.] and *The Anticipatory Subjunctive in Greek and Latin* [Stud. in Class. Philol. of the Univ. of Chicago, Vol. I.]. In the former of these treatises Mr. Hale has proved (as I cheerfully concede) that the attempt made by others (and by myself) to bring *οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως* with the subjunctive into the category of “final” constructions (in the generally accepted meaning of that term) rests on no sound basis. The thanks of scholars are due to Mr. Hale for putting the case in clearer light. But I cannot draw the sharp line that he does between what he calls the “volitive,” I the “hortative” and “deliberative” or the “mood of trammelled effort,” on the one hand, and what he would call the “prospective” subjunctive, I (tentatively) the “mood of resignation or resigned effort,” on the other. Nor can I think that the “final” subjunctive is not a development of the subjunctive on its stronger rather than on its weaker side. The wide range of meaning in the subjunctive makes it impossible to subdivide it certainly without some external sign. That this is to be found in the *ἄν* of subordinate clauses I cannot concede. — The optative is also a mood of trammelled effort, like the subjunctive. It starts as a prayer to a superhuman power, declines to a wish (a prayer with the god left out), then to an expression of inclination, then to one of concession or resignation. The weakened opt. with *οὐ* instead of *μή* and with *ἄν* in Att. Gk., bears traces of the wish (paraphrased by *βουλοίμην ἄν* w. inf.) and of the inclination (paraphrased by *ἠδέως ἄν* w. opt.), while the feeling that the action of the verb is possible under conditions (the condition being indicated by *ἄν* as in the case of the corresponding subj.) is brought out clearly when we have a paraphrase in the form *δυναίμην ἄν* w. inf. The opt. appears from the start as logically dependent or contingent, as an appeal to the will of the gods. (A careful analysis of the meanings of the opt. according to the grammatical persons might be of value.) — If what has been said of the attitude of the speaker in the case of the subjunct. be true, that mood could not be that by which “the earliest expression of the will of the speaker for his own act, *i.e.* the statement of resolve” (= Eng. “I will”) was made, as Mr. Hale affirms (*Anticip. Subjunct.*, p. 14). The subjunct. is the mood not of “willing” but of “shalling,” and in Gk. we can trace the same distinction as in Eng. The modal form that expresses the “free will” of the subject (in this case “willer” and grammatical subject are identical as in the Eng. *will*-forms) is the so-called “future indicative.” This fact we find brought out frequently by a paraphrase of the future after *εἰ* consisting of *βούλομαι* or *θέλω* with the inf. The special “modal” force of the *εἰ*-protasis, which has been so admirably brought out by Professor Gildersleeve, seems most readily explained in this way.

Remarks were made by Professors Hale and Goodwin.

26. ARYAN *gn* = LATIN *mn*, by Professor Edwin W. Fay, of Washington and Lee University.

This phonetic change occurs in Greek (cf. Brug. Gr. I, § 428) and in Umbrian, cf. *umen* (<**umnu*-<**umbn*-<**ung^wn*-): Lat. *unguen* 'ointment,' *unguo* 'to anoint.' Was there a similar phonetic change in Latin? I offer the following comparisons by way of an affirmative answer. 1) *uveo* 'be wet' || *umor* 'water.' Assuming *r/n* inflexion, *umor* gen. **umnos* (<**ug^wnos*): *ύγρός* 'moist'; 2) *fluvius* || *flumen* 'river,' gen. **flug^wnds*, cf. *fluctus*. 3) *ructus* 'belching,' *rumen* 'throat,' *rumor* 'outcry'; 4) *femur* 'thigh,' gens. *feminus* || *femoris*, cf. *πᾶχvus* 'forearm,' Skr. *bāhūs* 'fore-foot'; 5) *vomer* 'ploughshare': O. H. G. *wagauso*; 6) **omen* 'fat' (inferred from *omen-tum*): *unguen* 'ointment'; 7) *germen* || *virga* 'sprout': *π(τ)όρθος*; 8) *flamen* ('fire-kindling priest'), *flagro* 'burn'; 9) *āmāne* || *māne* 'dawn': *ἄμαρ* 'day': Skr. *dhan*, Germ. *abend*, Eng. *dawn*; 10) *manus* 'hand' (<*g^wnds*): *χείρ* (*χερ-l*, *χερ-στ*); 11) *mando* 'chew,' *mentum* 'chin,' *monile* 'collar': *gena* 'cheek'; 12) *minae* 'threats': *manus* 'hand' or *mentum* 'jaw' (?); 13) *mānus* 'good,' compv. *melior*: *ἀγαθός* (<**μ*+*g^w*+*dho*) 'good,' *βελ(τ)ίωv*; 14) *mulier*: *γυνή* 'woman,' *γρ-αῦs* 'old woman,' cf. *domina*: *δάμαρ* 'housewife'; 15) *damnare* 'try by the fire ordeal': Skr. *√dah* 'burn'; 16) *amor* 'love': *τάφος* 'astonishment.'

NOTES: 4° *femur* <*lagw-nos* (w from u in *πᾶχv-s*); *z* for *ā* as in *fēnum* 'hay': *φay-εῖv* 'eat' (cf. the author PROC. 1894, X). For the semasy cf. Kluge s.v. *bn̄g*. Here belong *παχός* 'stout,' Skr. *bahūs* 'thick,' superl. *bāhūhista-*; Lat. *pinguis* 'fat' has been affected in its consonant initial by the *πῶv* group (cf. *πῖnus* <'fat')pine' and *pinguis taedāe* 'rich pine-torches,' Luc. iii, 681). 5° Cited from Noreen, Urgan. Lautlehre, § 34. 5. I add *ἄμαξ* 'plough-frame' (Hes) <**vamānsy*, with affection from *ἄξων* 'axle.' 6° Phonetic change as in Umbr. *umen* (see above), cf. Bréal, T. E. 270. 7° Grk. *παρθένος*, Lat. *virgo*, maiden) (*πτόρθος*, *virga* 'shoot' vouch for the semasy of Eng. *scion*. Back of *germen* lies a reduplicated Italic stem **g^werg^wen*- || *g^wg^wen* (= *grāmen* 'blade of grass'). I note also *germāna* 'sister' (with suffix like *hu-mānus*: Ger. *mann* ?). 8° But possibly from **flagmen*; why after all must the old comparison with Skr. *brahmān* (: *√bhrāj* 'shine') be given up? The transfer of aspiration causes no difficulty. The Aryan root was *bhrāj^h*- || *bhrāj^h*- (cf. the kin of Skr. *bhruās*, Noreen, l.c. § 51. 2, § 60, ann. 6). 9° *amane*, so the *ms.* of Plautus, Poen. 650, all but A, whose readings are not always best (Brix. Trinumus 4, 13, Fennell, Stichus, xix); *amane* is clearly the *lectio difficilior*. The genesis of *mane* is simple: *amane ad vesperum* 'throughout the day till evening' was understood as *a mane*, etc., 'from morn till eve,' cf. *πρόπαν ἡμαρ ἐς ἡέλιον καταδύντα* 161. *noctem . . . donec iniciat . . . dies* Prop. v. 6. 85, and Wh. 2 302b, 276c). The *ā* is due to *mānāre* 'to dawn' (Fest. p. 158, Müll.). For *ἄμαρ* (which is a different word from *ἡ-μέρα*, cf. the author, Mod. Lang. Notes, ix, col. 267), note that in Aryan *ghn* gave *gn* (Noreen, l.c. § 51. 3). I add in Greek *χυός* || *μυός* 'moss,' *μυ-οία*, *χερ-υ-ής* 'laborer' (with *r/n* inflexion, see next note). For Germ. *abend* cf. the author Mod. Lang. Notes ix, col. 269. In *dawn* we have the inconstant *d* retained. For the semasy cf. Skr. *dhanī* 'day and night' (the author A. J. P. xv 430 n. 1). 10° Part of body, *r/n* inflexion; Lat. nom. *hir*, gen.-abl. **m^wnos* (in *eminus* 'from the hand') <**gnōs*, loc. *m^wnū* (cf. *noctu*); Skr. *hā-sta* <**ghy-sto*- (cf. on this suffix the author, A. J. P. xvi 15); Germ. *han-d*. Heart and *han* were associated as seat and sign of feeling, *dextram dare* ((*credere*, whence Skr. *h^hd* affected by *hāsta*, and Germ. *hand* affected by *herz*. An interesting parallel group for hand is seen in Grk. *θῆvap*, O. H. G. *tēvra*, O. Ir. *derna* 'palm,' contaminated *r/n* forms belonging with Skr. *√dhr* 'hold,' as *χείρ* belongs with Skr. *√hr* 'take'; congeneric is *ōῶvov* 'palm,' an *r*-form showing the initial *dh/d* variation (cf. Noreen, l.c. § 51, ann. 1, and the author, A. J. P. xvi 23). It seems hard to separate Germ. *mund*, Grk. *μάρη* 'hand' from *manns*: query, is *mund* from **g^wn-to*? This would correspond to *mund*, 'mouth': Lat. *mentum* 'chin,' *gena* 'cheek,' Skr. *hānus* 'jaw.' Germ. *minne* (?) in gradation with *wonne*, 'love,' Lat. *venus* (*n*-forms): *χαρίς* (*r*-form) coincides with the same supposition. On the interchange of *r/n* in roots cf. the author, PROC. for 1894 vi, A. J. P. xvi 23. 13° *ἀγαθός*:

√*gen* 'become'; for the form and semasy, note Lat. *in-gen-uus*, and further *genuinus*, ἐνά' ἀληθῆ, ἀγαθῆ (: √*es* 'to be'); congeneric is ἀγανός: 'kindly,' and Eng. *kind*, which seems to have the same suffix as ἀγαθός. In βελ(τ)ίων, *melior*, the *l* is due to the interchange of the demonstratives *la, na* (the author, A. J. P. xvi 9). 14° Here the root is the same (*gen* || *gen*, cf. Noreen, l.c. § 55). For *r*-forms I cite γρ-αῖς 'old woman,' Germ. *frau*, i.e. *vrau* (<g^rr-). The sense 'old' is not original, cf. O. Ir. *gērat* 'hero': γέρον 'old man'; so Germ. *alt* seems to have originally meant 'grown up.' Both *r*- and *n*-forms are seen in the compounds δάμαρ, *domina* 'house-wife' < *dm* + *gr* / *gn*. In *mulier* (**murier*) the suffix is the compv., that is to say the participial -*yes*- (cf. the author in Cl. Rev. viii, 455, n. 2); but *mulier* may belong to *molo* 'grind' (for the semasy cf. Plaut. Merc. 395-7). 15°, 16° √*dagh* with inconstant *d*); for the semasy note *lamina* 'red hot plates' with *d*/l (:), and *dannatas ignea teste* Prop. v. 7. 33; compare also *amor*, τάφος. I note that words meaning 'burn' are widely used of the passions in Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit. Possibly ἀγαπάω, ἀγαμαί 'love,' 'admire' are also to be ascribed to √*d*agh || *d*ag.

Violations of the above law are due to the etymological consciousness; thus *āgnus* (*avilla* 'lamb' are affected by *agere* 'drive cattle' (cf. Skr. *ajā* 'goat') and by *ovis* 'sheep'; *pugnus* 'fist': *pugil* 'boxer'; *beni-gn-us*, etc.: *genus*; *segnis* 'lazy': *sagīna* 'fatling,' with vocalization as in *femur* above (note *piger* 'lazy,' *pinguis* 'fat'); *signum* 'statue,' 'sign': *seco* 'cut' (cf. *sīca* 'dagger'); *pignus* 'bond,' *pingno* 'paint' (the earliest writing); *ligna* 'fire-wood': *ligo* 'bind' (cf. *derai*, *dēwo* with the same meanings); *lignum* 'wood for building': *tectum* 'house'; *stagnum* 'swampy place': σταζω 'ooze'—a popular connection with *aquae stativae* (: *stare*); *dignus* 'worthy': δέκνυμαι 'greet,' 'honor,' √*d*rk || *d*rk cf. the author, A. J. P. xvi : 22); *magnus*, *magis* (the author, PROC. 1894, x). There remains *ignis* 'fire,' Skr. *agni* (√*d*agh?), with no root associates; there was however association with *lignum* (Liv. iv, 33. 2 *ignibus* || *facibus*, Juv. i, 134 *ignis* = *lignum*), cf. Maced. ἄξος· ὕλη ('fire-wood?').

I have not taken account of the difference between palatals and 'velars,' believing as I do that the latter are developments from the former by anticipative rounding (cf. PROC. 1894, ix, xi, A. J. P. xvi 14); the distinction is acknowledged to break down in many places (cf. Noreen, l.c. § 55).

Remarks were made by Professors Warren, Buck, Bloomfield, and by the author of the paper.

27. The Passive in Oscan-Umbrian, by Professor Carl Darling Buck, of the University of Chicago.

The paper forms a portion of an article entitled 'The Oscan-Umbrian Verb-system,' published in the 'Studies in Classical Philology' of the University of Chicago, Vol. I.

The Oscan-Umbrian 'passive,' though agreeing with the Latin in its chief characteristic, the *r*, stands, in the details of its formation, in marked contrast to the uniformity of the latter. Four types may be distinguished:

1. Forms in which *r* alone appears as the personal ending. Examples: pres. indic. U. *ier*, O. *lovsir*; pres. subj. U. *ferar*; perf. subj. O. *sakraftr*, U. *pihasei*, herif; fut. perf. U. *covortuso*, *benuso*.

2. Forms in -*ler* and -*lur*, answering to the Latin formation with -*tur*, e.g. O. *vincter*, *sakarater*, U. *hertei*; pres. subj. O. *sakahfter*, U. *emantur*.

3. Modal forms in which the subjunctive-sign stands between the *t* and the *r*.
Examples: U. *hertei* (i.e. *hertēr*), O. *lamatir*.

4. Forms in which the mode-sign appears both before and after the *t*. Exam-
ples: O. *krustatar*, *kaispatar*, *sakraiter*.

The two last-named types are plainly of secondary origin, due to a confusion of 1 and 2. In regard to the relative antiquity of 1 and 2, the writer agrees with Zimmer in seeing in forms like U. *ferar* the most primitive type. U. *ferar* is a by-form of *ferant*, *ier* of **ient* (cf. *sent*), *-so(r)* of **sont* (Lat. *sunt*). The usage is the impersonal, e.g. O. *sakrafir* 'there shall be a dedication of.' The variation *-er* : *-or* is connected with that of the unthematic *-ent* : thematic *-out*. Likewise that of *-ter* : **tor* (*-tur*). But Zimmer's explanation of the origin of forms like Lat. *vehitur* (as a compromise-form of *vehur* and *vehit*) is weak, and it may be well to hold to Brugmann's view that *-tur* is the middle ending *-to + r*. Only, rather than set up with Brugmann a middle ending *-te* for which there is no collateral evidence, the *-ter* is to be regarded as formed to *-tor* after the analogy of *-er* to *-or* in the forms of type 1.

Remarks were made by Professor Warren.

28. Magical Curses written on Lead Tablets. By Professor W. J. Battle, of the University of Texas (read by title).

In recent years a number of lead tablets bearing curses of a magical character have been unearthed in various places. To collect and treat them together has been my aim.

In order fully to understand the force of these magical imprecations and prove them but a variety of the ordinary curse, it seems not unfitting to consider the history of curses in general. A curse is essentially a religious formula, a prayer express or implied to certain gods to send harm on persons whom one hates, but is unable otherwise to reach. The mere words of the formula were indeed held to have a compelling force.

Among the Greeks the curse first appears as employed by fathers against contumacious sons; and history and tragedy alike are full of its use by individuals helpless to defend themselves against their personal enemies. From this the step was easy for the state to curse criminals unknown or beyond the reach of its power, and especially as a preventive of a crime forbidden. Lastly curses operative in case of failure to keep an oath were thought materially to strengthen its validity, and were in every one's mouth.

At Rome the curse is seen first as a public, religious ceremony directed against certain classes of great criminals. There were, of course, the Greek usages; but, besides these, special forms were in vogue in the siege of towns after the evocation of their gods, and in the ceremony of devotion by the commanding general in order to appease the gods and bring victory to his forces.

Curses on gravestones against violators of the tomb are common to both Greeks and Romans and extremely numerous. A few cases also are found where the curse is directed against the person who caused the untimely death of the deceased.

To the magical curses proper of our subject we have several, albeit not very

detailed, allusions in both Greek and Latin writers. The most important is Tacitus' remark about the death of Germanicus that spells and devotions scratched on lead plates were found buried under the floor and hid in the walls of the house where he lay. This was but an instance of what had been brought about by the mass of superstitious practices arising on the downfall of the old religions. Magical rites came into universal use, and of these perhaps most prominent were the *καταθέσεις* or *κατάδεσμοι* of the Greeks, the *devincciones* or *devotiones* or *defixiones* of the Romans. Our knowledge of them from literature is scant — hardly more than that magical formulæ under whatever name when properly uttered, or carved on walls, or scratched on lead or copper tablets and concealed under the floor or in the walls of a house, were all but universally believed to have the power of bringing death, insanity, sickness or other misfortune to an enemy.

Several Egyptian magical papyri which have only recently attracted attention give us much more light. Of varying length, one containing 3277 lines, they exhibit a conglomeration of magical directions, spells, devotions, and the like — in short, handbooks or compends of magic. In several places the formula of the curse is given and its management prescribed. For example, in one case it is ordered that the spell be written on a lead plate, tied with a string to certain clay images and buried at sunset at the grave of somebody untimely dead, to the accompaniment of a magical song and the offering of flowers. The analogy with cursés actually preserved on lead tablets, rolled up and tied with a string, and buried in graves, is apparent. Moreover, the language of the papyri and the tablets is at times almost identical.

These tablets have been found in the East, in Attica 14, Corcyra 1, Alexandria 1, Cnidus in Asia Minor 16, Cyprus 17; in the West, in Italy 17, Africa 11, Spain 1, Britain 2, Dalmatia 2, Germany 9, Raetia 1. In age they extend from the fourth century B.C. to the sixth A.D. They are all written on thin lead plates of varying size, except five, one of which is on bronze, one on pewter, one on marble, and two on household utensils. Lead seems to have been chosen for its cheapness, durability, ease of handling, and because the writing on it was hard to make out. I do not think there is any difference of conception in the case of the tablets not of lead. The papyri as a rule prescribe lead, but not always; for sacred paper and pewter or tin are twice distinctly named for the same purpose.

The tablets may be divided into two classes, according as they were put in a public or secret place. Of the first (the public or conditional) class all have been found on the sites of temples or shrines; and from the holes in the corners, as well as from their language, it is clear that, being nailed to the walls of the sanctuary, they were meant to be generally seen. Most of them were found by Sir Charles Newton at Cnidus. None except one of the Newtonian curses gives the name of the victim. Most often the writer does not know it, but enraged by some loss or violence or theft, he wishes compensation by the return of the stolen goods, or the cessation of the injury, and to effect this exposes in a public place, where the criminal is likely to see it, an awful curse, to be inoperative, however, if compensation be made. The idea was that the guilty man would be frightened into doing this without delay. Such a notion is current now in Greece, and not unknown among our negroes.

But not always is the criminal unknown. Sometimes the writer, from fear or other cause, is unwilling to post the name, and writes the curse in general terms, but

clear enough for the criminal to recognize it. In one tablet the curse is actually repeated on the back with the names given in full. Two name the enemy outright. Perhaps the writer was too angry to be prudent.

In a few tablets there is no condition about compensation being made, and the curse is therefore absolute. The writer wished either to allow no room for repentance or, in cases where the harm is irreparable, merely to prevent a repetition of the offence.

In the tablets of the second or absolute class the writer wishes to injure his enemy safely but speedily, and he puts his curse where it will surely reach the gods of the lower world whom he addresses. This, of course, is a grave, which, being the home of a body whose soul is in the infernal regions, was held pre-eminently under the domain of the gods of those regions. The dead man seems to have served as a connecting link between the kingdoms of dead and living, and might therefore play postman to deliver the curse deposited with him to the gods invoked.

The tablets were variously treated, sometimes doubled or rolled and fastened with a thread or transixed by a nail, by an actual piercing typifying the magical defixion of the curse. Oftener, however, the tablet was nailed to the inner tomb-wall, or the coffin itself. Occasionally it lay directly on the body or bones of the dead, but most often of all the curser got the tablet in the tomb as best he could without rolling or nailing of any kind. Where the tablets were rolled, it was probably for convenience or for added magical force or for secrecy's sake. Certainly if detected, the writer stood in imminent danger both from the person devoted and from the law.

The great majority of the absolute curses have been found in graves, and though the exact locality of a few is doubtful, it is extremely probable that they were all originally in graves except two found in hot springs, so placed because invoking the spring deities. As to the kind of grave selected, the tablets themselves are silent, but two of them were found on skulls whose bodies were not to be seen, and the papyri regularly prescribe graves of persons untimely dead. As to whether the tablets were inserted at the burial of the dead or afterwards, we cannot always be sure. The eleven Carthage tablets, however, were dropped down a ventilating pipe of the cemetery vault.

Of auxiliary aids to the working of the curse there is no proof. One mentions a cock bound as illustrating its desired action, and others show cocks' heads with perhaps the same design. The papyri and poets, however, speak of wax or clay images, needles, etc., etc., and Tacitus mentions bones, herbs, bloody ashes and the like.

The causes assigned for the curses are various. Many cases are doubtful. Most common is theft. Three are due to a denial of a deposit, 5 to jealousy, 3 to marital infidelity, 6 to a desire for victory in the chariot race by the destruction of one's rivals, 3 to a lost case in court, 3 to a charge of being a poisoner, 1 to the use of false weights by a shopkeeper, 1 to assault and battery, 1 to adversity, 1 to religious zeal.

In contents, the tablets present many peculiarities. Sometimes there are figures connected with the curse itself, such as a diagram of a circus, or a cock's head, or a likeness of the demon invoked, but more often magical signs, unintelligible now, but then thought of great potency. Four tablets are written back-

wards, wholly or in part, doubtless for increased magical effect, and for the same reason the lines of another are queerly jumbled. So in three written in concentric squares beginning on the outside and continuing till the whole was filled, so involving the words that no exit was possible, the writer, perhaps, typified the entanglement of horses and drivers for which he prayed. In one of the papyri a ring is directed to be drawn round the devoted names to serve the same purpose. In the case of the cock already mentioned, such an analogy is expressly stated, and in others the cold and lifeless lead of the tablet, the dead habitant of the tomb, the water of the hot spring, are employed in the same way.

That the social position of the writer was low oftentimes, the extreme illiteracy of the curses shows plainly. Sometimes, however, names and language reveal people of education and rank. As to the writers' sex, only thirty-eight cases are clear, — sixteen by women, twenty-two by men. Frequently the writer adds to the curse a deprecation of evil from himself; for a curse was thought capable of reflex action, and dangerous therefore. It was hazardous, too, to associate with a devoted person, and this was provided for by a special disclaimer: "May it be well with me, and may I be safe in associating with the accursed one, whether under the same roof, or in the same bath, or at the same table."

As to the person devoted, almost the same may be said as about the writer. Any number of enemies, however, can be devoted in one curse, while there is no case of two writing one together. Still, the formula is usually repeated for each enemy, and, accurately to mark him out, all his names are given, and often those of his father and mother as well. He is, of course, always a living person.

The gods invoked are almost always infernal, — Pluto, Demeter, Persephone, Hecate, Hermes, being most in vogue. Many curses specify none; others address a whole host of Egyptian magical divinities. These are late.

Generally the curse begins with a word of binding or of dedicating. Some form of *δέω* is usual in Greek, — a magical term, used first, doubtless, in a literal sense of binding a name or image with a thread, typical of the magic binding of the enemy. The word of dedication carries the idea of formal consecration to the use of the god invoked, implying a speedy destruction of the person thus consecrated. In the Latin curses more frequent than words of binding or dedicating are those of commending, intrusting, — such as *mando*, *commendo*. They are clearly euphemistic.

Sometimes the word of binding, dedicating, or commending constitutes the whole of the curse. More often other and particular punishments are added. Of great variety, these nearly all relate to the bodily harm of the enemy. From death there are all grades, down to the payment of a fine. Several times the writer wishes only that the devoted become hateful to a given third party. In the statement of the penalty, the most minute care is taken so as to allow no loophole of escape. There is much repetition. Sometimes the punishments asked are inconsistent, and often a light is put after a severe one. The writer wrote first that most desired; but, to provide for all contingencies, he added others. If the god would not grant one, he might another.

How general was the use of these tablets, the large number now extant plainly shows. We have also a votive tablet giving thanks for delivery from a man who dealt in magical defixions; and another, relating how a curse was duly answered; and grave inscriptions mourning the success of magical spells are also known.

Whether the tablets produced these results or not, people thought they did, and so used them.

Such are the curses so far found. Those yet in hiding will doubtless give us more detailed knowledge, but I do not believe they will alter our general conceptions.

When the above was written, I had been unable to get a sight of certain of the tablets enumerated on page lv. An examination of these adds to the number of cases where the writer's sex is plain, and shows one where several persons joined in writing the curse—quite contrary to the usual practice. The text of all the curses, with a detailed treatment of the subject, will be ready for publication at an early date.

29. Lexicographical Notes, by Dr. Charles Knapp, of Barnard College (read by title).¹

In the preparation of the *Notes* four books were constantly consulted: the Lewis and Short Latin Lexicon, Nettleship's Contributions to Latin Lexicography, Georges' Ausführliches Deutsches-Lateinisches Wörterbuch (7th edition), and the same author's Lexikon der lateinischen Wortformen. Nothing was included in the paper which had been at all adequately treated in any of these works. The whole number of words treated in the paper was 140. Of these three have not as yet been recorded in our lexicons. In a number of instances serious errors of Lewis and Short or of Georges were corrected. The bulk of the paper, however, consisted of new citations for words already recorded. Most of these notes came from Gellius, the paper being in this respect a continuation of an article entitled "Corrections and Additions to Lewis and Short in connection with Aulus Gellius," contributed by the author to the *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. XIV. pp. 216-225. In the citation of new passages for words already known, a definite principle was followed, to wit, that only such be given as would add materially to our knowledge of the history of the individual words considered. For example, in the case of very many words, our lexicons cite no passage from authors later than Tacitus, or the elder Pliny, or Quintilian, though the word may be found in Gellius, or even in Tertullian. *Perendie* is cited only from Plautus and Cicero, but occurs in Gell. 6, l. 10, and Fronto, p. 84, Naber (bis). *Iniussus*, on the other hand, is cited first from Cicero, but is used by Terence Phorm. 231 and by Cato De Re Rustica c. 5.

A specimen of the *Notes* is appended.

Condecōrē is to be added to our lexicons from Gell. 14. 4. 1. *Condigne* mehercule et *condecore* Chrysippus . . . os et oculos Iustitiae vultumque eius severis atque venerandis verborum coloribus definxit. For a commentary on this sentence, compare the lemma of the chapter: Quod apte Chrysippus et *graphice* imaginem Iustitiae modulis coloribusque verborum depinxit. *Condecore* = *fittingly*, *aptly*.

Isopsēphus, a, um, is to be added to the lexicons from Gell. 14. 6. 4 (which Liddell and Scott, s.v. *ισόψηφος* wrongly cite as 14. 4). In § 1, Gellius relates that one of his friends, volunteering to help him in the compilation of the *Noctes*

¹ This paper will appear in full in vol. xvi of the *American Journal of Philology*.

Atticae, had loaned him a *liber doctrinae omnigenus praescatens*. In addition to many other wonderful things contained in this volume, there was a question as to what verses in Homer are *isopsephi*. Each letter of the Greek alphabet had, as is well known, a definite numerical value (cf. Hadley-Allen, § 289). Hence, *versus isopsephi* are verses in which the combined numerical value of all the letters is the same. Examples are, Iliad, 7, 264, 265, in which the sum of the letters in each line is 3498, and Iliad, 19, 306, 307, in which the sum of the numerical values of all the letters is 2848. Words, too, may be *isopsephi*. Thus, in *Νεῖλος* and *μῆνος* the sum of the letter values is 365. See further, Muretus, Var. Lect. 14, 13, and Plutarch, Symposiaca, 9. 3. 3.¹

Macriusculus, a, um = lean, juiceless, is not recorded by the lexicons, though it may be found in Gell. 20. 8. 3, Quae (ostreae) cum adpositae fuissent et multae quidem sed *inuberes macriusculaeque* essent "luna" inquit "nunc videlicet senescit; ea re ostrea . . . *tenuis exsuctaque* est." Contrast Pliny's (ostrea) multo lacte praegnata, 32. 59.

Ignitabulum or *incitabulum*? L. and S., as well as Georges, cite the latter of these words as *ἄπ. εἰρ.* In Gell. 15. 2. 3, crebris et ingentibus poculis ingenium omne ingurgitabat, fomitem esse quendam dicens et *incitabulum* ingenii virtutisque, si mens et corpus hominis vino flagraret. Hertz' reading, *ignitabulum*, is preferable. The combination, *fomitem et ignitabulum . . . flagraret*, is thoroughly in accord with Gellius' habit of coupling words of closely allied meaning, and harmonizes well with his predilection for strong metaphors. Further, in Macrob. Sat. 2. 8. 4 (a passage evidently based on the one under discussion) Eysenhardt reads qui aestimavit fomitem esse quendam et *ignitabulum* ingenii virtutisque . . . This was noticed by Gronovius, who himself read *incitabulum*. Finally, for the existence of a word, *ignitabulum*, we have independent testimony (see the lexx.); whereas, for *incitabulum* no authority exists apart from the present passage. Therefore, expunge *incitabulum* from the lexicons, and s.v. *ignitabulum*, add reference to Gell. 1. 1. and s.v. *fomes* (L. and S.), correct the reading of this passage as cited there.

In addition to the above papers, communications were presented by Professor W. G. Hale of the University of Chicago: 'On the Latin subjunctive and Greek optative in indirect discourse;' and Professor M. Bloomfield of the Johns Hopkins University: 'On the Etymology of ἀείδω.' These papers are withdrawn from publication for the present by their authors. The former paper was discussed by Dr. Earle, Professor Ashmore, and the author; the latter by Professors Smyth, B. I. Wheeler, Collitz, and the author.

Upon request, Professor Bloomfield then made some remarks on Professor Streitberg's Theory as to the origin of certain long I. E. vowels, in continuation of his paper presented at the General Session of December 28. This paper appears in full in the Transactions. Pro-

¹ For the substance of this note I am indebted to Weiss, the translator of Gellius.

fessors B. I. Wheeler, Bloomfield, Buck and Collitz participated in a discussion of the theory in question.

At the General Session of December 28 a paper on "The Athenian *γραφὴ παρανόμων* and the American Doctrine of Constitutional Law" was presented by Professor W. W. Goodwin, of Harvard University; and one on "The Contribution of the Latin Inscriptions to the Study of the Latin Language and Literature," by Professor Minton Warren, of the Johns Hopkins University. The latter paper appears in full in the *TRANSACTIONS*; an abstract of the former is inserted below.

30. The Athenian *γραφὴ παρανόμων* and the American Doctrine of Constitutional Law, by Professor W. W. Goodwin, of Harvard University.

This paper discussed some points in the working of the Athenian *γραφὴ παρανόμων*, which was suggested by recent discussions of the "American Doctrine of Constitutional Law." In the treatment of the latter subject it has usually been assumed that the United States government was the first to recognize the right of the judiciary to declare legislative acts invalid on the ground that they conflicted with some higher code of law which the legislature had no power to change or repeal. The striking analogies between the powers of the Supreme Court of the United States and those of the Heliastic Court of Athens in this respect have been clearly set forth by Professor Goodell, of Yale University, in the *Yale Review* for May, 1893; and it is well known to classical scholars that the power to decide whether an ordinary legislative act is in accord with permanent enactments based on an authority above the legislature, and to annul the former in case of a conflict, was exercised by the Athenian courts through the *γραφὴ παρανόμων*. It is, indeed, wonderful that any government having a written constitution to which the legislature is subject, and which cannot be abrogated by the legislature, can dispense with such a power. But it appears that no modern European government has given it to its courts of law. In the United States it grew up naturally and gradually, almost without the knowledge or recognition of our early judicial authorities. Professor James B. Thayer, of Harvard University, in a most interesting and instructive address delivered at Chicago in August, 1893, has clearly described the history of this important power. In our complicated system of State and Federal governments such a provision is an absolute necessity. In England, however, where there is no written constitution to direct the legislative power, no such protection against hasty legislation exists or could possibly exist; and no act of Parliament, the meaning of which is plain, "can be questioned in a Court of Justice."

Professor Thayer devotes a large part of his address to a consideration of the important safeguards by which this power in the United States is protected from abuse, especially the fixed principle by which "an act of the legislature is not to be declared void unless the violation of the constitution is so manifest as to leave no room for reasonable doubt." This discussion of the "American Doctrine"

suggests to the classical scholar many important points of difference between our process and the Athenian *γραφὴ παρανόμων*.

1. The United States gives the power in question to the highest bench of judges, men learned in the law. Athens gave it to a jury of 500, 1000, or 1500 ordinary citizens, chosen by lot, who had no one except the parties to the suit or their counsel to expound the law to them. But this was the highest judicial tribunal that Athens had to try ordinary suits at law.

2. The Athenian code of permanent laws, which could be changed or repealed only by the joint action of the Senate, the Assembly, and a court of law, contained far more details and provided for a far greater variety of cases than the United States Constitution, so that the *γραφὴ παρανόμων* had less to do with the discussion of legal principles than with the verbal comparison of special enactments.

3. The *γραφὴ παρανόμων* was a criminal, not a civil, suit; and it aimed not merely at the abrogation of the legislative act, but also at the punishment of its mover. The personal responsibility of the mover was, however, limited to a year after the passage of the act.

4. The *γραφὴ παρανόμων* could be brought by any citizen of good standing, no personal interest in the case being required or assumed; while the United States Court acts only on cases of appeal brought from a lower court by interested parties.

5. Owing to the popular character of the Athenian courts and the diminished sense of responsibility which their great size produced, the *γραφὴ παρανόμων* degenerated into a test of the popularity of rival politicians, and ceased to be a trial of judicial questions. Thus the chief and the decisive question in the famous case of the Crown was whether the statement of Ctesiphon in his decree that Demosthenes was a patriotic statesman was "false and therefore illegal," it being illegal "to put a false statement into the public records."

These considerations show that the Athenian process lacked most of the safeguards by which our own is amply protected. They also show plainly the points at which our own is open to attack unless it is constantly guarded. The important principle which lies at the foundation of both processes is one on which democratic government must always depend for its security against dangerous legislation, and this amply justifies the exalted position which the Attic orators give to the *γραφὴ παρανόμων* as the great bulwark of Athenian liberty.

On motion of Professor Wright, the vote of thanks passed in the General Session of December 28 was reaffirmed :

The several societies here assembled in the CONGRESS OF AMERICAN PHILOLOGISTS, viz. :

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,
AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION,
SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS,
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,
AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY,
SPELLING REFORM ASSOCIATION, and
ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA

unite in expressing their hearty thanks to the Provost and Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania for their unstinted hospitality; to the Local Committee, with its efficient Chairman and Secretary, for the considerate provision made for the convenience of every guest; and also to Dr. Horace Howard Furness for his memorable words of welcome. They further desire to record the grateful recognition of the courtesies generously extended to them and their friends by the

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA,
THE PENN CLUB,
THE UNIVERSITY CLUB,
THE ART CLUB,
THE ACORN CLUB, and
THE NEW CENTURY CLUB.

Adjourned at 1.30 P.M.

JOINT MEETING

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY

SPELLING REFORM ASSOCIATION

AND THE

ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA

AT

THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, PHILADELPHIA

DECEMBER 27-29, 1894.

JOINT SESSIONS.

OPENING SESSION.

Thursday, December 27, at 12 M.

Address by Mr. C. C. Harrison, Acting Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, introducing the Presiding Officer of the Meeting, Professor A. Marshall Elliott, of the Johns Hopkins University, President of the Modern Language Association of America.

Address of Welcome by Dr. Horace Howard Furness, Philadelphia.

SECOND JOINT SESSION.

Friday, December 28, at 10 A.M.

Presiding Officer of the Meeting, Prof. John Henry Wright, of Harvard University, President of the American Philological Association.

Dr. J. P. Peters, New York, and Prof. H. V. Hilprecht, University of Philadelphia :

1. The last results of the Babylonian expedition of the University of Pennsylvania.

Prof. William W. Goodwin, Harvard University :

2. The Athenian *γραφὴ παρανόμων* and the American doctrine of constitutional law.

Prof. Minton Warren, Johns Hopkins University :

3. The contribution of the Latin inscriptions to the study of the Latin language and literature.

Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson, Columbia College :

4. Cyrus's dream of the winged figure of Darius in Herodotus.

Prof. Hermann Collitz, Bryn Mawr College :

5. Some Modern German etymologies.

Prof. Maurice Bloomfield, Johns Hopkins University :

6. On Prof. Streitberg's theory as to the origin of certain long Indo-European vowels.

Prof. Federico Halbherr, University of Rome :

7. Explorations in Krete for the Archæological Institute (read by Prof. Frothingham).

Prof. Edward S. Sheldon, Harvard University :

8. The work of the American Dialect Society, 1889-1894.

 THIRD JOINT SESSION.

Friday, December 28, at 8 P.M.

MEMORIAL MEETING

IN HONOR OF

WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY.

Presiding Officer of the Meeting, President Daniel Coit Gilman, of Johns Hopkins University, President of the American Oriental Society.

1. Reading of letters from foreign scholars.
2. MEMORIAL ADDRESS by Prof. Charles R. Lanman, Harvard University.
3. Whitney's influence on the study of modern languages and on lexicography, by Prof. Francis A. March, Lafayette College.
4. Whitney's influence on students of classical philology, by Prof. Bernadotte Perrin, Yale University.
5. Address by Prof. J. Irving Manatt, Brown University.
6. Address by Rev. Dr. William Hayes Ward, New York.
7. Concluding address by President Daniel Coit Gilman.

SPECIAL SESSIONS.

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

(Organized 1842.)

FIRST SESSION

Thursday, December 27, at 3 P.M.

Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., University of Pennsylvania :

1. Note on the term Mušannitu.

Prof. Maurice Bloomfield, Johns Hopkins University :

2. Two problems in Sanskrit grammar.

Prof. G. A. Barton, Bryn Mawr College :

3. Some notes on the Semitic Ishtar-cult.

Mr. Talcott Williams, *The Press*, Philadelphia :

4. Some unpublished Arabic inscriptions, in Morocco and elsewhere.

Prof. E. Washburn Hopkins, Bryn Mawr College :

5. Notes on Dyāus, Varuṇa, and Viṣṇu.

Mr. Stewart Culin, University of Pennsylvania :

6. The origin of games and divination in Eastern Asia.

SECOND SESSION.

Friday, December 28, at 2.30 P.M.

Dr. Theodore F. Wright, Cambridge, Mass. :

7. Note on the Julian inscription described by Dr. Isaac H. Hall, at the meeting of March, 1894.

Dr. Hanns Oertel, Yale University :

8. The Agnihotra-section of the Jāiminiya-brāhmaṇa.

Prof. D. B. Macdonald, Hartford Theological Seminary :

9. Description of the recent Būlāq edition of the Jamhara Ashʿār al-ʿArab of Abū Zayd al-Qurashī.

Dr. Cyrus Adler, Smithsonian Institution, Washington :

10. Some Hebrew Mss. from Egypt.

Prof. H. Hyvernat, Catholic University of America :

11. On some Coptic manuscripts from Egypt. (Presented by Dr. Cyrus Adler.)

Dr. I. M. Casanowicz, U. S. National Museum, Washington :

12. The emphatic prefix *le* in Hebrew.

Prof. Edwin W. Fay, Washington and Lee University :

13. Agni Mātariçvan and related divinities.

Prof. A. V. W. Jackson, Columbia College :

14. The Sanskrit root *manth-math* in Avestan.

Rev. F. P. Ramsay, Augusta, Ky. :

15. Psalm xxiii. : an essay on Hebrew verse.

Prof. G. A. Barton, Bryn Mawr College :

16. A note on the god Mut.

THIRD SESSION.

Saturday, December 29, at 10 A.M.

Dr. Theodore F. Wright, Cambridge, Mass. :

17. Report of excavations at Jerusalem by the Palestine Exploration Fund.

Prof. G. A. Barton, Bryn Mawr College :

18. Was Ilu a distinct deity in Babylonia?

Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., University of Pennsylvania :

19. A fragment of the Babylonian Etana-legend.

Prof. E. Washburn Hopkins, Bryn Mawr College :

20. The vocabulary of the eighth Maṇḍala of the Rig-veda.
(Read by title.)

Prof. E. Washburn Hopkins, Bryn Mawr College :

21. The Bhārats and the Bhāratas.

Dr. Hanns Oertel, Yale University :

22. An emendation of Sāyaṇa on ŚB. i. 3. 2.

Prof. D. B. Macdonald, Hartford Theological Seminary :

23. On a complete verbal index to the Fiqh al-Luḡha of ath-Thaʿālibī. (Read by title.)

Papers by Prof. M. Bloomfield, Johns Hopkins University, and Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson, Columbia College, were read at the Second Joint Session, Friday, December 28.

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS.

(Organized 1880.)

Prof. George A. Barton, Bryn Mawr College :

1. On the interpretation of שִׁבְטֵי סַפֵּר, Judges v. 14.

Dr. Isaac H. Hall, Metropolitan Museum, New York :

2. On the new Syriac Gospels.

Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Hartford Theological Seminary :

3. Did Amos approve the calf-worship at Bethel?

Dr. T. F. Wright, New Church School, Cambridge, Mass. :

4. The Songs of Degrees.

Prof. J. Henry Thayer, Harvard University :

5. *σὺ εἶπας, σὺ λέγεις*, Mat. xxvi. 64, John xviii. 37, etc.

Rev. Benjamin W. Bacon, Oswego, N. Y. :

6. The displacement of John xix. 4-14.

Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., University of Pennsylvania :

7. Hebrew proper names compounded with ייה and יהו.

Prof. Paul Haupt, Johns Hopkins University :

8. On 2 Samuel i. 23.

Rev. William H. Cobb, Boston :

9. Julius Ley on Isaiah xl.-xlvi.

Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt, Colgate University :

10. *Μαρὰν ἀθα*, 1 Cor. xvi. 22.

Prof. M. S. Terry, Garrett Biblical Institute :

11. The scope and plan of the Apocalypse of John.

Prof. George F. Moore, Andover Theological Seminary :

12. 1 Kings vii. 46 and the question of Succoth (read by Prof. Lyon).

Rev. W. Scott Watson, Guttenberg, N. J. :

13. Two Samaritan manuscripts of portions of the Pentateuch (read in abstract).

Papers by Prof. J. P. Peters, New York, and Prof. H. V. Hilprecht, University of Pennsylvania, were read at the Second Joint Session, Friday, December 28.

THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

(Organized 1883.)

FIRST SESSION.

Thursday, December 27, at 3 P.M.

Prof. W. T. Hewett, Cornell University :

1. The life and works of Prof. Matthias de Vries.

Dr. K. Francke, Harvard University :

2. The relation of early German romanticism to the classic ideal.

Prof. George Lyman Kittredge, Harvard University :

3. *The Friar's Lantern.*

Prof. Edward H. Magill, Swarthmore College :

4. The new method in Modern Language study.

SECOND SESSION.

Friday, December 28, at 3 P.M.

Prof. Frederic Spencer, University of North Wales, Bangor, Wales :

5. On the reform of methods in teaching the Modern Languages, together with an experiment in the teaching of German.

Prof. Alex. Melville Bell, Washington, D. C. :

6. A note on syllabic consonants.

Prof. Henry R. Lang, Yale University :

7. The metres employed by the earliest Portuguese lyric school.

Dr. J. Hendren Gorrell, Wake Forest College, N. C. :

8. Indirect discourse in Anglo-Saxon.

Prof. O. F. Emerson, Cornell University :

9. A parallel between the Middle English poem *Patience* and one of the pseudo-Tertullian poems.

THIRD SESSION.

Saturday, December 29, at 10 A.M.

Mr. W. Henry Schofield, Harvard University :

10. Elizabeth Elstob : an Anglo-Saxon scholar nearly two centuries ago, with her *Plea for Learning in Women*.

Dr. C. C. Marden, Johns Hopkins University :

11. The Spanish dialect of Mexico City.

Prof. C. H. Ross, Agricultural and Mechanical College, Ala. :

12. Henry Timrod and his poetry.

Prof. James T. Hatfield, Northwestern University :

13. The poetry of Wilhelm Müller.

Dr. L. E. Menger, Johns Hopkins University :

14. Early Romanticists in Italy.

FOURTH SESSION.

Saturday, December 29, at 3 P.M.

Dr. Edwin S. Lewis, Princeton University :

15. On the development of inter-vocalic labials in the Romanic languages.

Dr. L. A. Rhoades, Cornell University :

16. Notes on Goethe's *Iphigenie*.

Mr. Alex. W. Herdler, Princeton University :

17. On the Slavonic languages.

Dr. Thomas A. Jenkins, Philadelphia :

18. Old French equivalents of Latin substantives in *-cus*, *-gus*, *-vus*.

Prof. A. R. Hohlfeld, Vanderbilt University :

19. Contributions to a bibliography of Racine (read by title).

A paper by Prof. Hermann Collitz, Bryn Mawr College, was read at the Second Joint Session, Friday, December 28.

AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY.

(Organized 1888.)

Prof. E. S. Sheldon, Harvard University, read a paper at the Second Joint Session, Friday, December 28.

SPELLING REFORM ASSOCIATION.

(Organized 1876.)

Friday afternoon, December 28.

1. Opening remarks by President March: "The movement for spelling reform."
2. Paper by H. L. Wayland, D. D., Editor of the *Examiner*: "The obstacles to reform."
3. Remarks by James W. Walk, M. D., Commissioner of Charities and Correction, Philadelphia: "The advantage of a reformed orthography to the children of the poor."
4. Remarks by Charles P. G. Scott, Ph. D., Editor of *Worcester's Dictionary*: "The attitude of philologists toward the spelling reform."
5. Remarks by Patterson Du Bois, A. M., of Philadelphia.
6. Remarks by J. H. Allen, of Massachusetts.
7. Remarks by Mrs. E. B. Burns, of New York.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA.

(Organized 1879.)

FIRST SESSION.

Friday, December 28.

Mrs. Sara Y. Stevenson, University of Pennsylvania:

1. The antiquities from Koptos at the University of Pennsylvania.

Rev. W. C. Winslow, Boston, Mass.:

2. The explorations at the temple of Queen Hatasu.

Mr. Talcott Williams, *The Press*, Philadelphia:

3. Local Moorish architecture in North Morocco.

Prof. Frank B. Tarbell, University of Chicago :

4. Retrograde inscriptions on Attic vases.

Prof. John Williams White, Harvard University :

5. History and work of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Prof. William R. Ware, Columbia College, N. Y. :

6. The New American School of Architecture at Rome.

Prof. William H. Goodyear, Brooklyn Institute :

7. A discovery of Greek horizontal curves in the Maison Carrée at Nîmes.

Rev. John P. Peters, New York :

8. The Excavations of the Babylonian Expedition at the temple of Bel in Nippur.

Prof. Allan Marquand, Princeton University :

9. A study in Greek architectural proportions.

Prof. Myron R. Sanford, Middlebury College :

10. The new faun of the Quirinal.

Prof. W. C. Lawton, Philadelphia :

11. Accretions to the Troy myth after Homer.

Mr. Barr Ferree, Brooklyn :

12. Architecture of mediæval houses in France.

Prof. A. L. Frothingham, Jr., Princeton University :

13. Byzantine influence upon Mediæval Italy.
14. The ivory throne at Ravenna.

Mr. William Rankin, Jr., Princeton University :

15. Some early Italian pictures in American galleries.

Prof. Alfred Emerson, Cornell University :

16. The archæology of Athenian politics in the fifth century B.C.

A paper by Prof. Federico Halbherr, University of Rome, was read at the Second Joint Session, on Friday, December 28.

OFFICERS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1894-95.

PRESIDENT.

JOHN HENRY WRIGHT.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

BERNADOTTE PERRIN.

MINTON WARREN.

SECRETARY AND TREASURER.

HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The above-named Officers, and —

BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE.

WILLIAM W. GOODWIN.

ABBY LEACH.

FRANCIS A. MARCH.

BENJAMIN I. WHEELER.

MEMBERS IN ATTENDANCE AT THE TWENTY-SEVENTH
ANNUAL SESSION (CLEVELAND).

- Sidney G. Ashmore, Union University, Schenectady, N. Y.
C. W. Ayer, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
Robert Baird, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
Francis Kingsley Ball, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
Clarence P. Bill, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
W. W. Bishop, Garret Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.
Demarchus C. Brown, Butler University, Irvington, Ind.
F. W. Brown, Franklin College, Franklin, Ind.
Isaac B. Burgess, Morgan Park Academy, Morgan Park, Ill.
M. L. D'Ooge, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
V. J. Emery, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
Harold N. Fowler, Western Reserve University (College for Women),
Cleveland, O.
A. L. Fuller, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
William Gardner Hale, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Arthur P. Hall, Drury College, Springfield, Mo.
Karl P. Harrington, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
Samuel Hart, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.
George Hempl, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
G. L. Hendrickson, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
W. H. Hulme, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
M. W. Humphreys, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.
George B. Hussey, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
William H. Johnson, Denison University, Granville, O.
Gustaf E. Karsten, University of Indiana, Bloomington, Ind.
Arthur Hull Mabley, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
H. W. Magoun, Oberlin, O.
J. H. T. Main, Iowa College, Grinnell, Ia.
F. A. March, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.
Harriett E. McKinstry, Lake Erie Female Seminary, Plainesville, O.
William F. Palmer, Lake Forest, Ill.
Emma M. Perkins, Western Reserve University (College for Women),
Cleveland, O.
B. Perrin, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
S. B. Platner, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
L. S. Potwin, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
Ernst Riess, Baltimore, Md.
H. F. Roberts, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
W. S. Scarborough, Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, O.

H. Schmidt-Wartenberg, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Charles P. G. Scott, Radnor, Pa.

M. S. Slaughter, Iowa College, Grinnell, Ia.

Charles Forster Smith, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

Josiah R. Smith, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.

Herbert Weir Smyth, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

Charles W. Super, Ohio University, Athens, O.

Guy V. Thompson, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

A. M. Wilcox, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan.

John Henry Wright, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

[Total, 47.]

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, July 9, 1895.

The Twenty-Seventh Annual Session was called to order at 3.20 P.M. in Clark Hall, by the President, Professor John Henry Wright, of Harvard University.

The Secretary of the Association, Professor Herbert Weir Smyth, of Bryn Mawr College, presented the following report:—

1. The Executive Committee has elected as members of the Association:—

- W. W. Bishop, Instructor in Greek, Garret Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.
B. L. Bowen, Professor of Romance Languages, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.
William Lewis Bulkley, Professor of Latin and German, Claflin University, Orangeburg, S. C.
H. J. Burchell, Jr., Instructor in Greek, Barnard College, N. Y.
Donald Cameron, Assistant in Latin, University of Texas, Austin, Tex.
Mary Emily Case, Professor of Latin, Wells College, Aurora, N. Y.
Frederic T. Cooper, Ph.D., 177 Warburton Avenue, Yonkers, N. Y.
W. T. Couper, Assistant Professor of Greek, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y.
Heber D. Curtis, Professor of Greek and Latin, Napa College, Napa, Cal.
Samuel C. Derby, Professor of Latin, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.
B. L. D'Ooge, Professor of Latin and Greek, State Normal School, Ypsilanti, Mich.
Louis H. Dow, Instructor in Greek, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
Edgar A. Emens, Professor of Greek, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y.
Charles Mills Gayley, Professor of English Literature, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
T. F. Hamblin, Professor of Greek, Bucknell University, Lewisburgh, Pa.
Adelbert Hamilton, Instructor in Latin and Greek, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.
W. A. Harris, Professor of Greek, Baylor University, Waco, Texas.
George Hempl, Junior Professor of English, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
George A. Hench, Assistant Professor of German, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

- Mrs. Frances Hardin Hess, Library of New York University, New York, N. Y.
- W. H. Hulme, Instructor in German, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
- George Wesley Johnson, Acting Professor of Latin, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
- J. C. Kirtland, Jr., Assistant in Latin, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Palo Alto, Cal.
- Camillo von Klenze, Instructor in German, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- L. Oscar Kuhns, Professor of Romance Languages, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.
- W. B. Langsdorf, Professor of Latin, Miami University, Oxford, O.
- Emory B. Lease, Professor of Latin, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa.
- Alexander von W. Leslie, Marston's University School, Baltimore, Md.
- C. B. Martin, Professor of Greek Literature and Classical Archaeology, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O.
- Charles L. Michener, Professor of Greek and Latin, Penn College, Oskaloosa, Ia.
- Edwin L. Miller, Englewood High School, Chicago, Ill.
- Richard A. Minckwitz, Kansas City High School, Kansas City, Mo.
- William K. Prentice, Instructor in Greek, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- Ferris W. Price, Professor of Latin, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.
- Leon J. Richardson, Instructor in Latin, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
- Edmund Y. Robbins, Instructor in Greek, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- Alfred G. Rolfe, Instructor in Greek, High School, Pottstown, Pa.
- Charles S. Smith, Instructor in Latin, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- Arthur Tappan Walker, Assistant in Latin, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- C. R. Watson, Assistant in French, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- Margaret M. Wickham, Assistant Professor of German, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Palo Alto, Cal.

2. The TRANSACTIONS and PROCEEDINGS for 1894 (Vol. XXV) were issued in March. The PROCEEDINGS of the Special Session held in Philadelphia, in December, 1894, in conjunction with the Congress of Philologists, were issued in May. Separate copies of the PROCEEDINGS may be obtained from the Secretary or the Publishers.

3. The Report of Publications by members of the Association since July 1, 1894, showed a record of books and pamphlets by over seventy-five members. To ensure the completeness of this report, it is earnestly requested that every member enter his publications upon the blanks to be sent out in June of each year. It is desirable that only those publications be entered on the list which have a distinctly philological character. The Report for 1894-95 will be incorporated with that for 1895-96 in volume XXVII.

4. A set of TRANSACTIONS was presented to the Imperial Ottoman Museum at Constantinople, and to the American School of Classical Studies at Rome.

Professor Smyth then made his report as Treasurer for the year 1894-95 :—

RECEIPTS.	
Balance from 1893-94	\$987.28
Fees and Arrears	\$1221.00
Life Membership	50.00
Sales of Transactions	283.29
Authors' offprints	44.50
Dividends Central New England & Western R. R.	6.00
Interest	19.75
Total receipts for the year	1624.54
	\$2611.82

EXPENDITURES.	
Transactions and Proceedings (Vol. XXV)	\$997.40
Proceedings Extra Session, December, 1894	331.80
Salary of Secretary	250.00
Postage	53.41
Stationery and Job Printing	77.50
Expressage	3.75
Binding40
Incidental	9.09
Total expenditures for the year	\$1723.35
Balance, July 6, 1895	888.47
	\$2611.82

The reading of papers was then begun. At this time there were present about thirty members. At subsequent meetings about fifty members were in attendance. Vice-President Perrin took the chair during a part of the afternoon.

1. Is there any trace of the Terpanurian *Nómos* in Tibullus? by Professor Karl P. Harrington, of the University of North Carolina.

It cannot be said that we know very much about either Terpander or his work. That he was a Greek melic poet, who established in Sparta the musical contests of the Karnean festival (about 670 B.C.), that he is said to have been the first composer of melic poetry with an accompaniment throughout on the lyre, and that the remains of his work are so meagre that no satisfactory conclusion of any kind can be drawn from them, save that they were chiefly *nómes* (*νόμοι*), that is, hymns to the gods,—these statements have been generally accepted as true. That he was regarded as the father of systematic Greek music, and was often a winner in the Pythian games, are assertions not so easily verified.

Nómes were hymns of a very early period, sung by individuals to the accompaniment of the lyre before the altar of the god addressed; but hymns sung by a

chorus took the place of the νόμος in early times and were distinguished by the name ὕμνος.

The very word νόμος (custom, law, ordinance) implies a fixed character in these productions, if not, indeed, a regular system of composition. The only thing from his own writings to indicate what this system was, as followed by Terpander, is a couplet quoted by Strabo (although even he doubted the authenticity of the verses):

Σοὶ δ' ἡμεῖς τετράγηρυν ἀποστέρξαντες δοιδᾶν
ἐπτατόνῳ φόρμυγι νέους κελαδήσομεν ὕμνους.

This seems to mean, 'No longer loving the four-toned song, we will loudly sing to thee new hymns to the accompaniment of the seven-toned lyre': and therefore the apparent reference is to the legendary improvement in the lyre invented by Terpander, whereby the number of strings was increased from four to seven. Th. Bergk, however, in the *Rheinisches Museum* XX. 288 (1865) (= *Opuscula* II. 742), has interpreted the passage as referring to the seven divisions of the νόμος, and suggested a comparison with the hymns of Callimachus and the works of Theocritus.

This seems to be supported by a passage in the works of Juba II. quoted by Julius Pollux in his *Onomasticon* IV. 66. The passage referred to states that the seven divisions of the Terpadrian νόμος were: 1. ἀρχά (the beginning). 2. μεταρχά (after-beginning). 3. κατατροπά (the attack). 4. μετακατατροπά (the further attack). 5. ὀμφαλός (the main argument, the kernel, the central thought) (a word very likely derived from the Apollo-worship, with which the Terpadrian *nomes* were chiefly concerned). 6. σφραγίς (seal) (the clinching of the argument (?)). 7. ἐπιλογος (conclusion). The following arrangement shows the symmetrical arrangement of this scheme:

{	I.	1. ἀρχά
		2. μεταρχά
{	II.	3. κατατροπά
		4. μετακατατροπά
{	III.	5. ὀμφαλός
	IV.	6. σφραγίς
{	V.	7. ἐπιλογος

Literary critics have naturally sought for imitations of Terpander's *nomes* in Greek and Latin literature. Westphal tried to make them out in Pindar, Aeschylus and Catullus. Bergk thought he saw them in Callimachus. But the scheme has frequently been severely wrenched in these attempts; emendation of the passage in Pollux, transposition of the μετακατατροπά to a place after the ὀμφαλός, and other suggestions, have had to be resorted to; and, whatever may be said of Callimachus, no very general acceptance has been found for the theory that either Pindar or Catullus employed any such plan.

It has been reserved for Prof. Crusius, of Tübingen, in more recent times, to revive the attempt to fasten the Terpadrian scheme on Pindar, Callimachus and several Roman poets, including Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid. (See the proceedings of the 39th Assembly of Teachers at Zürich, Sept., 1887, whence some of the preceding facts have been drawn.)

As far as Tibullus is concerned, this doctrine is certainly somewhat startling. Readers of his beautiful poems have been wont to consider them as artless in manner as they are simple in thought and elegant in expression. Crusius, however, to put the case briefly, would have us believe that Tibullus in his poems written for festive occasions is a very different poet from the love-lorn devotee of Delia, and is not only Alexandrian in tone, but also actually exhibits the whole scheme of Terpander's *νόμος* in several cases.

1. While there is, of course, a distinct difference in tone between the amatory and the laudatory elegies of Tibullus, on *a priori* grounds one would hesitate to believe in the existence of any such difference in the particular manner of composition between the two classes of poems, and it seems as foolish to try to fit the Terpandrian scheme to one as to the other.

2. The example chosen by Crusius for illustration in Tibullus is II. 5 (122 vv.). He divides it as follows:

"I. 1. vv. 1-4: Phoebe, fave, novus ingreditur tua templa sacerdos — huc age veni.

2. vv. 5-10: Ipse veni, *im Feierkleide*, qualis laudes concinuisti Jovis.

II. 3. vv. 11-16: Tu procul eventura vides, te duce Romanos numquam frustrata Sibylla.

4. vv. 17 f.: Phoebe, Messalinum sine tangere chartas vatis —, quid canat illa doce.

III. 5. vv. 19-104: Haec dedit Aeneae sortes: *ihre Weissagungen sind eingetroffen; aber du Apoll wende schlimme Zeichen und segne uns!*

IV. 6. vv. 105-120: Pace tua pereant arcus, *with which Amor inflicts his wounds* — usque cano Nemesim —, at parce, puella, ut Messalinum celebrem.

V. 7. vv. 121 f.: Adnue, Phoebe."

When we examine this plausible scheme we find (*a*) that the divisions are wrongly made. They should be something like this: (1) vv. 1-18: 'Phoebus, accept the new priest, who to-day enters thy service; and show thine approval by thy presence, decked in festal attire. (2) vv. 19-66: It was thy Sibyl that prophesied to Aeneas, on his arrival in Italy, the future greatness that should come out of the wilderness. (3) vv. 67-82: All these things are now accomplished, as well as other Sibylline prophecies. But, Apollo, let dreadful portents now cease, and give us a favorable omen of the future. (4) vv. 83-104: If the omen is propitious, let rustic merriment abound, even to the petty quarrels of a lover and his lass. (5) vv. 105-122: But perish Cupid's darts! and may my Nemesis spare me till I can sing the proud praises of Messalinus triumphing over conquered cities.' In such a scheme we recognize more readily the familiar gentle ebb and flow of Tibullus's thought.

(*b*) The natural and simple connection of sentences is interrupted in the scheme of Crusius. For example, who would naturally think of making any division between verses 4 and 5? The thought is one, viz., 'Come in the form of Apollo Citharoedus.'

(c) Crusius makes an episode the central and principal thought in the poem, viz., the prophecy of the Sibyl foretelling to Aeneas the future greatness of Rome. In such a formal arrangement as he defends, something relating to the particular occasion of the poem or to Messalinus would seem to be required.

3. To show the artificiality of all this, the scheme may be applied to one of the other class of Tibullus's elegies, a typical Delia-elegy, e.g. No. 1 of Bk. I. It can be made to work equally well, and may run thus:—

- I. { 1. ἀρχά: 1-6: 'I care not to grow rich amid trouble and danger.
2. μεταρχά: 7-14: I can be content with my simple rustic life.
- II. { 3. κατατροπά: 15-28: To the gods of field and fold I will bring offerings,
if I may enjoy such a peaceful existence.
4. μετακατατροπά: 29-44: Nor will I be ashamed of my poverty, I have enough.
- III. 5. ὀμφαλός: 45-68: A home and my Delia's love! Who wants more?
She will love me till my dying day.
- IV. 6. σφραγίς: 69-74: Let us, then, my Delia, love while we may!
- V. 7. ἐπίλογος: 75-78: In love's battles I am a valiant soldier, and in my
modest competence am rich!

All this, however, serves as a *reductio ad absurdum*; for no living being believes Tibullus had any such scheme in his mind in this case.

It appears, therefore, (1) that on *a priori* grounds Crusius's theory is improbable; (2) that when tested it has serious faults; and (3) that it would apply equally well (i.e. *not at all!*) to any of Tibullus's poems.

2. German Methods of Philological Statement, by Dr. Charles P. G. Scott, of Radnor, Pa.

The abstract of this paper has been withdrawn from publication. Remarks were made by Professors Wright, C. F. Smith, and by the author.

3. The more complicated Figures of Comparison in Plato, by Dr. George B. Hussey, of the University of Chicago.

Plato's especial doctrines more than those of any other ancient philosopher depend for their understanding upon argument by analogy. Thus it comes about that certain comparisons act as an essential part of his system. Others again he uses as mere literary ornament. We therefore find him richer than any other prose writer in the classical period in the use of this kind of figure. But his comparisons are not only very numerous: some are also very complicated. Certain of these complications allow of classification: and to discuss such as these will be the object of the pages that follow.

The simplest of these irregular comparisons (and under comparisons are included metaphor, simile, and allegory) is the mixed metaphor. Mixture of metaphor usually leaves a rather confused impression on the mind, but the figure

really consists, not so much in a confusion, as in a rapid succession of pictures. An example may be taken from Republic 533 D where dialectic "leads and drags upward the eye of the soul as it lies buried in barbaric filth." In Timaeus 81 C there is also a mixture of several metaphors. It reads "but when the root of the triangles relaxes, because of its having fought many fights over a long space of time against many, it is no longer able to cut the entering elements of nourishment." Sometimes even five or six different pictures may thus be set together. Mixture of metaphor is often made by variety in the verbs, as in Republic 440 C: *ζεῖ τε καὶ χαλεπαίνει καὶ ξυμμαχεῖ τῷ δοκοῦντι δικαίῳ*. Noun metaphors as in 614 A, where Plato speaks of the *ἀθλά τε καὶ μισθοὶ καὶ δῶρα* of virtue, are much more rare. These noun metaphors seem stronger in effect than verb metaphors, and when they are thus mixed, they are apt to stand in too harsh a contrast to one another, unless carefully chosen. The mixture of verb and substantive in metaphors is, however, far more prevalent than is either verb or noun mixture by itself. Examples of this would be Republic 470 D: *τροφὸν καὶ μητέρα κείρειν*, or Laws 718 D: *πῦρ ἐπὶ πῦρ ὀχρεύειν*.

Compound simile arises when one object is compared with several others by means of the same particle or word of comparison. It is decidedly a note-book figure. It is therefore more frequent in the Laws than in all the rest of Plato, as this dialogue seems to have been stopped in the process of construction. Thus at 902 D the gods are compared to physicians, captains, generals, housekeepers, statesmen, stonemasons. In the case of such compound similes the comparison is in thought with the whole genus; but finds its expression by enumerating all the concrete species. In a few cases a simile of this compound sort is carried from one point in a dialogue to another, so as to be intermittent.

Secondary metaphor or simile is another kind of complication in the use of figures. In the abstract it is a case where A is compared to B and then, to illustrate B, it in turn is compared to C. Republic 495 E will serve for an example. There the common man in his attitude toward philosophy is like a little bald tinker dressed up *like a bridegroom*, and about to marry his master's daughter. An example of secondary metaphor thus inclosed in a simile would be Republic 329 C: *αὐτὸ ἀπέφυγον ὡς περ λυττῶντά τινα καὶ ἄγριον δεσπότην ἀποφυγῶν*.

Secondary transfer may also be found in one of two adjacent metaphors. This case is, however, hard to separate from mixed metaphor, as they do not differ in effect, but only in origin. Take, for instance, Republic 573 D: "the tyrant in his soul rules and captains him." Here the first comparison is of soul to state, and the second is of state to ship. Had it been soul to state and then soul to ship, it would have been mixed metaphor. But this would seem to be a less natural way of regarding its origin. Another example of secondary transfer is Laws 690 D: *στάσεων πηγὴν τινα ἀνευρήκαμεν ἣν δεῖ σε θεραπεύειν*.

The cases of secondary transfer thus far discussed have involved three different objects. Yet by a doubling back of the line of transfer upon itself, secondary comparison may come to involve but two. Thus, in the abstract case, A is compared to B and then B compared to A. The second comparison is thus the converse of the first, and forms with it a sort of circular analogy. Conversion is necessarily rare in the carefully written dialogues, as it arises either from poverty of expression or inaccuracy of thought. An instance might be taken from Laws 840 D. Here men are compared to birds and then within this com-

parison metaphors are used which represent the birds as men (*ἡῖθεοι, ἀγνοί*). All of the conversions in Plato occur in the intermittent comparisons, where, owing to their great length, confusion easily arises.

Metaphors may also be converted. But as with the secondary transfer of metaphor so with this converted metaphor,—it is much more difficult to detect than the corresponding kind of simile. An example is found in Republic 520 B or better in Politicus 301 E, where the statesman is called a “king such as grows in hives, solitary, preëminent alike in soul and body.” The hive was first compared to the state by those who used the term *βασιλεύς* for the queen-bee. Then in this passage, as often elsewhere in Plato, the state is compared to the hive. Two transfers are thus united in the same word.

The effect of conversion is also produced, when a literal word stands in close grammatical relation to one of the figurative words of a simile or a metaphor. This produces a confusion of the picture and of real life, as in Sophist 266 C, where a painting is called a “man-made dream for men that are awake.” The *μαινόμενος οἶνος* of Laws 773 D or the *ἀνάπηρον ψυχὴν* of Republic 535 E will serve as further examples. *These are cases of noun and adjective. Less forcible usually are the cases where a noun and its genitive of material are one of them figurative, the other literal. Republic 569 B: *φεύγων ἂν καπνὸν δουλείας ἐλευθέρων, εἰς πῦρ δούλων δεσποτείας ἂν ἐμπεπτωκὸς εἴη*, is an example of this. When the grammatical relation between the words is less close, the feeling of confusion seems to die out altogether.

A much easier combination of comparisons to unravel than the foregoing is the argument by analogy. In it the comparisons are in syllogisms or groups of three. A is like B, B like C, and A like C. In such a case there results a single transfer and also a secondary one. A simple case of a single group is this one from the Republic:

Truth, the sun (Rep. 509 A-D).

Truth, a king (597 E). | Sun, a king (509 D-516 B).

In such a group of comparisons as this, some are usually of considerable extent or possibly intermittent. Any one of the comparisons in the group may come first in the text, but one term (B) always remains the middle term or bridge between the other two. Several groups of comparisons having the same middle term may unite into a system. The system of the microcosm in the Republic is one of the more important of these:

Soul compared to state (329 C-608 B).

Soul a	{ human body (352 B-611 C). sheepfold (440 D). harmony (401 D-591 D). ship (573 D-591 E). wild animal (410 D-606 A). bird's-nest (573 E). hive (573 A-577 E). himation (561 E).	State a	{ human body (372 E-567 C). sheepfold (375 A-539 B). harmony (430 E-432 A). ship (389 C-551 C). wild animal (493 B). bird's-nest (548 A). hive (520 B-567 D). himation (557 C-558 C).
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Besides the two just given, a group of comparisons is found in the Phaedo and in the Timaeus, and two apiece in the Laws and the Politicus. In each system there are generally some further complications. In certain cases, for instance, a

comparison may be extended until it forms a tertiary transfer; or it may be converted, or compounded, as in any one of the simple cases previously considered.

Remarks were made by Professors Fowler, Smyth, Ashmore, and the author.

4. The Languages of Africa, by Professor W. S. Scarborough, of Wilberforce University.

No abstract of this paper has been received.

5. Some Plans of Pliny's Laurentinum, by Dr. H. W. Magoun, of Oberlin.

Through the kindness of the Harvard librarian and members of the faculties of Adelbert College and the University of Michigan, it has been possible for me to obtain copies of eight additional plans of Pliny's Laurentinum. (See PROC., Dec., 1894, p. xxxiii.) The list is now as follows: I. Scamozzi, 1615; II. Felibien des Avaux, 1699; III. Castell, 1728; IV. Marquez, 1796; V. Hirt, 1827; VI. Haudebort, 1838; VII. Bouchet, 1852; VIII. Cowan, 1889; IX. Winnefeld, 1891; X. Magoun, 1894. The plans differ widely; III. and VII. are very elaborate; V. and VIII. are plain and simple; the others range between the two extremes.

While the lack of the author's description makes the details somewhat doubtful in the case of some of the plans, the following comparisons may perhaps be made with safety.

All agree in regarding the first mentioned *triclinium* as corresponding to the *occus* of a city house, though its proportions and relative size differ widely: II., IV., VII., and X. follow the rules of Vitruvius, making length : width = 2 : 1; III., V., and VI. adopt essentially 3 : 2; the others, not far from 4 : 3.

Plans III.-IX., inclusive, place the villa facing NE.; I. makes it face N.; II. and X., approximately ENE. In like manner III.-VIII. make the *cryptoporticus* run NW.; I. and IX. make it run due N.; II. and X., approximately NNW. All except IX. and I., therefore, place it at right angles to the house; I., II., IV.-VI., VIII., and X. connect it directly with the house, though IV. does so by a division of the *cryptoporticus* running NE.; III. and VII. join it to an open court in front of the house; while IX. separates it entirely from the main house and unites it with a building containing the second *turris*, the *apotheca*, the *cenatio*, and the *diaetae*. Observe also that IX. makes it run N.; but the *heliocaminus*, the last-mentioned *cubiculum*, and other requirements of the description, in addition to the strong probability that it was connected directly with the house, make this solution extremely doubtful. Moreover, the compromise of II. and X. meets essentially the difficulty concerning the sun; for in this latitude, about the same as Chicago, N. 41°+, a building running NNW. would cast so little shadow in summer at noon that it might easily then be spoken of as "especially free from the sun when the latter was hottest on its roof." The other requirements are met by X. alone in a way that seems less objectionable; for the *cryptoporticus* appears to open directly (*hinc*) from the *hortus pinguis et rusticus*, and the position of

the latter within the walls of the house is sustained by excavations at Pompeii, notably in the house of Sallust. Furthermore, in the cold months, when this villa was most in use, a "kitchen garden" thus enclosed would do much better than one exposed to the winds from the mountains, and, not to mention other reasons which might be urged, it would not be subject to the ravages of the cattle which seem to have ranged freely about the house (II., 17, *nam illuc . . . pecora conveniunt*). It is also to be observed that the *cenatio* in X. is at the corner of the house where the *diaetae* can be spoken of as surrounding it on the back (*cingitur . . . a tergo*), and the reading is *subjacet* (not *subjacent*) *vestibulum villae et hortus*.

Plans I.-IV. and VII. represent the *cavaedium* as an open court enclosed by buildings; VIII. is doubtful, but inclines to the same view; V., VI., IX., and X. regard it as a *peristylum*. (See PROC., Dec., 1894, p. xxxiv f.)

The two *turres* are placed by IV.-VII., IX., and X. near together on the N. side of the house (NW., strictly speaking), and, excepting IX., parallel to it; III., and probably II., adds two *turres* and places all four on the front of the house, the two extra ones S. of the entrance; VIII. rejects the added *turres*, but otherwise follows the same arrangement; I. has them on opposite sides of the house near the centre. The first plan, parallel to the house, seems best to meet the requirements.

The most striking thing about the *balneum* is the size given to the rooms composing it. All but I., II., and X. either add a side extension, between the main house and the tower or towers, to accommodate them, or make the breadth of the house much greater than its length and give to them most of the space on the N. side thus obtained. This may be due to the old reading, which III. certainly follows, *si nare*, or *si innare*, instead of *si mare*, the reading of three Mss., which alone gives a satisfactory sense to *in proximo*. Ep. V., 6. 25, *si natate*, etc., has probably helped to maintain *nare* and support the sense, "sufficiently large, if you plan to take a swim in the nearest [place]"—an odd remark, certainly. The reading *mare*, giving the sense, "sufficiently large, if you bear in mind the sea close at hand," implies that the *baptisteria* are really small. Two considerations, apart from the greater natural probability of the reading, support this view. First, from the baths thus far discovered it appears that, as a rule, the *frigidarium*, properly so called, was a room relatively small; second, the reading is, not *frigidarium*, but *cella frigidaria*. Even if it is *spatiosa et effusa*, it is still a *cella*, which in itself implies relative smallness. From the lack of a scale, except Hirt's, the size imagined by the designers cannot be given; the scale of X. is certainly small enough (the whole villa a little over twice as long as the longest *atria*), and the very small relative space there given to the rooms of the baths still equals that devoted to the same purpose in the villa of Diomedes at Pompeii. The others, then, as planned, can hardly represent baths smaller than the public *balneae* of Pompeii, excavated in 1824. That they were so large is not likely, and it is not probable that such a view would be seriously entertained. The reduction in the space given to the baths allows the villa to maintain the general form of a normal Roman house, a matter disregarded by at least half the plans, though observed more or less closely by I., VI., VII., IX., and X.

Only VI., VII., IX., and X. represent the *atrium* as such, and only IX. and X. give it the proportions required by Vitruvius, IX. apparently regarding it as

testudinatum; II. and V. make it the same as the *vestibulum*; III. makes it an open paved court or yard; I., IV., and VIII. represent it as an ordinary room, but of various proportions. The first view, as adopted by IX. or X., seems the only tenable one.

The plans of the *porticus* have already been noticed in the *School Review*, June, 1895, p. 368, where certain changes have been shown to be necessary in some minor details of X. A careful study of the others, however, seems to confirm the soundness of the method there laid down, according to which X. was constructed, taking the normal Roman house as a model, since they all show serious defects. For example, in every instance the *cubiculum minus* is so placed that the condition, *altera fenestra admittit orientem, occidentem altera retinet*, cannot be fulfilled in some particular. A Pompeian model for the *cubiculum in hapsida curvatum* and the *dormitorium membrum* (villa of Diomedes) enabled X. to meet the condition. If we allow the change (*Sch. Rev.*) proposed in the *porticus* (for plan, see *PROC.*, Dec., 1894, p. xxxiv.), it leads to the equation (Pliny's L.) *atrium : porticus : cavaedium : triclinium = (normal house) atrium : tablinum : peristylum : oecus*, which seems reasonable, but must not be pressed too far. *Tablina* were from 14 ft. to 24 ft. square, while the corresponding *atria* were from 30 ft. to 100 ft. long. Pliny's villa can hardly have fallen much below the average (19 ft. for *tablinum*), which allows space enough for the *area* ("a little bit of a one," *parvula*), unless the height required demands considerable breadth in the *porticus* themselves to maintain a due regard for proportions. This must be considered as a factor in the question and has doubtless been influential in causing so much space to be given to the *porticus* in some of the other plans, one of which (VII.) adds a *tablinum* and *fauces*; but it is difficult to escape the conviction that the villa, which is evidently old-fashioned, resembled a town house so strongly that the equation is in the main correct and that the *porticus* have in some way either displaced the *tablinum* or have in a new guise revived in a sense and extended what appears to have been the original form of *tablina* in country houses. (See Preston and Dodge, *Private Life of the Romans*, p. 32 f.)

A few things not directly mentioned in the letter seem to be demanded by other considerations. The fact that Pliny drove back and forth calls for a *stabulum*, and it appears in III., VII., and X., though in different forms: X. puts it beside the *vestibulum* as a part of the house, which Vitruvius (VI. 9) seems to require; the other two place it without the house, but in the same relative position S. of the entrance. A *culina* was necessary, and III., VI., and X. (possibly also II. and VII.) have recognized the need. All three put it on the S. side, not far from the centre. It is safe to assume a *latrina* and possibly a *cella penaria*, as is done in X.; but beyond this it is hardly safe to go, although a few, especially III., have done so.

To what extent the plans have influenced one another, it is hard to say. In constructing IX., use was made of I., II., IV., and V.; and III. was used in making VIII. Beyond that I have no evidence; but a certain similarity in the general principles of construction lead to the suspicion that II. may have influenced III. It cannot be said, however, with certainty, and the author of III. makes no mention of any other plan.

Remarks were made by Professor Ashmore.

6. An Examination of Vitruvius and others in regard to the *atrium* and *cavum aedium* of a Roman Dwelling, by Professor Sidney G. Ashmore, of Union University.

The object of this paper is to show that the terms *atrium* and *cavum aedium* were originally employed to designate the central or principal portion of an ordinary Roman house, and that they never became entirely dissociated; but that *cavum aedium* (*cavaedium*) was used in the period of the Empire often of an interior *atrium* (*atriolum*) when there were two *atria* in the dwelling — one near the front entrance, another beyond the *peristylum*, as perhaps in Pliny's villa at Laurentum. That the *cavaedium* was simply a *peristylum* (say in Pliny's time) is unlikely. It was rather, as Marquardt says, a second *atrium*; and the fact that Vitruvius mentions *cava aedium* as distinct from *peristylia* makes it hard to believe that Pliny considered the two words identical.

What difference then existed, if any, between the *atrium* of a Roman house and the so-called *cavum aedium*? The question is discussed at length by Becker (Gallus), who endeavors to prove that the two terms were always significant of two different and distinct parts of the dwelling, "the first," as he expresses it, "corresponding to our hall, the second to our court." He rests his conclusion upon the evidence, as he sees it, of the more important passages in ancient authors, that bear upon the subject. Chief among them are: Varro, Ling. Lat. v. 161; Vitruvius, vi. 3 and vi. 5; Pliny, Epist. 2. 17. In the passage cited from Varro, *cavum* means "cavity," "hollow," as in Varro, R. R. 3. 15, 2 *facere iis cavos oportet laxiores, ubi pullos parere possint*, and elsewhere, and *cavum aedium* is the central space or interior of a simple dwelling. This interior being broad and roomy, as compared with the other divisions of the house, is described as *patulus*, and it is to be observed that it was roofed (*tectus*). Neither *cavum* nor *patulus*, however, have any necessary reference to an opening in the roof. The interior space between the walls is the cavity in question, and *patulus* alludes to the size of the main chamber as compared with that of each of the *cellae*, *cubicula*, or other small compartments which surrounded it.

It was important, however, that this interior and central chamber should admit the light, and also emit the smoke of the hearth; and so at an early date a mode of building common among the Etruscans was adopted by the Latins, whereby an opening in the roof was constructed for these purposes. Varro remarks that such a *cavum aedium* was called *Tuscanicum*, and adds that it received the name of *atrium*, from the Tuscan town of *Atria*, where it originated. The *atrium*, then, according to Varro, was a species of *cavum aedium*, so called because it had an opening in the roof to admit the light, after the manner of building customary in the Tuscan town of *Atria*; the ordinary *cavum aedium*, as will be seen by reference to the passage cited, being known as *testudo*, because, like a general's tent (or the back of a tortoise), it had no such opening. *Atrium* then is the same with *cavum aedium Tuscanicum*. Such is the testimony of Varro. Yet Becker (Gallus) actually compels Varro to support his theory that *cavum aedium* and *atrium* were two different things.

Vitruvius, Bk. vi. ch. 3, distinguishes five kinds or varieties of *cava aedium*, of which the *Tuscanicum* is one, and says: "*Tuscanica sunt in quibus traves in atriis latitudine traiectae habeant-interpensiva* (cross beams)," etc. That the

word *atrii* in this passage can refer to any part of the house other than the *cavum aedium* it is difficult to see, and yet argument has been made to that effect (as by Schneider, cited by Becker, p. 243).

Vitruvius then is at one with Varro, to the extent that *atrium* is a term correctly applied to the *cavum aedium Tuscanicum*. The question then arises whether it may not also be so applied to the other four species of *cavum aedium* mentioned by Vitruvius. The answer is clear that it may. An examination of the text of Vitruvius will show this, for it is there made evident that the failure again to use the word *atrium* is due merely to the absence of any necessity to do so, and not to a radical difference in the meaning of the two terms. The classification is made according to the shape of the roof in each case, i.e. to the peculiar construction of the *compluvium*. But it must not be overlooked that in speaking of the breadth of the *cavum aedium*, across which run the *trabes*, Vitruvius employs the term *atrium* (i.e. *in atrii latitudine*), because when thinking of the space itself, apart from the peculiar structure of the roof-opening, the term *atrium* rather than *cavum aedium* seemed appropriate. This is borne out by what follows; so that there is positive evidence not that the *atrium* is distinct from the *cavum aedium*, in the mind of Vitruvius, but that it is the appropriate name for the principal apartment of the house, when considered with reference to its dimensions only, and without regard to the distinctive character of the *compluvium*. This involves a slight difference between Varro and Vitruvius in the point of view; but suggests nothing that would point to a positive difference in meaning between the terms.

But Becker says that the words of Vitruvius: *Atriorum vero longitudines*, etc., place *atria* in opposition to *cava aedium* (since otherwise he would have said: *latitudines vero atriorum*), and so prove *atria* to have been different from *cava aedium*. How then does Becker account for the fact that the dimensions of the *atrium* are given in full by Vitruvius, whereas the dimensions of the *cavum aedium* are omitted? Nay more, Vitruvius gives directions respecting the length, breadth, and height of each and all of the divisions of the Roman house, yet refrains from adding those of the *cavum aedium*. The inference is unmistakable. The measurements that belong to the *atrium* belong also to the *cavum aedium*. The two expressions are practically the same.

The paper then proceeds to examine Vitruv. vi. 5: *Animadvertendum est quibus rationibus privatis aedificiis*, etc., which is the passage chiefly relied upon by Becker to sustain his position. The fact is, however, that this passage, instead of proving what Becker appears to claim for it, simply leaves the question an open one. Vitruv. vi. 7: "*Atriis Graeci quia non ubuntur, neque aedificant*" is also considered, since from this passage Becker, while correctly remarking that *atrium* and ἀθή were different, incorrectly concludes that the *atrium* and *cavum aedium* could not have been the same, because ἀθή (as he alleges) was equivalent to *cavum aedium*. Upon what authority does Becker make this last statement? The one may have resembled the other at a late date, especially if the classification known as *cavum aedium Corinthium* be kept in mind. But the origin of the *cavum aedium* was Tuscan, of the ἀθή, Greek, and the Greek word from the very first had reference to an open space, while the Latin term was meant to designate an interior. The later similarity of the two in structure and appearance resulted from the use of columns in the Roman building to support a

roof through which an aperture had been made to admit the light. It is only this accidental resemblance of the *αὐλή* to the *cavum aedium* of the more elaborate sort, that occasioned the substitution of the Greek word for the Roman by Augustan poets, notably Horace, and it is easy to show that Horace's use of *aula* is a general one, and employed because, being Greek, it was suggestive of luxury. Another word, such as *atrium*, *cavum aedium*, or *peristylum*, would have conveyed his meaning with equal precision, for he writes without regard to technical differences. Vitruvius, on the contrary, whose business it is to take account of technical distinctions, is careful not to use either *atrium* or *cavum aedium* in his chapter *de Graecorum aedificiorum eorumque partium dispositione* (Bk. vi. ch. 10). Indeed, he confines himself to the word *peristylum*, to which *αὐλή* is a near equivalent, since the *αὐλή* included the *peristylum*. But the *peristylum* was early imported into Italy, so that it was a common thing for a Roman house to have an *atrium* and a *peristylum*, the two being confessedly distinct, and so regarded by Vitruvius in Bk. vi. ch. 8, where the words *vestibula regalia, alta atria et peristylia amplissima* are sufficient to establish a difference. But Vitruvius has already enumerated: *vestibula, cava aedium, peristylia, quaeque eundem habere possunt usum* — which is also sufficient indication that in the architect's mind *cava aedium* and *peristylia* were not one and the same thing. If then *cavum aedium* was different from *peristylum*, it was also different from *αὐλή*, and Becker's assertion of the identity of *αὐλή* with *cavum aedium* is disproved.

In regard to the passages in Pliny (Epist. II. 17), descriptive of the Villa Laurentina, the question is: was the *cavaedium hilare* only a second *atrium*, or was it something totally different from an *atrium*? If the latter be true, Becker has this much at least of unailing evidence in his favor. Light is thrown on the question by Cicero (ad Q. Fr. 3. 1. 2). The brother of the orator wanted to build an *atriolum*, a little *atrium*, in connection with a certain portico; but Cicero himself prefers to omit it on the ground that those houses only in which there is an *atrium maius* should have an *atriolum*. This *atriolum* Marquardt identifies with the *cavaedium hilare* of Pliny, and it would seem that he is right in doing so. Yet Cicero's words do no more than suggest the identity. They show merely that a country villa might be without an *atrium* of any kind, and that it was customary to add the smaller *atrium* in case the house were constructed with an *atrium maius*. Vitruvius, however (Bk. vi. ch. 8), states that in the country house the usual order of things was changed — that the *peristylum* came first and then the *atrium*. Now this is exactly what happens in the *Laurentina*, supposing *cavaedium* to be the same as *atriolum*. It does not affect the argument that there was an *atrium* near the entrance. Many country houses, as has been seen, had two *atria*, and the natural place for the first was near the front door — the place occupied by the *peristylum* when there was one *atrium* only. Now the term *cavum aedium* referred primarily to the central or innermost part of the dwelling. The term *atrium* was also so applied, as has been pointed out. But *atrium* became a more frequent designation than *cavum aedium*, as time went on. When the *peristylum* and other Greek elements were added to the Roman house, the *atrium* was no longer necessarily the central or even the principal apartment; but might be (as in the city it was) a sort of entrance hall or waiting room for clients and guests, or else (as in the country) a room beyond the *peristylum*, the latter serving (when there was but one *atrium*) the purposes

of a waiting room, etc. From this it will be seen that when there were two *atria* in a country villa, the interior *atrium* might easily and naturally have been distinguished as a *cavaedium*—a word suggestive at once of an inner apartment, and the epithet *hilare* would recall the kind classified by Vitruvius as Corinthium. This is what we believe to have been the case in Pliny's villa.

The fact is that Becker is wrong in maintaining a fundamental difference between the *atrium* and *cavum aedium*. By Pliny's time the two terms may have grown somewhat apart. The truth lies perhaps between the extremes, yet certainly on the side of the identity of the two expressions. Varro has shown that the terms were originally synonymous. Vitruvius has been proved to be at one with Varro, although admitting a difference in the point of view; and there is nothing sufficiently distinctive in Pliny's use of the two words to justify the inference that Varro and Vitruvius were mistaken.

Remarks were made by Dr. Magoun and by the author.

7. Verbals in *-τέος*, *-τέον*, by Professor J. H. T. Main, of Iowa College.

The purpose of this paper was to give a preliminary report of a study of the verbals in *-τέος* and *-τέον*, with particular reference to the Greek tragic poets.

The traditional treatment of the verbal in *-τέος* and *-τέον*, as found in the various treatises on Greek syntax, is inadequate, particularly from the stylistic point of view. The form in question occurs in lyric poetry, but with extreme variety. Tragedy adopted it, but used it with careful discrimination. In Aeschylus there are less than a half-dozen occurrences. Sophocles uses it with greater freedom, notably in two or three of his plays. Euripides' use of the form closely parallels that of Sophocles. The total number found in Sophocles is about thirty-five. Two thirds of this number are found in three plays; namely, Ajax, Antigone, Oedipus Rex. The total number found in Euripides approaches sixty. Of this number nearly half are in the four following plays: Iphigenia Taurica, Hercules Furens, Ion, Phoenissae.

A detailed study of passages in which verbals occur has been made, and the following suggestions are offered as representing approximately the real tone of the form:

The verbal denotes 'necessity,' but preëminently necessity of an unqualified type; a necessity that is not relative, but one from which there is no appeal. As compared with *δεῖ* and *χρή* plus the infinitive, it is clearly more distinct and peremptory, and has an individuality that is much more strongly marked. It may imply moral or logical necessity; it may indicate the necessity of expediency; it may denote the resignation of despair. It is a favorite construction in passionate appeal, order, threat, or warning.

With these points in mind, it at once becomes plain to the student of Greek tragedy why the proportion of verbals is larger in the Ajax and the Antigone than, for example, in the Oedipus Coloneus; and again why it is larger in the Iphigenia Taurica than in other plays of Euripides. On the basis indicated, the lines of usage throughout tragedy are easily traced. Naturally not many would be expected in comedy. When found, there is usually a strong suggestion of exag-

geration or parody. Especially may this be observed in the Clouds. Lyric poetry would manifestly have slight use for such a construction.

The department to which belongs preëminently the verbal construction is philosophy. Even here it is not used indiscriminately. The constant tendency shown in his dialogues toward the massing of this construction, shows more clearly than any thing else, perhaps, that he felt keenly its specific force. In the statement of accepted truths, in drawing conclusions, and in the dogmatic recapitulation of a long discussion, the verbal always becomes prominent. In the ordinary levels of discussion it is not common. In the peirastic dialogues, it is rare; in the constructive and dogmatic dialogues, it becomes more frequent. There may be passages in Plato in which there is shown a tendency to conventionalize the form. As Plato uses it with such frequency, this would be expected. In Aristotle we should expect it to become much more conventionalized, taking on in many cases merely the tone of the professional teacher and dogmatist.

In the orators there is no marked tendency toward the form. Its tone excludes it from general use. It occurs in the passionate appeals of the Philippics. Isocrates uses the verbal in some orations with noteworthy frequency. But Isocrates affected philosophy, and was fond of stating the teachings of history and experience. He points out the inevitable trend of things and states his warnings accordingly.

Adjourned at 6.05 P.M.

EVENING SESSION:

At eight o'clock the members, together with a large number of the citizens of Cleveland, assembled in Clark Hall to listen to the address of the President of the Association. The speaker was introduced by President Charles F. Thwing, who extended a welcome to the Association on behalf of the Trustees and Faculty of Adelbert College of Western Reserve University.

8. The Function of the Imagination in Classical Philology, by Professor John Henry Wright, of Harvard University, President of the Association.

The address opened with a reference to the late Professor Whitney, and with a quotation on the functions of the Association, from his Presidential Address in 1870, which, in the judgment of the speaker, should be publicly read at least once every twenty-five years.

I. Dismissing Boeckh's definition of classical philology as too vague, that given by Ritschl was accepted as satisfactory: "the reconstruction of classical antiquity by means of a knowledge and vision of its essential manifestations" (*die Reproduktion des Classischen Altertums durch Erkenntniss und Anschauung seiner wesentlichen Aeusserungen*). Greek and Roman antiquity has left a manifold record of itself, in the exploration of which and in the reconstruction from which the classical philologist finds his life-work. These ancient peoples.

recorded themselves, — either collectively, or individuals within them made the record. The collective record is found primarily in all the institutions of society (religious, political, and the like), and especially in that great social institution (as Whitney used to call it) language, — language as form and instrument. The individual record was left in the various forms of individual expression, chiefly in art and in literature, which is language as form and content. Inasmuch as so vast a part of the record of classical antiquity has been made in and through language, whether as form or as content, it follows as a matter of course that the chief concern of the classical scholar will be the ancient languages and their testimony. He examines the record to ascertain exactly what these people were, especially in what was essential to and characteristic of them, and by the knowledge thus gained he seeks to reconstruct the ancient world. He differs from the historian, who to a large extent may be concerned with the same circle of facts, in that his effort is chiefly directed toward ascertaining conditions, whereas the historian is interested in tracing changes and their causes. Thus the philologist must furnish the data upon which the historian builds: he clarifies the evidence, sifts and makes the texts, views classical antiquity in its static conditions rather than in its dynamic relations. — Why he does all this we need not here ask. In classical antiquity the spirit of man had many of its best moments. As the scientist delights in Nature because she speaks of herself, so the philologist delights in the ancient records of humanity because they reveal the soul of man in its beautiful youth.

In the United States the classical philologist, hardly without exception, stands in a twofold relation: he is, or ought to be, a scholar or master in his subject; and, secondly, he is a teacher. For him in each of these relations there is an ideal, of which he should have a correct, a vivid, and a masterful conception. As a scholar he is above all a knower of the past; but knowledge comes only through observation, reason, discovery. He is a knower of the ancient world at first hand, — from the inside. The instinct for expression possessed by every normal person will impel him to show as well as to know. As Fichte insisted urgently, every scholar should be, not only a person of all-sided and rounded culture, but also an extender of knowledge and a specialist. But the classical philologist in the United States is more than a scholar bound to know and to extend his subject. He is a teaching-scholar: while as scholar he is primarily a knower of the past, as a teacher he is at once a reporter and an interpreter of the past. The latter functions involve at least three things: knowledge of the past, knowledge of the present, knowledge of the language of interpretation or of other interpretative media. As teacher he has a very large pupilage: there is, first, the public, lay and learned. For the former he is to popularize classical learning; to the latter he is to impart the refined gold of his own discoveries in out-lying fields of research. As a teacher, at school, college, or university, of students in the undergraduate or liberal stage of their education, and of advanced students who intend to make a profession of classical study, he has special tasks and special duties. Now, as the sum and aim of the teacher's energies and activity for himself as a scholar are to behold and, as it were, live in the ancient world of Greek and Roman thought in all that is nobly characteristic of it, — it should be the sum and aim of his work as a teacher of youth so to lead his pupils on that they too may gain, immediately, or may be enabled to gain, some adequate

and enduring vision of the world in which he lives. Who had the fullest and completest conception of the Greek and Roman world? The Greek and the Roman himself. Hence we may define it as the teacher's highest aim that he is so to inform, instruct, and train his pupils that for the time they are to behold the ancient world with something of the sense of vivid vitality with which the Greeks and Romans themselves beheld it. In reading an ancient book, for example, it is the teacher's first duty to put the pupil into the place of the ancient reader. In the study of a piece of literature, or of a work of plastic art, this book or monument should do for us and be to us, as far as may be, what it was for those for whom it was originally created. The book was not composed for us: it was composed under certain circumstances, by a certain author, for a certain public. In so far as it is a perfect piece of literature, satisfying in bodied form the author's ideal, it was that public alone that could best appreciate it. We, then, teachers or pupils, in order best to understand it and appreciate it, must put ourselves in the place of that public. Difficulties and obscurities of all sorts will need elucidation. Of course, in the conduct and guidance of such work the imperative necessity of perspective and proportion will always be felt by the conscientious teacher. Indeed, the teacher is an artist, and woe betide him as a teacher if he allows his science as a scholar, or rather his mass of scientific information, to confuse or obscure for him the simple and severe outlines of his ideal. In organizing the work of education, he will not forget that there are three stages in classical studies which must be ascended in proper order, though at times the methods of the one may profitably be followed in the other. The first stage is that wherein we seek to put the American youth into the attitude of the Greek or Roman youth; the second stage, to which the first is preliminary, is that in which are garnered up, as it were, the most precious things in antique life and thought, and laid with our other treasures, compared and combined with them. In the second stage the point of view changes: we are, so to speak, outsiders—ourselves in fact—taking an estimate and account of stock. The third stage is that of the scientific study and investigation of antiquity, or rather of items and features of it, now become a technical pursuit, when we seek to find out all that is knowable about the phenomena, a scientific knowledge such as the ancients did not possess, but which as true men who have at heart the enlargement of the bounds of human knowledge we must ever cherish.

II. Are these ideals realized? From the point of view of scholarship, we have to note a sad lack of broad specialists, and as teachers we are often criticised because of the fruit we yield in our pupils. Where we have succeeded in promoting genuine scholarship, there has often been a one-sided development. Antagonisms are supposed to exist between different branches or departments of classical studies: 'literary' and 'philological' study are looked upon as mutually destructive, or at least as incompatible. "Scholarship," says Professor Corson, "philological scholarship—is a great obstacle to the truest and highest literary culture."

III. In so far as these and other criticisms are just, and the deficiencies adverted to are actually present in our scholarship and teaching, it becomes us to look for a remedy, a cure, a reconciliation. Such will be found if we place ourselves and our work constantly under the dominion of the Idea of the Whole,—another way of saying that we must fully recognize the function of a disciplined,

well-informed, and constructive imagination in the prosecution of classical studies. By this faculty are here meant chiefly the two closely related powers of the mind, designated in German, as Professor Tyndall has already suggested, by *Anschauungsgabe* and *Einbildungskraft*. The former is in its essence a passive faculty, the opening of the windows of the soul to behold the panorama of ancient thought and life: it might be called Vision. The latter is a constructive, and in a sense a creative faculty: from faint hint or suggestion, from fragmentary evidence, it divines as with the penetrating eye of a creating spirit the obscure truth, and flashes it forth clear and coördinate; this is Divination. Midway between the two stands the organizing imaginative faculty—Organizing Vision—which, guided by reason, frames scattered items of conviction and knowledge into a great conception of the ideal. The imagination, in this threefold aspect, is exercised by us, as scholars and investigators, upon the phenomena of the ancient world, and it reveals to us the solution of the problems taken in hand; for us as teachers it shapes our ideal of our work, framing not only the world or body of related knowledge and feeling which we seek to enable our pupils to refashion in their own souls, but also the ideal of the methods to be pursued in this great task. Nature has endowed men differently. While the powers of Vision and of Organizing Vision are possessed by all, and can be deepened and developed, that of Divination seems to be a special endowment, though it sometimes appears as a sort of pentecostal dowry bestowed upon those who have ever cultivated earnestly the best gifts, have been true to the vision, and have lived in the pure air of high scholarship.

The mere knowledge of many items, or even of all the items, unless seen in their organic relations, by the power of trained vision, is inadequate and even false. With the true vision, however, all things fall into their proper place, and each item tells its whole story. The very dust that we gather in our passage is flooded with a radiant light, as is the dust of the roadway to the eye of the seeing geologist. And if to the passive, merely observant vision of the casual traveller we add the organizing vision of the topographer,—the scientific investigator,—our knowledge of the field traversed becomes more complete even than that of the native inhabitants! Each man must, of course, obtain his own vision. Each man must focus the telescope for himself; otherwise there is a penumbral haze which, obscuring definition, is likely to distort the object of vision and to flood the field of view with fictitious figures and fancies.

How may the vision be won? (1) From the fullest, direct or first-hand information on cardinal matters, obtained (*a*) through the reading and re-reading, by preference, of the great vision-authors, who are their own best interpreters; (*b*) through a knowledge of the several forms of ancient art, those that address the eye, the ear, and the literary æsthetic sense; (*c*) from travel in classical lands, which introduces the student into something of the physical world in which the ancients lived, as literature and art introduce him into their spiritual world. (2) And next in importance to the knowledge obtained is the temper and spirit in which it is sought: it should be a spirit of sympathetic and sensitive appreciation, as also one of accuracy and thoroughness, candor, caution, patience, and well-reasoned endeavor. Indeed, the vision, especially in the case of scientific research, will often come only as the result of very hard constructive work carried on in the dark. In his recent Bryn Mawr address Professor Gildersleeve

urged that there were really three stages in the prosecution of a piece of scientific work, and for that matter, one might add, in the development of philological character: first, simple observation of facts; second, and of course dependent on the former, discovery of law; and, finally, the vision of the cosmos. As Tyndall says: "Bounded and conditioned by coöperant reason, imagination becomes the mightiest instrument of research in the physical world." Still more in the world of thought.

Some special hints may be added. The field of our work and interest is a vast one, and we should deal chiefly with facts in it that have large and not merely minor relations. In any case let us remember that every item with which we have to do is part of a large whole: in every minutest detail of investigation (or of instruction) let us ever bear in mind these broader aspects and connections, loving and searching into the small, not because it is small and presumably less troublesome, but because, if we have eyes to see, it contains and reveals the soul of the whole. In the organization of work for our advanced students, much remains to be done in this direction. While it is most true that "enthusiasm lies in specialization," so also may narrowness there lie, unless one also cultivate the larger outlook.

IV. The recent reproductions of Greek and Latin plays at some of our colleges are interesting attempts to put American youth into the place of the youth of antiquity, and as such have a distinct educational value, as is shown in particular by the testimony of persons chiefly concerned. They furnish not a few suggestions of the greatest practical value for the conduct of reading courses in our colleges. [Extracts from letters received from actors in the *Phormio*, as represented in Cambridge, April 19, 1894, were here read by the speaker.]

V. So long as we see only in part, so long as knowledge grows from more to more, the vision and conception of the ancient world, for the scholar, and of the ideal of the classical teacher's work, must be subject to modification, expansion, illumination; with these must come newer interpretations, demanded by the incessant, though almost unobserved, changes in the media of interpretation and in the æsthetic standards that regulate expression. It has been so in the past. Again and again the phenomena of the ancient world, their spirit and significance, have been loosely grasped and cheaply explained. Antiquity has been understood in terms of the times in which it has been passed under review, just as the ancient languages have been pronounced by students of these languages according to the genius of their own vernacular. The early Christian Church, the leaders of the Renaissance, the motley crew of recent Neo-Pagans, have each and all had their own conception and interpretation of antiquity—and how far from the truth! And yet even these views, dark, or highly colored, or distorted, or inadequate, have been fraught with instruction. And thus—apart from the consideration that the vision, like religion, has to be obtained by each individual for himself—the task of the classical scholar is never finished, and can never be finished. As the Pilgrim Fathers held that new truth was yet to break forth unto them out of Holy Writ, so unto him that has the eye to see—Wordsworth's "visionary eye"—shall new light and truth ever spring from the ancient world of Greece and Rome.

CLEVELAND, July 10, 1895.

The meeting was called to order at 9.30 A.M. by President Wright.

The following committees were then appointed by the chair:—

On Officers for 1895-96: Professors D'Ooge and Hale, Dr. Scott.

On Auditing the Treasurer's Report: Professors Humphreys and Platner.

On Place of Meeting in 1896: Professors Hart, Ashmore, and J. R. Smith.

The foundation of Fellowships in connection with the American School of Classical Studies at Athens and the like-named School at Rome was then announced by the Secretary and Professor Hale respectively.

The Managing Committee of the School at Athens will award annually two Fellowships in Greek Archaeology, each of the value of \$600. These Fellowships will be awarded chiefly on the basis of a written examination (to be held in May), but other evidence of ability and attainments will be considered. They are open to Bachelors of Arts, both men and women, of universities and colleges in the United States. Each candidate must announce his intention to offer himself for examination. This announcement must be made to Professor John Williams White, Cambridge, Mass., by April 1. Since the establishment of the School in 1881 there have been nearly seventy students in attendance, three-quarters of whom have held, or now hold, professorships or instructorships in American colleges. Information concerning the work of the School may be obtained of Professor T. D. Seymour, New Haven, Conn.

The School at Rome, which was opened in 1895, has in its award three Fellowships, two of the value of \$600, and one of \$500. Applications for the Fellowships and for membership should be made to the Director of the School, Casino dell' Aurora, Via Lombardia, Rome, or, after October, 1896, to Professor W. G. Hale, University of Chicago.

Bachelors of Arts of American colleges in good standing, and other persons as well, may become members of the School on submitting satisfactory proof that their studies have been such as to enable them to pursue advanced courses of work at the School.

The full school year will be ten months. The School will be in session for stated instruction from October 15 to June 1. During this period members of the School shall ordinarily reside in Rome, but may also under direction pursue investigations elsewhere in Italy or Greece. The work, during the remainder of the school year, will be on a plan approved by the Directors.

Regular members of the School, those enrolled for a full year's work, are candidates for a certificate, but students may also become members for a part of the year, without being eligible for a certificate, provided their membership lasts for a period of at least three months. No charges are made for tuition. Americans residing or travelling in Italy who are not members of the School, may at the discretion of the Directors be admitted to its privileges.

9. The *Acta Ludorum* and the *Carmen Saeculare*, by Prof. M. S. Slaughter, of Iowa College.

This paper appears in full in the TRANSACTIONS.

10. The Great Fire in Rome in the time of Nero,¹ by Vernon J. Emery, of Adelbert College of Western Reserve University.

This fire broke out July 19, 64. According to an inscription of Domitian (*C. I. L. VI. 1, 826*) it lasted nine days. This statement can be reconciled with that of Tacitus, who, after saying that the fire was checked on the sixth day, adds that it broke out again immediately in the Aemilian gardens of Tigellinus (*An. 15, 40*). We may assume this second fire to have burned through three days.

It is impossible to base an estimate of the amount of destruction upon the duration of the fire. Compare, for example, the duration, area burned over, and number of buildings destroyed in the great fires of London and Chicago. Note also the fire of 80 A.D. which raged for three days, though confined to the Campus Martius and the Capitoline hill (Dio, 66, 24). When Dio says (62, 18) τῆς τε λοιπῆς πόλεως τὰ δύο που μέρη ἐκάυθη, he probably means the old city within the Servian wall. Tacitus' description of the rapid spread of the fire (*An. 15, 38*) can apply only to the more crowded quarters occupied by tenement houses and small shops. The general terms and sweeping statements of the historians in describing the fire bear upon their face the marks of exaggeration. Of the subsequent measures of Nero to raise money Tacitus says (*An. 15, 45*): "In eam praedam etiam di cessere, spoliatis in urbe templis egestoque auro, quod triumpho quod votis omnis populi Romani aetas prospere aut in metu sacraverat." "In urbe" leaves no doubt that the temples meant were in Rome. Had the destruction been sweeping, there would have been few such temples left to rob. For other general considerations, see Jordan, I. 1, § 8.

The fire started in the S.E. end of the Circus Maximus, and was driven by a S.E. wind toward the Forum Boarium. At the same time it is likely that the fire spread slowly up the valley between the Palatine and the Caelian. The woodwork only of the Circus was destroyed, and the damage was quickly repaired, for in April of the following year both the Circus and the temple of Ceres near by were again in use (*Tac. An. 15, 53*). In this direction the fire spread through the Forum Boarium and the Velabrum to the river, the foot of the Capitoline, and the Servian wall. The destruction on the Palatine was only partial. First, the massive foundations of concrete and tufa would offer resistance to fire in the valley below; second, the direction of the wind was unfavorable to the spread of the fire up the west side of the hill; third, there are considerable remains of buildings of an earlier date. In 68 and 69 the temple of Apollo was in use (*Suet. Nero, 25; Tac. Hist. 1, 27; 3, 65*). The house of Augustus could not have burned without damaging the temple in its rear. The house of Livia is still a well-preserved specimen of Augustan architecture with much of its painting intact (Middleton). The house of Tiberius was in existence in 69 (*Tac. Hist. 1, 27*). The greatest destruction must have been on the east side. Here, we know, were burned the house of Nero and the colonnade connecting it with the

¹ This paper appeared in full in the *American Journal of Archaeology* for January, 1896.

Esquiline (Tac. *An.* 15, 39), the temple of Jupiter Stator, and some private houses, *e.g.*, that of Crassus (Pl. *N. H.* 17, 5). The marble blocks of the walls of the Regia, on which the consular fasti were engraved, have been found. The walls of this building demonstrably antedate the time of Nero (Jordan). The Regia could not have been destroyed; possibly it was damaged. There is no evidence to show that the fire reached the Forum. The remains indicate that it did not. Many old statues remained in the Forum at a later day (Pl. *N. H.* 34, 20, 22, 77; Hor. *Sat.* 1, 6, 120; Mart. 2, 64). It is, of course, possible that statues might survive a general conflagration. It depends upon their material and location. Trees could not survive the burning of all the buildings around them. Of old trees in the Forum and immediate vicinity living after this fire, we know of a fig, an olive, a vine, and a lotos (Pl. *N. H.* 15, 77, 78; cf. Tac. *An.* 13, 58). The temple of Janus, the Basilica Aemilia, and the temple of Concord are spoken of subsequently in such a way as to lead to the inference that they were not burned (Pl. *N. H.* 34, 33; 36, 28; 36, 102; 37, 4). The Forum of Augustus was surrounded by a massive peperino wall 109 feet high, sufficient to check the fire had it reached so far. The abrupt face of the Capitoline hill on the south side would form an effective fire wall. The first building on this side was the great temple, which was not burned (Tac. *Hist.* 3, 71, 72). It seems unlikely that the fire reached any portion of the hill.

On the side next the Tiber the fire cannot have gone much, if any, beyond the Servian wall. The first buildings of importance beyond the wall were the theatre of Marcellus, the temple of Apollo Sosianus, and, farther on, the porticus Octaviae. The temple of Apollo contained a statue of cedar wood which had been presented in 34 B.C. Pliny says, "cedrinus est Romae in delubro Apollo Sosianus" (*N. H.* 13, 53). The columns of the porticus Octaviae, as well as the pictures and ornaments placed in the enclosed temples on their reconstruction by Augustus, were existing in their original state when Pliny wrote (*N. H.* 36, 42, 43). The theatre and porticus of Pompey seem to have been uninjured. The statues of the fourteen nations around the porticus in Varro's time were there later than the date of the fire (Pl. *N. H.* 36, 41). In 65 Nero used this theatre for his performances (Tac. *An.* 16, 42). Twice Pliny speaks of the Pantheon and the decorations it received at the time of its construction by Agrippa as still existing (*N. H.* 34, 13; 36, 38). On the eastern side of this region, near the Via Lata, was the Diribitorium, remarkable for the span of its wooden roof. "Non et tectum diribitori ab Agrippa facti [inter magna dicamus?]" (Pl. *N. H.* 36, 102). The evidence of Pliny, weak in itself, becomes conclusive only in connection with the absence of any record of the destruction at this time or subsequent restoration of the public buildings which he mentions. During the progress of the fire the people took refuge in the Campus Martius and in the monumenta Agrippae. These buildings in the Campus Martius were the Saepta Julia, Diribitorium, Pantheon, Thermae Agrippae, and porticus Vipsania (Tac. *An.* 15, 39). So far as our evidence goes, it is to the effect that none of the buildings in the Campus Martius were destroyed, with the single exception of the theatre of Statilius Taurus (Dio, 62, 18), the location of which is uncertain.

From the Palatine the fire could spread eastward over the western portion of the Caelian and Esquiline and the adjacent valleys, finding, doubtless, more inflammable material in this direction. From the pulling down of buildings on the

Esquiline near the limits of the future Golden House (Suet. *Nero*, 38) to check the spread of the flames, we may conclude that the limit of the burned district was near the eastern end of that house. Besides this we have only the statement, "Sexto demum die apud imas Esquilias finis incendio factus" (Tac. *An.* 15, 40). Probably the northern slope is meant.

The second fire broke out "in praedis Tigellini Aemilianis." This was a district of the city between the Capitoline and the Quirinal, probably near where the Forum of Trajan was afterwards constructed. As to the extent of the destruction we are even more in the dark than in the case of the first fire. Although breaking out so near the Via Lata, it seems to have done little damage west of that street. It must have burned over either the Campus Martius or the Quirinal. Some circumstantial evidence is against the former alternative, and as the records are silent with respect to the latter, we may assume it as the more probable.

The evidence shows that neither the Forum Romanum nor the Palatine were among the regions totally destroyed. The only others which come into consideration are Circus Maximus, Isis et Serapis, and Templum Pacis.

As to the four regions unaffected by the fire, every one is agreed on Trans Tiberim. Almost equally certain is Porta Capena. Circus Flaminius may be a third, as there is no evidence that any building in it, except the Amphitheatre of Taurus, was burned. The fourth region uninjured is possibly Piscina Publica. The discussion of this point is difficult and inconclusive by reason of the uncertainty with respect to the boundaries of the regions.

II. Did Verse-Ictus destroy Word-Accent in Latin Poetry? by Professor William Gardner Hale, of the University of Chicago.

Bentley, in his edition of Terence (Cambridge, 1726), ridiculed the reading of dactylic verse without reference to grammatical accent, or, as I shall call it in this paper, word-accent. He gives no argument on this point, but proceeds, here and in his *Schediasma de Metris Terentianis*, to exhibit evidence for his belief that, in a certain fairly definite measure, the early Roman dramatists were governed by word-accent in their composition, putting into the arsis (stressed syllable of the verse) the syllable that had the stress in daily speech. Gottfried Hermann (*Elem. Doctrin. Metric.*) followed Bentley, and so in substance did Ritschl (*Proleg. Trin. and Opusc. II., Einleitung*), so far as Early Latin was concerned. Since Ritschl's day the battle has continued to rage about the question of the influence of word-accent in Early Roman poetry. The discussions with regard to the Saturnian Metre and the Metres of Early Comedy are familiar.¹ Ritter, Corsen, Boeck, Weil, and Benloew, and Lucian Müller reject the theory of word-accent in

¹ The name of an American scholar, Professor M. W. Humphreys, of the University of Virginia, appears in the earlier years of the later phase of the controversy in important articles on "Certain Influences of Accent in Latin Iambic Trimeters," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 1876, and "Influence of Accent in Latin Dactylic Hexameters," *ibid.* 1878, the latter containing the substance of a Latin dissertation published in Leipzig in 1874. In these papers, while no attempt at an exhaustive argument is made for the tenet to be proved in the present paper, namely, that, when in conflict, both word-accent and verse-ictus were heard in Latin verse, the tenet seems, nevertheless, to underlie the whole discussion. The conception of Latin accentuation is, however, that of the time, now generally given up, namely, that it was a matter of pitch.

foto. So, more recently, do Havet and W. Meyer. The drift of modern opinion, however, seems to be represented by such men as Langen, Thurneysen, Klotz, and Skutsch in Germany, and Lindsay in England, who, though all difficulty has by no means disappeared, proceed in their investigations of the law of Early Roman metre upon the theory that it was largely controlled by word-accent.

As for Classical Latin, the question, since Bentley's brief suggestion of his opinion and Ritschl's rejection of the theory for Classical Latin, seems to have practically passed out of sight. It seems to be almost universally assumed that, wherever there is a conflict between word-accent and verse-accent, the former wholly disappeared, or, to put it more briefly, that there was no accent except verse-accent. This is pithily stated (for the whole of Latin verse) by Lucian Müller in his "Friedrich Ritschl: Eine Wissenschaftliche Biographie," second edition, p. 33: "Für die Scansion Griechischer und Römischer Verse kommt einzig die Quantität der Silben, also Länge und Kürze in Betracht, und die Lehrer thun ganz recht, die, was Bentley verspottete, in den Gymnasien ihre Schüler lesen lassen: *árma virúmque canó, Troiaé qui primus ab óris*; Will man neben dem poetischen Rhythmus noch den grammatischen Accent hören lassen oder gar diesen ohne jeden so verliert man einfach das Metrum."

My own view, from my student-days, — a time much antedating my knowledge of Bentley's unsuccessful opinion about the Latin hexameter, — has been that a system of verse-construction in which an important characteristic of daily speech was destroyed, was impossible to accept, in default of actual evidence for the language in question, and in default of any example in languages spoken to-day. It has for a great many years been my practice to attempt to give both word-accent and verse-ictus in all Latin verse.¹ To my mind, the presumption being what it is, even partial success in the actual doing of the thing is affirmative evidence; but other evidence, of a kind that appears to me irrefragable, has accumulated in my study of the question, and been given to my students. This evidence, the testing of the fate of which has been too long delayed, I now wish to put forth.

The question, in the precise form in which it is here to be discussed, is this: In the reading of Roman verse was word-accent lost wherever it came into conflict with verse-ictus?²

The almost universal doctrine that it did must rest upon a conviction that stress cannot fall upon two successive syllables, as in *si vócat de plácidí*; for, if it could, then, in the absence of evidence, we should have no reason to suppose that so essential a characteristic of a word as its accent was wholly lost.

(1) My first and most important argument will be based upon certain established facts of modern speech and modern verse, the great importance of which in the study of ancient verse-systems has not been pointed out.

In modern daily speech compound words are frequent in which the word-accent falls on two successive syllables, one of which has less stress than the

¹ Not a few modern teachers of Greek are in the habit of trying to give both pitch-accent and verse-ictus in reading Greek poetry. Higher pitch and stronger stress, however, have naturally not been held to be impossible to give side by side.

² The question, if put into the form in which it is discussed for Early Latin, namely, "did word-accent determine, in whole or in part, the structure of the verse?" would be a very different thing.

other, but nevertheless has more than the remaining syllables of the word. Examples are *Hinzúfügung*, *Aúsgábe*, *pénwíper*, *áchángel*, *Lóngféllow*. To these might be added a long list of compounds made by grammarians, as, for example, word-accent, verse-ictus, or, for a passing purpose, by poets, e.g. birth-goddess (Matthew Arnold), tough-belted (Keats). Further, the sense-stress is often made in modern verse to fall upon a syllable that has no ictus, and frequently is stronger than any ictus in the verse; while, on the other hand, the ictus is regularly made very light and unimportant if it falls on unimportant words, like auxiliaries, relative pronouns, prepositions, etc.

The following, from Matthew Arnold's "Fragment of an Antigone," illustrates all these phenomena:

Well hath he done who hath seized happiness.

* * * * *

He does well too who keeps that clue the mild
Birth-goddess and the austere Fates first gave.

What we have in these verses is a succession of stresses such as, when one is dealing with Latin poetry, is assumed to be impossible. In the first verse there is a group of four at the beginning and of three toward the end; in the second, the same; and in the third, three at the beginning and four at the end, one of the latter (in *austere*) being the result of an intentional separation of word-accent and verse-pulse. But, if this can be, how can we seriously hold that, when we come to Horace, S. 2, 2, 12, we must read:

mólliter aústerúm stúdió fallénte labórem

with only the stresses marked by circles, instead of reading it as

mólliter aústérúm stúdió fallénte labórem?

If Matthew Arnold could say *aústére*, why in the name of all that is reasonable and intellectually endurable must we suppose that Horace was incapable of doing the corresponding thing,—especially when we note, as we must do with a moment's thought, that the steady observance of longs and shorts makes the shifting of the accent easier in Latin than in English?

It would, then, seem entirely possible that the Romans may have put stress on successive syllables in verse.

(2) But the matter is not merely one of possibility. There is evidence that the Romans actually did put stress upon successive syllables. This is found in the fact that the sense-stress, which can have been given only by stronger utterance, often falls upon syllables that do not carry the verse-pulse. Examples are (for long syllables) *nón* (Iuv. 1, 30), *té* (Iuv. 10, 124); (for short syllables) *cibus* (Iuv. 5, 15), *Ióve* and *Ióvis* (Verg. Ecl. 3, 23). These could be multiplied to an indefinite extent.

(3) An examination of the unintentional occurrences of verse-rhythms in prose, pointed out by Roman critics, shows that in many cases the actual pronunciation of the words in an oration or a reading could not have suggested verse to

the ear, if in poetry word-accent was lost wherever it did not coincide with verse-pulse. So, *e.g.*, Cicero in the Or. 66, 222, quoting Crassus's *missos faciunt patronos: ipsi prodeant*, says "if he had not spoken the words *ipsi prodeant* with a pause before them, he would certainly have recognized that he had uttered a senarius; and, in any case, *prodeant ipsi* would make a better close." If, as verse, this would have the artificial rendering *missos faciunt, patronos: ipsi prodeant*, then, even if Crassus had not paused, *missos faciunt patronos: ipsi prodeant* could not have suggested to any one a complete senarius. Compare also what Quintilian (9, 4, 74, and 76) says of Livy's *facturusne operae pretium sim* and of Cicero's *pro di immortales, qui hic inluxit dies*.

(4) The Roman grammarians furnish us with evidence, both direct and indirect, that words *retained* their ordinary accents in verse. In writing upon word-accent, they take their illustrations less frequently from prose than from verse. In many cases of the latter kind, (1) the syllable selected to illustrate the acute or the circumflex accent is one upon which the ictus does not fall; and in a number of others (2) the syllable selected to illustrate the grave accent is one upon which the ictus does fall. An example of the first is found in Priscian, Keil. 493, 7, where, quoting Virgil's *multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem*, Priscian explicitly asks "what accent has *quoque*?" and answers, "acute on the penult." Compare also Priscian, K. II. 302, 7 and 12; III. 33, 4; III. 33, 13; Servius, K. IV. 426, 35; Probus, K. IV. 145, 21; Sergius, K. IV. 484, 9.

On the other hand, Priscian, K. III. 51, 11, says that *clam*, when used as a preposition and put before the word it governs, is pronounced with the grave accent, as in the Andria of Terence (287) *nec clam te est, quam illi, utraeque nunc inutiles*. Yet the ictus falls upon this very word. Compare also Priscian K. III. 83, 17; III. 478, 22; III. 479, 25; Probus, K. IV. 149.

These considerations would seem to establish a strong case in favor of the theory that word-accent was not lost in verse. A single negative argument might, I can imagine, be brought, *viz.*:

In certain cases in early Latin poetry, a long syllable was shortened ("brevis brevians"). The shortened syllable is sometimes the one which in speech would have had the accent, as, *e.g.*, the second syllable in *voluptas mea* (∪ ∪ ∟ ∪ ∪). This proves that ictus was stronger than word-accent, and implies that the latter was probably lost in poetry.

To this I should answer as follows: It looks as if the discussion now going on with regard to the metres of early Latin poetry would result in a general conviction that all the phenomena of this kind were reproduced from daily speech (*voluptas mea*, *e.g.*, being in this speech a word-group with the accent of one word); in which case such phenomena do not indicate any superiority of ictus over word-accent. Even if, however, the result should be the opposite and the conclusion should be granted, this conclusion would, by a similar argument, be disproved for classical poetry, at any rate. For, if the phenomenon mentioned is evidence that verse-ictus was stronger than word-ictus in early Latin poetry, then the fact that in classical poetry the phenomenon ceases to be found is evidence that the cause ceased to exist.

So much for theory. On the practical side, I have been in the habit of saying to my pupils at Cornell and at Chicago that the easiest way to succeed is to endeavor to drop verse-ictus entirely, by fixing the attention upon quantity, word-

accent, and sense-stress,¹ the reason for the advice being that the ictus-habit is commonly so deeply planted that a quite sufficient residuum is sure to be left.

Remarks were made on this paper by Professor Milton W. Humphreys, of the University of Virginia.

Professor Humphreys said that he accepted the views set forth, except that, old-fashioned as he might seem, he was not inclined to abandon the theory of at least *some* conscious musical pitch in Latin accent. That there was more stress in it than in Greek accent he was ready to admit, and if the Latin accent was exactly like the present Italian accent (which to his ear has a much more decided musical pitch than the English accent), it would sustain his views on the influence of accent in Latin poetry, as expressed in papers formerly read before the Association. It would not be reasonable to suppose that while in Greece the accent was losing its musical character, it was acquiring that same character in Italy. To his ear the modern Greek accent has not more elevation than the Italian, if as much.

His papers, read in previous years, were intended to demonstrate that in certain situations conflict between ictus and accent were avoided as being disagreeable. If the demonstration was valid, it follows that the accent must have been made with the voice in reading, for otherwise there could be no reason why the ictus might not fall in any relation to the tone-syllable. Many of the phenomena discussed in those papers point to the use of the accent in reading. When it is stated, in the paper on the hexameter, that Ennius totally neglected the accent, it is not meant that he suppressed it in reciting, but that he paid no attention to it in constructing his verses. In those papers it was not thought worth while to

¹ It is through a misunderstanding of these directions that I have been quoted, as many letters of inquiry have shown that I have been, as holding that there was no ictus in Roman poetry.

Professor Bennett's view seems to be essentially the same with this view which I have wrongly been supposed to teach. He says (Latin Grammar, 366, 5), "in every foot the long syllable naturally receives the greater prominence. This prominence is called ictus." And in a foot-note upon this passage he adds "ictus was not accent, — neither stress accent nor musical accent, — but was simply the quantitative prominence inherent in a long syllable." I can hardly believe that he has reached in this a final opinion. Several serious objections are to be brought against it. First, ictus did not fall, for instance, upon the second syllable of the spondee in dactylic verse, although that syllable was long. Second, ictus did fall upon a short syllable in the tribrach and proceleusmatic, and, in certain metres, upon a short syllable in the dactyl and the spondee, etc., etc. Third, verse-pulse is characteristic of all verse-systems of which we have any actual knowledge, and can hardly have been absent from the system of men who by implication speak of verse as lending itself to taps of the fingers and beats of the foot (*oratio non descendet ad crepitum digitorum et pedum*; Quintil. 9, 4, 55, said in opposition to what has just been said of rhythm, which is defined as the same thing as numbers in verse); and who use the same phraseology for the beating of time to music and the beating of time to poetry. And, finally, not only does the word "ictus," like our word "beat," naturally imply stress, but it is used as synonymous with *percussio* in 9, 4, 51; while *percussio* is used instead of *ictus* in 9, 4, 75, where Quintilian says of the senarius, "one may call it senarius or trimeter indifferently, for it has six feet and three *percussiones*." It amounts to the same thing when, in 136 of the same chapter, he says, in speaking of oratory, "rougher passages, on the contrary, are given most energy through the use of iambs; not only because iambs consist of two syllables, and accordingly allow a more frequent *beat*, as it were, but also," etc., etc., using the word *fulsum* in place of *ictus*. Similar evidence is given by Charisius's definition of *ictus* as $\pi\lambda\eta\gamma\acute{\eta}$ in the excerpts from the *Ars Grammatica*, K. I. 552, 9.

enter into an elaborate demonstration, but the view was made quite explicit. In the paper on trimeters, for instance, in reference to Quintilian's remark on *pecudés pictaéque volúcrés*, it is expressly stated that this remark "teaches two important facts: first, that accent and ictus were different things; and, secondly, that *accent*, as well as *ictus*, was observed in reading poetry."

He regarded the difficulty of observing both ictus and accent as being due, in great measure, to the habit of giving the ictus too much stress, a habit resulting from the too common neglect of quantity, except that of the penult, in reading Latin prose. If the quantity is accurately observed, very little stress is needed. To say *ámābátis* is as faulty as to say *ámābās*. The error in the latter is not one of accentuation, but of quantity. The rhythm in most verses will be felt without any artificial ictus at all, if the quantity is observed. The natural loudness of long syllables (which allow the voice to reach a fuller compass) as contrasted with short ones sufficiently marks the rhythmical units when both long and short syllables occur in the same foot, which is the case in all fundamental feet. Some ancient writers justly exclude the spondee as well as the pyrrhic from the list of feet suited for continuous recurrence. Some of the substitutions, however, for fundamental feet render an artificial ictus necessary. But by 'ictus' the Romans usually meant 'beat,' as of the hand, thumb, foot, etc., and in the earlier Greek writers it is difficult to prove that there is any recognition of artificial stress, though it is expressly attested by Roman writers. If, then, people would strictly observe quantity at all times, and say *ámābátimus* as they say *ámābam*, *ámācttia* as they say *ámicus* (being careful to give *-mi-* the time of *-citi-*), they would find the rhythm taking care of itself without the necessity of making Latin poetry sound like a different language from Latin prose. The rhythmical sense once aroused will impart to the voice the slight stress occasionally required.

In regard to such words as *volúptas*, treated as if the penults were short, he approved the view that they simply were short. The rigid observance of quantity by position was probably due in large measure to the cultivation of the ear by listening to poetry composed under modified Greek laws of quantity. If this is true, *volúptas* not only had originally a short penult, but was accented on the first syllable. The *u* was probably, in this particular word, a mere accidental *sheva*, so to speak (comp. *φελπ-*), like *u* in *sumus*, *i* in *mina*, etc., and the obscure vowel that many people insert in the English *elm*, making *elum* of it. In such words as *vétustas*, *scéelustus*, the recognition of quantity by position removes the accent from the root-syllable. So in *tdlentum*, *Philippus*, the attempt to reproduce the Greek accent probably led to the shortening of the penult, just as we now too often hear penults rendered obscure, as when *λύσασθαι* and *λύσεσθαι* are pronounced alike, and *τάλαυρον* itself is pronounced *tál'nton*. As the habit of observing quantity by position began to establish itself among the Romans, there was no doubt a long period of transition, and there is no good ground for denying that it extended down to Terence.

The paper was also discussed by Professors Wright, Ashmore, Ball, Magoun, Karsten, March, and by its author.

The following report of the Committee of Twelve¹ was then read

¹ See the PROCEEDINGS (p. xxviii.) of the Special Session held at Philadelphia in December, 1894.

by Professor Charles Forster Smith, in the absence of the Chairman, Professor W. W. Goodwin.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION :

The undersigned has the honor to submit the following report of the action of the Committee of Twelve, appointed by the Association in December, 1894, to carry into effect the following resolution : —

“Resolved, That, in the unanimous opinion of the American Philological Association, in any programme designed to prepare students for the classical course, not less than three years of instruction in Greek should be required.”

The Committee consists of the following members of the Association : —

- WILLIAM W. GOODWIN, *Professor of Greek, Harvard University*, Chairman.
 CECIL F. P. BANCROFT, *Principal of Phillips Andover Academy*.
 FRANKLIN CARTER, *President of Williams College*.
 WILLIAM G. HALE, *Professor of Latin, University of Chicago*.
 WILLIAM R. HARPER, *President of the University of Chicago*.
 FRANCIS W. KELSEY, *Professor of Latin, University of Michigan*.
 GEORGE L. KITTREDGE, *Professor of English, Harvard University*.
 ABBY LEACH, *Professor of Greek, Vassar College*.
 THOMAS D. SEYMOUR, *Professor of Greek, Yale University*.
 CHARLES F. SMITH, *Professor of Greek, University of Wisconsin*.
 MINTON WARREN, *Professor of Latin, Johns Hopkins University*.
 ANDREW F. WEST, *Professor of Latin, Princeton University*.

As the members of the Committee were widely separated, it was impossible for them to hold even a single meeting, and their only means of communication was by correspondence. This was naturally a slow and often unsatisfactory process. The first draft of an Address was prepared by the Chairman, Mr. Kittredge, and Mr. Seymour, with the advice of Miss Leach, and this was submitted to every member of the Committee in proof. Valuable suggestions were made by all the members, and the Address now represents the views of the whole Committee so far as these were known to the Chairman. The Committee were also much aided by suggestions made by the President of the Association, whose coöperation in all their work has been invaluable.

Each of the Committee was requested to nominate several persons, not members of the Association, from whom a large General Committee could be appointed by the President, to coöperate with the Committee of Twelve, and to use their influence in giving effect to the resolution of the Association. A copy of the Address and a letter from the President were sent to those who were invited to join this General Committee, and a favorable answer was received from nearly all who were thus addressed. The result is seen in the fifty-one names of persons distinguished for their services in education, though not professional teachers of Greek, which are attached to the Address. These names, which could easily have been indefinitely increased, show the interest that is felt in the important question under discussion by scholars of all departments in different parts of the country. A long delay in completing this list was caused by an accident in the mails, by which a large number of the earliest invitations, sent out on May 13,

were never received or were delayed several weeks. Though this loss has been repaired in most cases, it is yet to be feared that some important names have thereby been omitted from our list. Five members of the Committee of Ten, whose interest in Greek studies was well known, were included in the invitation. The name of one of these is a most welcome addition to our printed list: only one of the five returned a decided negative, the others expressing decided approval of our movement and interest in its success.

Two thousand copies of the Address with its signatures have been printed, and more than two-thirds of these have already been distributed. An early copy (with an incomplete list of the General Committee) was sent to each of the members of the Association, enclosing a post-card, to be returned to the Chairman of the Committee of Twelve, expressing either approval or disapproval of the resolution of the Association. At the date of this report, 240 replies have been received: 231 of these express approval, most of them emphatic and hearty approval; 9 express dissent, in most cases qualified or hesitating dissent, which amounts to partial approval. It is much to be regretted that the delay in completing the circular has not given time to secure a full vote of the Association. Fresh replies come in by every mail.

It is to be hoped that the Association, at its meeting at Cleveland, will suggest to the Committee some further means of carrying its resolution into effect; or that some steps may be taken to secure this end independently of the Committee. Any action of the Association looking to this end will be most welcome to the Committee.

The interesting correspondence which the Chairman has carried on during the last six months with friends of education in all parts of the country has convinced him that there is a unanimity among the friends of sound learning which makes the reduction of Greek in the schools of the United States a thing no longer to be seriously feared. This is especially true of the West, where a sense of greater danger has increased the enthusiasm and the vigilance of scholars in far greater proportion.

The Association referred to this Committee "the question of the amount of Latin needed for the various courses in the secondary schools." By consent of the Committee, the consideration of this question was delegated to Professors Hale, Kelsey, Warren, and West, as a Sub-Committee, who are empowered to make a special report directly to the Association.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM W. GOODWIN,
Chairman of the Committee of Twelve.

PLUMOUTH, MASS., July 5, 1895.

The report was adopted after discussion, and the Committee continued. Adjourned at 1 P.M.

The Address of the Committee of Twelve is appended.

NOTE. — A copy of the Resolution, with the Address, was sent to each member of the Association, and each was asked to give his opinion of the Resolution by post-card. About 250 have expressed their approval, — generally hearty approval; nine have expressed dissent, — generally hesitating or qualified dissent.

ADDRESS OF THE COMMITTEE OF TWELVE.

To Teachers of the Classics and to all Friends of Sound Learning in the United States.

THE AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, at a large meeting held in Philadelphia, Dec. 28, 1894, unanimously adopted the following resolution, proposed by Professor Hale of Chicago:—

Resolved, That, in the opinion of the American Philological Association, in any programme designed to prepare students for the classical course, not less than three years of instruction in Greek should be required.

The undersigned members of the Association were appointed a committee to give effect to this resolution.

The resolution expresses the opinion of the Association, that every school which prepares pupils for what is known as "the classical course" in many colleges, or pupils who intend to study the classics in any college, should provide a course of at least three years' instruction in Greek, which all such pupils are expected to follow. In the judgment of the most experienced teachers, three years is the shortest time in which the preparatory course now offered by our best schools in the reading of simple Attic prose and of Homer or Herodotus (or both), in the essentials of Greek Grammar, and in the elements of Greek Composition, can be properly accomplished. This resolution, it will be seen, concerns itself only with courses of study which profess to be "classical." It does not imply that any school may not prepare pupils for courses not so described, in the case of colleges which admit such students, with a shorter term and a smaller amount of study in Greek.

The immediate occasion of this resolution was the proposal made to various associations of teachers to recommend to the schools and colleges which they represent the adoption of the four programmes recently submitted by the "Committee of Ten" as providing adequate preparation in all lines of study for the colleges and scientific schools of the United States. Only one of these four programmes includes Greek at all, and this is styled the "Classical Programme"; its general adoption would therefore do much to fix the standard of preparation in classics for all our colleges. This so-called "Classical Programme" provides that Greek shall normally begin in the *third year* of the four years' preparatory course, and that only two years shall be given to it. It is true that in certain exceptional cases (mentioned in a foot-note) schools may "substitute" Greek for German or French in the second year; but this substitution is evidently not what the authors of the programme desire or expect, or they would have made this the regular, and not the exceptional, arrangement. Nothing can be more obvious than the deliberate intention of the "Committee of Ten" (at least of those members who accept the report in full) to confine Greek to the last two years of preparation for college, and gradually to establish two years as the maximum of time which even the best schools will regularly give to that language.

It is of the highest importance that all classical teachers in both schools and colleges, and all who have the direction of schools in which classical students are prepared for college, should understand what this "Classical Programme" means. It means that the standard of preparation in Greek for our colleges is to be

lowered to what has been known as the "elementary Greek" or the "minimum Greek" in elective schemes of admission; in other words, that there is to be no systematic study of Homer or Herodotus or of Greek Composition in even our best schools; and that no provision is to be regularly made, even for pupils who show special aptitude for classical study, to advance beyond the merest elements in Greek. It means that our schools are seriously advised to adopt a course of study which now would not admit their pupils at all to any first-class college having fixed requisites for admission, and would not admit them to any of the Freshman Greek courses which are regularly taken by classical students and are necessary to prepare them for the higher courses in any college having elective requisites for admission. The scheme is therefore unintelligible unless it anticipates a reduction of the grade of all the regular Greek courses in the colleges, so that the work now done in the last year of school shall become the ordinary work of the first year in college, with a corresponding reduction of all the higher work. There is no escape from this alternative: either the schools which adopt this "Classical Programme" must cease to prepare pupils for the ordinary classical courses in our colleges, or the colleges must lower their standard in Greek by a whole year to suit such schools. Either of these results would be disastrous; and we can hardly believe that either of them, with all its consequences, was seriously contemplated by the framers of the proposed programme.

The bad effects just indicated would not be confined to the classical courses in college. The importance of Greek to students who intend to devote themselves to the study of English or any other modern language, whether from the literary or the philological point of view, has never been denied in Europe, and is not denied by any competent American scholar in these departments of learning. For students specially interested in English literature, for example, to enter college with no knowledge of Homer, under the impression that their time has been spent to the best advantage in the preparatory school, would be a grave error. For such students to be forced to begin their acquaintance with Greek literature in the Freshman year would seriously cripple their work in their chosen department. And this would be the result if the programme in question were adopted; for it is not till he reaches Homer or Herodotus that a boy begins to understand that in studying Greek he is dealing with a great literature. The elementary or minimum Greek generally does not acquaint him with literary material that appeals to him. These objections apply with equal force to students who intend to make a special study of the literary history of any modern tongue.

The department of Theology would feel the proposed reduction of Greek as a severe blow. It is difficult now for Theological Schools to require of their students such a knowledge of Greek as is necessary for the study of the New Testament; the discouragement which would result from this plan would aggravate this evil immensely, and would be felt in every School of Theology in the country.

This "Classical Programme" is exceedingly liberal to all departments except the classics. It requires four years' study of English, and provides for three of History, three of German or French, and four of Mathematics (including Trigonometry and Higher Algebra). In these studies, therefore, pupils might be carried a year beyond the ordinary requisites for admission to most colleges, while in Greek they would fall short of these requisites by just a year, so that Greek would be degraded relatively by two years. It is well known that there is a

vigorous and increasing demand for putting back either Geometry or Algebra and a modern language into the Grammar Schools; and this has actually been done in some important schools. The pressure of other studies in the High Schools—the only excuse which is made for depriving Greek of a year—is, therefore, likely to be temporary, while the reduction of Greek to two years, if once accepted, will be permanent.

The "Committee of Ten" asked and received the advice of nine Conferences, composed of experts in nine departments of study, and they justly attribute great weight to the careful judgments of these Conferences, which give the proposals of the Committee their chief authority in matters of detail. It may surprise many to learn that the Greek Conference introduced its recommendations with the following general statement:—

"The Conference recommends that the study of Greek be begun *at least three years* before the close of the course preparatory to college."

This primary recommendation, which is the basis of the whole report of the Greek Conference, is set aside by the "Committee of Ten" almost without consideration. This is, we believe, the only case in which the decided opinion of one of the Conferences, on such a fundamental matter, has been so summarily rejected. It is true that other studies are not allowed by the Committee all the increase which they desire; but Greek alone is to be reduced and crippled. The resolution of the Philological Association is simply an appeal from the decision of the Committee to the judgment of the experts who advised the Committee. The unanimous and enthusiastic approval of the action of the Philological Association expressed by the large Classical Conference recently held at Ann Arbor shows that scholars in the West are in perfect harmony with their colleagues in the East on this important subject.

The plan of the Committee, if adopted, would aggravate most unnecessarily one of the greatest evils in our system of education,—that the colleges are compelled to do work which belongs to the schools, and which in most other countries is done by the schools with much greater efficiency and at much less cost. This evil is acknowledged and deplored by all; and yet the colleges are to be asked to lower their standard of classical scholarship that they may assume a new burden of elementary work, which the schools are now doing with ever increasing efficiency. On the other hand, the loss of this work would be seriously felt in the schools. Every step which limits the range and quality of study in school increases the difficulty of obtaining and keeping able and enthusiastic teachers, and nothing attracts men of taste and cultivation to teach in a classical school more than the literary work of the higher classes in Greek.

The undersigned believe that both colleges and schools have a common interest in opposing a scheme which threatens to degrade them both at the expense of good scholarship. They therefore appeal earnestly to all who have the interests of sound learning at heart to unite with them in opposing the introduction of the so-called "Classical Programme" of the "Committee of Ten" into the schools of the United States.

WILLIAM W. GOODWIN, *Professor of Greek, Harvard University, Chairman.*
CECIL F. P. BANCROFT, *Principal of Phillips Andover Academy.*

- FRANKLIN CARTER, *President of Williams College.*
 WILLIAM G. HALE, *Professor of Latin, University of Chicago.*
 WILLIAM R. HARPER, *President of the University of Chicago.*
 FRANCIS W. KELSEY, *Professor of Latin, University of Michigan.*
 GEORGE L. KITTREDGE, *Professor of English, Harvard University.*
 ABBY LEACH, *Professor of Greek, Vassar College.*
 THOMAS D. SEYMOUR, *Professor of Greek, Yale University.*
 CHARLES F. SMITH, *Professor of Greek, University of Wisconsin.*
 MINTON WARREN, *Professor of Latin, Johns Hopkins University.*
 ANDREW F. WEST, *Professor of Latin, Princeton University.*

The undersigned, not members of the American Philological Association, approve the position taken by the Association in the resolution of Dec. 28, 1894, and unite with the Committee in their appeal, as expressed in the final paragraph of the accompanying Address.

- HARLAN P. AMEN, *Principal of Phillips Exeter Academy.*
 J. W. BASHFORD, *President of Ohio Wesleyan University.*
 JOHN BINNEY, *Professor of Hebrew, etc., in the Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn.*
 J. J. BLAISDELL, *Professor of Philosophy, Beloit College.*
 RICHARD G. BOONE, *Principal of Michigan State Normal School, Ypsilanti.*
 C. F. BRACKETT, *Professor of Physics, Princeton University.*
 JAMES DAVIE BUTLER, *LL.D., Madison, Wisconsin.*
 FRANCIS J. CHILD, *Professor of English, Harvard University.*
 JOSEPH H. COIT, *Rector of St. Paul's School, Concord, N.H.*
 WILLIAM C. COLLAR, *Head Master of Roxbury Latin School.*
 E. C. COULTER, *Head Master of the University School, Chicago.*
 T. F. CRANE, *Professor of Romance Languages, Cornell University.*
 N. C. DOUGHERTY, *Superintendent of Schools, Peoria, Ill.; President of the National Education Association.*
 TIMOTHY DWIGHT, *President of Yale University.*
 EDWARD D. EATON, *President of Beloit College.*
 WILSON FARRAND, *Master in Newark Academy.*
 J. W. FAIRBANKS, *Principal of Smith Academy, Washington University, St. Louis.*
 J. H. FREEMAN, *Superintendent of East-side Schools, Aurora, Ill.*
 GEORGE S. FULLERTON, *Vice-Provost of University of Pennsylvania.*
 MERRILL EDWARDS GATES, *President of Amherst College.*
 JOHN C. GRANT, *Principal of the Harvard School, Chicago.*
 FRANCIS B. GUMMERE, *Professor of English, Haverford College.*
 THOMAS S. HASTINGS, *President of Union Theological Seminary, New York.*
 JAMES T. HATFIELD, *Professor of German, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.*
 B. A. HINSDALE, *Professor of Teaching, University of Michigan.*
 ASHLEY D. HURT, *Tulane University of Louisiana.*
 WILLIAM DEWITT HYDE, *President of Bowdoin College.*

JULIA J. IRVINE, *President of Wellesley College.*

JOHN J. KEANE, *Rector of the Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.*

GEORGE TRUMBULL LADD, *Professor of Philosophy, Yale University.*

MOSES MERRILL, *Head Master of Public Latin School, Boston.*

RICHARD A. MINCKWITZ, *Instructor in High School, Kansas City.*

HUBERT A. NEWTON, *Professor of Mathematics, Yale University.*

A. F. NIGHTINGALE, *Superintendent of High Schools, Chicago.*

GEORGE W. C. NOBLE, *Head Master of Private School, Boston.*

FRANCIS L. PATTON, *President of Princeton University.*

HENRY R. PATTENGILL, *Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan.*

ENDICOTT PEABODY, *Head Master of Groton School.*

OSCAR D. ROBINSON, *Principal of High School, Albany; a member of the "Committee of Ten."*

AUSTIN SCOTT, *President of Rutgers College.*

WILLIAM H. SMILEY, *Principal of High School, Denver.*

EGBERT C. SMYTH, *Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Andover.*

WILLIAM GREENOUGH THAYER, *Head Master St. Mark's School, Southborough, Mass.*

CHARLES S. THORNTON, *Member of the Illinois State Board of Education and of the Chicago Board of Education.*

C. H. THURBER, *Principal of Colgate Academy, Hamilton, N. Y.*

CHARLES F. THWING, *President of Western Reserve University.*

C. O. WHITMAN, *Head Professor of Zoölogy, University of Chicago.*

JOSIAH D. WHITNEY, *Professor of Geology, Harvard University.*

TALCOTT WILLIAMS, *Editor of "The Press," Philadelphia.*

GEORGE E. WOODBERRY, *Professor of Literature, Columbia College.*

C. A. YOUNG, *Professor of Astronomy, Princeton University.*

JUNE, 1895.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The reading of papers was begun at 2.15.

12. Ancient Superstition, by Dr. Ernst Riess, of Baltimore.

This paper is printed in full in the TRANSACTIONS. Remarks were made by Dr. Scott, President Super, Professor Wright, and by the author.

Professor Hale then reported as Chairman of the Sub-Committee of Four,¹ which had been formed to carry into effect the resolution passed at the Special Session of December, 1894 (see the PROCEEDINGS of that session, p. xxviii.), *viz.* :

Resolved, That the question of the amount of Latin needed for the various courses in the secondary schools be referred to the Committee of Twelve.

¹ This Sub-Committee consists of Professor Hale, of the University of Chicago, Professor Kelsey, of the University of Michigan, Professor Warren, of the Johns Hopkins University, and Professor West, of Princeton University. See above, p. xxxiii.

Owing to a combination of circumstances, the Chairman of the Sub-Committee of Four is the only member that could be present to-day. But a general unanimity has been reached by correspondence, and I have been empowered to prepare a report embodying the propositions which I shall presently offer. As to the particular tone with which these propositions are stated, I unfortunately cannot know whether it would or would not be satisfactory to all the absent members of the Sub-Committee. It is, however, known to be satisfactory to one of them, with whom I had an interview yesterday upon the train.

The four members of the Sub-Committee were all of the opinion that the Association should oppose the reduction in Latin made by the programmes of the Committee of Ten. In order, however, to test its judgment, its Chairman was authorized to send out an inquiry to a number of persons. A letter was prepared, which, after giving briefly the history of the appointment of the Committee, proceeded as follows :—

. . . Before making its report, this Sub-Committee would be grateful to you for an expression of opinion on the question practically put before it, namely this : Is it best that the number of weekly periods given to Latin in the high-schools and private schools having a four-year course be five,—as it is to-day in many of our strongest schools, and as the Latin Conference appointed by the Committee of Ten recommended to that body that it should be,—or is it on the whole best that it be five in each of the two first years, and four in the third and fourth years, as arranged by the Committee of Ten in the programmes mentioned?

The two (opposite) views which will at once suggest themselves as possible to be held by men who are of one mind with regard to the value of classical studies are these :—

(1) The reduction which the Committee of Ten proposes involves an appreciable loss to the effectiveness of the teaching of Latin in our schools. Nevertheless, in the great pressure which the coming-in of so-called modern subjects has caused,—not yet relieved by improvements in the grammar-school,—it is wise to make this amount of concession to the situation.

(2) Latin is a difficult language, and requires more time than is now given to it in any but a very few of our four-year courses. The remedy for the crowding of the high-school work is not to be found in reducing the number of hours devoted to one of the fundamental subjects, but rather in the improving of the grammar-school course along the lines so strongly advocated by the Chairman of the Committee of Ten, and by others, so that some of the work which is now crowded into the high-school course shall have been already done before that course begins. Especially does it seem inexpedient to reduce the present four-year course at a time when there is a growing feeling in favor of a six-year Latin course, as shown by the recent institution of such a course in a number of schools in different parts of the country, and by the resolution passed at Ann Arbor, without a dissenting vote, by a large and widely representative Classical Conference, which met there in March last.

Will you kindly (immediately, if possible, for the Committee is to report to the Philological Association on the 9th of July) express your view, with the reason for it, writing to Professor W. G. Hale, at the University of Chicago? The Committee would also be very much obliged if you would present a detailed

programme, showing how, in your opinion, the various parts of the work in preparatory Latin should be divided by years or fractions of years. If you believe a six-year course desirable, wherever it can be established, a programme made upon that basis would be welcomed.

Very truly yours,

W. G. HALE,
For the Sub-Committee.

This letter was sent to sixty-seven members of the Philological Association, to the members of the Latin Conference appointed by the Committee of Ten, and to about sixty other persons, mostly principals of schools, in all parts of the country. The general character of the answers was such as to confirm the Committee's judgment. Out of twenty-nine answers from college men, one was in favor of accepting the proposed reduction, and twenty-eight were against it. Out of twenty-six answers from the schools, four were in favor of accepting the reduction, and twenty-two against it.

The tone of the propositions which the Sub-Committee recommend that the Association pass differs from that of the motion with regard to the Greek issue offered in December last. In the case of Greek, the thought of the harm which would have been worked by the acceptance of the programme of the Committee of Ten very properly outweighed all other considerations, and left no room for them. In the present case the harm which would be worked by the acceptance of the programmes involving Latin is considerable, and the point of view from which the reduction in that subject was made is a dangerous one; but room is still left for the recognition of the value of one of the aims of the Committee of Ten, and of the services of the Chairman of that Committee in the cause of the betterment of the grammar-school curriculum.

The Sub-Committee recommend the putting out of a pronunciamiento constructed upon the general lines of the following rough draft:—

If the present crowding of the high-school course were necessarily final, then the Association might feel that the concession in question, though involving a measurable loss, could properly be made. Moreover, the Association heartily welcomes the attempt to introduce uniformity into the high-school courses of the country, and would much rather find itself in a position to second the labors of the Committee of Ten in this regard than be obliged to put an obstacle in its way. But the Association does not hold that, for the sake of helping to bring about this desirable uniformity, it is necessarily wise to adopt, without further consideration, the first general scheme offered. Nor is it wise, in its opinion, to apply a remedy of excision to a congestion which—thanks in good part to the labors and outspoken utterances of the Chairman of the Committee of Ten—is likely soon to be relieved by the carrying-down of a number of high-school subjects into the grammar-school. Especially does it seem inexpedient to reduce the present four-year course at a time when there is a growing feeling in favor of a six-year course, as shown by the recent institution of such a course in a number of schools in different parts of the country, and by the resolution passed at Ann Arbor, without a dissenting vote, by a large and widely representative Classical Conference which met there in March last.

The American Philological Association is therefore¹ of the opinion (1) that the best interests of education demand the retention of the full amount of five weekly periods for four years, now generally given to Latin, throughout the country, by schools that have a four-year course. (2) It would be glad to see an increase of the number of years devoted to the subject (perhaps with a reduction of the number of weekly periods during the later years), either through an extension of the high-school course to five or six years, or through the carrying of some of the high-school subjects into the grammar-school curriculum.

(3) The Sub-Committee further recommend that the Committee of Twelve be empowered to arrange, in any way that seems to it best, to have this document prepared and to give it publicity.

(4) As for the question whether an itemized programme of Latin study for four, five, or six years shall be put out by the Association, it seems best that the Association should give directions. The view of the two members of the Sub-Committee who have been able to discuss the question orally is that it is not advisable to complicate our main tenet by adding details at the present time. It may well, however, be a very desirable thing to have a programme prepared a year or two later, not only on account of the conceivable value of the programme itself, but in order to keep the general position of the Philological Association before the country.

Respectfully submitted,

W. G. HALE,

For the Sub-Committee.

After discussion, the first two recommendations of the Sub-Committee were adopted, and the vote of the first in favor having been unanimous, the word "unanimously" was added by general consent. The Sub-Committee was then empowered to arrange and make public its report in the form and manner that might seem best adapted to meet the needs of the situation. Finally the Association resolved that it would be unwise, at the present time, to issue an itemized programme of Latin study for four, five, or six years; but the Sub-Committee was instructed to prepare such a programme to be presented at the next annual meeting (at Providence in 1896), and was empowered to add to its numbers as it may desire.

13. Genesis and Growth of an Alexander-Myth, by Professor B. Perrin, of Yale University.

This article is printed in the TRANSACTIONS.

14. Some American Speech-Maps, by Professor George Hempl, of the University of Michigan.

The speaker gave a preliminary report on his investigation into the boundaries of American dialects and presented a tentative map. The substance of the report has been published in the *Chautauquan* for January, 1895.

¹ The vote being unanimous, the word "unanimously" was added by general consent.

The investigation is progressing well, but it is absolutely necessary that fully a thousand more reports be sent in. There is greatest need for more information from the South, from Canada, and from the mother countries: England, Scotland, and Ireland. The members of the Philological Association could do much to aid the speedy accumulation of material by distributing copies of the list of text-questions. After Jan. 1, 1896, copies of the revised list may be had by addressing George Hempl, 95 E. University Ave., Ann Arbor, Mich.

Remarks were made by Professors Ashmore and J. R. Smith.

By previous arrangement the Association then adjourned in order to accept the hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Mather of Cleveland, who had courteously extended an invitation to the members to attend a reception at their residence.

EVENING SESSION.

The Association reassembled at 9.40 P.M., and the reading of papers was resumed.

15. The Apollo of the Belvedere, by Professor Harold N. Fowler, of Western Reserve University.

F. Winter (*Jahrbuch d. Arch. Inst.*, 1892, pp. 164 seqq.), followed by A. Furtwängler (*Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*), has maintained that the original bronze of which the Apollo of the Belvedere is a copy was a work of Leochares, thus making the Apollo go back to a time not much after the middle of the fourth century B.C. Arguments for this are: first, certain coins of the time of Philip; second, the fact that some figures of the fourth century have hair dressed in the same manner as is that of the Apollo; third, the likeness of the Apollo to the (copy of the) Ganymede of Leochares. But the coins in question, though showing a type from which the Belvedere type was probably developed, have not the same arrangement of hair, and belong to a time more than one generation before the Belvedere type; none of the fourth century figures referred to has the knot of hair raised so high and formed so artificially as that of the Belvedere statue, and the similarity of the Apollo and the Ganymede is much overrated. So far as the proportions of the two figures are alike they constitute an argument against a common authorship rather than for it, for certainly the proportions of the effeminate Phrygian youth would not have been made by such an artist as Leochares like those of the powerful and brilliant Apollo. Nor is there any greater similarity in the fall of the drapery of these two figures than may be found in that of many others. Such similarity of workmanship as exists is probably due to the fact that the extant copies of the two statues were made at about the same time.

Although the Apollo of the great frieze of Pergamon shows very different workmanship from that of the Apollo of the Belvedere, the *motif* is still nearly the same; as nearly as the composition of the frieze permits. The Pergamene

Apollo is inspired by the original of the Belvedere figure, and it is therefore not improbable that Gercke (*Jahrbuch*, 1887, pp. 260 seqq.) is right in believing that the original of the Apollo of the Belvedere was created to commemorate a victory over the Gauls. The Apollo belongs to a time much before the frieze of Pergamon and after Praxiteles and his contemporaries, i.e. the early part of the third century. The Gauls were driven back from Delphi by Apollo in 279 B.C., and it is not improbable that the original of the Apollo of the Belvedere was created with reference to that event. There is no reason, however, for restoring the figure with an aegis in the left hand. The bow is the only proper attribute.

Remarks were made by Professor Wright, and by the author in reply.

16. Assumed Singulars, by Dr. Charles P. G. Scott, of Radnor, Pa.

By "Singular Plurals," as they are called in the title of the paper as first announced, or "Plural Singulars" as they may be called, looking from the other end, are meant, in English, nouns which end in an *-s* or *-z* sound (*-s*, *-se*, *-ce*, *-ze*) in the singular, and are mistakenly regarded as nouns in the plural with the regular plural suffix *-s* or *-es*, and are used accordingly. Many of these words remain in the assumed plural status, and do not develop further; or they develop further in directions which are not considered in the paper. Many of them, on the other hand, proceed from the assumed plural form, to develop, by the detachment of the assumed plural suffix, a new singular without the *-s* or *-z* ending. It is of these "Assumed Singulars" only that the paper treats; namely, of English nouns derived from preceding singulars ending in an *-s* or *-z* sound, by the detachment and omission of that sound. The most familiar examples are *Chinee* from *Chinese*, and *pea* from *pease*. These are simple; some are very complex, involving Attraction, Assimilation, and other kinds of Interference. Some words not nouns are drawn in.

The original paper presents in alphabetic order all the English nouns which can be proved, upon an independent etymological examination of each case, to be Assumed Singulars of the kind above described; states the etymology, so far as the forms require it; arranges the original singulars, the actual and the assumed plurals, and then the assumed singulars, with their new plurals, in the historical order of development; and supports each form cited by a sufficient number of proof quotations, verified and dated.

The cases cited are gathered from many sources. Some are well known. A list of many of them is included, confusedly, in a larger list of "Words corrupted through mistake about number" in the Rev. A. S. Palmer's *Folk-etymology*, a compilation of verbal corruptions, useful for its quotations, but otherwise untrustworthy (1881, pp. 592-607). This list is partly drawn from Skeat's *Etym. Dictionary* (1879-81). Mr. Palmer's list of words which would come under the head of Assumed Singulars numbers about 46, rejecting some that he erroneously includes.

The total number of Assumed Singulars which, to my knowledge, have been heretofore explained as such, in print, by other writers, is 62, beside a few that are doubtful, or have been included without warrant. To these 62 Assumed Singulars from all sources, I now add 60 more. They are marked in the list with a

star before the number. They include a few casual cases first explained by me in the *Century Dictionary*. Many are dialectal.

There are no doubt some more instances of Assumed Singulars of this class yet to be discovered.

It will be observed that the list contains many well known words, *cherry, currant, minnow, pea, potato, sherry*, etc. But though these are well known words, their history is not well known. The paper presents for the first time a fairly complete etymological and historical account of the following, to mention only the most important words: *Anana, batata, cherry, currant, lea, minnow, nunchion, pea, poldavis, potato, princock, rampion, skate, Yankee, Yengee*.

The list of words treated is as follows. In special cases, where a special history, given in the original paper, is involved, that fact is indicated.

1. **Aborigine**, pronounced in five syllables *a-bo-ri'ji-nt*, from *aborigines*, pronounced *a-bo-ri'ji-ntz*. A special history.

2. **Absey**, also in shorter form *abs, habs, haps*, for *absciss*.

*3. **Anana** for *ananas* (plural *ananases*), the pineapple.

4. **Anchovy**, a new singular from *anchovies, anchoveyes*, properly *anchoves*, of which the singular was *anchove*, in two syllables. *Anchova* was a third form. A special history.

*5. **Anny-seed**, *aniseed* for *anise-seed*. Special cause (*s-s > -s*). Compare *pummy-stone* for *pumice-stone*, No. 95.

6. **Asset** for *assets*.

7. **Auroch** for *aurochs*.

*8. **Aven** for *avens*; reported from New Jersey.

9. **Axey**, dialectal for *access*, a fever.

*10. **Balan**, *ballan*, for *balance, ballance*. The singular *balan*, spelt also *ballan*, is in the *Catholicon Anglicum*, 1483 (E.E.T.S. 1881, pp. 18 and 396). The plural of this singular, *balans, ballans*, usually spelt *balance, ballance*, was common in the sixteenth century. 'A pair of *balance*' contains the plural of *balan*, not the original singular *balance*.

*11. **Batata**, assumed singular of *batatas*, the original name of the sweet potato. Compare *potato* (No. 89) from *patatas*, variant of *batatas*. The paper gives a long history of the numerous forms in various languages.

*12. **Bermuda** for *Bermudas*, which seems a plural, but stands for **Bermudes, Bermudez, Bermoothes*, named after Juan *Bermudez*. The islands are now called officially *Bermuda*, by the United States Board on Geographic Names.

13. **Blay**, dialectal for *blaze*.

14. **Bree**, dialectal for *breeze, breese*, a gadfly.

*15. **Brimp**, dialectal for *brims, brimse* (**brimps*), same as *breese, breeze*, a gadfly. See BRIMSEY and BREE.

*16. **Brimsey**, assumed singular of *brimses* (plural of *brims, brimse*), taken as **brimsies, *brimseys*.

*17. **Bulloe**, from *bullose*, for *bullace*, a plum. See next.

*18. **Bully**, from *bullace*, also *bullies*, M.E. *bolis*, etc., a plum. Special history.

19. **Burial** for M.E. *huriels*, A.S. *byrgels*, a tomb. Like *hidel, riddle, shuttle*.

*20. **Caba** for *cabas*, a lady's reticule, or handbag. Used in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts.

*21. **Certy**, *certie*, dialectal for *certes*, sometimes written *certies*, *sarties*, as if a plural.

*21 a. **Chamoy**: see SHAMMY, No. 105.

*21 b. **Chay**: see SHAY, No. 106.

*22. **Chee** for *cheese*. Professor Wright attests this: and it appears in *Dialect Notes*, part 8 (Nov. 1895).

22 a. **Chee**²: see GEE, No. 50.

23. **Cherry**, *cherrie*, *cherie*, from M.E. *cheris*. A special history, involving A.S. *cyris*, *cyrs*, as well as O.F. *cerise*.

23 a. **Chimmy**: see SHIMMY, No. 108.

24. **Chinee** for *Chinese*. Compare *Japaneese*, *Maltee*, *Portugee*; also *Januay*. The number of patrials in *-ese*, in common use, is small; and only those in common use are subject to the change in question. Such uncommon terms as *Berlinese*, *Bernese*, *Ceylonese*, *Faroese*, *Sienese*, *Singhalese*, *Tyrolese*, *Veronese*, *Viennese*, remain undisturbed.

*25. **Clevy**, *clevvy*, for *clevis*, earlier *clivies*, *clives*, a bent iron used as an attachment or joint.

26. **Clow**, for *clouse*, *clowse*, a sluice.

*27. **Coke**, *coak*, charred coal, a new singular, with a special sense, from the dialectal *cokes*, *coaks*, *corks*, cinders. A special case.

*28. **Cop**¹, a fastening of various kinds, a dialectal word, also *cop* and *cot*, from *cops*, M.E. and A.S. *cops*. See also HANDCUFF, No. 54.

*29. **Cop**², a hedge, dialectal for *copse*, earlier *coppes*, *coppice*.

30. **Coppy**, formerly *copie*, dialectal for *coppice*.

31. **Corp** for *corpse*, which was formerly often spelt *corps*, sometimes *corpes*, M.E. *corps*, sometimes used as a plural.

*32. **Crip**, *crup*, dialectal for *crips*, variant of *crisp*.

*33. **Crissy**, dialectal for *crisis* (pronounced then *cri'sis* or *cri'sis*, not *crai'sis*).

*34. **Cullison**, *cullisen*, *cullizan*, assumed singular of *cullisance* for *cognizance*. Special case. See Nares.

*35. **Curran**, *curran*, from *currans*, *corans*, originally in *raisins of Corans*, 'raisins of Corinth.' A remarkable case, and a long story.

36. **Cyclop**, assumed singular of *Cyclops*. Special considerations are involved.

*37. **Diosie** for *diocese*. The plural *diosies*, *dyosies* occurs in Lyndesay, 16th century.

*38. **Dragon**, a name of the arum and similar plants, from *dragons*, a seeming plural, M.E. *dragans*, *dragaunce*, M.L. *drangancia*. A special case.

*39. **Duck**, from *ducks*, *duckish*, a dialectal transpose of *dusk*, twilight.

40. **Eave**, from *eaves*.

41. **Effigy**, dialectal *effij*, from *effigies*. Special considerations enter.

42. **Equinock**, spelt *hekinok*, dialectal for *equinox*.

43. **Flick**, *fleck*, dialectal for *flix*, downy fur.

44. **Flock**, dialectal for *phlox*, mentally spelt *flocks*.

45. **Flue**, *flew*, down, flock, feathery dust, from *flooze*, *floose*, also **fleeze* (in derivative *fleazy*), fibers of thread.

46. **Fluke**, *flook*, *fleuk*, a Scottish form of *flux* (flûks). I find *flucks* (1740).

*47. **Frock**, a dialectal form for **frocks*, a transpose of *frosk*, a frog. Special.

48. **Fur**, formerly *furr*, *furre*, for *furze*, formerly sometimes *furres*.
49. **Furney**, an obsolete form of *furnace*.
- *50. **Gee**, also *chee*, a lodging, a roost; a Kentish word, an assumed singular of *gise* (jiz, jis), known in an other application as *jice* (jais), a joist, the word being earlier *gist*, M.E. *giste*, O.F. *giste*, a lodging, a joist, whence E. *jist*, *joist*.
- *51. **Glimp** for *glimpse*.
- *52. **Hall**¹, a trammel (Halliwell) for *halse*, *halsh*, a rope, a slip-knot.
- *53. **Hall**², *haul*, the hazel (Cornwall, Somerset) for *halse* (Somerset), a transposition of *hasel*, *hazel*.
- *54. **Handcuff**, from *handcuffs*, originally *handcops*. A special case. See COP¹, No. 28.
- *55. **Heydeguy**, *haydegy*, *haydigee*, for *heydayguise*, *heydeguyes*, etc., a kind of dance.
56. **Hidel**, a M.E. form of *hidels*, A.S. *hȳdels*, a hiding-place.
57. **Ho**, a stocking, from *hose*.
- *58. **Huck**, dialectal for **hucks*, for *husk*. Compare DUCK and TUCK.
- *59. **Jackanape** for *Jackanapes*, originally, as I hav explaiend, *Jack a Naples*, 'Jack of Naples,' that is 'Italian Jack,' applied to a performing ape or monkey. See TRANSACTIONS for 1892, vol. 23, pp. 189-194, and for 1894, vol. 25, pp. 112-115.
- *60. **Jake** (1570 Levins) for *jakes*.
61. **Januay**, *Janoway*, 16th century forms for *Januays*, *Januayes*, *Janowayes*, *Janoweyes*, early forms of *Genoese*. Hence the surnames *Janeway*, *Janney*, *Janny*, *Fenney*, *Fenny*.
- *62. **Japanee** from *Japanese*, like *Chinee* from *Chinese*. See No. 24.
- *63. **Keck**, from *kecks*, *kex*, *kix*, a dry hollow stalk.
- *64. **Kecksy**, *kexy*, assumed singular of *keckses*, *kexes*, taken as *kecksies*. Compare BRIMSEY.
- *65. **Kesk**, *kisk*, from *kesks*, a dialectal transposition of *kecks*, *kex*, *kix*, just mentiond.
66. **Kickshaw**, formerly also *kickshoe*, *keeshoe*, from *kickshaws*, *kick-showes*; taken as plural, but properly singular, a *keckshose*, *kekshose*, etc., earlier *quelkchose*, *quelquechose*, from F. *quelque-chose*, 'something.' A special history.
67. **Lea**, a meadow, from *lease*, A.S. *lās*. A special history, involving an other *lea*, A.S. *ledh*, untild ground.
68. **Lee**, a M.E. form for *lees*, mod. E. *lease*, a cord, variant of *leash*.
- *69. **Lin-** in *linpin*, M.E. *lynpyne*, for **linse-pin*, mod. *linchpin*, where the first element is M.E. *linse*, A.S. *lynis*, axle. A special case.
- *70. **Lori** for *loris*, a lemur, *Loris gracilis*.
- *71. **Mace**, a spice, M.E. *mace*, assumed singular of *maces*, *macis*, *macys*, O.F. *macis*, M.L. *macis* (also *macia*, *masia*). A special case.
72. **Maltee** from *Maltese*.
73. **Marquee**, *markee*, for **marquise*, from French *marquise*, a tent.
- *74. **Navy**, *mevy*, pl. *mavies*, from *mavis*, a thrush.
75. **May**, dialectal form of *maize*.
76. **Merry**, a wild cherry, from **merries*, **merise*, from F. *merise*. Compare *cherry*, F. *cerise*.
- *77. **Methody**, a common dialectal form of *Methodist*, taken as *Methodis*², *Methodies*.

78. **Minnow**, *mennow*, *menow*, for M.E. *mennows*, *menows*, *menuse*, *menuce*. A special history, involving many forms, *mennow*, *mennom*, *minim*, *mennon*, *mennard*, *mengy*, A.S. *myne*, etc.

79. **Moke** or *moak*, dialectal form of *mox*, a variant of *max*, A.S. *max*, a net, whence also E. *mask* and *mesh*.

*80. ***Nuisan** or **newsen*, from *nuisance*, inferd from dialectal *newsner* for **nuisaner*, equivalent to *nuisancer*, an inspector of nuisances.

*81. **Nuncheon**, *nunchion*, *nuncion*, *noonion*, for 'nunchions, nuncions, nuntions, etc., M.E. *noonshyns*, *noonchyns*, *noneshens*, *nonesine*, *nonesinech*, *nonechenche*, originally **noneschenche*, 'noon drink.' The history of this word is remarkable. Its original formation was forgotten, and it ran riot through innumerable forms, arising from phonetic zeal or etymological fancy. The original form and true meaning wer first discoverd by Professor Skeat (*Etym. Dict.*, 1882, p. 397): but even he has faild to giv the history of the word in detail. He givs but one M.E. example, does not explain the process by which the second element was corrupted, and does not point out that the word in its present form, *nuncheon*, belongs to the class of Assumed Singulars. *Nuncheon* or *nunchion* comes directly from *nunchions*, and the rest of the history belongs to *nunchions* and its numerous variants, all having a final sibilant. In the paper the word, in all its forms, is traced downward from its first appearance in the records.

82. **Orchey**, dialectal for *orchis*.

83. **Orfray**, *orfrey*, *orphrey*, for *orfrays*, *orfrais*, *orfraies*. Special considerations enter.

84. **Pea¹**, dial. *pay*, for *pease¹*, the well-known legume. A special history.

*85. **Pea²** for *pease²*, *peise*, *peize*, a weight. Provincial English; I have heard it also from a North Carolina man.

*86. **Pill-** in *pill-corn*, assumed from Cornish dial. *pillas*, *pillis*, *pellas*, oats without husks.

*87. **Poledavie**, *polldavie*, etc., for *poldavis*, *poledavies*, etc., a kind of canvas. A special history, stated for the first time in the paper. The word came from Russia.

88. **Portugee** for *Portuguese*. See CHINEE, No. 24.

89. **Potato**, an assumed singular of *potatoes*. *Potatoes*, formerly spelt also *potato's*, *potatos*, *potatus*, *potatas*, was formerly a singular, *patatas*, a variant of *batatas*, whence the assumed singular *batata*, No. 11. The history of the word in its numerous forms is set forth in the paper in detail.

90. **Potent**, dialectal *potten*, a crutch, a stilt, assumed singular of *potence*, dial. *pottens*, crutches, also stilts.

91. **Poy** for *poise*, a weight. Special case. Compare PEA, No. 85.

92. **Pray**, dialectal form of *prease*, now *press*, a crowd.

*93. **Princock**, *primcock*, for *princocks*, *princox*. Special considerations enter.

94. **Pry** for *prize*, a lever.

*95. **Pummy**, *punny*, *punie*; first for *pumice* in *pummy-stone* for *pumice-stone*. Special reasons. Professor Lanman informs me that he has heard *pummy* in New England.

96. **Puny**, *punie*, for *punice*, *punese*, a bedbug.

*97. **Ramp**, assumed singular of *ramps*, earlier *rampes*, the plant *Campanula Rapunculus*, a reduced form of *rampions*.

98. **Rampion**, an assumed singular from *rampions*. A peculiar history.
- *99. **Ramsy**, *ramsey*, from *ramsies*, for *ramses* (also *ramsen*, *ramsons*), plural of *rams*, *ramps*, wild garlic.
- *100. **Ree**, *rhee*, *rhe*, in the phrase *on a ree*, said of a river in time of flood. It means 'in a violent course,' *ree* for *reese*, M.E. *rese*, *res*, A.S. *rūs*, course, impetus. This explains a puzzling word. See TRANSACTIONS, vol. 24, p. 122.
101. **Rescue**, assumed singular of *rescuse*, *rescous*. Involvd with the verb *rescue*, where the final *-se* is not concernd.
102. **Riddle**, M.E. *ridel*, *rydel*, *redel*, assumed singular of M.E. *ridels*, an enigma.
103. **Row**, a disturbance, from *rouse*, *rowze*, noise, intemperate mirth, originally a drinking-bout.
104. **Sect**, as used provincially for *sex*, may be an assumed singular of that word, as confused with *sects*. Confusion with *sects* or *sect* alone would explain the change.
- *105. **Shammy**, *shamoy*, *chamoy*, for *shamoise*, *chamoise*, *chamois*. Special considerations enter.
106. **Shay** for *chaise*. "The One-hoss *Shay*" is famous.
107. **Sherry** for *sherris*, originally *Sherris sack* or *Sherris wine*, 'wine of *Sherris*,' now *Xeres*, in Spain. A special history.
108. **Shimmy**, *chimmy*, *chimy*, dialectal (Eng. and U.S.) for *chemise*.
109. **Shuttle**, M.E. *schytel*, etc., assumed singular of **schyttels*, A.S. *scyttels*.
110. **Skates** for *skates*, the original singular. The plural was **skateses*, *skates*, or, in an other sense, *scatches*.
111. **Specie**, a kind, for *species*. *Specie*, coin, comes in an other way.
112. **Stave**, assumed singular of *staves*, of which the original plural is *staff*.
- *113. **Summon**, a call, from *summons*; influenced by the verb *summon*.
- *114. **Tuck**, a tusk, from *tucks*, a dialectal form of *tusks*.
115. **Wap**, *wop*, for *waps*, *wops*, the more original form, now dialectal, of *wasp*. A special history.
- *116. **Way-goose**, a form of *waze-goose* by assuming *way* as the singular of *waze*. A peculiar story.
- *117. **Way-grass**, knot-grass, probably for **waze-grass*, like *way-goose* for *waze-goose* (see before).
118. **Wheat-ear**, for *wheatears*, earlier *whit-ers*, a bird.
119. **Whim**, for *whims*, a dialectal variant of *winch*, a windlass.
- *120. **Whimsey**, from **whimses*, plural of **whimse* (cf. Swedish dial *hvimsa*, to be unsteady), taken as *whimsies*. Compare BRIMSEY, a similar case.
121. **Yankee**, *Yankie*, *Yankey*, assumed singular of *Yankees*, *Yankies*, a variant, due to several cross-associations, of *Yengees*, *Yengeese*. A special history is involvd. See the next.
- *122. **Yengee**, assumed singular of *Yengees*, *Yengeese*, which represents an Indian form of the word *English*, applied to the English colonists in New England and New York. To this word and to *Yankee* a peculiar history is attacht.
- The same change, the omission of a radical or essential final *-s* because it is assumed to be the plural suffix, appears in some surnames, *Champney*, *Denny*, *Faneway*, *Fannee*, *Fanny*, *Fenney*, *Fenny*, *Luckey*, and others.
- It was my first thought to prepare a systematic list of Assumed Singulars with

the historical proofs, in order to derive therefrom the laws that have produced the forms in question, to ascertain the classes of words in which these laws have worked, and the causes which have limited their operation, and to draw the general conclusions to which the examination would lead. And this with the added intent to apply the principles so derived to certain cases of doubtful etymology, in order to confirm or disprove the theory of Assumed Singulars suggested to explain them.

The results can not be stated without giving at the same time the evidence on which they rest. But it may be said here that Assumed Singulars arise chiefly among words which, having a seemingly plural termination, denote things that are always or often seen in numbers or that consist of distinct parts, as *aborigines*, *assets*, *balance*, *Chinese*, *eaves*, *mennous* (*minnows*), *Methodists*. So especially with names of fruits and plants, as *ananas*, *batatas*, *cherries*, *currants*, *pease*, *potatoes*, *ramps*, *rampions*, *ramsies*, all originally singulars. In this class, the largest of all, we must acknowledge the assistance of the great army of gardeners and farmers, who are close to the soil, and who, by etymological forcing, have done much to promote the abnormal growth of these "singular" vegetables.

The history of the origin of Assumed Singulars from supposed plurals in *-s* or *-is* is not complete without a consideration of other classes of words in which the real or assumed plural in *-s* or *-es* has undergone similar or different alteration, by abstraction or addition, such as cumulative plurals (*bodices*, dialectal *ghostises*, *postises*, etc.), Latin singulars (as *achates*, whence *achate*, *agate*; *jaspis*, whence *jaspis*, *jaspe*, *jasper*), and many other classes of words with a sibilant desinence. One must consider also a number of assumed singulars from supposed plurals in *-n* or *-en*, such as *roe* from *roue*, *mistletoe* from *mistletoe*, etc., a change involved in cross-associations with the inflexion *-n*. And finally, the change in question, while largely confined to English, has some parallels in other languages, which call for comparison.

Remarks were made by Professors Hart, Ashmore, Humphreys, Fowler, Wright, and by the author.

CLEVELAND, July 11, 1895.

The Association was called to order at 9.40 A.M.

17. On the Syntax of the Subjunctive and Optative in the Elean Dialect, by Herbert F. De Cou, of the University of Michigan.

The object of this paper is to classify the constructions of the subjunctive and optative in the Elean inscriptions with reference to the more important varieties of the so-called Elean dialect, and to note how far these sub-dialects, if they may thus be designated, agree with one another in their use of these modes, and, incidentally, with other dialects.

The sub-dialects which we assume are Elean, in the narrow sense, as spoken by the inhabitants of $\kappa\omicron\lambda\lambda\eta^7\text{H}\lambda\epsilon\text{is}$, Triphylian, and Pisatan, the last named being included for convenience of classification, as the dialectical relations of the inscriptions in question (Collitz, G. D. I. 1150, 1153, 1167) are a matter of dispute.¹

¹ Cf. Blass in G. D. I. p. 323; Meister, *Griech. Dialekte*, II. p. 15; Hoffmann, *Griech. Dialekte*, I. pp. 5 f.

Within these sub-dialects the inscriptions are arranged according to their epigraphical character and the use of ζ for δ.

Subjunctive.—In the inscriptions written in the epichoric alphabet there are no certain cases.¹ In those in which the Ionic alphabet is employed, subjunctives are found only in the decree for Damokrates, G. D. I. 1172 (Elean), viz.:

1. Independent subjunctive with imperative force, ἀνατεθᾶι (l. 32), ποιήσεται (l. 36).

Delbrück, *Syntaktische Forschungen*, I. p. 20 (cf. IV. p. 117) quotes one example of this construction from literature, Sophokles, *Phil.* l. 300, which is not exactly parallel—even if the text be correct—owing to the relation elsewhere subsisting between φέρε and the first person of the subjunctive.² Other cases of the imperative subjunctive in affirmative sentences have been thought to occur in the inscriptions on certain Attic vases cited by Kretschmer, *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, XXIX. pp. 481 ff. (cf., however, the same author's *Griech. Vasenschriften*, pp. 195 f.), and also in the *devotiones* from Knidos, e.g. ἦ (G. D. I. 3538, l. 7), and probably εἰ (G. D. I. 3543, l. 4), ἀναβᾶι (G. D. I. 3536, l. 19), in spite of Bechtel, *ad loc.* p. 234.³ We thus seem to have in the common speech of a Dorian community of the second or first century B.C. a number of subjunctives parallel to the examples from Elis.⁴

2. Subjunctive in final clauses. (1) Pure purpose, φαίναται (G. D. I. 1172, l. 16). (2) Mixed purpose or appositional object clause, δοθᾶι (G. D. I. 1172, l. 37).

The same lack of distinction between complete and incomplete finality characterizes the Attic inscriptions, which throughout the fifth, fourth, and third centuries B.C. employ almost exclusively δπως ἄν with the subjunctive in both kinds of sentence.⁵ Similarly the Doric dialects regularly construe δπως and ὤς with the subjunctive without κἀ or ἄν. The dialect of Aeolis employs, (1) in clauses of pure purpose ἵνα and δπως with the subjunctive after both primary and secondary tenses, (2) in clauses of mixed purpose δπως with the subjunctive after primary and secondary tenses, δπως κε with the optative after secondary tenses, ὤς with the future indicative, and ἵνα with the subjunctive (after ἐφρόντισαν, G. D. I. 215, ll. 24 f.). The material from the other "Aeolic" dialects is of less significance.

Optative.—Examples occur only in the inscriptions which are written in the epichoric alphabet.

1. Potential optative with κἀ, with prescriptive or imperative force. This usage is found in independent sentences as follows: (1) Elean (proper), G. D. I. 1157, ll. 5, 6, 7; 1154, ll. 4, 6, 7, 8; 1156, l. 1; 1149, ll. 1, 2. (2) In Pisatan this construction occurs only in the antecedent clause of a conditional relative

¹ In G. D. I. 1158 (Elean) Meister's κνᾶι (l. c. p. 63) should be accented κνᾶι, like δοθᾶι (or κνᾶι: δοθαί); if we write the optative, κν[ο]ῖ (Meister, p. 26), like ἐνποιοῖ, G. D. I. 1156.

² So Brugmann, *Griech. Gram.*, p. 190. His application of this explanation to the cases adduced by Kretschmer is less happy.

³ On the other hand, ἦη (G. D. I. 3540, l. 6), which Bechtel regards as subjunctive (i.e. ἦ [η]) is more likely an optative.

⁴ εἰς μέισος ἔλθῃ from C. I. G. 5858 b, l. 32 (cf. Wachsmuth, *Rhein. Mus.* XVIII. p. 562) is erroneously given by Reinach, *Traité*, p. 433, n. 2, for εἰς μέισος ἔλθειν.

⁵ Cf. Meisterhans, *Grammatik d. attischen Inschriften*, p. 212; Weber, *Absichtsätze*, II. pp. 3 ff.

sentence; G. D. I. 1150, l. 4. (3) Triphylian, G. D. I. 1151, ll. 16 (twice¹), 18 (partially restored), 20 (doubtful). In Elean and Triphylian the optatives which stand in the antecedent clauses of conditional relative sentences are all of this character.

This use of the optative with *κἀ* as a prescriptive form in laws and decrees is peculiar to the inscriptions from Elis. The Cypriote forms *γένοιτο* (G. D. I. 60, l. 29), *δυσάνοι νο* (ibid. l. 6), *δῶκοι νο* (l. 16) appear to represent an analogous usage.²

We have called this optative 'potential.' That it is such is shown, apart from the use of *κἀ*, by its combination with *οὐδέ* in G. D. I. 1157, l. 7.³

The imperative, also, is found in Elean and Triphylian, and the infinitive in mandatory sense in Elean and Pisatan, but the material is insufficient to enable us to confirm by statistics the natural supposition that the optative with *κἀ*, in this use, belongs in the first place to the Elean (proper), and that its occurrence in Pisatan and Triphylian is a mark of the influence of the dominant tribe.⁴

2. Optative in hypothetical clauses introduced by the conditional particle, or by relative pronouns or adverbs. The verb of the apodosis is always an optative with *κἀ*, an imperative, or an infinitive with imperative force.

A. Hypothetical clauses introduced by *αἰ*, negatively *αἰ μή* and *αἰ μή*.

1. Elean. The verb of the apodosis is (1) an optative with *κἀ*, G. D. I. 1152, ll. 2, 7, 8; 1154, l. 2; 1156, ll. 1, 2, 5; 1149, ll. 2, 5, 8;—(2) an imperative, G. D. I. 1152, l. 6; 1168, l. 7;—(3) a mandatory infinitive, G. D. I. 1152, l. 2 (*αἰ καταπαύσειε, φάρην*);—(4) lost, G. D. I. 1147, ll. 2, 3, 5; 1158, l. 4; 1160, l. 3. The protasis is lost or mutilated in G. D. I. 1147, ll. 2, 5; 1157, ll. 1 (?), 4 (?).

2. Pisatan. The verb of the apodosis is an infinitive. G. D. I. 1150, l. 6; 1153, ll. 6, 7 (apodosis common).

3. Triphylian. The cases, all of which are more or less mutilated, are from G. D. I. 1151. The verb of the apodosis is (1) an optative with *κἀ*, ll. 2, 6, 7, 9, 18 (in ll. 2, 8, 10, 18, *κἀ* has been restored); (2) an imperative, l. 5. In l. 3 the apodosis is implied in the preceding imperative; (3) lost, l. 4. The protasis is nearly or quite lost in ll. 13, 22.

It will be apparent from an inspection of these examples that the treatment of conditional clauses with the optative is the same in Elean, Pisatan, and Triphylian.

In thus preferring the less vivid or ideal conditional for the expression of contingencies arising in connection with decrees and compacts, the legal phraseology of the Elean idioms is at variance with the prevailing usage of the other dialects, and especially of the Attic (cf. Meisterhans, l. c. p. 206). Indeed, the common use of the more vivid or anticipatory condition to express such contingencies has led to the suggestion of the term "legal condition" as an equivalent.⁵ However, the less vivid conditional is found occasionally in the legal language of Arcadia,

¹ *κἀ* is not repeated with the second optative, *ἴ.ε. κατιστ]αίάταν δέ κα καὶ δαμωργεῖσθαι κ.τ.λ.*

² Brugmann, *Griech. Grammatik*, p. 192. For the potential optative without *κἀ* in Homer see Delbrück, l. c. I. pp. 215 ff.

³ Consequently Roehl's conjecture *μηδέτερος* (I. G. A. 119 Add.) as subject to *κα πο]ιφέοι*, G. D. I. 1151, l. 18 (Triphylian), a reading also retained by Blass, must be incorrect.

⁴ The occurrences are respectively: prescriptive potential optative. Elean 27, Pisatan 1, Triphylian 12 (of which 8 are partially restored). Imperative. Elean 6, Triphylian 2. Mandatory infinitive. Elean 10, Pisatan 4.

⁵ Gildersleeve, *Transactions Am. Philol. Assoc.*, 1876, p. 7.

Corcyra, Locris, frequently in Crete, and in the Delphian decrees of manumission. The term "legal condition," therefore, should not be confined to the anticipatory conditions.

The sentences which have the less vivid conditional in the protasis and the optative with $\kappa\acute{\alpha}$ in the apodosis are probably not to be explained on the principle of assimilation, because of the use of the same form of protasis in connection with an imperative or infinitive in apodosis. For other examples of this latter construction in inscriptions see G. D. I. 1479 (Locris), 3206 (Corcyra), and the Delphian decrees before cited.¹

B. Hypothetical clauses introduced by a relative pronoun or adverb. These show the same forms as the simple conditional sentences.

1. Elean. The verb of the apodosis is (1) an optative with $\kappa\acute{\alpha}$. G. D. I. 1152, ll. 3, 9 (mutilated)—in ll. 2, 3, the relative clause is in explanatory apposition with the verb of the protasis; 1154, l. 4; 1156, l. 3;—(2) an infinitive, G. D. I. 1152, l. 2;—(3) lost, G. D. I. 1147, l. 6 (partially restored), 1158, l. 1.

2. Pisatan. The verb of the apodosis is an optative with $\kappa\acute{\alpha}$. G. D. I. 1150, l. 3.

3. Triphylian. The verb of the apodosis is an optative with $\kappa\acute{\alpha}$. G. D. I. 1151, ll. 13, 15, 16 (partially restored).

From the foregoing it appears that, so far as the optative is concerned, the forms of expression and the constructions are the same in Elean (proper), Triphylian, and so-called Pisatan.

Remarks were made by Professor Smyth.

18. Quantity-marks in Old English MSS., by Dr. W. H. Hulme, of Adelbert College of Western Reserve University.

There were two methods of indicating vowel-length in general use in Old English MS. writing, 1) by doubling the vowel, 2) by placing a mark over the long vowel. Quantity-marks were not used till early in the eighth century. The MS. of the Corpus gloss has probably the earliest instances of these marks. From the beginning of the eighth till the end of the tenth century accents are used with increasing frequency in both prose and poetry. During this period there seems to have been an effort on the part of all the scribes to place the accents only over etymologically long vowels, short accented vowels being comparatively infrequent in OE. MSS. till about the beginning of the eleventh century. From this time forth scribes become more and more careless in using them. In MSS. of the eleventh and twelfth centuries short vowels and vowels of unstressed syllables with accent marks are found in abundance. Cf. the "Blooms" MS. (*Vitell. A.* 15. fol. 1-56), and the second part of the Cædmon poems (MS. *Junius XI*). But even in the most carelessly written MSS. long vowels with accents are more numerous than short vowels with accents. And there seems to have been a conscious feeling on the part of the scribes that long marks were to be placed over long vowels, even though there is no single MS. where long vowels are con-

¹ For examples from the literature see Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, § 499. His remark that such constructions are not infrequent in the earlier language implies a slight understatement, if the inscriptions be taken into account.

sistently marked throughout. However, these marks were not always intended to show vowel length, as when they occur, for example, on the consonantal *u* in *Neopohard* (Sweet, *Oldest English Texts*, p. 35) and *uillon* (*Oldest English Texts*, 435, 7). The accent seems to have been used in such cases to indicate that the *u* has a consonantal value. Then the meaning of the accent is not at all clear where it appears on two successive vowels of a word, as, for example, *ââ* (*Blick. Hom.*, p. 9, l. 18; p. 29, l. 32, etc.); *êê* (*AS. Chron.*, p. 91, l. 8, 11, etc.); *Isââc* (*AS. Vers. of Gosp.*, p. 1, l. 3); *Bethlêêm* (*AS. Vers.*, p. 2, l. 23, etc.); *nêâr* (*Blooms*, 349, 13); *tôôpea* (*Blooms*, 334, 29; 335, 45); *wilniê* (*Blooms*, 335, 48, etc.). In some of these instances, as *Bethlêêm*, *tôôpea*, *wilniê*, one of the accents was probably intended to show the omission of a consonant: *Bethlehem, tohopea, wilnige*. In other cases the double accent seems to indicate that the double vowel was pronounced as a dissyllable. This is clearly the case where the *ii* of the gen. sing. of the Latin names of months is accented, as it frequently is in *Byrhtferd's Handboc*, where we find frequent instances of *januarii, junii, martii*, etc. (Cf. *Anglia*, VIII., p. 298 ff.)

Another peculiarity of certain MSS. is that accents are used mostly at or near the beginning and end of the lines, and near breaks in the lines.¹ This is especially noticeable in *Beowulf*, and *Byrhtferth's Handboc*.

The sources for the material of this paper were: *The Epinal Glossary*, ed. by Henry Sweet, London, 1883; *The Oldest English Texts*, ed. by Henry Sweet, London, 1888; *King Alfred's Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*, ed. by Henry Sweet, London, 1871; *King Alfred's Orosius*, ed. by Henry Sweet, London, 1883; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. by Benj. Thorpe, London, 1861; *Libri Psalmorum*, ed. by Benj. Thorpe, Oxford, 1835; *The Anglo-Saxon Version of the Holy Gospels*, ed. by Benj. Thorpe, London, 1842; *The Blickling Homilies of the Tenth Century*, ed. by Richard Morris, London, 1880; *Beowulf: Autotypes of the Unique Cotton MS.*, ed. by Julius Zupitza, London, 1882; *Ælfric's Homilies and Lives of the Saints*, ed. by Walter W. Skeat, London, 1881; *Byrhtferth's Handboc*, ed. by F. Kluge, *Anglia*, VIII.; *Das Leben des Chad*, hrsg. von A. Napier, *Anglia*, X. 141 f.; *Evangelium Nicodemi* (my own transcription of Brit. Mus. MS.); second part of MS. *Junius XI.* (my own transcription); *Life of Malchus* (my own transcription); *Blooms by King Alfred*, ed. by W. Hulme; *Englische Studien*, Bd. XVIII. 331 f.; *Andreas, Elene, Fata Apostolorum*, etc., hrsg. von Richard Wülker; Grein's *Bibliothek der AS. Poesie*, Bd. II.

Remarks were made by Professors Potwin, Hempl, Dr. Scott, and in reply by the author.

The Committee on Place of Meeting in 1896 reported through its Chairman, Professor Hart, that the Committee recommended that the next annual session be held at Providence, R. I., beginning July 7, 1896.

Professor Humphreys reported that the Auditing Committee had examined the account of the Treasurer, compared it with the vouchers, and found it to be correct.

¹ My attention was called to this peculiarity by Prof. Hempl of the University of Michigan.

The Committee on Officers for 1895-96 proposed the following list of nominations : —

President, Francis A. March, Lafayette College.

Vice-Presidents, Bernadotte Perrin, Yale University.

Minton Warren, Johns Hopkins University.

Secretary and Treasurer, Herbert Weir Smyth, Bryn Mawr College.

Executive Committee, The above officers, and

Basil L. Gildersleeve, Johns Hopkins University.

William W. Goodwin, Harvard University.

Milton W. Humphreys, University of Virginia.

Charles Forster Smith, University of Wisconsin.

John H. Wright, Harvard University.

The Committee's recommendations were adopted and the above officers elected. The election of Professor March to the Presidency of the Association was confirmed by a rising vote.

The Secretary thereupon read the following letter : —

LAFAYETTE COLLEGE, EASTON, PA., June 25, 1895.

To the Secretary of The American Philological Association.

MY DEAR SIR :

Will you be so kind as to invite your Society to be present at a celebration of the coincident anniversaries of Professor Francis A. March's seventieth year, the fiftieth since his graduation, and the fortieth of his coming to Lafayette, to be held at Lafayette College, Thursday, October 24, 1895. There will be several addresses by well-known scholars, and a public dinner followed by brief speeches. Personal invitations will be sent out at a later date so far as possible to all the members of your Association, but it is hoped by this general invitation at this early date to reach some who might otherwise be prevented coming.

Very truly,

E. D. WARFIELD.

The Association voted to accept the invitation, and the President was authorized to appoint a committee of three or five to act as representatives of the Association on the occasion referred to. At a later date Professors Smyth, Kittredge, and West were appointed.

The President then submitted a resolution that had been offered by Professor Gudeman of the University of Pennsylvania, with regard to the orthography of school-texts of Latin authors. After considerable discussion, an amendment proposed by Professor Hendrickson, of the University of Wisconsin, was carried. As amended and passed the resolution is as follows : —

Whereas, American school editions of Latin authors exhibit a remarkable inconsistency in Latin orthography, chiefly due to negligence, often, also, to ignorance of the proper spelling in vogue in the time of the respective authors,

Whereas, the orthography of Latin, barring, possibly, that of the archaic period, has now been scientifically determined;

Therefore, be it resolved, that a committee of three members of the American Philological Association be appointed by the chair to report at its next annual meeting a recommendation concerning a uniform standard of Latin orthography for the use of school text-books.

Professors Allen, Gudeman, and Platner were appointed on the Committee.

Professor Hart offered the following vote of thanks, which was adopted:—

Resolved, That the thanks of this Association are due, and are hereby tendered, to the authorities of the Western Reserve University for their courtesy in providing accommodations for this session; to Professor Platner and his colleagues of the Local Committee for the careful provision which they have made for the comfort and convenience of those in attendance; and to Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Mather for their generous and graceful hospitality in entertaining the members last evening at Shoreby.

19. Rousselot's Phonetical Apparatus, by Assistant Professor H. Schmidt-Wartenberg, of the University of Chicago.

There are three instruments which at present command the attention of phoneticians: 1) Hensen's phonautograph, based on the instrument of Scott (1859), improved by König; 2) the apparatus devised by Professor Hermann, and used by him in his laboratory at the University of Königsberg; 3) the apparatus used by Rousselot. Unfortunately the results of the investigations with Hensen's and Hermann's instruments are published in journals less familiar to phoneticians,—the *Zeitschrift für Biologie*, and the *Archiv für die gesammte Physiologie*,—and therefore comparatively unknown. Both instruments are designed to investigate the nature of vowel sounds, an exceedingly difficult problem in spite of the foundation laid by Helmholtz.

In the year 1891 L'Abbé Rousselot published a study on "Les Modifications phonétiques du langage étudiées dans le patois d'une famille de Cellefrouin, Charente" (*Revue des Patois Gallo-Romans*, IV., and also published separately in a revised edition), a work which was awarded the Volney medal. Rousselot used a number of instruments constructed partly by Marcy and others, and partly by himself. Unlike the instruments mentioned before, this apparatus serves to solve the more practical questions of phonetics, and the many difficulties that present themselves in the explanation of sound changes; they appeal to the philologist mainly. The apparatus exhibited before the Philological Association was made by Charles Verdin, Paris, who furnishes a complete set for 1700 francs.

The registering apparatus consists of a cylinder revolving horizontally, and put in motion by a clock-work with the Foucault regulator. By means of attaching the cylinder to any of the three revolving wheels the velocity can be changed according to the experiment. The cylinder is covered with a sheet of glazed paper, which is then blackened by means of a candle, oil lamp, or a broad gas jet. The slide, which carries a stand to which the inscribing apparatus is secured,

is moved by a spiral bar connected by an endless chain with the clock-work. Screws, wheels, etc., are provided for wherever the apparatus needs an adjustment.

The drum used by Rousselot is the same with which physiologists are familiar. It consists of a brass capsule covered with a rubber membrane, to which the inscribing lever is attached; a rubber tube connects it with the acting apparatus, or directly with the organs of speech. Any movement, the slightest air wave, produces a condensation or rarefaction of the air in the drum which turns the inscribing style. This drum is fastened to the horizontal bar of the movable stand, and the style so adjusted by means of a series of screws that it comes in light contact with the sooty paper upon which, when revolving, a white trace is left. Any motion of the style is plainly marked by a deviation from the straight line. Some of these motions are so slight that they have to be read under the magnifying glass; e.g., as a rule, the marks produced by the vibration of the vocal cords. The traces are then fixed in the usual way by means of a hardening solution.

The most frequently used instrument is a rubber funnel which closes firmly round the mouth. It is connected by means of a tube with the drum, and is used for investigations into the intensity of sound: emphasis of utterance, position and quality of accent, height of vowel pitch, lenis and fortis, voiced and unvoiced sounds, vowel quantity.

To observe, in a like manner, the amount of breath escaping through the nose, the tube has to be applied directly to the nose. The motion of the lip is recorded by a special lip-observer, consisting of two combined drums, each provided with a lever that is applied to the upper or lower lip. It is then connected with the inscribing drum. To show the degree of lateral lip contraction the author had an instrument prepared on the same principle. The same device can also be used for indicating the angle of the jaws during the pronunciation of certain sounds.

For investigations of sonority Rousselot uses a small metal cup which is placed on the laryngeal cartilage, the stretched skin serving as a membrane that conveys the vibrations to the air-drum. Neither this nor the more complicate electrical apparatus work very satisfactorily; the former can be used, however, to observe the movements of the tongue, in a similar manner as Rousselot's external tongue observer, a drum attached to the chin, the lever following the motions of the root of the tongue.

These instruments, together with the artificial palate and the stethoscope, suffice to analyze and determine almost every sound, quantitatively and qualitatively. The use of the apparatus requires a careful study, and the reading of the traces offers many difficulties to be overcome only by repeated and graded exercises. Many experiments require the aid of an assistant. Changes in temperature and atmosphere influence the experiments to some extent.

Remarks were made by Professors Hempl, Karsten, and Smyth, and by the author.

20. *The Fluency of Shakespeare*, by Professor F. A. March, of Lafayette College.

This paper is printed in full in the *TRANSACTIONS*.

21. The ἀπὸ κοινοῦ arrangement, by Professor M. L. D'Ooge, of the University of Michigan.

A brief paper on this subject was presented, more for the purpose of raising inquiry than of presenting definite results. The subject has been treated for Latin by F. Koldewey, "Die Figura ἀπὸ κοινοῦ bei Catull, Tibull, Propertius und Horaz," in the *Zeitschrift f. d. Gymnasialwesen*, XXXI. (1877), pp. 337-358. A treatise by O. Aken on the same question, published in 1884, has been mentioned to me by Professor Harrington of the University of North Carolina. This figure of syntax in Greek has not received from scholars the attention it deserves. A discussion of its use in Greek by Melhorn is referred to by Koldewey, but is not known to the present writer.

The origin of this arrangement is explained by Nitzsch, *Anmerkungen zu Homer's Odyssee*, XII., 27, in a note on the only instance in Homer of this use of the preposition, which occurs in the phrase ἢ ἀλδς ἢ ἐπι γῆς. Krüger, however, *Sprachl.* § 58. 2. 3 and § 68. 9 A., denies that this is an instance.

That there is not perfect agreement among scholars as to just what the ἀπὸ κοινοῦ figure includes is evident from Koldewey's discussion, who limits it to instances in which the common element occupies the first or most important position in the second or third member of the sentence. Hirschfelder, *Zeitschrift f. d. Gymnasialwesen*, 1869, p. 353, applies the name to all those instances in which the word common to the several members is used in the *second* member of the sentence, without regard to its position in the clause.

Instances of what is understood to be the ἀπὸ κοινοῦ figure were given in the case of prepositions, with which this arrangement seems to be most common in Greek, of verbs, of limiting genitives, of possessive pronouns, of adjectives, and of adverbs.

It was shown how disregard of this figure sometimes leads editors astray in their interpretations. The entire subject needs a careful and systematic treatment, based on wide induction.

One or two instances in which the interpretation hinges on the supposed presence or absence of this figure may suffice in this connection:

On Plato's *Phaedo*, 69 E, τοὺς μὲν χρηστοὺς καὶ πονηροὺς σφόδρα ὀλίγους εἶναι ἐκατέρους, Archer-Hind has the following note: "Although the order of the words inclines us to take σφόδρα with ὀλίγους, I think the sense requires that it should be joined with χρηστοὺς καὶ πονηροὺς. Heindorf would double σφόδρα, but it is not really wanted with ὀλίγους." But ὀλίγους seems clearly to require σφόδρα to make an exact antithesis to πλείστους in the next sentence.

On *Eur. Med.* 241, 242 editors are divided whether to take εἶ with the preceding participle or with the following sentence. Verrall's note is instructive in its uncertainty. He says that the rhythm is in favor of connecting εἶ with the participle, but the sense is better if we take it with what follows. Why not take it with both?

Remarks were made by Professors Ashmore, Wright, Smyth, C. F. Smith, Harrington, and by the author.

22. Notes on the Metre of Persius, by Professor Samuel Ball Platner, of Adelbert College of Western Reserve University (read by title).

This paper contained a detailed analysis of the various ways in which the fifth and sixth feet are made up with reference to the rhythm, number, and compass of words, and relation of verse to word accent.

Of the 650 hexameter lines in the six satires, only one (I. 95, *sic costam longo subduximus appennino*) is spondaic, and in this Persius is evidently ridiculing the attempts of some contemporary. There are then 649 dactylic lines, and the following table presents the analysis of the last two feet.

Horizontal lines mark the divisions of words, the stroke \sphericalangle the verse ictus, and dot (·) the word accent. Where both coincide, only the stroke is written.

First, cases into which elision does not enter:—

SCHEME.	EXAMPLE.	TIMES FOUND.
1) \sphericalangle u u \sphericalangle u	turbida Roma	197
2) u u \sphericalangle u u \sphericalangle u — \sphericalangle u u u \sphericalangle u u	miserabile: Quar	106
3) \sphericalangle u u \sphericalangle u	rebus inane	88
4) — \sphericalangle u u u \sphericalangle u u u \sphericalangle u \sphericalangle — \sphericalangle u u \sphericalangle u \sphericalangle u u \sphericalangle u	quaecumque relictis	124
5) \sphericalangle u u \sphericalangle u	hic pede liber	40
6) \sphericalangle · \sphericalangle u u \sphericalangle u · \sphericalangle	venosus liber Atti	6
7) \sphericalangle u u \sphericalangle u	ducere sed fas	14
8) — \sphericalangle u u \sphericalangle u	plorabili si quid	3
9) \sphericalangle u u \sphericalangle u	mittit in aedis	15
10) — \sphericalangle u u u \sphericalangle u u u \sphericalangle u	scabiosus et ipse	8
11) \sphericalangle u u \sphericalangle u u \sphericalangle u	exierit caprificus	2
12) \sphericalangle u u \sphericalangle u	praetrepidum cor	3
13) \sphericalangle u u \sphericalangle u	centurionum	5
14) · \sphericalangle u u \sphericalangle —	sacras quod ovato	1
15) u \sphericalangle u u \sphericalangle ·	locatus es in re	1
16) \sphericalangle u u \sphericalangle ·	funus et o si	1
17) \sphericalangle u u \sphericalangle ·	haec anus i nunc	1
18) — \sphericalangle u u \sphericalangle ·	insane ruis? quo?	1

(1) is very frequently repeated, as it occurs seventeen times in two successive lines, twelve times in three, four times in four, and once in six. This is true of no other form to any such extent. Persius is fond of alternating this with (2), (3), and (4).

(2) occurs in two or more successive lines twelve times, (3) fifteen times, and (4) twenty-one times.

The next table represents the cases of elision.

SCHEME.	EXAMPLE.	OCCURS.
1) ∠ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∠ ∪	usque adeone	I. 26
2) — ∠ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∠ ∪	depunge urbi sistam	VI. 79
3) ∠ — ∪ ∪ ∠ ∠	mirae eritis res	I. 111
4) ∠ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∠ —	etsi adeo omnes	VI. 14, 58
5) ∠ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∠ ∠	ecce aliud cras	V. 68
6) ∠ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∠ —	paulum erit ultra	V. 69
7) ∠ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∠ —	improbum in illa	I. 6; VI. 29
8) ∠ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∠ ∪	hoc ego opertum	I. 121
9) — ∠ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∠ ∪	caelestium inanis	II. 61
10) ∠ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∠ —	forcipe adunca	IV. 40; VI. 5
11) ∠ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∠ ∪ ∠	altera in herba est	VI. 26
12) ∠ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∠ ∪	huc ego ut ille	VI. 62
13) ∠ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∠ ∪	sesquipedale extat	I. 57; V. 127, 140, 142
14) — ∠ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∠ ∪	discernis ubi inter	IV. 11; VI. 16
15) ∠ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∠ ∪	utar ego utar	VI. 22
16) ∠ ∠ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∠ —	postquam sapere urbi	VI. 38
17) ∠ ∠ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∠ ∠	centum paria ob res	VI. 48

In the sixth foot there are six cases of elision, but the final is always *est*, and we have aphæresis rather than elision proper.

Adjourned at 1 P.M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The reading of papers was resumed at 2.15 P.M.

23. The Incorporation of several Dialogues in Plato's *Republic*, by Dr. G. B. Hussey, of the University of Chicago.

Plato's promise in the introduction to the *Timaeus*, that he will write a dialogue *Critias* and another called *Hermocrates*, was, as Plutarch explains (Solon, 32), prevented from fulfilment by his death. Yet, as he lived to the age of eighty, it seems as though there must have been time during those years for writing out all his valuable thoughts. This will appear especially true when we consider that he has repeated some of them many times.

A preface, although placed first, is usually written last. Consequently it would seem probable that, when Plato promises these two dialogues in the preface to the *Timaeus*, they have been already completely thought out, if not completely written. Since, therefore, none of Plato's works have been lost while in manuscript, it is probable that these two dialogues are preserved, but under some other form than we are aware of.

In the introduction to the *Timaeus* there is a very brief analysis of the *Republic*. This is, however, carried only as far as the first five books of that dialogue, and there stops short. Moreover, those critics who hold that the *Republic* was written in separate parts recognize in the last five books two chief portions, VIII.-IX. and VI.-VII., with book X. standing separately by itself. A reasonable conjecture can therefore be ventured that VIII.-IX. represent the *Critias*, and VI.-VII. the *Hermocrates*. The *Republic* was the most famous of Plato's works, and so any dialogues that could increase its interest or strengthen its logic were added to it. On account of these additions it comes to be three times the size of the ordinary Platonic dialogues. While they would each take from two to four hours for oral delivery, it would require twelve. Thus, like the *Laws*, the *Republic* has become enlarged by accretions, until it is far beyond the ordinary length of a conversation. The harmonizing and adjusting of these various parts of his *Republic* occupied Plato till his last moments, and thus the introductions to the *Timaeus* and the *Critias* were left uncorrected. Thus they stand to-day, in appearance, broken promises.

In books VIII.-XI. Plato describes the fall of the perfect state until it reaches its lowest debasement by passing through democracy. *Critias* was a fit person to lead in such a dialogue, for he had written more than one work on constitutions, and was even more than Plato a foe of the popular government. The fragment of the dialogue *Critias* that remains shows an attempt to bring some historical facts to the support of the theories of *Republic* VIII.-IX.

Plato wrote the first draft of his works probably in the direct form of dialogue. As this was not well suited to being read aloud, he later changed some of the more popular dialogues into the indirect form. This was the case with the *Phaedo*, *Charmides*, *Symposium*, *Euthydemus*, *Protagoras*, and *Republic*. A third form, that of continuous discourse, is represented by the *Timaeus* and parts of the *Laws*.

At the same time that these took place, this recasting of some of the dialogues so as to bring them into the indirect form, came a desire to unite some of them into trilogies or tetralogies. This was probably to show in what order they were to be read or to form them into more imposing masses. In furtherance of this purpose Plato projected a tetralogy (*a*), outlined at *Soph.* 217 *a*, and consisting of *Theaetetus*, *Sophist*, *Statesman*, *Philosopher*,—all in the direct form. Later he took away the *Philosopher*, recast it, and, with the intention of calling it *Hermocrates*, he projected a tetralogy (*b*) *Republic* I.-V., *Timaeus*, *Critias*, *Hermocrates*,—all in the indirect or treatise form. After changing the names of the last two dialogues and fusing them with the first the result was (*c*) *Republic* I.-X. and the *Timaeus* as we have them at the present day.

Remarks were made by Professors Wright and D'Ooge, and by the author in reply.

24. A neglected Use of the Latin Imperative, by Professor Karl P. Harrington, of the University of North Carolina.

The only endeavor of this brief paper is, as its title suggests, to call attention to the fact that the so-called "Future Imperative," or "Second Imperative," as it is variously denominated, has a very common colloquial use, which is quite unsatisfactorily treated in most Latin grammars, and almost entirely ignored in those usually in the hands of our American students. The case may be stated something like this: The Future (or Second) Imperative is often used in colloquial language where neither the *future*, nor the *imperative* idea clearly appears; but the signification of the form seems to vary from that which *must*, or *ought to be*, to that which *would be advisable*, and in general it holds a relation to the Present (or First) Imperative corresponding to that in which the Subjunctive of Modesty stands to the Indicative of Absolute Statement.

A good example of the use of the two tenses side by side with no discoverable difference in meaning is found in Plaut. Men. 1076: *Tu erus es: tu servom quaere. Tu salveto: tu vale.* Also in v. 866: *agite, equi, facitote sonitus unguularum adpareat.* Again, in Terence, Adel. 505 (*Redito: fient quae fieri aequomst omnia*), the word *redito* means no more nor less than *redi* would mean in the same place; but the tense form is perhaps influenced by the verb of the apodosis, *fient*, to which *redito* is the protasis.

A similar case of the usage occurring in a practical protasis is seen in Lucr. II. 114-117:—

*contemplator enim, cum solis lumina cunqve
inserti fundunt radii per opaca domorum:
multa minuta modis multis per inane videbis
corpora misceri radiorum lumine in ipso.*

The softening down of the imperative nature of the form appears in such a case as Plaut. Men. 350: *adservatote haec sultis, navales pedes* ('please look out for the luggage').

Some of the other various shades of milder meaning are illustrated in the following examples:—

Cic. ad Att. V. 20, 1: *Hoc iam sic habeto, nec hoc exercitu nec hic tanta negotia geri potuisse* ('You must bear this in mind,' etc.).

Plaut. Men. 436 and 437: *Abduc istos in tabernam actutum deversoriam. Tu facito ante solem occasum ut venias advorsum mihi* ('You must be sure to meet me before sundown').

Plaut. Trin. 570: *Quod tibi lubet, tute agito cum gnato meo* ('You'll have to make whatever arrangements you please with my son').

Plaut. Men. 548: *Haec me curaturum dicito* ('You may say that I will attend to it').

Cic. ad Att. I. 6, 1: *Tu modo videto in tanto otio ut par mihi sis* ('You on your part should see to it that you keep up with me').

Plaut. Trin. 427: *Immo 'quas despondi' inquit* (No, no! You'd better say, 'quas despondi'!).

Cic. ad Quint. frat. I. 3, 8: *Illud caveto . . . ne ille versus . . . confirmetur* ('You'd better be on your guard,' etc.).

Plaut. Trin. 295: *Meo modo moribus vivo antiquis: quae ego tibi praecipio, ea facito* ('You'll do well to be old-fashioned like me, and follow my advice').

A still more modest tone is found in Cic. ad Att. I. 2, 1: *filiolo me auctum scito* ('Allow me to inform you,' etc.). This use of *scito* is very common.

The form is used to give a bit of ironical advice in Plaut. Men. 627 and 628: *properato absente me comesse prandium: post ante aedis cum corona me derideto ebrius* ('I'll teach you to run off and gobble up the luncheon without me, and then come and make fun of me!' etc.).

The next step is reached when the advice amounts to no more than a permission, as in Plaut. Men. 727 and 728: *Mea quidem hercle causa vidua vivo vel usque dum regnum obtinebit Iuppiter* ('For all I care you can live a widow as long as Jove reigns'). And again, v. 1031: *mea quidem hercle causa liber esto atque ito quo voles* ('Verily, for all I care, you may have your freedom and go where you like').

In Men. 1093 it is a promise: *Perge operam dare, opsecro hercle, liber esto, si invenis hunc meum fratrem esse* ('You shall be free, if you discover that he is my brother'). Also in Capt. 948: *gratiis a me, ut sit liber, ducito* ('His freedom shall be a free gift').

From these particular usages is finally developed the use of the form to express a general advice, a maxim, or a precept, as in Horace, Epist. I. 18, 68 and 69:

*Quid, de quoque viro, et cui dicas saepe videto.
Percontatorem fugito, nam garrulus idem est.*

('One must be on his guard as to what he says,' etc., and 'should avoid an inquisitive person,' etc.) And in Terence, Adel. 417 and 418 ('*Hoc facito.*' S. *Recte sane.* D. '*Hoc fugito.*' S. *Callide.* D. '*Hoc laudist.*' S. *Istaec res est.* D. '*Hoc vitio datur.*') *facito* and *fugito* are quite on a par with *laudist* and *hoc vitio datur*, expressing a general truth.

Now that we have reached this point, we are on more familiar ground. I submit, however, that the usage should have more careful attention in our American grammars, in which the treatment of this matter is universally either inadequate or erroneous.

25. The Devil and his Imps, an Etymological Inquisition, by Dr. Charles P. G. Scott, of Radnor, Pa.

This paper is printed in full in the TRANSACTIONS. Remarks were made by Professor Wright.

26. The Invariability of Phonetic Law, by Professor Edwin W. Fay, of Washington and Lee University.

It is not difficult to acquire the reputation of being a rigorous observer of the phonetic laws, but it is quite as important not to check the progress of science. Bréal in the TRANSACTIONS Am. Phil. Assoc., Vol. XXIV, p. 21.

The tenet of phonetic inviolability has been of late years the test of orthodoxy in linguistics, but after all there is a good deal of heresy in America. Mr. Whitney did not accept the principle in its entirety; Tarbell has raised objections (TRANSACTIONS XVII, 1 sq.); Collitz, to whom America may now lay claim, and who is one of the foremost living linguists, is not a rigid believer in the tenet (cf. his *Aryan Word for Tongue*, 16); and the great French *savant*, M. Bréal, has published in the TRANSACTIONS of this Association (XXIV, 21 sq.) some very acute observations on this point. I have already (Am. Jr. Phil., XV, 409) expressed myself as a follower in his path.

In so far, however, as one points out classes of exceptions to Phonetic Law, one makes no issue against the principle. The issue is practically this: with one class of linguists phonetic normality is of absolutely final value as evidence, while with another class phonetic abnormality does not put out of court what rises on other linguistic grounds into the domain of probability; with the first class a specific reason must be given for every abnormality; this the second class recognizes as expedient but not always possible and not absolutely necessary.

Now a phonetic law is practically an inference from one highly probable etymology. Sometimes, however, the results of two equally probable etymologies conflict. Thus Lat. *vomer* || *vomis* beside Grk. *ὄφνις*, O. Pruss. *vagnis* leads us to infer a stem **vogh* with *r/n* inflection, whence a primitive Latin **vognis* (gen.). If *gn* gave *mn* as in Greek the resulting form was **vomnis*, and a secondary nominative *vomer* arose beside **vover*. The etymology is certain, and the method of explanation falls in with much besides in Latin (the author, PROC. Dec. 1894, lii). Counter to it, however, runs Lat. *ignis* alongside of Lith. *ugnis* 'fire.' Now as regards *ignis* and *vomer*, which shows normal and which abnormal phonetics? For the abnormality of *ignis* I have offered a reason (l.c.) and have others in reserve to offer.

But let us suppose that *ignis* is abnormal, and no ground for its abnormality is discoverable; then, so long as the undemonstrably abnormal is taken for normal, the rigid phoneticians estop the progress of science. I emphasize this point: the etymologically certain word may be the abnormal word.

Before we can accept as phonetic law the testimony of any word, we must assure ourselves of its isolation, and even then if we cannot control the period of its isolation, our inferences are not cogent; for, putting it generally, the words that can show in any language perfectly free phonetics (i.e. 'can follow the phonetic laws blindly') are isolated words, cut adrift from their moorings, while

far the greater number of words are interknit in groups about a common root, or semantically interknit by popular etymology of one sort or another to roots of alien origin.

Now let us compare *āgmen* 'troop' (: *agere* 'drive') and *exāmen* 'swarm of bees'; Brugmann (Gr. I, § 506) calls in 'apt Ablaut's artful aid' and assumes bases **āgmen* and **exāgmen*, but it seems to me far more probable that the phonetic variation arises from the completer isolation of *exāmen* from the *ago*-family. Thus the comparison of *lāmentum* 'howl' (< **lag-m-* < **lac-m-*) with Grk. *λακερός* 'howling' need not be thrown out because of *sēgmentum* : *sēc-are* 'cut.' There are also masses of examples of *cn, gn* > *gn* in Latin in grouped words, e.g. *signum* 'mark' : *secare* 'cut,' *lignum* 'faggot' : *ligare* 'bind' (PROC. l.c. liii); but such grouped words can not exclude the testimony of *Mānes* < **magni-* which is isolated from *māgnus*, but not from *māiores* (PROC. 1894, x). Returning to *ignis*, we can not say at what time its isolation¹ set in, and who shall say that the testimony of *ignis* shall exclude all conflicting testimony as to the treatment of *gn*?

If now we recognize the importance of isolation as a factor in phonetic change, and realize the difficulty of fixing its precise period, then we must see how great a risk it is to apply the phonetic laws too strictly in a language of meagre compass like Old Persian or Umbrian. It might often happen that only the constrained phonetics of the *āgmen* type would be shown by the words of safest explanation, and the free phonetics of *exāmen* be represented only in some less certain word. If this word had a large bearing on primitive religion, like Manes, say, its testimony would be all the more liable to impeachment. It is obvious that, especially in a sparse language where we can not control the etymological, semasic, and syntactical *grouping* of words, the most certain etymology may give us but a partial insight into the phonetic laws. The imperfect representation of the phonetic laws in sparse dialects is, however, not taken into account by those to whom these inferences bear a sacrosanct character. Thus Buck (Chicago Stud. in Cl. Phil. I, 184) rejects my explanation of the Latin Gerundive in *-en-dae* as equal to the Sanskrit Infinitive in *-a-dhyāi* (Am. Jr. Phil. XV, 217 sq.) on the ground of Oscan-Umbrian forms in *-n-no-*. In behalf of my explanation speaks the agreement of the two languages in respect of the shift from active to passive, and of the attraction of the object into the case of the infinitive. On the phonetic side I should be the last to deny that the Hindus regarded the *a* of *a-dhyāi* as the thematic vowel, though I have brought some (not absolutely cogent) proof from Greek² and Avestan that the Aryan form had an *-n*. There is no trace of the Skt. *y* in the Lat. form, but I may waive this difficulty, as Brugmann, following Bartholomae, has done for the Greek form (Gr. II, § 1089). There remains the difficulty of Osc.-Umb. *nn* = Lat. *nd* < *ndh*. In these dialects we have the chain *dh* > *β* > *f*. But what is to prove that *ndh* became *nf*? Nothing. All that can be offered in proof is *Anafriss* (dat. plur. 3d decl.); this, Henzen has compared with *inferis*, but Bugge (KZ. II, 386) just as plausibly compared *imbribus*, and

¹ I would connect *ignis* with *agere*; the Hindu fire-god Agni was the leader of the gods (*purōhitāh*); but, as I have suggested in Proc. Dec. 1894, liii, *ignis* has been brought into semasic relation with *lignum* 'fire-wood.'

² In Greek *ε-σθαι* where *σθ* is the middle sign (cf. Am. Jr. Phil. XVI, 3), we also have the thematic vowel; this was analogical; *λύσασθε* (2d plur. aor. mid.): *λύσα(ν)σθαί* (aor. infin. mid.) = *λύσεσθε* (fut.): *λύσεσθαι* = *λύσεθε* (pres.): *λύεσθαι*.

v. *Planta* (Gram. d. Osk.-Umbr. Spr. I, 457) interprets as 'wind gods,' from a stem *an-s-r-*, that is to say *van* 'breathe' extended to *van-s* with an *-r* suffix — all of which is highly problematical; I regard Bücheler's remark (Rh. M. XXXVII, 644) "*Anafriis* ist noch nicht sicher gedeutet" as still valid. Against Henzen's equation with *inferis*, the vocalization and the declension of *Anafriis* both speak. Who then can plead this equation in proof of *ndh* > Osc.-Umbr. *nf* against my claim that *ndh* > Osc.-Umbr. *nn* (Am. Jr. Phil. XVI, 1)? If, however, it should be granted that *ndh* > Osc.-Umbr. *nn* is a correct law, the answer will come: "The laws are inviolable as ever, but there was a mistake in regard to this particular law." To this I rejoin that while the sacrosanct conception of Phonetic Law is in force, science receives a check whenever a mistake is made in the derivation of any law.

The converse of this proposition is also true: when the abnormal is taken for the normal an advance along mistaken lines occurs. I take for illustration Brugmann's explanation of the Latin infin. pass. in *-ier*. In Latin *arbiter* (possibly) and in *arvorsus* (probably) we have *ad-* represented by *ar-*, whence he assumes an Italic dialect where every *d* became *r*, and so proposes (Gr. II, § 162, Anm. 2) to divide *ag-ier* into *agi ad*; but, in spite of the influence of a great name, I believe that no one will see any probability of a postposition *ad* with a dative case being utterly lost to sight in an ending. Thurneysen has pointed out that this *d/r* variation occurs only before labials,¹ and seeks to explain it as solely a Latin phenomenon.

Conway (I. F. II, 157 sq.) also assumes a dialect for the *d/l* variation, and even seeks to give his dialect a 'local habitation and a name.' The best of his argument is from geographical names: the Sabine stream *Licenz* is the *Digentia* of classical Latin. From Varro he cites *Novensides fedus* (= *haedus*) changing *d* to *l* by textual emendation; *idus* he explains as a loan-word from Latin to Sabine; and *lepestae* he connects, after Varro, with Grk. *δέπας* 'cup,' thus unduly slighting the claims of *λεπαστή* 'cup'² (: *λεπάς* 'limpet,' cf. Germ. *schale*). His only other example comes from the solitary Sabine inscription, one of whose five words is *AUNOM*, corrected by Bréal, on epigraphic and semasiological grounds to *DUNOM*, and 're-dialected' by Conway to *lunom*. A large number of the Latin words with *l* for *d* were, however, very adroitly explained by Conway as due to popular etymology (alas! coöperating with Sabine influence), and a large number more might have been explained so; e.g. *laurus* 'laurel' is symbolic of *laus* 'glory'; *pröles* 'off-spring' reminds of *ad-ol-escens* 'young-man'; *impel(d)imentum* 'pack-mule' keeps pace with *impellere* 'drive'; *solium* 'throne' and *sella* (<**sed-la*) 'chair' sit side by side. Our etymologies of *consul* and *consilium* need revising. The consul was priest and soothsayer, and gave official counsel, and these words belong with *censeo* 'advise.' *Consul* is like *famul* in its suffix; its vocalization would put *censeo* in the *e/o* series, against which only *Casmena* || *Cämena* (ǎ!) can be urged, for *car-men* goes with *κάρυξ*, and has possibly influenced the orthography of *Camena*.

Of course it is simpler and less subjective to apply a phonetic tape line to

¹ Stolz (Lat. Gr.² 383) pleads *arcesso*, but the by-form *accerso* makes it far from certain that this is from *ad* + *√ced-*.

² Note *creterras* and *lepistas* in a single line of Naevius, both being Greek loan-words; v. Merry, Selected Fragments, p. 26.

linguistic material than to seek for variations due to popular etymology or other cross-influence, but is there less danger of going astray in explaining abnormality as dialectic normality than in recognizing the abnormality directly?

The sacrosanct conception of Phonetic Law has blinded the eyes of scholars to the fact that writing an Aryan base for a word is not *ipso facto* a sufficient explanation. Thus Bechtel writes for the doublet *στάδιον* || *σπάδιον* a base **sqad-* (Hauptprob. p. 454), and seeks to prove, largely by this example, labialization of velars before *a* in Greek. Now, aside from Greek, there is no warrant for **sqad-* whatever. Taking *στάδιον* 'measure-of-distance,' 'race-track' alone, it derives very simply from *√sta* 'stand' (cf. *στα-θμή* 'tape-line'), with a semasiac parallel in English *chain*, 'measure-of-distance,' 'a distance measured.' In seeking now to explain *σπάδιον* it is to be noted that Homer uses neither form. His most definite word for 'race-course' is perhaps *δρόμος*, which occurs eight times in Ψ, once each in δ (605), θ (121), and Σ (281); synonymous with *δρόμος*, and much commoner, is *πεδῖον* 'road,'¹ 'plain.'

For *δρόμος* in the sense of 'plain' I note δ 605: *ἐν δ' Ἰθάκῃ οὐτ' ἀρ δρόμοι εὐρέες οὔτε τι λειμών* "there are no broad plains (Mr. Gladstone translates 'cattle-runs') nor any meadow in Ithaca." Similarly *πεδῖον* was used almost specifically of race-course in X 22-23:

συνάμενος ὡς θ' ἵππος ἀεθλοφόρος σὺν ὄχεσφιν | ὅς ῥά τε ῥεῖα θέησι τιταινόμενος πεδῖοιο, "rushing like a prize-winning horse with his chariot, that rushes swiftly, bounding over the race-course." I note in general that *πεδῖοιο* (gen.) is used with verbs of motion (generally rapid motion) thirty-one times against seven other occurrences; at Λ (754) it has the epithet *σπιδέος* (gen.) 'broad'; we may further suppose the locution *σπεύδειν πεδῖοιο* (not directly in Homer, but cf. P 745-50). It does not seem to me improbable then that *σπάδιον* is a contamination of *πεδῖον* and *στάδιον*, with a trace of influence, perhaps, from *σπεύδω* and *σπιδέος*.

From the point of view of methodology it seems to me that the forms of a single language ought, when indubitable congeners are lacking in other languages, to be explained out of preference from within the individual language by the methods of the literary-historical philologist.

I would fain know, in conclusion, whether errors like those I have sought to point out on the part of Brugmann, Bechtel, and Conway, with their sacrosanct conception of Phonetic Law, are any more venial than those of an investigator like Bréal, who is a less rigid believer in the regularity of the phonetic laws? or whether a discovery is less valuable from the heterodox side than from the orthodox?

In the absence of its author, this paper was read by Dr. H. W. Magoun.

Professor F. A. March, of Lafayette College, reported as Chairman of the Committee on Spelling Reform.

The Committee has taken no official action during the last year. It reports progress.

¹ *πεδῖον* belongs to *√ped* 'go' as *δόδος* to *√sed* 'go.'

The final volume of "A Standard Dictionary" was published in New York, which contains in their regular places all the amended words in the List of Amended Spellings published by this Association in 1886, and gives the pronunciation of all words in the scientific alphabet reported by this Committee in 1877.

The publishers of this dictionary have given a prominent place to Spelling Reform in their advertisements and circulars, and have attempted the formation of a league of authors, editors, and publishers, pledged to the use of lists or classes of amended words. This has given rise to extended discussion of the reform in the newspapers and periodicals.

An "Orthographic Union" for practical action among publishers and others has been formed with Benjamin E. Smith, Managing Editor of the Century Dictionary, as President, and William Dean Howells, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Brander Matthews, Edward Eggleston, among the Vice-Presidents, with Hon. W. T. Harris, President White of Cornell, President Harper of Chicago, Professor Child, Professor Lounsbury, and the like.

Robert M. Pierce, 4108 Spruce St., Philadelphia, is the Secretary. Every one who favors any simplification of English spelling is invited to join.

The Spelling Reform Association held a memorial meeting at Philadelphia in honor of Professor W. D. Whitney, Dec. 28, 1894, and it receives encouraging reports of the reform, especially from the colleges and universities and the educational periodicals of the West. Professor George E. MacLean,¹ of the University of Minnesota, reports that the students of his department (Eng. Lang. and Lit.) resolved unanimously, of their own motion, to use in the work of the department the amended spellings jointly recommended by the Philological Societies.

There is activity also among the reformers of France and Germany.

27. The Arval Song once more, by Professor Edwin W. Fay, of Washington and Lee University (read by title).

By way of postscript to the interpretation presented in the PROCEEDINGS for 1894 (pp. v sq.), I offer now some suggestions of a more conservative nature, while still holding by the conception of the hymn as a totemic charm against fever. I recall the proposed variations from Merry's text, exhibiting now only one change, viz.: to read *alterneip* as authorized by the inscription which has *alternei* twice, *alternip* once. I further assume *lue*^s and *rue*^s inasmuch as final -s is frequently wanting in inscriptions of this period, and we know further that it could scarcely have been pronounced in the early period. *Ma(r)mor* of the fifth verse is based on the inscription. Thus the text becomes:—

Enos Lases iuvate,
Neve lue^s rue^s, Marmar, sins incurrere in pleores;
Satur fu fere Mars; limen sali; sta, berber:
Semuneis alterneip(?) advocapit conctos;
Enos Ma(r)mor iuvato, etc.

¹ Now Chancellor of the University of Nebraska.

This I translate as follows: —

“ Help us, Lares,

And let there be no wasting, <no> destruction(?), O Marmar, to rush upon
more of us,
Have thy fill, wild Mars; skip <our> threshold; halt, Fever:
He shall (will?) summon <our> enemies elsewhere, all of them;
Ma(r)mor shall aid us.

NOTES: For the connection of a positive impv. with an impv. subj. by *neve* see Verg. Georg. ii. 36-7. For *Marmar sins* the text may have had originally *Marmars sins*, cf. Oscan *Mamers*. In *sins* I see a 3d plural subj., i.e. Umbrian *sins* for *sint*, and recall the large number of religious formulae in the Umbrian monuments. For the construction of *sins incurrere* I refer to the former paper. *Sali* I have translated by ‘skip’ in the sense of ‘omit,’ though I can give no precise Latin parallel for this meaning. ‘Halt’ does not seem to me far-fetched for *sta*. As to *berber’s* phonetic relation to *fe(r)bris* I cite *barba* ‘beard’ (<*farfa* <*farba*), though the abnormality of *berber* is the more easily accounted for of the two, on the ground of a consciousness of reduplication. A similar consciousness is shown by *Farfarus* and *Fabaris*, variant names of a stream in Ovid and Vergil, but here the initial *f* prevailed over internal *b* (<*f*). This pair also shows the same treatment of the *r’s*.

The form *alterneip* may be for **alternibi*, cf. Oscan *ip* = Latin *ibi*. We can interpret the difficult form *advocapit* by assuming that the original verse had **alterneifi* **advocafit*, and both took the same phonetic path to *alterneip(i)* *advocapit*. Substantially the same result may be reached by taking *alternei* — *pit* as tmesis, for *-pit* corresponds with the indefinite suffix *que*, and the indefinite suffix *-cunque* is liable to such tmesis in Latin. Thus *advoca* would be a direct impv., and the orthography *alternei-p* would be due to anticipation on the part of the stone-cutter.

In my first explanation of *semunis* as ‘hostile’ I am confirmed by the following consideration. The Paeligni classed their gods as *Cerfu* and *Semunu* (Büch. Umbr. 99), and if the latter means ‘hostile’ the former should mean ‘helpful.’ We should infer that it does so from the Umbrian divinity *Praestota Cerfia*, for *Praestota* means ‘standing before, protecting.’ The stem *Cerfe-* is sound for sound identical with Sk. *çárdha-* defined by Grassmann as ‘stark,’ while he defines *çárdhas-* by ‘Macht, helfende Macht.’ For the identity of *Cerfe-* and *çárdha-* the following considerations speak: *çárdha* is used of Indra, and of the Maruts, who were the constant companions of Indra, *καρ’ ἐξοχόν*, while in Umbrian *Cerfe* is frequently combined with *Martie*. Now I have already suggested (PROC. l.c. vii) that Mars, Indra, and *Ἄρης* are etymologically the same, all the names deriving from \sqrt{nr} || *nr* ‘leap,’ and having a specific sense I would now interpret as ‘lightning.’ In place of the suggestion first offered for the alteration of normal **Nars* I would now attribute *Mars* directly to Sk. *Marút-* for its origin, though, taking a suggestion from *Nerio* ‘wife of Mars,’ I believe that ‘*Mars*’ crowded out a primitive **Ner-*.

From the stem *Marut-* a hint of the difficult ‘*Mavors*’ may be got by assuming that it is the result of contamination of the various nominatives *Mam-or(-s)*, *Mars*, and *Maru(t)s*, whence **Mar-u-ors*, *Mauors*.

28. Some Specimens of Modern English, by Professor W. A. Merrill, of the University of California (read by title).

For a few years past, in a desultory manner, I have noted some strange and wonderful English words which have met my gaze in drug shops, newspapers, and places where professors of English have no official chairs. It is said that all living languages are in process of growth, and this growth is, no doubt, visible in the literature; yet, perhaps, it is more apparent in the region outside of literature than in the books of this century which may prove classical in the next.

The terms which I have collected in this paper are mainly due to the commercial spirit of the age. Some man desires to get rich from the sale of a proprietary compound, and as the nostrum must have a name, he invents some striking designation which will easily cling to the memory of the ordinary citizen. He most commonly works by analogy and selects some termination in actual use. For instance, the termination *-ene* or *-ine* is common in certain chemical compounds, and is euphonious, he thinks. Any rule forbidding the addition of a termination derived from one language to a stem derived from another, is unknown to him; a 'taking' name is his only end in view. Who has not heard of the virtues of 'Pearline' and 'Soapine'? And if 'pearline,' why not 'stovene'? And if 'stovene,' why not 'harline,' as there is money to be made from hair-oil. 'Kefaline,' the famous headache cure, shows that the *Graeculus esuriens* is in our midst. 'Enameline' is not in Webster's unabridged, if it be a good looking word; the Romans called it *'cerussa'*; I would suggest 'cerusine' for the next compounder of words and beautifiers. 'Pasteurine' kills bacilli, of course; 'silkaline' was probably suggested by 'velveteen'; 'nudavene' makes something bare; it strips hair from the face of lovely woman, thus helping along the great work of female emancipation. In 'kremlin,' which is good for the teeth, the *e* is dropped, for there is nothing like variety, 'Megrimine' is a rival to 'kefaline,' and is, perhaps, a more aesthetic word. 'Maltine' is strong, and reminds one of double X; but 'spotine' sounds weak. 'Spotine,' of course, removes spots. 'Quickine' is a lightning regulator; if 'twere done, it were well done it were done quickly. 'Pulmonine' is good for consumption. I have always wondered, by the way, whether Piso went into a decline after Cicero's attack on him, and if his 'cure for consumption' was preserved by Hardouin's monks who speciously saved so much from the wreck of antiquity. 'Cerebrine' helps cephalalgia, which latter word I need not explain, for it is in the dictionary. 'Suetene' is a kind of cottolene, both now found in every American kitchen, we are told.

Another series of words belongs to the agglutination stage; arbitrary combinations are made. 'Anti-mus-keto' betrays a poverty of invention: yet, if it is efficacious, all will doubtless be forgiven; one must not be too fastidious in the hour of need. 'Marvelo-cleansing,' we may hope, is as wonderful in its work as in its composition; 'anti-stiff' is good for rheumatism; 'Root-tea-na' shows the return to nature's simple remedies; 'Tak-a-chu' and 'Kashu' cure colds; 'antilig' has lost its interpretation for me, but 'Lung Kuro' and 'Thinacura' are plain as a pikestaff. 'La Freckla' betrays the 'article de Paris': 'salva-cea,' I imagine, was suggested by the Greek.

There are other words which are drawn (with more or less difficulty) from

Liddell & Scott. 'Geometrigraph' is a machine for drawing pictures. 'Hydrox' is pure water, 'bovox' is beef tea, and 'bovril' is the strength of it. I have found few words which are unmistakably Latin. 'Aermotor' is a Chicago term for windmill; 'lassola' looks like Latin, but is derived from lassoo; 'denarco' is a strange word whose meaning I have forgotten. 'Salubria' is supposed to bring health.

'Savogran' is a kind of soap; 'no-to-bac' is for those who, like little Robert Reed, have said in all sincerity "I'll never use tobacco, no, it is a filthy weed"; 'smokette' is an imitation cigarette. 'Baco-Curo' may succeed if 'no-to-bac' fails. 'Beandom' perpetuates the libel on our modern Athens, but I am surprised to find 'beanfeast' in the English 'Church Times.' It appears that beanfeasts are common in England, and that the bane of Pythagoras there takes the place of the oyster in ecclesiastical economy. In the same paper I noticed 'typed' as an abbreviation for 'type-written.' 'Brainery' is naturally suggested by 'beandom'; it is a Chicago term for a university. 'Pyromaniac' is a newspaper word for 'incendiary.' 'Sooner' is interesting, for it is not artificial; the term describes one who prematurely enters a reservation of land before it is opened for settlement. 'Indianopathy' is a species in medicine like homeopathy; I remember also in childhood to have heard of 'Thomsonianism' as a medical doctrine. 'Silverolatry' must be good English, for it occurs in the 'Nation,' which is always right, of course. Howells has printed 'contemporanics,' and Lew Wallace 'courtierly.'

The *sermo familiaris* has never received so much attention from scholars as it is receiving to-day. Perhaps no field in Latinity is receiving greater attention; dialect societies are numerous in all civilized countries, and folklore societies are gathering in the legends current among people who do not write books. Is not this facility in the invention of new words in English, although they may not be elegant, and are doomed to speedy oblivion, really worthy of note? Are they not a manifestation of one phase of our civilization, and herein worthy of notice? And do they not illustrate the working of certain laws of philology? It is not for a Latinist to do any more than to call attention to this field, and yet it is very possible that our English colleagues have already given it attention.

29. The Greeting in Cicero's Correspondence, by Professor E. M. Pease, of Leland Stanford Jr. University (read by title).

This paper, which will be printed in full elsewhere, attempted to show that the greeting at the beginning of the Roman letter, like the address and subscription of the modern letter, offers a reliable means for determining the degree of intimacy existing between the correspondents. The many different forms in the correspondence of Cicero were reduced to certain distinct types, and the meaning of each ascertained. The principles established in the paper were used in interpreting the meaning of obscure passages in the literature, and in confirming or amending the text.

Adjourned at 3:50 P.M.

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Revue de Philologie, Paris.
Revue des Revues (Prof. J. Keelhoff, Tongres, Belgium).
Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift, Berlin.
Deutsche Litteraturzeitung, Berlin.
Indogermanische Forschungen (K. J. Trübner, Strassburg).
Literarisches Centralblatt, Leipsic.
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[Total (427 + 65 + 39 + 1 + 11) = 543].

CONSTITUTION
OF THE
AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

ARTICLE I.—NAME AND OBJECT.

1. This Society shall be known as "The American Philological Association."
2. Its object shall be the advancement and diffusion of philological knowledge.

ARTICLE II.—OFFICERS.

1. The officers shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and Curator, and a Treasurer.
2. There shall be an Executive Committee of ten, composed of the above officers and five other members of the Association.
3. All the above officers shall be elected at the last session of each annual meeting.

ARTICLE III.—MEETINGS.

1. There shall be an annual meeting of the Association in the city of New York, or at such other place as at a preceding annual meeting shall be determined upon.
2. At the annual meeting, the Executive Committee shall present an annual report of the progress of the Association.
3. The general arrangements of the proceedings of the annual meeting shall be directed by the Executive Committee.
4. Special meetings may be held at the call of the Executive Committee, when and where they may decide.

ARTICLE IV.—MEMBERS.

1. Any lover of philological studies may become a member of the Association by a vote of the Executive Committee and the payment of five dollars as initiation fee, which initiation fee shall be considered the first regular annual fee.

2. There shall be an annual fee of three dollars from each member, failure in payment of which for two years shall *ipso facto* cause the membership to cease.

3. Any person may become a life member of the Association by the payment of fifty dollars to its treasury, and by vote of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE V.—SUNDRIES.

1. All papers intended to be read before the Association must be submitted to the Executive Committee before reading, and their decision regarding such papers shall be final.

2. Publications of the Association, of whatever kind, shall be made only under the authorization of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VI.—AMENDMENTS.

Amendments to this Constitution may be made by a vote of two-thirds of those present at any regular meeting subsequent to that in which they have been proposed.

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- Hadley, J.: On the nature and theory of the Greek accent.
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Trumbull, J. Hammond: On the best method of studying the North American languages.
Haldeman, S. S.: On the German vernacular of Pennsylvania.
Whitney, W. D.: On the present condition of the question as to the origin of language.
Lounsbury, T. R.: On certain forms of the English verb which were used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
Trumbull, J. Hammond: On some mistaken notions of Algonkin grammar, and on mistranslations of words from Eliot's Bible, etc.
Van Name, A.: Contributions to Creole Grammar.
Proceedings of the preliminary meeting (New York, 1868), of the first annual session (Poughkeepsie, 1869), and of the second annual session (Rochester, 1870).

1871. — Volume II.

- Evans, E. W.: Studies in Cymric philology.
Allen, F. D.: On the so-called Attic second declension.
Whitney, W. D.: Strictures on the views of August Schleicher respecting the nature of language and kindred subjects.
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Greenough, J. B.: On some forms of conditional sentences in Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit.

Proceedings of the third annual session, New Haven, 1871.

1872. — Volume III.

- Evans, E. W.: Studies in Cymric philology.
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Proceedings of the fourth annual session, Providence, 1872.

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- Allen, F. D.: The Epic forms of verbs in *do*.
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Haldeman, S. S.: On the pronunciation of Latin, as presented in several recent grammars.
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Proceedings of the fifth annual session, Easton, 1873.

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- Tyler, W. S.: On the prepositions in the Homeric poems.
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Proceedings of the sixth annual session, Hartford, 1874.

1875. — Volume VI.

Harkness, A.: On the formation of the tenses for completed action in the Latin finite verb.

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Proceedings of the seventh annual session, Newport, 1875.

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Proceedings of the eighth annual session, New York, 1876.

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Proceedings of the ninth annual session, Baltimore, 1877.

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Proceedings of the tenth annual session, Saratoga, 1878.

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Proceedings of the eleventh annual session, Newport, 1879.

1880. — Volume XI.

Humphreys, M. W. : A contribution to infantile linguistic. .
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Proceedings of the twelfth annual session, Philadelphia, 1880.

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 Proceedings of the fifteenth annual session, Middletown, 1883.

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 Warren, M.: On Latin Glossaries. Codex Sangallensis, No. 912.
 Proceedings of the sixteenth annual session, Hanover, 1884.

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 Proceedings of the seventeenth annual session, New Haven, 1885.

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 The Philological Society, of England, and The American Philological Association: Joint List of Amended Spellings.
 Proceedings of the eighteenth annual session, Ithaca, 1886.

1887. — Volume XVIII.

- Allen, W. F.: The monetary crisis in Rome, A.D. 33.
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Wells, B. W.: The sounds *o* and *u* in English.
Smyth, H. W.: The Arcado-Cyprian dialect. — *Addenda*.
Proceedings of the nineteenth annual session, Burlington, 1887.

1888. — Volume XIX.

- Allen, W. F.: The *Lex Curiata de Imperio*.
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Brewer, F. P.: Register of new words.
Proceedings of the twentieth annual session, Amherst, 1888.

1889. — Volume XX.

- Smyth, H. W.: The vowel system of the Ionic dialect.
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Cook, A. S.: Metrical observations on a Northumbrianized version of the Old English Judith.
Cook, A. S.: Stressed vowels in Ælfric's Homilies.
Proceedings of the twenty-first annual session, Easton, 1889.
Index of authors, and index of subjects, Vols. I.-XX.

1890. — Volume XXI.

- Goodell, T. D.: The order of words in Greek.
Hunt, W. I.: Homeric wit and humor.
Leighton, R. F.: The Medicean Mss. of Cicero's letters.
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Proceedings of the twenty-second annual session, Norwich, 1890.

1891. — Volume XXII.

- Capps, Edw.: The Greek Stage according to the Extant Dramas.
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West, A. F.: Lexicographical Gleanings from the *Philobiblon* of Richard de Bury.
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Proceedings of the twenty-third annual session, Princeton, 1891.

1892. — Volume XXIII.

Whitney, W. D.: On the narrative use of imperfect and perfect in the Brāhmanas.

Muss-Arnolt, W.: On Semitic words in Greek and Latin.

Humphreys, M. W.: On the equivalence of rhythmical bars and metrical feet.

Scott, Charles P. G.: English words which have gained or lost an initial consonant by attraction.

Proceedings of the twenty-fourth annual session, Charlottesville, 1892.

1893. — Volume XXIV.

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Scott, C. P. G.: English words which have gained or lost an initial consonant by attraction (second paper).

Hale, W. G.: "Extended" and "remote" deliberatives in Greek.

Proceedings of the twenty-fifth annual session, Chicago, 1893.

1894. — Volume XXV.

Knapp, Charles: Notes on the prepositions in Gellius.

Moore, F. G.: On *urbs aeterna* and *urbs sacra*.

Smith, Charles Forster: Some poetical constructions in Thucydides.

Scott, C. P. G.: English words which have gained or lost an initial consonant by attraction (third paper).

Gudeman, Alfred: Literary forgeries among the Romans.

Proceedings of the twenty-sixth annual session, Williamstown, 1894.

1895. — Volume XXVI.

Bloomfield, M.: On Professor Streitberg's theory as to the origin of certain Indo-European long vowels.

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Proceedings of the special session, Philadelphia, 1894.

Proceedings of the twenty-seventh annual session, Cleveland, 1895.

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