TRANSACTIONS

AND

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

1899.

VOLUME XXX.

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I. — *The Text of the Andria of Terence.*

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To the editor of the *Andria* the question of the relative value of the Calliopian Mss. is of prime importance. For this play, as is well known, the Bembine (A) is available for less than one hundred lines (viz. 888 to the end). A text must therefore be built upon the less important Mss. These fall into groups, one (δ) represented best by the Victorianus (D) and Decurtatus (G), another (γ) by the Parisinus (P), the Vaticanus (C), a less faithful copy of the same original as (P), and the Basilicanus (B), the last a mere reproduction of the Vaticanus. Of the other Mss. the Fragmentum Vindobonense (V), which belongs to the δ family, contains only seventy lines of the *Andria*, the Ambrosianus (F) lacks all of it, while the Lipsiensis (L) and the Riccardianus (E) have each lost nearly two hundred lines of this play. For the *Andria*, then, D and P, supported respectively by the inferior G and C, are the most important Terentian Mss.

D and P are believed to be of about the same age, ninth or tenth century A.D.,[1] but there is considerable difference in their general features. P, for instance, has preserved the metres,

[1] Hauler regards P as slightly older than D.

which D, except in some of the prologues, has lost. P too retains very old illustrations, while on the other hand D follows an old custom in distinguishing the *personae* by means of Greek letters. D too, with its allied Mss., including Monacensis 14420 (M) (v. Schlee, *Scholia Terentiana*), preserves a definite kind of scholia, which are altogether wanting in P, though single ones by a later hand are found in C.

It is hardly necessary to review here the various theories of Umpfenbach, Dziatzko, Leo, Prinzhorn, and Schlee, who seek to determine what is meant by the Calliopian recension and what is the precise relation of the two main groups of Mss. to each other, and to a common original. My purpose in this paper is to examine, from a practical standpoint, not the question of their descent, but rather of their comparative and intrinsic worth.

Scholars have generally assumed that the δ group, besides belonging to an older stock, also possesses a decided superiority over the γ family. Indeed, Spengel is the only editor of Terence who consistently gives the preference to P. The traditional and generally accepted view was ably combated by Professor Pease in a paper "On the Relative Value of the Mss. of Terence" published in the TRANSACTIONS for 1887, Vol. XVIII. Basing his arguments on the *apparatus criticus* furnished by Umpfenbach, Professor Pease proved, by carefully comparing the Mss. and counting the variants, that the importance of the γ family had been seriously underrated, that A more often agrees with it than with the δ family, and that far fewer errors had crept into the archetype of the former than into that of the latter.

The only criticisms of Pease's paper which I have discovered are offered by Dziatzko and Hauler. The former in the *Rheinisches Museum*, XLVI. (1891), p. 47, while claiming that the material collected by Pease agrees best with his (Dziatzko's) own view as to the relation of the Mss., remarks that work of this kind cannot be free from the subjective element. Hauler (v. note 1, p. 189 of his revision of Dziatzko's *Phormio*, Leipzig, 1898), disposes of the whole question with the assertion that Professor Pease's facts and

figures rest upon the very untrustworthy apparatus and text of Umpfenbach.

That Umpfenbach's *apparatus criticus* is not wholly satisfactory has been shown by Warren, Hauler, and Schlee. Up to the present, however, it is the only one available, and though another is in preparation, we must assume that since Umpfenbach the editors of Terence have been dependent mainly upon Umpfenbach's apparatus.

Such a task as Umpfenbach set himself was a stupendous one and was necessarily subdivided among various workers, some of whom may have failed to do their work as thoroughly as others. The Parisinus was collated by August Fritsch, just before the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war, but the mistakes which Warren has found in Fritsch's collation can not, as I infer from Warren's article "On Bentley's English Mss. of Terence" (*American Journal of Philology*, Vol. III. p. 59), materially affect Mr. Pease's conclusions, if indeed they do not lend them additional support.

At any rate, until a new and thorough collation of the leading Terentian Mss. is published, an editor of Terence must base his work upon Umpfenbach's *apparatus*, availing himself, of course, of such additional light as various scholars often throw upon the subject.

The objection that Pease's reasoning cannot be free from the subjective element is perfectly valid, if he followed his own preference in choosing between conflicting readings. But let us examine some of the best modern editions, which theoretically assign more weight to the δ than to the γ family. I say 'theoretically,' for my own investigations seem to prove that certain Mss. are not as authoritative with some scholars as they themselves imagine.

Confining myself to D and P as the best representatives of the two groups, I have recorded the instances in the *Andria* where these Mss. conflict, and then, under certain recognized heads, such as inverted order, insertions (or additions), omissions, verb- or substantive-changes, substitutions (of a more general kind), and orthography, I have noted the number of times either Ms. is rejected or accepted by the best modern

editors; viz. Dziatzko, Fleckeisen, and Spengel. In many cases, to be sure, neither D nor P is accepted by an editor, but a *via media* is found or some conjectural reading is adopted. Such instances will not be included, but they will explain why the total number of cases is not the same for all editors. Throughout this paper I avail myself of Warren's corrections of Umpfenbach's *apparatus*, both those published in the *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. III. p. 59 ff., and others very kindly furnished me by that scholar in a private letter.

I find then that where D and P conflict, Dziatzko (1884) accepts D **129** times (order 21, insertions 6, omissions 37, subsitutions 21, verb-changes in mood, tense, number, or person 4, substantive-changes in number, case, or gender 3, spellings 35, scene-division 1, change of rôle 1), but accepts P **348** times (order 61, insertions 73, omissions 37, substitutions 63, verb-changes 20, substantive-changes 4, spellings 90).

Again, Fleckeisen (2d edition, 1898), even more partial to D than Dziatzko, accepts D **139** times (order 27, insertions 3, omissions 40, substitutions 27, verb-changes 5, subst.-changes 3, spellings 31, scene-division 1, change of rôle 2), but accepts P **351** times (order 50, insertions 72, omissions 45, substitutions 55, verb-changes 19, subst.-changes 4, spellings 105, change of rôle 1).

In contrast with these D editors let us examine Spengel (2d edition of *Andria*, 1888), who shows a most decided preference for P. Spengel then accepts P (and rejects D) **379** times (order 67, insertions 75, omissions 36, substitutions 74, verb-changes 17, subst.-changes 2, spellings 106, scene-divisions 2), but rejects P (and accepts D) only **108** times (order 21, insertions 10, omissions 25, substitutions 12, verb-changes 5, subst.-changes 2, spellings 31, scene-division 1, change of rôle 1).

Before drawing the obvious conclusions from the preceding figures, let us consider what is perhaps a serious objection to our argument. In describing the Victorianus, Umpfenbach (p. xviii of his edition) says of it, "duo folia, quartum et quintum, reliquis paululo recentiora sunt." But Schlee in *Wiener Stu-*

dien, Vol. 46 (1891), pp. 147–150, has pointed out that this statement (the folia in question belong, he claims, to the eleventh century) is also applicable to folia 12 and 13, 25 and 26, and two single ones, 108 and 134. The portions of the *Andria* included in these folia are I. 1, 71–I. 2, 8 (vv. 98–179); II. 3, 10–II. 6, 22 (vv. 384–453); and V. 2, 5–V. 3, 32 (vv. 846–903), embracing 207 verses. According to Schlee, a study of the glosses and orthography of these later folia leads to the conclusion that they are to be classed with the γ family. This conclusion is unwarranted. The figures I am giving show that P is far superior to D in the matter of orthography. The very examples cited by Schlee are sufficient to disprove his statement. He notes the fact that we find *Chremes* and *Chrisis* in the old folia of D, but in the later, without exception, *Cremes* and *Crisis*. But this spelling without the aspirate is not characteristic of γ. On the contrary, nowhere in the *Andria*, *Heauton*, or *Phormio* does P show the unaspirated form, and C has it only twice (Heaut. *personae* V. 2 and Phorm. 1026). And yet outside of the passages covered by the later folia (including Phorm. IV. 1, 22–IV. 3, 28 and Heaut. III. 1, 57–III. 2, 6) D itself exhibits *Cremes* and *Crisis* in Andr. 361, 796 and *personae* of IV. 4, as well as in *personae* of Heaut. I. 1, and Phorm, IV. 5, while G has these forms in Andr. *per.* 5, 106 (G^1), 247, 773, 801, 803, 823; Phorm. 567; Heaut. *personae* III. 1, III. 3, IV. 5, and vv. 585, 938. Even E and F exhibit these forms less frequently than G. Schlee himself calls attention to certain other resemblances between these later folia and G, and when to the above facts we add that *Carinus* (unaspirated) is the spelling of G in Andr. *per.* 12, v. 642, and *personae* of IV. 1, with Heaut. 732, we see that, so far as orthography goes, instead of allying these folia with P, we have good reason for classing them with G (δ family).

However, as it is in these folia, according to Schlee (and the statement is probably correct), that we meet most frequently the alterations, transpositions, omissions, and additions, "none of which before the judgment seat of editors have found grace," it may be well, in testing the comparative worth of P and D for the *Andria* to omit altogether from our calculations the

passages covered by these later folia. This I have done, and my amended figures are as follows:

Dziatzko accepts D 105 times, but accepts P 219 times.
Fleckeisen accepts D 113 times, but accepts P 218 times.
Spengel accepts D 88 times, but accepts P 237 times.

If faultiness in orthography be disregarded, as being less important than the other categories, P will still be found on the whole much superior to D, for only in regard to omissions can D make as favorable a showing as P.[1]

I have already referred to the fact that for the *Andria* the Bembine (A) is illegible until we reach v. 888. Altogether there are about 85 lines (vv. 903–912 are lost) in which we can compare A's readings with those of D and P. However, in these we find that where D and P are at variance, A agrees with P 35 times, and with D only 19 times. These totals will be reduced respectively to 28 and 17, if we deduct the lines covered by folia 25 and 26 in D.

In thus taking the evidence furnished by editors like Dziatzko and Fleckeisen, who were certainly not influenced by an undue preference for P over D, and who, nevertheless, were compelled, by the exigencies of the case, to accept P's readings more frequently than D's, I have surely eliminated the 'subjective element,' and have also produced substantial proof of the greater authority of P.

In those lines where a reading must be rejected, as failing to satisfy the demands of metre, sense, or syntax, one has no need to plead for another reading, which does meet all requirements; but there are not a few instances in the *Andria* where, though the Mss. conflict, neither reading is intrinsically objectionable. In these cases, in view of its general superiority over the Victorianus, I believe I am justified in accepting the evidence of the Parisinus. Let me give some examples.

[1] Professor Warren writes to me, "In orthography especially he [Umpfenbach] is untrustworthy, so that I think Pease's conclusions on that point, or at least his statistics, are not reliable."

v. 50 te in hac ré DG.
in hac re té *rell.*
In D (so Fleckeisen) *te* is deprived of its necessary emphasis.

v. 205 dicas DG *cum Don. Eugr.*
dices D^2 *cum rell.* Accepted by all editors except Dziatzko.

v. 237 pro deum atque hominum fidem DC^2.
pro deum fidem PC^1. P accepted by all editors except Fleckeisen, who drops the whole expression.

v. 287 utraeque res inutiles DGE.
utraeque inutiles PC. So all editors since Bentley. *res* is due to a gloss.

v. 317 abi D (i *in ras.*) GE.
abin PC^1. *n* erased by C^2 (Warren). P followed by editors. Th. Birt (*Rhein. Mus.* vol. 54, 1899, p. 216) supports *abi.*

v. 343 aut quo DE.
aut *om. rell.* "Sex ex nostris meliores non agnoscunt illud *aut*" (Bentley). Omitted by Bentley and Umpfenbach, retained by most editors.

v. 353 ait tibi uxorem dare sese hodie D *cum* BE.
sese *om. rell.* So most editors. Fleckeisen inserts *se* before *uxorem.*

v. 477 narras D and Bentley's R.
narres *rell.* Thus all editors.

v. 495 se ipsus D and Bentley's R. So Umpfenbach, Dziatzko, Spengel, Fleckeisen.
ipsus se PCE. *ipsus* regularly precedes the reflexive and so Luchs (Studemund's *Studien,* p. 47) and Meissner.

v. 532 eccum ipsum obviam Chremem DG. So Wagner, rejecting the previous *ipso.*
Chremem *om.* PCE. So Umpfenbach, Meissner, Spengel, Fleckeisen. Bentley kept *Chremem,* rejecting *obviam.* So Dziatzko. But see note in Spengel's *Anhang.* Von Winterfeld (*Schedae Criticae,* Berlin, 1895) retains *Chremem* and makes an octonarius by introducing *video* after *eccum.* (According to Warren, in private letter, P shows tempore ‖ ‖ eccum.)

v. 633 p̃mit cogit
cogit D, p̃mit G (Warren).
premit *rell.* So Spengel and Fleckeisen. Most editors reject the line.

v. 672 hoc convorti malum DG.
convorti hoc malum P *cum rell.* So all editors, except Fleckeisen.

v. 706 me nunc D. So most editors.
nunc me PCE. So Spengel and Fleckeisen.

v. 712 ad me ut venias DG. So Umpfenbach, Meissner, Dziatzko, Fleckeisen.
ut *om.* PC, "duo ex nostris vetustissimi" (Bentley). So Bentley, Spengel.

v. 717 putabam DG (Warren). So Fleckeisen alone of recent editors, transposing with *hunc*.
putavi *rell.*

v. 720 dolorem DG. So Schol. C (Warren) and Bentley's R. Accepted by Fleckeisen.
laborem *rell. cum Eugr.* So most editors. We have *labor* 'trouble' in 831, 870.

v. 762 tibi dico ego an non? DG. So Bentley, Umpfenbach, Fleckeisen.
tibi égo dico an non? PC. So Wagner, Meissner, Dziatzko, Spengel.

v. 816 non libet D^1GP^2. So most editors.
non licet P^1CD^2E *cum Don. Eugr.* So Spengel. Certainly the preferable reading. Crito's generous nature would not *allow* him to rob Glycerium.

v. 836 facta D. So Bentley (with three Mss.), Meissner, Dziatzko.
ficta $PCGD^2M$ (Schlee) E (Warren). So Klotz, Wagner, Spengel, Fleckeisen.
The fact that *facio* and *incipio* are often combined, as in 236, Eun. 966, would probably lead to the corruption.

v. 915 hic sit vir DGV. So Fleckeisen.
hic vir sit A *cum rell.* So most editors.

v. 971 quin iam PC, "duo ex nostris veterrimi" (Bentley).
quin eam A *cum rell.* Here with Bentley, Wagner, Meissner, Spengel, it is best to read *iam*, which accords with a lover's eagerness. Cf. Adelph. 700.
Quid? iam uxorem? Iam. Iam? Iam quantum potest.

In conclusion, I beg to propose a simple emendation for a troublesome passage in the *Andria*.

In v. 728 Bentley's *iurato* is accepted by almost all editors

for the impossible *iusiurandum* of the Mss. Donatus read *iurandum*, which, however, he fails to explain satisfactorily. Why not *iurandumst?*

> Quia, sí forte opus sit, ád erum iurandúmst mihi
> Non ádposisse, ut líquido possim.

"Because, if need be, I must swear that I did not place it here — and this I wish to do with a clear conscience." The ellipsis is due to the colloquial style, and it is certainly far easier thus than to combine in clumsy fashion *quia ut.*

II. — *The Uses of the Imperfect Indicative in Plautus and Terence.*

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For the statement of past events the Latin language possesses five tenses, the imperfect, perfect, and pluperfect, to which must be added the so-called historical present and historical infinitive. In the earliest known period of Latin, the aorist, possessed by both Sanskrit and Greek, has already passed out of use as a distinct tense, although traces of an aorist still remain in the formation of some Latin perfects (cf. Stolz in I. Müller's *Handbuch des klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Vol. II. p. 370). The functions of the lost aorist are therefore to be sought among the functions of the five tenses before mentioned, just as some functions of the lost optative are found in the Latin subjunctive. The first tense suggesting itself as possessing aoristic functions is, of course, the perfect, which still preserves traces of an aoristic formation, and this, as is well known, is one of the common uses of the Latin perfect. To distinguish this from other uses of the perfect the hearer or reader relied on the context of spoken or written speech.

But from the nature of language it is not probable that the perfect was the only tense to absorb aoristic functions. Other tenses may have received their share, and even the most unlikely, the pluperfect, has been shown by Blase (*Geschichte des Plusquamperfekts*) to have possessed occasionally the aoristic function. We may expect the same to be true, perhaps even to a greater extent, of the imperfect.

Before discussing the uses of the imperfect in Plautus and Terence, it is necessary to say a word about the method by which the cases were classified. Experience has taught the writer that a classification the basis of which is function, is of

very little use in an investigation of the tenses. The best results are reached by making the individual verb the basis of classification. All cases of each verb were placed together and divided into three classes according as they occurred in independent, dependent, or interrogative sentences. The dependent clauses were further subdivided according to the introducing word, and the interrogative sentences separated into two classes composed respectively of sentence-questions and questions introduced by various forms of *quis*. To the groups of individual verbs thus arranged was applied in succession a cross-classification according to function. Though apparently complicated, this system is both simple and natural, and so elastic that it is capable of enlargement in any direction without disturbing its general features. The cases from Plautus and Terence were kept separate with a view to possible historical results.

Excluding all cases rendered doubtful by interpolation, corrupt text, etc., and admitting that in the examination of so large a body of text some cases may have escaped unnoticed, there remain in Plautus and Terence 609 cases of the imperfect indicative. Of these 371 occur in independent, 182 in dependent, and 56 in interrogative sentences. An investigation of these cases shows that the imperfect in Plautus and Terence had two general uses:

1st. The true imperfect, denoting an act as taking place or progressing, or of some considerable duration, at some past time contemporaneous with some other act or state either expressed or felt in the context, *e.g.* **Davus dicebat**, *Davus was saying*, or **Davus sentiebat**, *Davus felt* (for some appreciable time). The uses of the imperfect called frequentative, conative, inceptive, etc., are all mere phases of this simple use.

2d. The aoristic imperfect, denoting an act as past without creating any impression that it was progressing or of any emphasized duration, *e.g.* **Davus aiebat se redisse**, *Davus said that he had returned.* In this use the imperfect appears as a tense of simple statement, a mere preterite, and seems to differ not at all from the aoristic perfect.

Of the 609 cases 507 are true imperfects, 102 aoristic, a

proportion of about 5 : 1. Considering the 371 independent cases separately, 299 are true imperfects, 72 aoristic, about 4 : 1. Thus the aoristic use comprises between one-fourth and one-fifth of the cases. As true imperfects of the simple progressive type may be cited (following the smaller Teubner text ed. by Goetz and Schoell):

Asin. 927,

Modo, quom dicta in me *ingerebas*, odium, non uxor *eram*.

Amph. 383,

Me. Amphitruonis te esse *aiebas* Sosiam. So. Peccaveram.

Men. 1053,

Mess. Quin modo
Erupui, homines qui *ferebant* te . . .
Apud hasce aedis — tu *clamabas* deum fidem.

Ter. Andr. 88 (Dziatzko's text),

Phaedrum aut Cliniam
Dicebant aut Nicaretum ; nam hi tres tum simul
Amabant.

This, well known as the most common use of the imperfect, includes 373, or over half, of the total 609 cases. Viewing separately once more the 371 independent cases, 210, or about two-thirds, belong to this class.

It is interesting to note the ratio between the true imperfect and the aoristic imperfect in different groups of verbs. Taking true imperfect in its broader meaning, as including the frequentative, conative, etc., uses, and considering first the independent cases, in verbs of colorless meaning, *e.g. eram, aiebam*, there are 92 cases of the true imperfect against 65 of the aoristic. The proportion is roughly 3 : 2. Turning now to verbs of clear and definite meaning, *e.g. volo, curro, mitto*, the ratio rises to 208 : 5, or over 40 : 1. From this it is at once evident that there is a most intimate relation between verb-meaning and tense-force, and that in verbs of colorless character tense-force is at its minimum. In verbs of clear and definite meaning, on the other hand, tense-force is

usually clear. Or, stated differently, in colorless verbs the vagueness of meaning obscures the force of the tense; in verbs of definite meaning, tense-force and verb-meaning are mutually helpful. *Eram* often differs not at all from *fui*, but *agebam* usually differs clearly from *egi*. This truth is still further emphasized by the fact that *aiebam* (*aio* has no perfect), the most colorless of a list of over 200 verbs, is overwhelmingly used in the aoristic sense, the ratio being 40:9, or about 4:1, while in verbs denoting physical action, whose meaning is always definite, the ratio is even more decidedly the other way, the true imperfects outnumbering the aoristic 25:1.

And not only does the meaning of the individual verb affect the force of the tense, but a like effect is produced also by particles like *iam*, *iam pridem*, *primum*, *statim*, *semper*, by clauses introduced by *cum*, *dum*, etc., and in fact by the whole context. Such outside influences often reveal the true force of the tense where otherwise it would be obscure. At times such words in reality carry the force which might, at first sight, be assigned to the tense. As instances of the enlightening force of surrounding words and clauses may be cited: Rudens, 846,

> Etiamne in ara tunc *sedebant* mulieres
> Quom ad me profectu's ire?

Here the force of *sedebant* is clearly defined and revealed by *Etiam . . . tunc*, and by the clause with *quom*. So also in Cist. 566,

> Iam *perducebam* illam ad me suadela mea,
> Anus ei ⟨quom⟩ amplexast genua.

Here *iam* defines the force of *perducebam*. But this principle receives even better illustration in those cases where the imperfect denotes customary past action, to which we now turn.

In the total of 609 cases, 86 are instances of this use, 57 of which occur in independent sentences. They form about one-sixth of the true imperfects. The best passage in Plautus to

illustrate this use is Asin. 204 ff., where the young man, Argyrippus, is contrasting his present treatment at the hands of the women with that which he used to receive. A part of the passage runs:

> Tum mi aedes quoque *arridebant*, quom ad te veniebam, tuae.
> Me unice unum ex omnibus te atque illam amare ai[e]bas mihi
> Ubi quid dederam, quasi columbae pulli in ore ambae meo
> Usque *eratis*: meo de studio studia *erant* vostra omnia.
> Usque *adhaerebatis*: quod ego iusseram, quod volueram,
> *Faciebatis*: quod nolebam ac votueram, de industria
> *Fugiebatis* neque conari id facere audebatis prius.
> Nunc neque quid velim neque nolim facitis magni, pessumae.

Like the progressive use this imperfect of customary past action predominates in those classes of verbs having clear and definite meaning. The assertion that this usage is developed out of the progressive use, of which it is but a variant, receives support when we discover that the tense preserves the same progressive or durative force, and that the customary past idea is really dependent for its inception upon a contrast between present and past. If we inject into a sentence like *facit, sed non faciebat* a stronger temporal contrast by adding particles of time, *e.g. nunc facit, olim autem non faciebat*, it is at once clear how the imperfect of customary past action may originate in the progressive use. An imperfect of customary past action implies that such a temporal contrast must exist and some considerable time must have elapsed between the time of the imperfect and that of the tense with which it is contrasted. It is impossible to say: He used to do it just now! How necessary a contrast is to this usage is strikingly indicated by the fact that about half of the cases are accompanied by one or often by two particles tending to emphasize the contrast. Such particles are *tunc, tum, olim, antehac*, etc., and a present contrasted with the imperfect is often accompanied by *iam, nunc*, etc. Cases like Men. 729,

> At mihi *negabas* dudum surrupuisse te,
> Nunc ea(n)dem ante oculos attines:

where there is a contrast but no customary past idea, may be regarded as transitional cases between the simple progressive and customary past uses of the imperfect.

The influence of verb-meaning upon tense-force is well illustrated in this class:

Men. 1123,

> Mes. Uno nomine ambo eratis? Men. I. Minume: nam mihi hoc erat
> Quod nunc est, Menaechmo. illum tum *vocabant* Sosiclem.

Voco, in this sense, is a verb well suited to express customary past action. When placed in the imperfect, meaning and tense are mutually helpful. The same is true of the numerous verbs of frequentative, intensive, and other like formations, *e.g. dictito*, *victito*, *capesso*, etc. The most striking instances, however, are afforded by the verbs *soleo*, *adsuesco*, *consuesco*, etc. These verbs not only aid, but dominate, the force of the imperfect, for they mean "to be accustomed." Phormio, 89,

> In quo haec discebat ludo, exadvorsum ilico
> Tonstrina erat quaedam, hic *solebamus* fere
> Plerumque eam opperiri dum inde iret domum.

Here we have it heaped up with all the power of colloquial idiom — the verb *soleo*, the tense, *fere*, *plerumque*. This is the only case of the imperfect of *soleo* in Terence, and there is but one in Plautus, a fact not surprising when it is remembered that it is unnecessary to put the verb in the imperfect in order to produce the customary past idea. These verbs possess the same force in the perfect, and when occurring in the imperfect the force is but increased. The perfect, cases of which I am collecting, will probably show many more instances. It would be interesting to note what is the ratio between cases like *faciebam* = I used to make, and *facere solitus sum*. Present indications incline me to the belief that cases of *facere solitus sum* would greatly outnumber those where the customary past idea is expressed by the tense alone (*faciebam*). Furthermore it would seem that the imperfect

did not originally contain within itself the idea of customary past action. The mere existence in the language of such verbs as *soleo*, *adsuesco*, etc., and the frequent presence of defining particles, as noted before, would seem to indicate that this function of the imperfect needed definition, and is probably of relatively late origin.

There remain four other varieties of the true imperfect which deserve mention, although the cases of each are too few to form the basis of any absolutely certain conclusions. The first of these is what I have called the frequentative use, classing as frequentative those cases where the imperfect seems to denote repeated, incessant, or persistent action, *e.g.* Rudens, 540,

> LABRAX. Tibi auscultavi: tu *promittebas* mihi
> Illi esse quaestum maxumam meretricibus
> Ibi me conruere posse aiebas di[vi]tias.

The cases of this usage number about a score. Another usage, closely allied, and yet really differing, is that which, for want of a better name, may be called the 'occasional' imperfect. Here the tense denotes that the action of the verb is repeated, but only at considerable and more or less regular intervals *occasioned* by some other act. A citation will make this clearer: Poenulus, 481 ff.,

> In fundos visci *indebant* . . . globos:
> Eo illos volantis iussi funditarier.
> Quid multa verba? Quemquem visco offenderant,
> Tam crebri ad terram | *accidebant* quam pira.
> Ut quisque acciderat, eum *necabam* | ilico
> Per cerebrum pinna sua sibi quasi turturem.

Here the tense describes a method of action, what would on certain occasions take place, best rendered by the English auxiliary 'would' (cf. Men. 484, Andr. 109). There are 19 instances of this use. It is often difficult to distinguish the frequentative from the occasional, and indeed all the varieties of true imperfect merge into each other so imperceptibly that classification is often very difficult.

There are only two instances among my cases where the imperfect seems to have conative force, and two likewise where it seems inceptive. So far as this goes it would indicate that perhaps too much importance has been attached to these uses by the grammars — particularly to the conative use. A good instance of the latter is Asin. 931,

> ART. Iam subrupuisti pallam quam scorto dares?
> PHIL. Ecastor qui subrupturum pallam promisit tibi.
> DE. Non taces? ARG. Ego *dissuadebam*, mater. ART. Bellum filium.

As an instance of the inceptive usage may be quoted Merc. 43,

> Amare valide coepi[t]hic meretricem. ilico
> Res exulatum ad illam ⟨c⟩lam *abibat* patris:

In all these subdivisions of the true imperfect the tense-force is often subject to the influence of particles, clauses, and verb-meaning. In the frequentative use especially the large number of frequentative verbs is noticeable. In some of these the strong frequentative force has been worn out already in Plautus' time, but enough remains in most cases to aid the force of the imperfect whenever such verbs occur in that tense. Here again, as in the discussion of *soleo*, the possibility presents itself that this function also was of relatively late origin. Else why should the language have possessed so many separate verb-formations expressing the same idea? That it is the function of the tense which is late, and not the frequentative formation, seems clearly established by the wealth of frequentative and kindred formations in Sanskrit, indicating probably that they extend back into the Indo-European.

The aoristic use has already been defined, and it is only necessary here to cite a few illustrations: Poenulus, 1069,

> AG. An mortui sunt? HA. Factum: quod . . . aegre tuli:
> Nam mihi sobrina Ampsigura tua mater fuit,
> Pater tuos is *erat* frater patruelis meus,
> Et is me heredem fecit, quom suom obiit diem.

Erat seems exactly equal in value to *fuit* in the preceding line and *fecit* in the following. There are several other passages where *eram* and *fui* occur side by side in this way.

Two more citations may suffice for our present purpose. Most. 1027,

> Si. Te velle uxorem *aiebat* tuo nato dare:
> Ideo aedificare hoc velle *aiebat* in tuis.
> Th. Hic aedificare volui? Si. Sic dixit mihi.

Poenulus, 900,

> Et ille qui eas vendebat dixit se furtivas vendere:
> Ingenuas Carthagine *ai*[*e*]*bat* esse.

In a number of other passages both *dixit* and *aiebat* are expressed, as in these two, with apparently no difference in tense-force. The verb *aio* in fifty-seven out of sixty cases is a mere sign-post to indicate the indirect discourse — hence it is almost entirely colorless.

This aoristic use of the imperfect, which seems to be established for at least two verbs, *aio* and *sum*, and of which sporadic instances have been noted in other verbs, seems to be exactly equivalent to the perfect indefinite, as indeed the citations show. A more complete collection of cases will in all likelihood prove the existence of this use, at least occasionally, in a large number of verbs.

The chief results of this paper may be briefly summed up as follows:

1. *The imperfect indicative is comparatively rare in Plautus and Terence. In Plautus it occurs on the average about once in every fifty lines, in Terence once in every thirty lines.* This may be explained partly by the fact that other tenses, especially the historical present and historical infinitive, take its place, partly from the nature of the drama, the action of which is largely in the present.

2. *Speaking broadly, the imperfect has two general uses:*

(1) *The true imperfect, subdivided into progressive* (*a*), *customary past* (*b*), *frequentative* (*c*), *occasional* (*d*), *conative* (*e*), *and inceptive* (*f*).

(2) *The aoristic use, proved only in the case of two verbs,* **eram** *and* **aiebam**.

The true imperfect is vastly in the majority in those verbs possessing clear and definite meanings, while the aoristic use occurs most frequently in colorless verbs. This suggests:

3. *There is a most intimate connection between the meaning of a verb and the force of its tenses. Closely connected with this is the influence of particles, clauses — in fact the whole environment.* These principles should be applied in all investigations of the functions of the tenses.

III. — *The Origin of the Latin Letters* G *and* Z.

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The usual account of the letters involved in this paper may be summarized as follows: —

(1) Greek Z was at first employed to represent the early Latin voiced fricative *z*, but later went out of use, being supplanted by S, which continued to be employed for *z* (as well as for *s*) until the *z*-sound became an *r*, when R took the place of S and thus represented both original *r* and the *r* that arose out of *z* < *s* (so practically Lindsay, *The Latin Language*, p. 5–6, but he skips the S-stage in his *Short Historical Latin Grammar*, see below, p. 28).

(2) Greek *gamma*, in the Western form ᐸ, was at first used for *g*, while Κ was used for *k*; but in the course of time ᐸ, or its later rounded form C, almost entirely displaced Κ, and was thus used for both *g* and *k*, until Spurius Carvilius Ruga, who established a school in Rome about 231 B.C. [or Appius Claudius the censor, as urged by Jordan, cf. p. 26 below], invented the letter G as a distinctive sign for *g* (by adding a diacritic mark to the older C) and put the new letter in the place of the discarded Z. Somewhat later — in the time of Augustus — Z was re-introduced in the transliteration of Greek words (Stolz, *Historische Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*, I. p. 83, § 71; 86, § 74).

I.

The theory as to an old Z in Latin is due chiefly to a remark of Martianus Capella (circa A.D. 425) to the effect that the censor Appius Claudius Caecus (312 B.C.) disliked the letter because, when pronounced, it resembled the teeth of a dead man: *z vero idcirco Appius Claudius detestatur quod dentes mortui dum exprimitur imitatur*, III. 261. It is

impossible to take the statement as it stands. In the first place, it was ⋞ and S, not Z, that R displaced in the days of Appius Claudius. In the second place, when the sound had become *r*, Claudius's dislike of the supposed looks of one's mouth while producing the sound *z* could have nothing to do with the banishment of the *letter*, whether that was ⋞ or Z. The story, as it appears in Martianus Capella, is a very stupid one. Its basis is evidently an older story of Claudius's conceit that the *letter* resembled the jagged teeth of a skull; and in all probability it was first said of the ⋞ still in use in the time of Claudius, but which the medieval Martianus, who knew only the round S, took to be a Z. This fits perfectly with the statement in the Digest (1. 2. 2. 36) that Appius Claudius "invented" the letter R in place of older ⋞ or S where the sound had undergone the changes $s > z > r$: R *litteram invenit ut pro Valesiis Valerii essent, et pro Fusiis Furii.* Of course, Appius Claudius did not invent R, which had always existed in the alphabet for original *r*; and we may with confidence assert that he did not devise the use of R for the *r* that had arisen out of $z < s$. Such things come about without anybody's deliberate interference. Most persons did not know whether the *r* they sounded was one that was always *r* and had always been written R or was originally an *s* that had become *r* but had formerly been written S. Similarly some people to-day do not know whether to write such a word as *advertise* with a *z*, as in *baptize*, or with an *s*, and it was just such uncertainty as to whether the *z* sound was original or had developed out of *s* that eventually established the spelling *prize* in place of older *prise*. So in the day of Appius Claudius some people wrote (for $r < z < s$) the traditional orthographic ⋞ or S, especially in proper names; while others wrote the phonetic R. And probably the most that Appius Claudius did was to favor the latter spelling in public documents, in which there is usually a tendency to keep up antiquated forms and spellings, particularly in the case of names.

But it is wonderful what all may be spun about such an anecdote as that told of Appius Claudius by Martianus

Capella. We have seen that his exact words were: *z vero idcirco Appius Claudius detestatur quod dentes mortui dum exprimitur imitatur.* To this Mommsen (*Römische Forschungen*, I. p. 304) adds: "Appius kann dies wohl nur als Grund angegeben haben (oder haben sollen) für die Verbannung des *z* aus Sprache und Schrift." And this natural inference of Mommsen's grows from book to book into the story that "Martianus Capella tells us that the letter was removed from the alphabet by Appius Claudius Caecus, the famous censor of 312 B.C., adding the curious reason that in pronouncing it the teeth assumed the appearance of the teeth of a grinning skull" (Lindsay, *The Latin Language*, p. 6). Jordan, in his *Kritische Beiträge*, p. 157, argues that it may have been this same Appius Claudius who invented the letter G, rather than the traditional Spurius Carvilius Ruga (cf. p. 24 above). And this theory is accepted by Stolz (*Historische Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*, I. p. 84, § 71) as probable and is stated by Lindsay (*Short Historical Latin Grammar*, p. 5) as a fact; though it is really little more than guesswork.

The other evidence brought forward for such a Z is also (as has been shown by Harrington, *Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, July, 1898, p. xxxiv, and by others) pitifully meagre and uncertain. In three of the medieval texts of Varro's quotation from the *Carmen Saliare* a *z* is found in the group *cozeulodorieso* (indeed, we were formerly told there were two: *cozevlodoizeso*, Seelmann, p. 319), but, as I shall show later (see page 39), the rarer reading *coceulodorieso* is the correct one, and the more frequent *z* is only a medieval spelling for *c*, both sounded *ts*. It is thus impossible that Velius Longus (circa A.D. 100) had this passage in mind when he wrote: *mihi videtur nec alicna* latino *sermoni fuisse* (*z littera*), *cum inveniatur in Carmine Saliari*, p. 2217, Keil, VII. p. 51. In all probability Velius Longus found in the antique text of the *Salian Hymn* an angular ≶, or perhaps a retrograde ≷, and saw in this a Z. — Some have tried to find a Z on the Duenos bowl, but this is certainly a mistake. The letter is ⟆ and so has some resemblance to

the old I, but none whatever to Z. It is evident that when the text was written this letter was omitted,[1] for it is crowded in between the two adjacent letters. In spite of this, it is recognizable as a ᛊ or V, and the word is retrograde DVENOI, corresponding to the DVENOS in the same inscription, as explained by Bréal, Pauli, Comparetti, and Conway. That their explanation of this letter is not only a happy one but also correct beyond all question, I shall show in detail in a forthcoming article on the Duenos inscription and the etymology of certain words in it. [Here I need say only that Conway's interpretation (AJP. X. p. 455) is most nearly correct, but that *duenos* and *manom* are not names but Old-Latin forms of *bonus* and *malum*. *manom* became *malom* by dissimilation (Brugmann², I. § 976 *b*), and is identical with μανός 'thin, slight, flaccid, scanty, few,' the weak form of μόνος 'single'; compare the development of the meaning of English *slight*, German *schlecht*, from 'simple, slight, etc.,' to 'worthless, bad.'] The only case of a good Z is on one or two coins of the Etruscan town Cosa: COZA(NO) and (CO)ZANO, Ritschl, PLM. I. vii. 40 *a*; ONAZOↃ 40 *b*; COSA(NO) 41 *a*. This Ritschl (*Opusc.* IV. 721 ft.) regards as Z, Jordan (*Kritische Beiträge*, p. 155) and others as only a form of angular ≷ or ≶ (cf. p. 37). In connection with this might be mentioned the Z used in the Oscan inscription in Latin letters on the Bantine Tablet, but to these two cases I shall return (p. 35 etc.).

Not only is the theory of an early Latin Z ill founded and inconsistent, but there are also other serious objections to it. In the first place it takes for granted that Greek *zeta* had in early Latin the form Z. Stolz has the more correct form I, which, when appearing in Oscan and Umbrian, is referred to by Lindsay (*The Latin Language*, p. 6) as "the letter written in the Oscan alphabet like a capital I with top and bottom strokes prolonged, and in the Umbrian alphabet with the same strokes slanting instead of horizontal." When speaking of the early Latin *zeta*, he (*The Latin Language*, p. 5–6), like

[1] It is not improbable that this was due to the fact that the *du* had already passed into a labialized *d*, on the way to *b*, Brugmann², I. § 359.

Seelmann (*Die Aussprache des Latein*, p. 319), has only Z in mind, and on page 2 of his *Short Historical Latin Grammar*, actually gives Z not only as the early Latin, but also as the early Euboean form! On page 5 he tells us, as though a well established fact, that the genitive plural ending was originally written AZOM, and Cicero's words (*Sed tum Papisii dicebamini. Post hunc XIII fuerunt sella curuli ante L. Papirium Crassum, qui primum Papisius est vocari desitus.* Ep. Fam. IX. 21) reappear in Lindsay (*Short Historical Latin Grammar*, p. 5) as "L. Papirius Crassus, dictator in 339 B.C., was the first of his family to write his name ΓΑΠΙR- instead of ΓΑΠΙΖ-." Not stopping to comment on this strange substitution of Z for the S given by Cicero, Varro, etc., we know Z to be a form that arose in Greece at a comparatively late date, being not at all a true epigraphic form, but one that developed in writing and later passed from the cursive into the monumental hand. Like most cursive forms, it is due to the avoidance of raising the stylus, — observe the forms shown in Müller's *Handbuch*, I. page 304½: I 𐌉 ⅄ ≳ Z. We have, therefore, no reason even to look for such a form of *zeta* in early Latin.

Secondly, the theory puts Latin at variance with the other Italic dialects, not only in the form of the letter, but also in its sound, the latter of which points is evident to Lindsay (*Latin Language*, II. § 121, p. 105). In Oscan and Umbrian *zeta* represents *ts*, while *z*, like *s*, is represented by retrograde ≳Z8 (Planta, *Grammatik der Oskisch-umbrischen Dialekte*, I. § 26). As we have not a particle of evidence that the Latin intervocalic *s* that became *z* and later *r*, was ever written Z (even COZA would not be a case in point, for it was not a Latin name, and appears in Vergil as COSA, *Aen.* 10, 168, not CORA[1]), and plenty of evidence that it was written ≲S or ≳8 before it became *r* and was represented by R; we have no reason whatever for supposing that Latin *z* was ever written otherwise than ≲S or ≳8, or in any other way than in the remaining Italic dialects.

[1] With the Etruscan town *Cosa* must not be confounded *Cora* in Latium, one of whose coins is given by Ritschl, Pl. VII. 39, though the names of the two towns may ultimately be equivalent.

II.

Turning now to the origin of G, we have seen that Terentius Scaurus (*pro ea* [C *littera*] *nota adiecta a Spurio Carvilio novam formam* G *litterae positam*, De Orthographia, Keil VII. p. 15) and Plutarch (*καὶ γὰρ τὸ κ πρὸς τὸ γ συγγένειαν ἔχει παρ' αὐτοῖς· ὀψὲ γὰρ ἐχρήσαντο τῷ γάμμα Καρβειλίου Σπορίου προσεξευρόντος· . . . ὀψὲ δ' ἤρξαντο μισθοῦ διδάσκειν, καὶ πρῶτος ἀνέῳξε γραμματοδιδασκαλεῖον Σπόριος Καρβίλιος, ἀπελεύθερος Καρβιλίου . . . Quaest. Rom.* 54, 59) ascribe its invention to Spurius Carvilius Ruga (circa 231 B.C.). Mommsen has, however, shown (*Unteritalische Dialekte*, p. 32) that this cannot be correct, inasmuch as the letter was in use before the time of Carvilius. Corssen (*Über Aussprache*, etc., first edition, p. 7) is doubtless right in supposing that Carvilius did not invent the letter, but taught and advocated the use of C for *k* and G for *g*. His own name (*C*arvilius Rug*a*) would tempt him to observe the distinction. We were formerly told that G was made out of C by the addition of a horizontal bar; later, that G was really earlier than G, and that the diacritic consisted in a perpendicular stroke or beard; and now our attention is called to the fact that even G is not the earliest form of the letter, but that an older form was Ꮆ, according to which the diacritic consisted in an upward stroke. It is evident that those who have assured us of the contrivance of G out of C really possessed very little positive knowledge on the subject, and that it is incumbent on us to learn more about the early forms of G and about the forms assumed in Italy by the Greek *zeta* before we venture to draw conclusions.

Somewhere about the seventh century B.C. the Greek alphabet, in its Western form, was brought to Italy by Greek colonists, and soon after was introduced among the native Italic tribes. In this alphabet *zeta* had the old Greek forms I ‡ ⋟, etc., but a modification of this letter appears to have arisen among the Greeks in Italy. This modification consisted in the shrinkage and ultimate disappearance of the crossbars on one side of the shaft. As this modification

is found in all the Italic dialects except the Oscan,[1] it was probably common among the Greeks from whom the Italians got the alphabet; but this is hard to verify, as the letter is rare in inscriptions. The Ⱶ of the Caere alphabet shows a decided shrinkage of the bars at the left[2] (*IGA.* No. 534, Roberts, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, p. 17; Kirchhoff's reproduction, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Alphabets*, fourth edition, p. 135, is quite wrong). In the Italic dialects *zeta*[3] appears (turned to the right) as:—

Oscan	I				
Campano-Etruscan	I	I	⋕	⅄	
Etruscan			≠		⊐
Faliscan			≠	⅃	⅃ ⊐[4]
Umbrian			≠	≠	⊬[4]
East Italic (Sabellic)	I	⎪			⊏

It is therefore incumbent upon us to look for some such letter in early inscriptions employing the Latin alphabet. This we find on the Rapino bronze in the forms ⊏$_{10}$, ⟨$_{3}$, ⟨$_{7}$, ⟨$_{8}$ (Zvetaieff, *IIMD.* II. 2. In his *Italic Dialects* Conway generalizes or levels the forms under the character ⟨, table, ⟨ p. 254). In line 10 it has exactly the form that we should expect the old *zeta* to have assumed in Latin, if it did not remain I as in Oscan. In the other cases the character tips more or less, just as the upright *gamma* Γ became ⟨ in the Western Greek alphabets. Now, it is remarkable that in all these cases this character has the value of *g*. That is, not

[1] The development in Oscan may have been checked by the fact that retrograde F there had the form ⅃⊐, etc. In Umbrian the two were differentiated by the direction of the bars: ⅂ = F, ⅃ = I.

[2] The *zeta* reported with uncertainty as ⎪ in the Colle alphabet (*IGA.* No. 535, Roberts, p. 18), the alphabet of Cepello (*IGA.* No. 546, Roberts, No. 268), and even in an alphabet from Amorgos (*IGA.* No. 390 *b*, Roberts, No. 159 *b*) may be misread for such a *zeta*, or rather represent the absolute shrinkage of the strokes, thus avoiding the ⊏ = F. Compare the East Italic ⎪ for I and ⎫ for T. In the Phrygian alphabet (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, III. p. 1, IX. p. 380) one stroke shrinks on one side and the other on the other, thus ⎫.

[3] The Greek T *t* shows similar forms: Campano-Etruscan ⊬ ⊤, Faliscan ⊦, Umbrian ⅂.

[4] Conway is wrong in giving ⊬ ⅄, cf. the facsimiles in Zvetaieff and Bréal.

only is the oldest form of G thus far discovered identical with the characteristic Italian form of *zeta*, but it thus appears that the letters are one and the same and that this character from the beginning to the end maintained its place as the seventh letter of the alphabet. The development of form is exactly parallel with that of *gamma*, simply somewhat slower in the early stage: —

Γ ᒥ ᐸ ᐸ C C
I I ⊏ ᐸ G G

But one naturally asks: How did it come about that the letter *zeta* should stand for the sound *g*? The Greek dialect that gave the Italic peoples their alphabets still had I as the sign for the sounds *dz* (Planta, *Gram. der O-U. Dialekte*, I. p. 73). The Oscans and Umbrians took the letter for their nearest correspondent, namely *ts*, and we may ask why the Latins did not do the same. The answer is very simple. Original *ts* became *ss* in primitive Italic, *ss* and *s* in Latin (Brugmann², I. § 753; Planta, *Gram. der O-U. Dialekte*, I. § 190). Later, new *ts*'s arose: (1) by syncope, particularly in Oscan and Umbrian, for example, Oscan *húrz*, that is, *húrts* = Latin *hortus* (Planta, § 109, etc., § 190); when *ts* arose in Latin in this way, it passed on to *s*(*s*), as original *ts* had done, for example, **parti-s* > **parts* > *pars* (Brugmann², I, § 763 *c*; § 753); (2) by the change of *ns* into *nts*[1] in Oscan and Umbrian, but *not* in Latin (Brugmann², I. § 415). There thus was a *ts* in Oscan and Umbrian to be represented by *zeta*, but none in Latin. The character ⊏ was, therefore, in Latin an idle letter. In shape it resembled one form of *kappa*, as *gamma* (ᐸ) resembled another. In order to make this clear, we must call to mind the early Italic forms of these letters: —

gamma	ᐸ	ᑕ					C	
kappa	K	ᛕ	ᛕ	⊨	⊭	⊏	K[2]	
zeta	I	ᛁ	‡	⊭	⊏			

[1] As, for example, 'since,' that is, *sins* has become *sints* in the English of the northern central States. Cf. also Whitney's *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 207, where, however, the process is incorrectly explained.

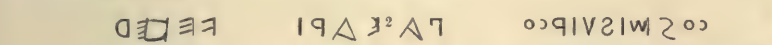
[2] For such forms of K see *IGA*. Nos. 155, 341, 484, etc., the Duenos bowl, the

That ⟨ and ⟨ became confused, we all know; that the forms of *zeta* should also become confused with those of *kappa* was but natural. Indeed, it is more than likely that the form ⊧, which is usually classed as a *kappa* and regarded as a corruption of ⊭, is really a *zeta*, the further development of ⧺, cf. the Etruscan ⊱. Similarly, the ⊏ found in the Duenos inscription and elsewhere is more likely a development of such a *zeta* as is seen in the ⊥ of the Caere alphabet (page 30), than a perversion of ⟨. It might be said, and has been, that *gamma* and *kappa* became confused because of the similarity of their sounds. And there has been a great deal of talk to the effect that the distinction between Greek κ and γ was greater than that between Latin *c* and *g* (Corssen[1], p. 5, 16; Seelmann, p. 344; Stolz in Müller's *Handbuch*, II. p. 250); though the idea is not at all supported by the history of the language, and would probably never have been suggested but for the confusion observed in the letters. In the same way the confusion of ⟩ and ⟩ and of ◖ and ◖ (see page 33) whereby Etruscan lost the means of distinguishing *g* from *k* and *d* from *t* and by analogy subsequently ceased to distinguish *b* and *p* in writing, has led to the inference that in Etruscan the voiced stops became voiceless (cf., for example, Conway, *Italic Dialects*, p. 464). That this confusion[1] was not due to the similarity of the sounds is shown by the

archaic inscription given by Egbert, *Introduction to the Study of Latin Inscriptions*, p. 274, the inscription just found in the Forum (*Stele*, etc. Estratto dalle *Notizie degli Scavi* del mese di maggio, 1899; *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*. Aug. 5, 1899), and, best of all, Plate K, *Annali dell' Inst.* 1876.

[1] The history of the Runes presents a similar case. As Greek ⊟ was simplified to ⊟ and H in Greek, Latin, Runic, etc., so Greek ⋿ E were simplified to ⊓, *⊏, and *⊔, the last by such inversion as changed Greek ⋁ to Runic ᛉ. These forms of *e* came in conflict with those of *p*, namely, ⊓ and, by inversion, *⊔. After a period of more or less confusion, a differentiation set in, which gave to *e* the form ⊓ ᛖ in the whole Germanic territory, and to *p* (1) the form *⊔ ⋈ on the Continent, (2) *⊏ or ᚴ in England, and (3) ᛒ in Scandinavia. That is, in the North-Germanic countries the letter for *e* drove the similar letter for *p* entirely out of use, so that *p* and *b* were represented by the same letter. In time the graphic distinction of *t d*, *k g*, was also given up. Still, there was in the language no corresponding confusion of the voiced and voiceless stops; in fact, they were later again distinguished in writing.

fact that Etruscan transmitted ⟩ *g* and ⟩| *k* correctly to Oscan and 𐌁 *b* and ⊓ *p* to both Oscan and Umbrian,[1] and that there was in Latin no confusion of *d* with *t* or of *b* with *p*; but particularly by the fact that confusion of *gamma* and *kappa* is characteristic of the Western Greek alphabets, in which *gamma*, by becoming ‹, approached 𐌊 in form. Thus ‹ was confused with 𐌊 in Etruscan, Umbrian, Faliscan, and Runic (page 34), as well as in Latin; in all cases, except in Umbrian, to the disadvantage of 𐌊. But no such confusion took place in those Greek alphabets that retained the form Γ for *gamma*. It was, therefore, formal rather than phonological similarity that led to the confusion of *gamma* and *kappa*, and it was similar formal likeness that caused the confounding of *kappa* and *zeta*. There was thus a period of more or less confusion during which the sounds *g* and *k* were represented by ‹ or Ⅽ, 𐌊 or 𐌚, and ⊨ or Ⅽ (cf., for example, —



[1] From this it is clear that the confusion of 𐌃 *d* and 𐌓 *r* in Etruscan preceded the confusion of ⟩ *g* and ⟩| *k*, and that both preceded the loss of 𐌁 in Etruscan. The various stages of Etruscan and the relation of each to Oscan and Umbrian may be seen from the following: —

(1) 𐌓 *r*, 𐌃 *d* 𐌕 *t*; ⟩ *g* ⟩| *k*; 𐌁 *b* ⊓ *p*.

A confusion of 𐌓 and 𐌃 arises (cf. page 32): —

(2) 𐌓 *r* and *d*, 𐌃 and *r*, 𐌕 *t*; ⟩ *g* ⟩| *k*; 𐌁 *b* ⊓ *p*.

The alphabet passes to the Oscans, among whom the byform 𐌓 prevails and the signs for *r* and *d* are differentiated, whereby we get the usual Oscan: 𐌃 *r*, 𐌓 *d* 𐌕 *t*; ⟩ *g* ⟩| *k*; 𐌁 *b* ⊓ *p*. In Etruscan ⟩ and ⟩| too become confused: —

(3) 𐌓 *r* and *d*, 𐌃 and *r*, 𐌕 *t*; ⟩ *g* and *k*, ⟩| *g* and *k*; 𐌁 *b* ⊓ *p*.

The alphabet passes to the Umbrians, who differentiate the letters for *r* and *d* as the Oscans did and let ⟩| drive out ⟩, whereby we get (*a*) primitive Umbrian: 𐌃 *r*, 𐌓 *d* 𐌕 *t*; ⟩| *g* and *k*; 𐌁 *b* ⊓ *p*. Intervocalic Umbrian *d* becomes *r* and, taking the symbol 𐌓, leaves other *d*'s to be represented by 𐌕. Thus we get (*b*) the Umbrian alphabet as we know it: 𐌃 *r* 𐌓 *r*; 𐌕 *d* and *t*; ⟩| *g* and *k*; 𐌁 *b* ⊓ *p*. In Etruscan, on the other hand, ⟩ drives out ⟩|, and 𐌃 drives out 𐌓, and then scribes give up the anomaly of distinguishing the labial stops *b* and *p* in writing, and we get the last stage of Etruscan: —

(4) 𐌃 *r*; 𐌕 *d* and *t*; ⟩ *g* and *k*; ⊓ *b* and *p*.

[2] This is a ↄ changed to a ⊐, not the reverse, as stated by Egbert (p. 27), Conway (p. 331), and others.

on the Duenos bowl; the ⊂ = *c* in Praenestine, Conway, No. 297; and *aciptvm comvivia hvc gondecorant volgani gonlegivm aged(ae)* Garrucci, *Syll.* No. 557, as quoted by Seelmann, p. 344; I have no access to Garrucci). And, for that matter, *koppa* sometimes entered the competition (cf. ⊧ ♀ ◇ ⊧, etc., that is, *ego K = ego Kaiso*, Egbert, p. 274, and Seelmann, p. 344, etc.). In the course of time there developed out of the chaos more or less order. Thus the complicated characters ⊧ and ♀ or Q became restricted to special and limited use (to which ♀ had a tendency from the start) and the letters ⟨ C and ◇ G, which could easily be scratched without raising the stylus, were most generally employed and became differentiated into ⟨ C = *k* and ◇ G = *g*.

The corresponding process in the Runic alphabet is so similar that it must not be passed without a word. In this originally Western Greek alphabet (see *Journal of Germanic Philology*, II. p. 370), ᚲ ⊧ X passed through a period of confusion (corresponding to that of ᚲ ⊧ ⊂ in Latin), which resulted in the loss of ⊧ and the shifting of ᚲ to *k* as in Latin, whereby X got the value of *g*, as ⊂ did in Latin. — In a similar way, as we have seen (page 33, ft.), the likeness of form in ᛞ *d* and ᛩ (later ᚱ) *r* led to their confusion in Etruscan, and thus in Oscan and Umbrian. In Oscan a differentiation set in whereby the values of the two letters were just reversed. In Etruscan and Umbrian both the letters became lost to *d*, which was therefore expressed by the sign for the corresponding voiceless stop *t*. In Umbrian there developed out of ᛞ and ᛩ the byform ᛩ or ᛞ, and the three were ultimately differentiated for the three similar sounds *r*, *ř*, *š*. — The three-stroke letter for *n*, ᛦ or ᚾ, was similar to the four-stroke ᛘ*s*, and therefore sometimes confounded with it. So we find ᚾ as the spelling for both *n* and *s* in a Tarentine inscription (Roberts, No. 268), and in the Caere alphabet and inscription we find that, after such a period of confusion, a differentiation set in, whereby the values of the two letters were reversed, that is, ᛦ is *s* and ᛘ is *n* (see *IGA.* No. 534 and Roberts, p. 17). We must remember that after a period of confusion, nobody knows that one of the sounds had an original claim on one

of the letters, and thus a new differentiation may result in the absolute exchange of values.

[While reading the proofs of this paper, it occurred to me to look up the treatment of *gamma* and *kappa* in the Celtiberian alphabet. As *gamma* there had the form <, I was not surprised to find that it had been confused with *kappa* and, as in Latin, had become one of the signs for the sound *k*. But I was not prepared to find that, exactly as in Latin, *zayin* or *zeta* (in the form ⟩ Z etc.) had assumed the old value of *gamma*, namely *g*, and that it had even adopted the name *guimel* = *gamma*. It is evident that the old ‡ ⌶ assumed in Celtiberian the forms: (1) ⟨ ⩓ (cf. the Italian forms); (2) ⟨ ⩽ ; (3) ⇧ ⇂ etc. (cf. the Phrygian form, p. 30 ft. 2). The first type brought it into conflict with opened ⩓, that is ⩔, and the second with <, which in turn was confounded with ⊬. In this way, all these forms became signs of *k* and *g*; but by a later differentiation ⇧ ⇂ Z etc. were restricted to the representation of the sound *g*, the others continuing to represent *k*. Cf. Berger, *Histoire de l'écriture*², p. 336.]

There was, thus, no loss of old *zeta* and no invention of G. And now that we look back upon it, we cannot but wonder that we never found it strange that a new letter should not have been placed at the end of the alphabet, as Y and Z were, or next to the letter out of which it was supposed to be evolved, as J and U were in modern times — but that a good snug place was reserved for it all those centuries in the middle of the alphabet by the accommodating old *zeta*.

III.

It remains for me to say a few words as to the Z found in the Oscan text written in Roman characters on the Bantine Tablet, as well as the Z used in Latin in the spelling of Greek names (page 27, above). We have seen that this Z cannot possibly go back to an early Latin *zeta*. It is generally assumed that the use of Z in writing Greek names (a practice that began in the time of Augustus) was derived directly from the Greek of that time, and Mommsen (*Unteritalische Dialekte*

p. 33) brings the use of Z on the Bantine Tablet into connection with this, to which Planta (I. p. 72, ft.) rightly objects that the text is too old for that, Mommsen himself placing it between 129 and 118 B.C., and others still earlier. But there are other reasons for supposing that this Z was not derived directly from Greece. At first the Romans represented both Greek *s* and Greek *z* by ≤ or S, just as we found that the Italians generally represented *s* and *z* by ≤ or S. When they later used Z in writing Greek names, it was not to transliterate the Greek letter Z, but to distinguish the sound *z* (whether written in Greek with a Z or a ≤) from the sound *s*: ZMVRNAE, *CIL.* VI. 3, No. 16030, etc. (for collections of such cases see Seelmann, p. 315, and Stolz, I., p. 85, § 73–74). This spelling surely does not reflect a Greek text; in ZMVRNAE we have not only Z for Greek ≤, but also the Latin spelling V rather than the Greek Y. If the Romans used the letter Z in this way, it is clear that it was to them the sign for the sound *z* and not simply a transliteration of the Greek letter Z. The use is identical with that in the Oscan text written in Roman letters on the Bantine Tablet. While this cannot be derived from the Greek, neither can it be derived from the Oscan *zeta*; for the Oscan *zeta* was I not Z, and spelled the sounds *ts* not *z*, and the Oscans used retrograde ≤, that is ≥ and Z for both *s* and *z*. Nor can the usage have arisen in Latin, for Latin no longer had a *z*, this sound having passed into *r*. Let us examine the matter more closely. The Italic dialects represented both *s* and *z* by ≤S or ≥Ƨ. We saw that this was also true of early Latin and of the Latin treatment of Greek words up to the time of Augustus. Now, it would not have been strange, even without the special reasons that I shall state directly, had the diversity of the symbols (≤S≥Ƨ) used to represent the two sounds *s* and *z* tempted writers here and there to differentiate and, while retaining S or ≤ for *s*, to use ≥ or Ƨ for *z*. In exactly this way we find C used for *k* and Ↄ for *g* in Praenestine (Conway, I. § 281, p. 313). That the rustic ≥ should become the monumental Z is just what was to be expected (compare the change of Ɛᒐᴧ into ELN). In fact, there

already was a distinct approach to the form Z, especially in Oscan. Compare the ≳ ≳ ≳ on Zvetaieff's Plate V. No. 1, and the ≳ in No. 5. On Plate II. the letter is in many cases more like Z than like ≷, especially in B, line 23. Compare also the Z-like forms in XIX., particularly line 19, end, 22, 23. The Faliscan letter in his No. 345 Conway says "is rather square (Z)." We have also seen that on the coins of the Etruscan town Cosa the letter looks so much like Z that some authorities regard it as such, while others think it a retrograde ≶ (page 27, above). Both are right in a sense: the letter is in form Z (and so accidentally identical with Greek Z), but it is by development only a differentiated form of ≷ƧƧS (cf. below).

But where can this differentiation have arisen? We saw that it did not arise in the native non-Latin alphabets and that it could not have arisen in Latin, where there was no *z* to be represented. The differentiation doubtless arose just where we first find it, namely, in one or more of the Italic dialects that had the sounds *s* and *z* but used the Roman alphabet. These conditions specially favored the differentiation S*s* Z*z*. The Umbrians recognized in Latin rounded S their own rounded Ƨ, and, as they used the latter for both *s* and *z*, so they used S for both sounds when they employed the Latin alphabet. The Oscans could, and to some extent did, do the same. But when the Oscans began to use the Latin alphabet, the established Oscan forms were ≷ and Z, and the established Latin form was S. To the Oscans, S was not simply a reversed Z, but a new letter. They learned it in Latin as the symbol for the sound *s*, and for that only (as the sound *z* did not exist in Latin at the time); but their native Z was to them the sign of both *z* and *s*. What, then, was more natural than that they should, when writing Oscan with Latin letters, be tempted to use Latin S for the sound *s*, as it was used in Latin, but to employ the native Z to represent the native *z*-sound, for which the Latin alphabet offered no symbol? So too in COZA(NO) and ONAZOƆ we find the native Z employed, regardless of the direction of the writing; while in COSA(NO) there is a complete yielding to the Latin, in form and direction.

A similar problem arose in writing Umbrian with the Latin alphabet, which had no sign for the Umbrian fricative usually spelled ⊿. In the Iguvine Tables (Conway, p. 399, etc.) an S, usually with a diacritic, thus Ś, takes the place of the native sign. But in the Picene inscriptions in the Latin alphabet (Conway, p. 449) the sound is represented by ⊿, a form differing from the usual ⊿ (see page 34) fully as much as the Z of the Bantine Tablet differs from the usual Oscan ≷. Parallel with this introduction of native ≷ or Z and ⊿ or ⊿ into the Latin alphabet is the introduction of the native *digamma* Ⅎ into the Ionic alphabet when the latter was adopted by the Greeks of Tarentum (Conway, p. 461).

To judge from the age of the Bantine Tablet, we may estimate the rise of the differentiation S*s* Z*z* at about 140 B.C., that is, fully a hundred years before the Romans ceased to write Greek names with S for Greek Z. That this use of the Latin alphabet in spelling Italic dialects should, in the course of time, extend to the spelling of Greek names in Latin was but natural, especially when the form of the letter used to represent the sound *z* chanced to coincide with that most frequently employed to represent *z* in Greek. Nor should it surprise us that Latin scholars came to look upon this Z as the Greek *zeta* and, on the model of it, introduced also Greek Y. Thus the older ZMVRNA was displaced by ZMYRNA (*CIL.* VI. 3989-90) with, however, the interesting retention of the Italian Z.

To recapitulate:—

(1) As Latin did not possess the affricate *dz* or *ts*, the Greek *zeta* was an idle letter in the Latin alphabet. As *gamma*, in the Western form <, became confounded with K *kappa*, so too did *zeta*, in the Italian form ⊏⊏⊨. After a period of confusion, a differentiation took place, whereby the use of *kappa* was much restricted, < or C became the sign for the *k*-sound, and ⊏ ⟨ or G the sign for *g*.

(2) The letter Z appears in Italy first in the writing of Italic dialects in the Latin alphabet. It is a natural development of the native ≷ and was used to represent the native *z*-sound, while Latin S was employed, as in Latin, for the

s-sound only. Later the use of Z extended to the spelling of the *z*-sound in Greek names in Latin, whether spelled Z or Ϛ in Greek.

IV. Appendix.

The *coceulod orieso* of the Salian Hymn.

Among the many puzzles presented by the fragments of the Salian Hymns none seems to have tempted so many and baffled so many as the group of letters usually given as *cozeulodorieso*. The chief solutions offered (mostly taken from Maurenbrecher, *Carminum Saliarium Reliquiae*) are as follows:—

Ozeul adosiose	Bergk.
O Zeul adoriesis	Jordan.
Cozevi adoriose	Havet.
Ozeul, o domine es	Bährens.
O Zaul adoriese	Zander.
O Zol adoriso	Maurenbrecher.
Co(n)zeuio hordesio	Birt.

These attempts are certainly anything but satisfactory: they all contain in themselves their own condemnation. In fact, we cannot but imagine the god Zeul-Zaul-Zol, who has thus been conjured up, as enjoying the joke as much as any of us.

Spengel gives the evidence of the manuscripts as follows, ignoring spacing:—

coceulodorieso	p.
cogeulodorieso	V.
cozeulodorieso	F, a, M.
coreulodorieso	G, H.
corculodorīe	b.
cosaulidolosieso	B, vulg.
orculodolosieso (pro *osculo dolori ero*)	Laetus.

We need concern ourselves with the first five readings only.[1] And here it is clear that the only real diversity lies in the

[1] The reading of Laetus is evidently based on *b* and *B*, or their kin.

third letter. The problem might have been approached from this point, but I shall present the matter in the way I actually proceeded, and shall return to this phase of it later.

It is apparent that the group *cozeulodorieso*, to take the usual reading, is made up of more than one word. Most scholars, misled by the aural suggestion of *adōro*, have put the *d* with the following letters. Considering the fruitlessness of the attempt, it occurred to me that the *d* might belong to the preceding *o* and be the ending of an ablative, and so I divided the group into *cozeulod orieso*. Now, if *od* is the ablative ending, *zeul* must be the stem; but if *zeul* is the stem, the only likely explanation of *co* is that it is a reduplicated syllable, for the attempt to make of it the prefix *co(n)-* has proved unsuccessful. But, if it is a reduplicated syllable, we must look for the identity of *c* and *z*, and one of the two must be wrong. As *z* in early Latin would be an anomaly (see page 24 etc.), I decided for *c* and concluded that we should read with the Basel manuscript *coceulod orieso*.

It then appeared that the whole difficulty was solved; for *coceulōd oriēso* is perfect early Latin and corresponds exactly to classical *cucūlō oriēre*. The subject of the development of weak *o* before the stress has not yet, so far as I know, been cleared up (Brugmann[2], I. § 243, 3, and middle of p. 974), but, on the analogy of weak *o* > *u* after the stress (Brugmann[2], I. § 244, 2), we should expect it to become *u*. With *coceulōd* compare also *κόκκῡ* 'the cry of the cuckoo' and *κόκκυξ κόκκῡγος* 'a cuckoo.' The change of *eu* to *ū* is normal (Brugmann[2], I. § 218). The loss of *d* (Stolz, p. 343, § 363) and the change of *s* > *z* > *r* in *oriēso* > *oriēre* (Stolz, p. 276, § 274) are well-known matters; in fact, it was the latter point that Varro was illustrating by the quotation. But the form *oriēso* brings us very welcome information. It has been customary to identify Latin *-re* with original *-so*, whereby Latin *sequere* < **sequeso* would be identical with Greek *ἕπου* < *ἕπεο* < **ἕπεσο* (Brugmann[1], I. § 81; II. § 1047, 2; Henry, *Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*, § 34, Aδ, 260, 2, § 267; Stolz, *Historische Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*, p. 119–120, 352, 11; Lindsay, *Latin Language*,

p. 533). But certain writers have argued against this, and Brugmann, II[1]. p. 1393, footnote, and I[2]. § 245, 2 A2, suggests that Latin *-re* may go back to a *-se* that may be supposed to have existed by the side of *-so*. Now, the early Latin form *orieso* settles the question in favor of the older and still generally accepted theory of the identity of the Greek and Latin endings.

We may now return to the question of the text and explain its diversities as handed down to us. We saw that the original *c* and the voiced *g* are each found once, and *z* and *r* each three times. The change of *c* to *g* need not surprise us; it may be due to the dissimilation of *c–c* to *c–g*, or to the confusion of the stops *c* and *g* in the dialect of the writer — the manuscript is at Vienna. The displacement of *c* by *z* is very natural, inasmuch as most scribes would pronounce *c* before *e* as the dental affricate *ts*, for which *c* and *z* were equivalent medieval spellings. The substitution of *r* for *c* is due simply to the great likeness of the forms of the two letters in the eleventh century and for some time after; cf. Wattenbach, who, speaking of the form of the letter *c* (*Anleitung zur lateinischen Palaeographie*, p. 46), says: "In Min[uskel] ist schon Karol[ingisch] **c** gewöhnlich; im XII. [Jahrhundert] wird es oft durch einen Ansatz vorn dem **r** ähnlich, so * * * **ꝛ**." Compare also the modern German written hooked *c*.

We thus find that that "mysterious jumble of letters," as Lindsay calls it, is, as handed down in the Basel manuscript, a perfect preservation of two early Latin words, and that the slightly variant spellings of the other manuscripts are explained without difficulty.

IV. — *The Motion of the Voice, ἡ τῆς φωνῆς κίνησις, in the Theory of Ancient Music.*

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Many of the Greek treatises on music begin the development of the subject proper by describing and analyzing the changes in pitch which take place in the course of human utterance. The term applied to these changes was *ἡ τῆς φωνῆς κίνησις*. I propose in this paper to consider the nature of this 'motion,' the merits and defects of the ancient analysis, and the object of introducing the subject in treatises on musical theory, and then to show what light is thereby thrown for us upon the nature of ancient Greek music.

In almost every sound there is present to a sensible degree the property or quality of musical pitch. Pitch, regarded as a physical phenomenon, may be defined as regularity or periodicity in the vibrations of some suitable medium, such as air or water. Every set of regular or periodic vibrations constitutes what is technically called a simple sound, and the degree of the pitch of this sound depends upon the rapidity of the vibrations. A simple sound of this nature will seldom, if ever, occur in the ordinary course of events. Those sounds which appear to our senses the purest and simplest are in reality compound sounds in almost every instance. The material objects which generate the vibrations in the air are usually of such a nature that not one set of vibrations only, but a number of sets at various rates is produced at one and the same time. Now the effect upon the ear of such a compound sound depends upon the interrelationship of the constituent pitches. If these pitches are not related to one another on certain numerical principles, the sound is a noise. If, on the other hand, a certain relationship exists between them, the sound is a musical sound. For a musical sound is

a complex, formed by a series of simple sounds. Of these the lowest in pitch is generally the loudest. Superimposed upon this lowest pitch there will be found a group of fainter pitches, standing at certain definite distances from one another. These are the so-called overtones, and it is their presence which determines the 'quality' of the sound as a whole. Simple though the sound may seem to the ear, it is, in reality, as it were, a chord, in which all but one of the notes are faint. It is easy to see what a large number of combinations can be formed by varying the intensity of the several overtones, by omitting some and strengthening others. In this way physicists account for the great variety of quality observable in the tones of instruments and voices.

In a musical sound, then, of the constituent related pitches one is predominant. This gives the note its name and position. But in a noise, instead of order among the pitches we have confusion, instead of one predominant pitch, many pitches of considerable intensity.

Now evidently the line between musical sounds and noises cannot always be drawn with certainty. Many sounds, if not strictly musical in the technical sense, yet have one pitch of slightly greater intensity than any of the others. For example, a rap on a table has such a pitch, and many articles of wood, glass, and metal give sounds with recognizable pitches. Particularly is it true of all vocal utterances that a height or position on the scale of acuteness and graveness can be assigned to them. This is the case not only with such inarticulate sounds as coughing and laughing, but to a special degree with the sounds of articulate speech. This fact then must be emphasized. All speech, spoken as well as sung, is characterized by the presence of pitch.

Now the tones of the voice in singing and in ordinary conversation are obviously different. In what does the difference consist?

In the first place it would seem that the difference is due very largely to the different degree of clearness with which the predominant pitch is brought out. The loudness of the lowest of the constituent pitches is made greater in singing

than in speaking. A second difference, but little less important, is due to the different manner in which the pitch changes from time to time, and it is these changes which the ancient treatises on music consider under the term *ἡ τῆς φωνῆς κίνησις*, the primary object being to differentiate the speaking and the singing voice.

Aristoxenus, if we may trust his own statement, was the first to treat of this subject of the motion of the voice in a satisfactory way. At any rate his method is more or less closely followed by a number of subsequent writers. Such are Aristides Quintilianus, Pseudo-Euclid (the author of the *Introductio Harmonica*), and Gaudentius. Other writers on the theory of music employ another method of effecting the differentiation of the two kinds of utterance. Chief among these is the geographer and astronomer, Claudius Ptolemy. His method is to analyze and classify sounds so as to show the position which musical sounds occupy among sounds in general. But the classification of Aristoxenus is not a classification of sounds at all, but of the ways in which a certain property found in certain sounds, though not in all, may behave during the existence of the sounds in question. This property is, of course, pitch, and the sounds are the articulate sounds of the human voice. If the tones of musical instruments are sometimes included in the term *φωνή* (Aristoxenus has the phrase *φωνὴ ὀργανική τε καὶ ἀνθρωπική*), it is by analogy with the tones of the human voice.

Now pitch can vary in one respect only, that is, in respect to its degree of acuteness, or graveness. There is only one dimension, and this is indicated by the metaphorical use of the terms 'high' and 'low' as applied to pitch. If, then, we desire to indicate graphically on a plane surface the nature of any pitch changes under consideration, we can do so by supposing variation in pitch to take place vertically, and by combining with this motion a horizontal motion, as from left to right, to represent the passage of time.

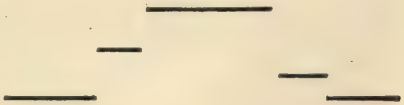
By the term *κίνησις τῆς φωνῆς* Aristoxenus means the movement of the pitch of the voice from high to low and *vice versâ*, and by the term *στάσις* the absence of any such

motion in the pitch. Another term for the latter conception is ἠρεμία φωνῆς. Of the movement there are two forms, the continuous, συνεχής, and the intervallar, διαστηματική. Says Aristoxenus, *Harmonica*, I. § 26, p. 8 Meib.: "In the continuous movement the voice appears to the senses to traverse a certain space in such a way that it rests nowhere, not even, so far as our conception of the sensation goes, at the bounds, but is borne along continuously until the sound ceases. In the other movement, which we call intervallar, the voice appears to move in a contrary manner. In its course it rests on one pitch and then again on another, and doing so continually (συνεχῶς), — I mean continually in point of time, — passing over the spaces included by the pitches, but resting on the pitches themselves and sounding these alone, it is said to sing (μελῳδεῖν), and to move in the intervallar manner." And a little further on (§ 27): "For, in general, when the voice moves in such a way that it seems to the ear to rest nowhere, we call the movement continuous. But when, after seeming to rest at a place, the voice then appears to traverse a certain space, and having done this seems to rest again on another pitch and continually keeps on doing this alternately, we call such a movement intervallar."

On a chart of the nature indicated above continuous motion is represented by oblique lines or by wavy lines of which no part is horizontal, except instantaneously; intervallar motion is shown by a series of horizontal lines, disconnected, with no part of one over another. Thus:

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.



At this point it seems best to remark that the musical phenomenon denoted by the term *portamento* is evidently a combination of these two sorts of motion: first a steady sound without variation in pitch, then a rapid passage from this original height, upward or downward as the case may

be, to a certain new height, and finally again a steady sound at the new height. This process is represented by the following figure:

Fig. 3.

It appears, then, that in the continuous style of motion not only is the variation in pitch continuous, but the pitch never ceases to vary until the sound stops, while in the intervallar style change takes place by leaps and in no other way. In the one case there is never steadiness in the pitch, even for a moment; in the other there is a series of steady pitches.

In what sense, then, can one speak of motion in a case where, as in the intervallar motion of Aristoxenus, the moving object takes no positions intermediate to the initial and final positions? The change from one pitch to another is in the nature of a transformation rather than a transference. Is not the sense of identity of sound lost in this change from one degree of pitch to another? Why should we not call the new pitch a new sound? For, if the second pitch began before the first had ended, we should be compelled to call the two pitches two sounds.

In regard to these difficulties, we must remember in the first place that the classification of Aristoxenus does not deal with separate sounds, but with the whole body of sound proceeding from a single source. It was natural to consider one voice alone, when part-singing was practically unknown. In the second place, the words *κινέω* and *κίνησις* seem to have had a signification broader than that of physical motion, whether used literally or metaphorically. This is clear from a passage in the *Theaetetus*. Socrates, in discussing the doctrine of Heraclitus that all things are in motion, asks (*Theaet.* 181 D) if there are not two kinds of *κίνησις*. One is (Jowett's translation) "when a thing changes from one

place to another, or goes round in the same place." The other is "when a thing grows old, or becomes black from being white, or hard from being soft, or undergoes any other change, while remaining in the same place. . . . There are then these two kinds of motion, 'change,' and 'motion in place' (*ἀλλοίωσις* and *περιφορά*)." Κίνησις, it would then seem, has a broader meaning than simply physical motion, namely 'change,' whether of position or of condition and nature. It covers transformation as well as transference. In this view *κίνησις διαστηματική* can be regarded as *κίνησις* in this broadest sense.

The identification of *κίνησις συνεχής* with conversational speech and of *κίνησις διαστηματική* with the singing voice is made by Aristoxenus in the following terms (*Harm.* I. § 28, p. 8. M.): "Now the continuous movement is, we assert, the movement of conversational speech (*λογικὴν εἶναι*), for when we converse, the voice moves through a space in such a manner as to seem to rest nowhere. In the other movement, which we call intervallar, the contrary process takes place. For the voice seems to rest [at various pitches], and all say of a man who seems to do this, that he no longer speaks, but sings. Therefore in conversing we avoid having the voice rest unless we are forced at times by reason of emotion to resort to this style of movement [we make the same criticism when we say of a person that he speaks or reads in a sing-song voice]; but in singing we do the reverse, for we avoid the continuous and strive to make the voice rest as much as possible. For the more we make each of the sounds one and stationary and the same, so much the more accurate does the singing seem to the senses. It is fairly plain from the above that of the two movements of the voice in respect to space, the continuous belongs to conversational speech, the intervallar to song."

Such is the scheme of pitch-variations as we have it in Aristoxenus. In spite of its faults it has unquestionably considerable value in that it is based on the evident difference in the manner in which pitch affects human utterance as spoken and as sung.

Perhaps Ptolemy felt the objections which may be brought against the Aristoxenean classification. At any rate his classification is a classification not of kinds of voice-movements, but of kinds of sounds. According to him sounds are either unchangeable in regard to their pitch, *ἰσότονοι*, or changeable, *ἀνισότονοι*. The latter in turn are continuous, *συνεχεῖς*, or discrete, *διωρισμένοι*.

Thus: *ψόφοι* { *ἰσότονοι*; *ἀνισότονοι* { *συνεχεῖς*; *διωρισμένοι* = *φθόγγοι*.

This classification too, on examination, turns out to be illogical in one respect. The trouble in Ptolemy's arrangement is that one sort of sounds appears twice. Are not *ψόφοι ἀνισότονοι διωρισμένοι* really *ἰσότονοι*, or at any rate a group of *ἰσότονοι*? The description of such sounds seems to show that this is so. One thing is clear, that the subdivision into *συνεχεῖς* and *διωρισμένοι* is simply the Aristoxenean *κίνησις τῆς φωνῆς* in another garb.

Aristides Quintilianus makes a decided improvement on Aristoxenus' treatment of the *κίνησις*. First he distinguishes two classes of *κίνησις*, *κίνησις ἁπλῆ* and *κίνησις οὐχ ἁπλῆ*. Of the latter there are three species, *συνεχής*, *διαστηματική*, and *μέση*.

κίνησις { *ἁπλῆ*; *οὐχ ἁπλῆ* { *συνεχής*; *μέση*; *διαστηματική*.

The first two, continuous motion and intervallar motion, are so described as to leave no doubt that they correspond exactly to the motions so named by Aristoxenus. In regard to the 'intermediate' motion, it would appear that it is composed of both the other species (*ἐξ ἀμφοῖν συγκειμένη*), and we are further informed that it is used when we read poetry (*μέση δὲ, ᾗ τὰς τῶν ποιημάτων ἀναγνώσεις ποιούμεθα*). Referring back to our figures, in which we represented the two Aristoxenean motions, let us combine their characteristics. The

result must show, on the one hand, pitch-variation taking place while the sound is actually being produced, on the other, sounds of a steady pitch. The combination is precisely that which is effected by the phenomenon of *portamento*. We may conclude, therefore, that *κίνησις μέση*, that form of pitch-movement which accompanies the recitation of poetry, as observed by Aristides, consists not only of a musical intonation of the syllables at various degrees of pitch, but also of glides in pitch from degree to degree. Such a style of utterance is more musical than conversational speech in respect to the employment in it of sounds whose pitch is constant, or steady, and more conversational than music proper in respect to the free use of fluctuating pitch. Without running into the danger of drawing conclusions unwarranted by the facts, we may assume that the element of pitch was brought out much more clearly in the kind of motion we are considering than in ordinary conversational speech; and further, that, if the pitch of the voice rested, remained steady, at certain degrees, it must have done so during an appreciable interval of time, and if so, the metrical quantity of the syllables must have been made more evident than is possible in the case of the spoken sentence.

Coördinate with *κίνησις μέση* in Aristides' scheme were *κίνησις συνεχής* and *κίνησις διαστηματική*. These three cover, and more than cover, the whole of the Aristoxenean *κίνησις τῆς φωνῆς* or pitch-variations in general. In Aristides they form a class, *κίνησις οὐχ ἁπλῆ*, which is coördinate to *κίνησις ἁπλῆ*. The meaning of the latter term is made plain from the statement at p. 9 M.: *πᾶσα μὲν οὖν ἁπλῆ κίνησις φωνῆς, τάσις*. That is, *ἁπλῆ κίνησις* is simply a musical sound, in which there is by definition no variation in pitch. The movement then is of another sort, to wit, movement in time, which is horizontal motion on our charts. In the other class, *κίνησις οὐχ ἁπλῆ*, two kinds of motions are combined to form a compound motion; variation in pitch is added to progression in time. A comparison between this classification and that of Ptolemy will show a certain similarity. In both it would seem to be a fault that the elements which consti-

tute one of the lower classes should also find a place in a higher class.

A further extension of the classification of the kinds of *κίνησις* was sometimes made. Gaudentius subdivides *κίνησις διαστηματική* into two kinds, *ἐμμελής* and *ἐκμελής*, and makes a corresponding subdivision of *διαστήματα* into *διαστήματα ἐμμελῆ* and *διαστήματα ἐκμελῆ*. These terms mean respectively 'usable in music' and 'unusable in music,' and refer, of course, to the size of the intervals. The same distinction is made by Bacchius Senior, but the term *πεζός* is used instead of *ἐκμελής*, and it is musical sounds, not intervals, which are distinguished. When applied to sounds and not to intervals all these terms must be understood to involve a tacit reference to their relationship to other sounds. *Introductio*, p. 16 M. "How many kinds of musical-sounds (*φθόγγοι*) do we say that there are?" — "Two. One kind we call *ἐμμελεῖς*, the other *πεζοί*."

"What kind of musical-sounds are *ἐμμελεῖς*?" — "Those which people use in singing and in playing instruments. . . ."

"What kind of musical-sounds are *πεζοί*?" — "Those which orators use and in which we talk (*λαλοῦμεν*) to one another. *Ἐμμελεῖς φθόγγοι* have definite (*ὡρισμένα*) intervals, the *πεζοί* indefinite (*ἀόριστα*)."

Now a *φθόγγος* is always defined as a sound which has a steady pitch (hence I translate it by 'musical-sound'), and the word is so defined by Gaudentius. For that reason, if *λαλεῖν* means ordinary conversation, the glides which are characteristic of conversational speech are ignored. Even if they are admitted, our author would seem to differ from Aristoxenus in allowing the voice during 'continuous motion' to rest at pitches long enough to permit one to speak of intervals.

We have seen what is meant by the term *ἡ τῆς φωνῆς κίνησις*. The phenomenon of pitch-variation in both the sung and the spoken sentence is a most natural one, and the two styles of variation characterize and distinguish the musical and non-musical utterance of a modern language, no less, of course, than that of an ancient language. Now a treatise on the theory of music may very properly begin with a

definition of the unit or element of music, the musical sound. So modern treatises usually define the musical sound as distinguished from the non-musical sound. So also does the Aristoxenean analysis of the *κίνησις τῆς φωνῆς* serve to fulfil this purpose. But it does much more than this. It defines not only the nature of the sounds which constitute music, and that too much more fully than seems necessary, but also the nature of the pitch-element in the spoken sentence. Why was it that the analysis of *κίνησις* was not inappropriate in a Greek treatise on the theory of music?

To this question one answer suggests itself immediately. The Greek language, as is well known, had a more highly developed system of high and low pitches for spoken words than have modern languages. Each word seems to have had a more or less fixed scheme of intonation. This is evidenced by the system of written accents. As a result, in every Greek sentence there is involved a definite form for the successive rises and falls of pitch, in which it is very likely that the amount of variation from the mean pitch of the speaker's voice was by no means definite, but the sequence of acute and grave was fixed and not subject to personal caprice. This variation of pitch, which took place of course in the 'continuous' style of motion, Aristoxenus calls *λογῶδές τι μέλος*. Says he (§ 42): "For we often indeed speak of a certain conversational melody, namely, that which results from the accents of the words; for it is natural to raise and lower the pitch in conversation." Familiarity with this kind of melody would lead to an effort to distinguish it from melody proper. If, as we suppose, the spoken utterance of ancient Greek was of a quasi-musical nature, it was natural to contrast the melodic feature of the one form of utterance with that of the other.

Another consideration which I would advance by way of explanation for the use of the *κίνησις* in the treatises concerns a characteristic of ancient music about as foreign to modern music as one can well imagine. I refer to the existence of the different *genera*, to which there is nothing comparable in modern music.

The nature of the Greek scales must first be briefly indicated. The earliest scale seems to have been the tetrachord, or system of four notes, in which the extremes stood at the consonant distance of a perfect Fourth. Both the number of notes is small and the compass is narrow. By the time of Terpander the scale had expanded to seven notes, which probably formed a double tetrachord, the middle note serving as upper end of one tetrachord and lower end of the other. Terpander made some change in this heptachord of which the nature is not perfectly clear. It would appear, however, that he increased the compass to the full Octave interval, without increasing the number of notes. There seem to have been objections to abandoning the traditional number seven. Timotheus, the poet and musician, met with strong opposition when he introduced the innovation of using eleven and twelve strings on his cithara. The octave scale of eight notes comes into use soon after the heptachord. The scale was formed of two tetrachords plus the interval of a whole Tone. When the Tone was at the end of a scale, the two tetrachords were contiguous and were called *συνημμένα* (conjunct); when the Tone was in the middle and separated the tetrachords, it was called the Disjunctive Tone, and the tetrachords were *διεζευγμένα* (disjunct).

Soon after the time of Aristoxenus, cir. 330 (who does not allude to a longer scale than the octachord), and apparently before Euclid, the mathematician (if the *Sectio Canonis* is his), the scale had developed through additions to both ends until its compass was two octaves and the number of notes fifteen. This was the so-called Perfect System. Still further expansion followed. The notation provides for more than three octaves of notes.

Now in all stages of development, it is not the Octave, but the Fourth, which is made the basis of the Greek scale. The tetrachord retains the important place which it had according to tradition in primitive music. Every scale was regarded as consisting of a series of conjunct and disjunct tetrachords. This gave to a certain number of notes a prominent position as the bounding notes of tetrachords. Given the pitch of

any one of them, that of all the others stood in a fixed relation to the given pitch — that is to say, the intervals separating any two of these notes was either a Fourth, a Fifth (that is, a Fourth and a whole Tone), or the sum of these, an Octave, or an Octave combined with one of the others. Therefore the intonation of these notes, depending as it did on consonant intervals, was fixed, relatively one to another, by nature, as it were. In ancient theory they were called 'standing notes' (*φθόγγοι ἑστῶτες*).

There remain for consideration the notes which come between the fixed or standing notes. These occurred in couples and divided the interval of the Fourth into three smaller intervals. Now the peculiar feature in Greek music referred to is that the intonation or position in pitch of these intermediate notes was of a most uncertain nature. In one style of melody these notes would stand at such and such distances from the fixed bounds of the tetrachord; in another style at quite other distances. The ancient theorists, by using the relative lengths of the strings required for producing the various sounds, measured, with quite sufficient accuracy for the purpose, the width of the intervals which separated these notes; and so were able to classify the various kinds of intervallar succession. In this way the so-called *genera* came into existence. These were three in number — the diatonic genus, the chromatic genus (by no means to be confounded with the chromatic scale of modern music), and the enharmonic genus. Roughly speaking, we may define the diatonic genus as that in which the succession of intervals was Semitone, Tone, Tone; the chromatic as Semitone, Semitone, and (a larger interval) Tone-and-a-half; and the enharmonic as Quarter-tone, Quarter-tone, and Ditone (*i.e.* two whole Tones). But this is by no means the end of the matter. Species of the genera were recognized. These were the *chroae* or 'colors,' in which the succession of intervals was slightly different from that of the more normal varieties. An example will suffice to show their nature. There were, according to Aristoxenus, *Harm.* I. § 54, p. 50 M., three species of the chromatic of the following

nature: *τὸ τονιαῖον χρῶμα*, consisting of two Semitones and a Trihemitonion; *τὸ ἡμιόλιον χρῶμα*, of two intervals each three-quarters of a Semitone in size, together with an interval equal to three and a half Semitones; and, third, *τὸ μαλακὸν χρῶμα*, of two intervals each two-thirds of a Semitone in size, together with an interval equal to three and two-thirds Semitones. For these calculations it is necessary to consider differences in pitch of only a twelfth of a Semitone in extent.

There is still other evidence in abundance that the varieties of intervallar succession within the compass of the tetrachord, the Fourth, were very numerous, and that too important. Other theorists give other intervals for species of the same names as the Aristoxenean species. In many cases we may doubtless assume that errors in the measurements are the cause of the discrepancies. In other cases it is open for us to suppose that there was a difference of usage in regard to any particular genus from time to time. But in general it must be true that there were in actual use at any given period at least as many kinds of tetrachords as we find recorded in the works of any single trustworthy authority, like Aristoxenus, for example. It must be that the different genera and chroae really existed. Many students of Greek music, possibly most of them, find it incredible that the minute differences between the various kinds of tetrachords had any other than a theoretical existence. But is it not much more incredible that all the ancient theorists either imagined differences which did not exist or falsified their report of the state of affairs? We must not try to make the music of the ancients conform to modern ideas on the subject. Modern music has had a rapid and wonderful development. The most important feature in this development is the use of the principle of simultaneous harmony. But the artistic effects to be gained by sounding two or more notes together were not appreciated by the ancients, except in a rudimentary way. Now in the case of the primary consonances, the Octave, Fifth, and Fourth, it is important for obvious reasons that the interval should be accurately tuned, as well for use in melody as in harmony. But there is no

reason in ancient music why the dissonant intervals should be so tuned. Even in modern music in the case of intervals like the Major and Minor Thirds and Sixths, intervals which are now regarded as consonant, there may be considerable inaccuracy in the intonation of the notes without causing the effect to be disagreeable, not only when they are successive notes, but also, to a certain extent, when they are simultaneous notes. Ancient music, unaffected by such considerations of harmony, was free. And this is the reason that we find such a surprising variety of intonations for all notes but the few so-called standing notes. As distinguished from these, the variable notes were called in ancient theory 'moving notes' (*φθόγγοι κινούμενοι*).

The state of affairs then in regard to the pitch of many of the notes was one of great flexibility. To us who are habituated to fixity in the intonation of the notes, this seems most unnatural. But the non-harmonic music of many semi-civilized and barbarous races to-day is proof of the possibility of this sort of thing.

So, while fixity is in modern music both a necessity and a second nature, in ancient music mobility is the rule and the distinguishing feature. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that this side of melody should present itself to the ancient theorists as a matter of great importance. The limits within which a given note of the movable kind might 'move' were carefully laid down, and the distance between a note's highest possible pitch and its lowest was called its space or region (*τόπος*). Moving of this sort is not, to be sure, moving in quite the same sense as the moving which seems to take place in melody, for we are not to understand that more than one genus was used at once, but we do know that there were frequent shiftings from genus to genus within the piece of music, and such changes of pitch cannot fail to impress one with the idea of motion.

The importance of the *κίνησις* in the theory of ancient music is then due to its connection first with the accentuation of the Greek language, and secondly with the general question of the intonation of the notes in Greek music.

V. — *The Scepticism and Fatalism of the Common People of Rome as Illustrated by the Sepulchral Inscriptions.*

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In this paper I desire to show that the common people of Rome did not accept the mythology of the poets as their religious creed, that they placed no faith in the gods which occupy so prominent a place in Roman literature, and that their nearest approach to belief in a divinity was their recognition of fate as a blind, irresistible, inexplicable power which often interrupted the natural course of life. The consideration of this general subject has led me to question, in the case of a few inscriptions, the correctness of the interpretation which has usually been given.

I have attempted to make a complete collection of all the sepulchral inscriptions included in the *C. I. L.* which contain references to mythology. I have not found it necessary to refer to the comparatively few epitaphs which as yet have not been included in this work, as they do not throw any additional light on the subjects under consideration. The first list includes those epitaphs which contain the names of gods of the upper world, with the exception of Fortuna and the Fates, which are considered later. The second list contains the more general references to the gods of the upper world. The third list includes the references to the gods and regions of the lower world. The fourth list includes references to the earth as the mother and source of all things. I have, however, made one exception in the arrangement of these lists. The first time that I have had occasion to cite an inscription I have included in my quotations all the expressions which illustrate the various points under consideration. I have adopted this plan to show more clearly the number of inscriptions in which these references occur, and to bring out more

fully the character of the references in a given inscription. In these lists I have given first the inscriptions belonging to Rome, these are followed by those of the rest of Italy, and lastly come those of the provinces. After giving the number of each inscription in the *C. I. L.* I have added, in the case of poetic epitaphs, the reference to Bücheler's *Carmina Latina Epigraphica.* This will also serve as a means of distinguishing the epitaphs in verse from those in prose. The poetic epitaphs are quoted according to Bücheler. I have necessarily made the quotations brief, but have intended to give enough of the context to suggest the sense in which the words referred to are used.

In these lists I have not included the *Dii Manes* or any of the other gods to whom the epitaphs are dedicated. This dedication was usually a mere formality, without life or meaning. The form which it took depended largely on the locality in which the epitaph was composed. It seems to have been added in the majority of cases in conformity to custom, or to place the tomb under the protection which the laws accorded to objects dedicated to the gods.

XII. 5275 (1467) . . . durae mortis sacratos laedere Manes,
ecce monent leges et leuis umbra rogi.

Accordingly dedications to the *Dis Manibus* are not uncommon even in the epitaphs of the Christians. I have also excluded from these lists the personification of the abstract virtues, such as *fides* and *pietas.*

I have also omitted references to *deus* when this word is used of the dead. Such references belong more properly to a consideration of the beliefs in immortality, a subject which I hope to take up in a second paper.

I have given the dates of a few important epitaphs where this was possible. In most cases the date cannot be determined, and, as far as concerns the beliefs of the common people, this is of minor importance. The horizon of the populace of Rome was very limited. The changing fashions and tastes in the literature and philosophy of the aristocracy which may be traced in the literature of Rome did not affect the multi-

tude. Their philosophy of life, if we may apply this term to their meagre beliefs or absolute scepticism, was not affected by court poets or state religion.

I. The gods of the upper world specified by name.

VI. 21521 (1109) Monumentum M. Luccei M. f. Nepotis. s. I. p. C.

7. exacta prope nocte suos quum Lucifer ignes
spargeret et uolucri roscidus iret equo.
19. non ego Tartareas penetrabo tristis ad undas
non Acheronteis transuehar umbra uadis,
non ego caeruleam remo pulsabo carinam
nec te terribilem fronte timebo, Charon,
nec Minos mihi iura dabit grandaeuus.
26. defleat ut maerens Attica mater Ityn.
nam me sancta Venus sedes non nosse silentum
iussit.
31. die Nepos, seu tu turba stipatus Amorum
laetus Adoneis lusibus insereris,
seu grege Pieridum gaudes seu Palladis [arte,
omnis caelicolum te chor[u]s exc[ipiet.
si libeat thyrsum grauidis aptare co[rymbis
et uelare comam palmite, Liber[eris.
40. non unus Cybeles pectore uiuet a[mor.

III. 754 (492) dispensator Moesiae inferioris. s. III. p. C.

3. regina Ditis magni regis, [p]recor hoc te.
10. Ditis regia. 11. Elysiis campis. 13. Lar mihi haec.
18. munera Bacchi.

VIII. 212 (1552) Mausolaeum Flauorum. s. II.

3. Elysiis terris. 28. Pallados usu.
37. sub honore deorum. 38. Acherontos in umbris.
51. munera Bacchi. 55. regnator Stygius. 56. Ditis domum.
B. 5. quo nunc Calliope me cogis. 12. ebria Musa.
16. cogeret hic omnes surgere manè deos.

VIII. 1523 (1237) Mausolaeum Iuli Felicis. s. II.–III.

2. Thalia, ueni. 15. dominator Auerni.

VI. 1779 (111) augur, pontifex vestae. s. IV.

15. diuumque numen multiplex doctus colis
sociam benigne coniugem nectens sacris
hominum deumque consciam ac fidem tibi.

25. te teste cunctis imbuor mysteriis,
tu Dindymenes Atteosque antistitem
teletis honoras taureis consors pius,
Hecates ministram trina secreta edoces
Cererisque Graiae tu sacris dignam paras.
39. felix, maritum si superstitem mihi
diui dedissent.
54. Paulina uiri et castitatis conscia,
dicata templis atq. amica numinum.

I. 1009, VI. 10096 (55). 9. docta, erodita paene Musarum manu.
19. Ditis domu.

VI. 10098 (1110). s. I.
qui colitis Cybelem et qui Phryga plangitis Attin.

VI. 12652 (995). s. I.
5. cui formam Paphie, Charites tribuere decorem,
quam Pallas cunctis artibus erudiit.
17. at nunc quod possum, fugiam lucemque deosque,
ut te matura per Styga morte sequar.
24. et faueant uotis numina cuncta tuis.

VI. 7578 (422). s. II.
2. Persephones regna. 9. Musae mihi dederant.

III. 686 (1233). s. III.
5. sortita Paphon diua. 12. vivis in Elysiis.
16. olim iussa deo simplicitas facilis.
17. Bromio signatae. 18. Satyrum. 19. Naides.

VI. 1951 (1256) uos precor hoc, superi, ut uitam post me seruetis amicis
et possint nostris Bacchum miscere fauillis.

VI. 6319 (1066). 3. cursus Phoebeos. 8. Ditis foeda rapina feri.

VI. 7898 (1058). 5. cumque pater materque deos pro me adularent,
at saeuos Pluto rapuit me ad infera templa.
10. huic sit iniqua Ceres perficiatque fame.

VI. 9118 (467) ia tibi Cybeles sint et rosa grata Dione
et flores grati Nymphis et lilia serta.

VI. 12845 (387) rap]ta meis fatis, superi sic namque iubebant,
null]a penetrali Lucinae sacra petenti.

VI. 17985a (856). 4. nec defuit umqua Lyaeus.
6. cultrix deae Phariaes. 12. miscete Lyaeum.

VI. 19055 (495). 4. Baccho madere. 8. Castorea sub imagine.

VI. 20152 (606) fleuere Camenae.

VI. 20674 (436) cum primum Lucina daret lucemq. animamque.

VI. 21975 (67) Vulcano (= igni).

VI. 23083 (1254) Fauni Nymphaeque sonabant.

VI. 23852 (471) colo calathisque Mineruae.

VI. 27383 (1061) quae speciem uoltus habuitq. Cupidinis artus,
dulcis ad Elysios rapta repente lacus.

X. 2483 (1307) dulce istic nomen Glypte iacet, omnibus olim
quas Venus inspexit praeficienda bonis.

XI. 911 (1181) sic tibi dona Ceres larga det et Bromius.

XIV. 914 (1318) balnia uina Venus. Cf. VI. 15258 (1499).

XIV. 510 (1186). 3. infernis numinibus.
9. rate infernas subito delatus ad umbras.
13. illâ tamen sancta et formata uerecundia saepe
amittit Tantali aspectu et timorem Sisyphi,
abest Ixion umbraeq. et Furiae metus,
set in secessum numinis infernae domus
oficiosus tandem ministerio laetatur suo.

III. 4910 (453) Musarum amor et Charitum uoluptas.

VIII. 8870 (501). 3. Ditis ad infernas sedes.
4. quem docta studiis ornarat diua Thalia.

II. General references to the gods of the upper world.

a. From epitaphs in verse.

VI. 142 (1317) numinis antistes Sabazis Vincentius hic e[st,
qui sacra sancta deum mente pia co[lui]t.

VI. 3452 (476) uobis nunc dii fortuna beatam
et semper ho(no)ratam praestent.
Cf. VI. 6467 (130), VI. 18297 (816), III. 10501 (489).

VI. 9604 (1253) testor superos. Cf. VI. 30134 (1257).

VI. 12845 (387) rap]ta meis fatis, superi sic namque iubebant.

VI. 12877 (435) hi sancte coluere deos uixe[reque honeste,
post obitum Elysios [ut] possent [uisere campos.

VI. 18385 (1184) r]apuere dei. Cf. VI. 24520 (1057), XIV. 3709 (603).
14. o mihi si superi vellent praestare roganti.

VI. 25063 (1549). 1. dua funera maerens
plango uir et genitor flebile mersa deo.
sat fuerat, Porthmeu, cumba uexsisse maritam.
14. raptumque Stygio detinet unda lacu.
16. credabamque deis vota placere mea.

VI. 27852 (1225) qua non ego uoce rogaui
infelix superos? nec ualuere preces. Cf. IX. 5401 (1514).

VI. 29265 (1586) cuius uotis indulgere dei. Cf. X. 7563 (1551A), X. 7570 (1551D).

VI. 30120 (1641) diis fretus . . . fatorum inmetuens.

V. 3034 (199) illi deos iratos, quos om(n)is colunt,
si quis de (e)o sepulcro (quid) uiola(ue)rit.

V. 5049 (417) set sanctus deus hic felicius i[lla
transtulit in melius.

V. 6128 (473) praecipitem memet superi mersere sub aulas.

I. 1306, IX. 4933 (54) nesci[o qui i]nueidit deus.

IX. 4810 (1305) et sic me miseram destituere dei.
narrabam Lethen defunctorumq[ue quietem:
nil mihi Lethaei profuit a[mnis aqua.

X. 5958 (596) quam] mihi di dederant, si [non ta]men inuidi fuissent.

XI. 3963 (591) et fruitur superis aeterna in luce Fabatus.

XIV. 1731 (80) Aceruam Ditis rapuit infantem domus
pulcram decoram, quasi delicium celitu.

II. 1399 (1140) qui sidera torquent.

III. 406 (432) uota supervacua fletusque et numina diu
naturae leges fatorumque arguit ordo.
spreuisti patrem matremque, miserrime nate,
Elysios campos habitans et prata ueatum.

III. 2197 (1534A). 2. vimque tulisse deum. 5. testor superos.
(1534B) in inferi Ditis specus.

III. 2964 (1141) incusatque deos.

VIII. 2756 (1604) cuius admissi uel Manes uel di caelestes [e]runt
sceleris uindices.

VIII. 11824 (1238) Iouis arua.

VIII. 13134 (1606) sed ago superis gratias.

VIII. 15569 (525) profuit en tibi, quot fana coluisti deorum.

XII. 533 (465) floribus intextis refouent simulacra deorum.

XII. 3619 (579) uendere ne liceat caueo adque rogo per numina diuom.

b. From epitaphs in prose.

VI. 2335 di uos bene faciant, amici, et uos, uiatores, habeatis deos propitios.

Cf. VI. 26554, XI. 1286, XIV. 439.

VI. 15454 apud superos et inferos malidictionem habeo.

VI. 19716 quem di amauerunt.

VI. 27227 o di superi et inferi.

VI. 29195 anima bona superis reddita raptus a nymphis.

V. 3466 in Nemese ne fidem habeatis.

V. 6535 fecit pater eius deorum ira oppressus ruinae suae memoriam.

IX. 5813 quod inpricabo superos et inferos.

X. 2875 sei fieri potuisset aeternam incolumit(atem) Musae donassent.

XIV. 2055 dis iniquis nata.

III. 3989 uos itaque inferi, ad quos me praecipitem di superi cogerunt, admittite.

III. 9451 quot si di aequi fuissent.

XIII. 1986 omnium numinum frustra cultoris qui hac aetate obit.

VI. 5886 rogo per deos superos inferosque ni uelitis ossa mea uiolare.

VI. 13740 habeat deos et iratos.

Cf. VI. 13921, VI. 18281, VI. 19873, VIII. 11825, X. 2875, XIV. 2535.

Several of the epitaphs relating to the Vestal Virgins contain references to the gods, as we should naturally expect; but these do not emanate from the common people and cannot be considered as illustrating its sentiments. See VI. 2134, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2143.

III. The gods and regions of the lower world.

VI. 6314 (1014) Pluton inuidis eripuit.

VI. 6592 (1031) deuouet inuisi noxsia regna dei.

VI. 6986 (1034). 3. Manes rapuissent Ditis auari.
5. rapuisset Cerberus.

VI. 7872 (971) crudelis Pluton, nimio saeuite rapinae,
parce precor nostram iam lacerare domum.

VI. 10971 (442) quem genuit genetrix secum tenet in lare Ditis.

VI. 17050 (1301). 3. Persephone uotis inuidit pallida nostris.
8. Lethaeo sarcophago.

VI. 23295 (393) Elysios precor ut possis inuadere campos,
matronamque colas Ditis Di[tem]que preceris.

VI. 25128 (1223) Omnes] aeque rapit Ditis acerba man[us
et uos pe]r Stigias portabit portitor unda[s.

VI. 25871 (1219) cum me florentem rapuit sibi Ditis ad umbras.

VI. 27060 (1161) liminibus rapuit me sibi Persephone.
Cf. VI. 28047 (1128), VIII. 9690 (527).

IX. 1837 (960) nunc data sum Diti longum mansura per aeum
deducta et fatali igne et aqua Stygia.

IX. 3409 (136) Aeternam ad Ditem uiuos effecit domum.
Cf. III. 6443 (540), III. 8739 (1148).

X. 7569 (1551C). 3. et prior at Lethen cum sit Pumpti[ll]a recepta.
5. nunc aeterna quies Ditisq. silentia maesti.

XI. 627 (513) ut me infern(as) Stygias Dis pater accipia[t.

XI. 1209 (1550B). 5. infelix Stygio u[olt uitam dedere regi.
7. sede] Elysia. 9. Hennaeae rapinae.

VI. 7886 (1143) Elysiis campis floreat umbra tibi.

VI. 10097 (1111) fusus in Elysia sic ego ualle moror.

VI. 21846 (1165) umbrarum secura quies animaeq. pior(um)
laudate colitis quae loca sancta Erebi,
sedes insontem Magnillam ducite uestras
per nemora et campos protinus Elysios.
Cf. IX. 3968 (498), X. 6785 (1189), III. 1759 (1311), III. 1992 (1465), III. 3397 (555), III. 6414 (588), VIII. 13110 (1188).

VI. 16653 (549) compositum tumulo semper sub Tartara uibunt.

VI. 19007 (562) eripuit letus teneramque ad Tartara duxit.
Cf. IX. 2078 (1386), X. 5631 (1631), III. 2628 (456), VIII. 2803 (576 B), VIII. 11597 (1515), XIII. 2315 (646).

IX. 3071 (1212) crudeles diui, Stygias quicumque paludes incolitis.
Cf. VI. 6182 (1150), XI. 1881 (1757), XIII. 2104 (1278).

VI. 18086 (1581) talis enim sensus erat illi quasi properantis ad Orcum.

VI. 20070 Orcus eripuit mihi, in quo spes. Cf. XII. 5272 (1202).

VI. 10764 (1535) set non hic Manis nec templa Acherusia uisit.
Cf. X. 8131 (428), VII. 250 (395).

VI. 11252 (1567) ne metuas Lethen.

VI. 25703 (1537) et raptam inferna me posuere rate.

IX. 3337 (1265) at Styga perpetua uel rate funerea
utinam tecu(m) comitata fuisse(m).

VIII. 12792 (1187) duceris ad Stygiam nunc miseranda ratem,
inque tuo tristis uersatur pectore Lethe.

VI. 5953 (1068) nunc rapior tenebris.

VI. 6976 (1033) infernis sub umbris.

VI. 21151 (398) quae caruit luce et tenebris se miscuit atris.

VI. 24049 (1041) desine per terras infernas tendere ad arces.
Cf. VI. 28239 (447), III. 6383 (1147).

VI. 1537 mater, que vidit funus suum crudelissimum, que si deum propitium habuisse(m), hoc debuera(m) ab eos pati.
For the meaning of *deum*, cf. VI. 25063 (1549) flebile (= flebili) mersa deo.

IV. Personification of *terra*, *tellus*, and *humus*.[1]

VI. 6319 (1066) inmatura sinu tellus leuis accipe Grati ossa.

VI. 6986 (1034) et cineres nostros ima foueret humus.

VI. 8703 (1028) opto, si qua fides remanet telluris amicae
sit tibi perpetuo terra leuis tumulo.

VI. 9632 (89) amica tellus ut det hospitium ossibus.

VI. 10006 (1133) mater terra tegit.

IX. 3184 (1313) terraq. quae mater nunc est, sibi sit leuis oro.
Cf. VI. 21674 (1579), XI. 973a (1108), XII. 1932 (1476).

VI. 13528 (1559) Bassa uatis quae Laberi coniuga hoc alto sinu
frugeae matris quiescit.

VI. 15493 (1129) quae genuit tellus, ossa teget tumulo.

VI. 18149 (1217) diua, precor, tellus aeuo complectere sancta.

VI. 18579 (1039) terra parens, tibi Fortunatae commissimus ossa,
quae tangis matres proxumitate tuos.

V. 3653 (1043) te, tellus, sanctosque precor, pro coniugis Manes.

[1] I have preferred to write such words as *terra*, *fatus*, *fortuna*, without a capital even when the idea of personification seems to be present in the mind of the writer.

V. 7454 (809) mater genuit materq. recepit.

X. 633 (1308) illius cineres aurea terra tegat.

XI. 8131 (428) in his iaceo telluris sedibus atrae.

X. 5469 (1135) componimur ossa
grata magis terrae quam tibe, dure lapis.

III. 4487 (1121) felix terra, precor, leuiter, super ossa residas.
5. co]mprecor ut uobis sit pia terra leuis.

VI. 12087 (611).
Cf. VI. 12087 (611), II. 1504 (1138).

VIII. 352 (1239) terra tegit felix.
Cf. VIII. 7604 (1613), VIII. 9473 (1153).

VIII. 2035 (469) mater pingit humus.

In the following epitaphs the personification is less marked.

I. 33, VI. 1288 (8); VI. 12087 (611), VI. 21975 (67), VI. 24807 (1029), IX. 6417 (1131), III. 3247 (1207), III. 9418 (1141).

In examining this first list, which includes references by name to the deities of the upper world, it is worthy of note that these quotations are all derived from the poetic epitaphs, and that not one of these names occurs in those in prose. It is a matter, too, of surprise that out of some 1300 poetic epitaphs only 32 contain direct references to the deities, and but few of these references are to the chief gods recognized in the state religion. As may be readily perceived from the quotations, the introduction of these names does not imply belief in the mind of the writer in the existence of these deities. The names of gods are merely employed for poetic adornment. They accordingly occur most frequently in those epitaphs which are pretentious in form and sentiment. Those who composed the epitaphs in which these references most abound are not representatives of the common people and of their sentiments, but are either men of the upper class, as may be seen from the first inscriptions quoted, or are such as are ambitious to adorn the tombs of the dead with high-sounding poetic phrases borrowed from the commonplaces of Roman poetry.

The second list contains the more general and indefinite references to the gods. It includes 37 poetic epitaphs and 24 in prose, exclusive of those relating to the Vestal Virgins. As in the first list these references to the gods which occur in the poetic epitaphs are chiefly employed as the mere adornments of poetic diction. In one or two exceptional expressions, however, we may perhaps detect some faith in the gods, as VI. 30120 (1641) *diis fretus . . . fatorum inmetuens*, and VIII. 15569 *profuit en tibi, quot fana coluisti deorum.* VI. 1779 (111) affords a still more marked example of an apparently genuine belief in the gods of Rome, but this is the epitaph of an augur and pontiff of Vesta. We may notice that in most of the prose epitaphs the gods are referred to merely in formulas of imprecation or prayer. These fixed phrases would imply belief rather on the part of those who first employed them than of those who used them after they had become a mere form of speech. The use of such oft-recurring expressions as *rogo per deos superos inferosque* or *di uos bene faciant* does not imply more genuine belief on the part of those who made use of them than does such an expression as *at omnes di exagitant me* imply belief in the gods on the part of Horace.

I briefly refer to three epitaphs which might be expected to be included in these lists. In XIII. 2602 we meet the expression: *uicturi quam diu deus dederit ponendum curauerunt.* Canat, whose view is adopted by the editors of this volume of the *C. I. L.*, recognized this expression as one which reflects Christian sentiment. Such a use of the word *deus* in an epitaph which, in other respects, bears the marks of being the work of a pagan, is explained by the assumption that the wife to whom the epitaph is inscribed may have been a Christian, while the husband who composed it remained a pagan.

VI. 30103 (190) contains a reference to *Bacchus* and to *deus.* The *C.I.L.* includes this among the genuine inscriptions, but Bücheler doubts its claims to antiquity owing to line 6: *et nos antiquorum emitemur tempora.* To my mind a far stronger argument against its authenticity is to be found

in the last sentence. After an exhortation in the Epicurean spirit to enjoy life this supposed epitaph closes with the lines:

> uiue dum uiuis, nec quidquam denegaueris
> animo indulgere, quem commodauit deus.

Neither this sentiment nor this form of expression could originate from an ancient pagan or an early Christian.

An especially perplexing inscription is VI. 7578 (422), which belongs to the year A.D. 127. The epitaph contains nineteen lines, and relates to a boy who died at the age of seven. In the first seventeen lines the boy is represented as speaking. The last two lines, which are not closely connected in thought with what precedes, are as follows:

> tu reddas aeterne piis solacia semper
> et uitam serues cunctis generisque piorum.

A note in the *C.I.L.* on *aeterne* is merely to the following effect: "adloquitur deum." It is not, however, a pagan sentiment to address the eternal power or an eternal power in this general way where no special mention of a deity has preceded to which the word may refer. If the reference to *deus* in XIII. 2602 cannot be regarded as pagan, much less can we allow *aeterne* here to be a pagan reference to the deity. On the other hand, the sentiment of these two lines is not fully in accord with early Christian feeling, and I do not think that the theory has been advanced or is tenable that these lines indicate Christian influence.

It seems to me that these last lines are not to be taken as a continuation of the words addressed by the boy to those whom he leaves behind on earth, but as a parting prayer directed to him. Such a change of speaker is not uncommon in the sepulchral inscriptions. In VI. 27728 (1538) the first part is addressed by the surviving brother to the one who has died, while the last two lines represent the dead as speaking. If it seems that the change of speakers is unusually abrupt, we may note that this is not the only respect in which the poem is not faultless. The first part bears evidence of interpolation, as lines eight and nine are

too long for hexameter verse. The *generis* of the last line is an awkward construction at best, and it has been emended to read as a dative singular or as an accusative plural. It seems to me not improbable that the last two lines were an addition from a different source, not found in the original poem which was followed in the first seventeen lines.

The *aeterne* I would take as an adverb, and this is the view of Meyer (*Anthologia Latina*, 1615). The *semper* which follows may seem to be an objection to this interpretation, but such tautology is not uncommon in the language of the epitaphs, and it is frequently met with also in the language of Plautus. The departed is thus besought to render consolation eternally to the pious. In a similar spirit the husband bids farewell to his wife, who is to remain his eternal consolation. V. 3496 *aeternum meum uale solacium.* It does not, however, affect the general interpretation which I have given to these lines whether *aeterne* is regarded as an adverb or as a vocative. *Aeterne* may be applied to the deified spirit of the dead, just as *deus* is not infrequently so used in the epitaphs.

The prayer in the last line that the departed may preserve the life of all reminds us that the dead were thought to have a certain influence and power over the lives of those who survived them. The spirit of this line is not essentially different from that of VI. 30102 (1508), in which the husband appeals to his departed wife to spare his life for many years.

> parcas, oro, uiro, puella, parcas,
> ut possit tibi plurimos per annos
> cum sertis dare iusta quae dicauit,
> et semper uigilet lucerna nardo.

Compare also the closing words of VI. 4825 (1020) *parcito et ipse tuos.* For other illustrations of this belief we may refer to VI. 19874 (1224), VI. 24520 (1057), VI. 29950, IX. 6315 (383), XIV. 3945 (366).

The third list contains references to the mythological beings and to the regions of the lower world. It includes 58 inscriptions which, with two exceptions, are in prose.

Twenty-three of those quoted in lists I. and II. also include similar references. Here again the language is merely poetic and figurative. Pluto and Proserpine are but the personification of death, and the epithets which are applied to them are such as we find applied to the abstract terms used to denote death. Elysium is mentioned some twenty times, Styx fourteen, Tartarus nine, Lethe six, Acheron five, Orcus three. The boatman of the lower world is mentioned three times as Charon, Porthmeus, portitor. His boat is referred to six times. We also have one reference to each of the following: Hecate, Minos, Cerberus, Tantalus, Sisyphus, Ixion, and the Furies.

None of these epitaphs, whether in poetry or prose, contains any epithets or expressions which imply affection for the deities mentioned; but the mention of mother earth, on the other hand, often awakens in the hearts of the people a real affection and unfeigned sympathy. There is a genuine touch of pathos in the following:

VI. 18579 (1039)

terra parens, tibi Fortunatae commisimus ossa
quae tangis matres proxumitate tuos.

The epithets applied are *amica, pia, felix, fecunda, frugea, aurea.*

Even mother earth does not seem to be thought of as a definite personality with a definite name. The names *tellus* and *humus* are used as well as *terra.* This conception of the earth as the mother who produces all life, and who again receives back her children at death into her bosom, is the outgrowth of the generally accepted belief of the Roman people that the life of man belongs to this earth, and that there is no personal immortality beyond the grave.

This simple conception of earth which prevailed so generally among the common people often reappears in Roman literature. The *grata humus* seems to me to be used in this simple, natural way in the following lines of Propertius (5, 11, 100):

Causa peroratast. flentes me surgite, testes,
dum pretium uitae grata rependit humus.

I cannot accept Maass's interpretation of these words. He says (Orpheus 222): "*grata humus* ist für *grati inferi* (die gewogenen Unterirdischen) gesagt."

The love of nature and appreciation of its beauties, which form a distinguishing characteristic of Roman literature in contrast to all the other literatures of antiquity, are the outgrowth of this feeling of kinship which the Italians entertained for mother earth.

In striking contrast to the small number of references to the gods of Rome to be found in the epitaphs appears the frequent use of words which imply that the life of man is not guided by divine beings but is controlled only by an irresistible force. A variety of words and expressions is used to indicate this power, but the fundamental idea is the same in the case of all. The words which most frequently occur are *fatum*, *fatalis*, *Parcae*, *sorores*, *Clotho*, *Lachesis*, *Atropos*, *fortuna*, *fors*, and *sors*. I shall consider first *fatum* and *fatalis*. These words were the most abstract of this entire group and they were the ones which were employed with the greatest frequency. In the poetic inscriptions I have noted 242 and in the prose 28 illustrations of their use. In the majority of these cases the most prominent and the essential idea is that fate is the ruthless power which causes an early and a premature death. Illustrations of this usage may be found in all periods represented by the epitaphs, and in all parts of the Roman empire. I have noted upwards of two hundred illustrations of this usage, but I subjoin only a few examples.

I. 1009, VI. 10096 (55) properauit hora tristis fatalis mea.

VI. 25703 (1537) properauit aetas, uoluit hoc fatus meus.

VI. 15897 (459), 26680 (1173), 28523 (1540).

Life appeared to the majority of those whose ideas are revealed to us in the sepulchral inscriptions as a period of natural growth and decay, bounded by birth and the grave. If this full period of life was uninterrupted, they felt that nature had completed its work and that death had come in the natural course of events to man as it came to all things.

This thought is brought out emphatically in the epitaphs as in VI. 11252 (1567) *mors etenim hominum natura, non poena est.* They considered that under these circumstances death was a normal, necessary, and natural occurrence and that there was no just ground for complaint or for bitter grief. It was only when this natural life was cut short that they poured out those pathetic wails of sorrow which bear the stamp of sincerity. This apparent violation of the laws of nature, to them so mysterious and so sad, they attributed to the blind caprice and cruel will of fate. This victory of fate over nature is often referred to in such expressions as the following:

I. 1202, X. 4362 (362) eheu heu Taracei, ut acerbo es deditus fato. non aeuo exacto uitai es traditus morti.

III. 11281 (1565) ante quidem tempus fata rapuerunt mala.

VI. 15897 (459) inclementa [negant] eius currentia fata.

Cf. III. 6475 (1310), X. 5429 (1144), VI. 16059 (175).

VI. 29629 (1067) vixi dum fata sinebant.

III. 4483 (1082) uixi ego dum licuit dulciter ad superos.

III. 2835 (992) uixsi quad potui semper bene pauper honeste.

Cf. IX. 1764 (76), VI, 16169 (85).

The death of those who have lived the full term of life is accordingly attributed to nature rather than to fate as in the following:

VI. 21975 (67) itaque quoad aetatem uolui exsegi meam.

VI. 3580 debitum naturae persoluit.

In a similar spirit is the following brief epitaph:

VIII. 10775 C. Co. Primus vixit an. LXXV.
suo leto, suis meritis mortuus.

Mommsen's explanation of these words is as follows: "Id est uitam finiuit quando et qualem fata voluerunt." The thought, however, in the mind of the writer seems to have been that Primus has lived seventy-five years up to the natural time of death rather than that he has died in accordance with fate.

There are comparatively few cases in which fate seems entirely dissociated from an early death and in which it is regarded as the power determining the length of life and appointing the time of death. In VI. 25427 (1142) we find the words *postquam fatis morientia lumina soluit* applied to one who died *annis plenus*.

IX. 3473 (186) hunc titulum nobis posuimus uiuis, ut possemus at superos securius uitam bonam ger(e)re, qua fini fata uolebant.

V. 3143 (1120) debita cum fatis uenerit hora tribus.

VI. 20513 uolente fato uixit annis LXXXII.

XII. 5271 (1021) mortua cum fueris, fati quod lege necessest.

From the frequent use of *fatum* as the power which determined the length of life and assigned the time of death, especially in the case of those dying in youth, this term came to be used for death and especially the death of the young. It was thus merely a synonym for *mors* or *letum*.

VI. 5534 (1035) causa latet fati.

VI. 6502 (1001) Plocami lugere sepulti fata.

VI. 25531 (1106) post sua fata.

VI. 25871 (1219) cito reddite fatis.

VI. 28044 (1575) raptus qui est subito, quo fato, non scitur.

VI. 28941 (96) fata non parcunt bonis.

VI. 29629 (1067) inmatura meo perlege fata loco.

I. 1422, IX. 5557 (69) quoius fatum acerbum populus indigne tulit.

III. 9733 (77) dum fatum venit.

I. 1202, X. 4362 (362), III. 1552 (460), VIII. 4071 (433).

While the idea of destiny is more or less clearly involved in the passages above cited, yet in the following it is the most prominent conception, and the idea of death is subordinate to this.

VI. 3608 (475) quod si fata mihi dedissent luce videre.

VI. 9604 (1253) dubias fatorum clades.

VI. 12009 (1218) perfuncti fato hic tenuere locum.

VI. 22251 (1127) si pietate aliquem redimi fatale fuisset.

V. 4905 (982) cum in patria(m) tulerit te dextera fati.

V. 7453 (1578) si potuisset uincere fata.

X. 126 cuius si fata fuissent. (scil. aequa.)

III. 3241 (1208) dum mea fata resistent.

VIII. 12792 (1187) fatum fuit ut Libys esses.

XII. 533, B) fati non uincitur ordo.

Just as *fatum* came to mean death from the fact that it was regarded as the power which fixed the time of death, so from the idea that it was the one controlling force in life the word was used to denote the entire life of man and was even employed as synonymous with *uita*.

VI. 17342 (1049) finitum Euhodiae fatum.

VI. 26901 (172) fatis peractis.

IX. 1817 (1055) finem fati conqueror ipsa mei.

IX. 3279 (1183) reddere te fatis, Ephire, si pos[se liceret].

III. 3146 (1160) sed legem fatis Parcae dixere cruentam.

III. 9106 (1156) Parcae crudeles, nimium properastis rumpere fata mea.

III. 9314 (1205) paucis perlege fata mea.

Especially suggestive is the use of *fatales* as equivalent to *mortales*.

XIV. 2553 (1032) fatales moneo, ne quis me lugeat.

With this we may compare XI. 2329 (506) *si fortuna quidem fatis non laeva fuisset*. Here *fatis* is almost synonymous with *filio* to whom the epitaph is inscribed. Similar also is the following: VI. 12652 (995) *fataque maerendo sollicitare mea*.

When any of this group of words is used to denote fate, the personal idea rarely seems to be present to the mind of the writer, yet in a few cases the form of the language employed is such as might have been applied to divine beings. Even in these cases we seem to have rather the personification of fate than any conception of the fates as goddesses. Examples of such usage are as follows:

VI. 8991 (101) fata inuiderunt mihi.
VI. 20513 uolente fato.
VI. 24049 (1041) fata animam dederant fata eademq. negant.
VI. 27383 (1061) fatorum culpa nocentum.
VI. 25703 (1537) uoluit hoc fatus meus.
V. 3143 (1120) debita cum fatis uenerit hora tribus.
V. 6714 (391) fata uocassent.
X. 1920 (464) fata suum petiere diem.
X. 4763 (448) fato dictante iniquo.
II. 4314 (1279) inuidere meis annis crudelia fata.
III. 6383 (1147) nato erepto a fato.
III. 6475 (1310) ei mihi, fatales cur rapuere dei?
XII. 882 (1071) raptus a fatis.

We find a variety of other words relating to death personified in a similar way. Compare:

VI. 12009 (1218) ambo per inuidiam crudeli funere rapti.
VI. 27383 (1061) quam tristi rapuit mors scelerata die?
VI. 29629 (1067) nomine me rapuit mors inimica meo.
V. 4754 o nefas, quam floridos cito, mors, eripis annos!
IX. 5041 (984), III. 11229 (1011), XIII. 2036.

As we have noted, the power of fate is most keenly felt and most emphasized in connection with the death of the young. Accordingly the epithets most commonly applied are such as *dura*, *invida*, *atra*, *crudelia*, *acerba*, *iniqua*, *mala*, *tristia*, *infelicia*, *currentia*, *brevia*, *contraria*.

The last two lines of an epitaph to a wife whose husband and children survive her are as follows:

VI. 19055 (495) digna quidem frui perpetua de luce benigna,
set celerat quo nos fata benigna uocant.

This is the only epitaph in which the word *benigna* is found applied to *fata*, and its use here has occasioned much perplexity. It is generally interpreted as an error of the stone-cutter and is thought to be a mere repetition of *benigna* which

occurs in the previous line. Bücheler, the latest commentator, seems to favor this interpretation. His note in *Carmina Latina Epigraphica*, page 237, is as follows: "*benigna* fortasse errore lapicidae iteratum, fortasse imitatione certi carminis (*fati benigni* Iuu. 16, 4), fortasse adfectatione philosopha. nam lugenti marito magis conueniebat *severa* quod Boissardus dedit, *sinistra*, *maligna*." He seems to feel that even if the word *benigna* be accepted as the original reading, still the expression is not in harmony with the feelings of the bereaved husband nor in conformity with the general spirit of the inscriptions.

It is, however, to be observed that it is only in connection with a premature death that fate is regarded as cruel and envious. If the word *fata* is used at all in the case of the death of others, usually no epithet is added. For example:

V. 3143 (1120) debita cum fatis uenerit hora tribus.

VIII. 12103 (524) functus fati co[lis] uita felix de luce recessi.

The following epitaphs show that the fates might under some circumstances be thought of as kindly disposed.

IX. 3071 (1212) ut superi pia fata tulissent.

The wife who has raised a monument to her husband says:

XIII. 2016 quod ille mi debuit facere, si fata bona fuissent.

Of one who has lived a long and a useful life it is said:

X. 6785 (1189) huic non dura colu Clotho decrevit.

X. 3336 fato bono.

We meet too with such expressions as:

VI. 20513 volente fato vixit annis LXXXII.

XI. 137 (1580) qui dum factus civis R. iuuente fato colocaui arkam.

VI. 24049 (1041) fata animam dederant fata eademq. negant.

We meet too in dedicatory inscriptions such expressions as the following:

V. 8802 dis diab(us) fatalibus conseru(atoribus).

But an essential point and one which has apparently been overlooked by commentators is that the *fata* here refer to the fates which shall unite in death the husband to his wife rather than to those who have taken away the wife; and yet in the latter case we find the wife is sometimes represented as preferring to die before her husband.

VI. 9792 praecedere uoluisti, sanctissima coiux.

The epitaphs often speak of the bereaved husband's desire to join his wife in the grave. Death under these circumstances is often pictured as preferable to life.

VI. 7579 aut et me reddite coniugi meae.

Entirely in harmony with the spirit of the inscription under consideration is one in which the husband inscribes on the tomb of his wife:

XIII. 2205 utinam nos fatus texisset utrosque.

The epithet *benignus* might, with propriety, have been added here to *fatus;* but an adjective like *severus*, *sinister*, or *malignus*, such as has been suggested as an emendation for *benignus* in VI. 19055, would be equally out of place in both epitaphs. We may accordingly conclude that the epithet *benigna* is in full accord with the general spirit of the views of the people on life and death as reflected in their epitaphs.

It is interesting to observe the different forms in which the word *fatum* is used. I have noted 225 illustrations of its use in poetic epitaphs and 28 in prose. *Fatus* occurs 20 times in poetical epitaphs and 3 times in prose. *Fatum* is once used in the masculine accusative as is shown by *felicem* VI. 30119. The feminine is found in the entire *C.I.L.* three times in the plural: *fate* (=*fatae*) II. 89, and *fatabus* V. 4209, 5005. These are the only forms which we can be sure are either masculine or feminine.

Fatum occurs 24 times; *fati*, in the gen. sing., 27 times; *fato* 37 times; *fata* 100 times; *fatorum* 18 times; *fatis* 22 times.

The usage here noted throws some light on the interpretation of *fati* in VI. 29436 (1159).

> Ummidiae manes tumulus tegit iste simulque
> Primigeni uernae, quos tulit una dies.
> nam Capitolinae compressi examine turbae
> supremum fati competiere diem.

Bücheler compares this epitaph with X. 1920 (464) *fata suum petiere diem.* He would thus take *fati* in the nominative plural. As the form *fati* is not elsewhere found in the epitaphs as a nominative plural, but is frequently used as a genitive singular, it is more reasonable to consider this case as conforming to the common usage of the word. It seems an unnatural and forced interpretation to take *fati* as the subject. In this case the figure is a bolder and more elaborate one than we find elsewhere applied to fate. Taking *fati* in the genitive, the expression is a simple and a natural one, and is not unlike such expressions as *fatorum tempora, fatalem diem, finem fati mei.* The verb *competiere* is far more naturally applied to the two who have met death together than to the fates. We should rather compare this inscription to one which furnishes a striking parallel:

IX. 5140 hi duo conuenti una fata secuti.

In the language of the people the word *fatum* was employed in such a general and vague way that it was not well adapted to personification and the requirements of poetic language. Other words were accordingly used to give a more objective expression to the idea of destiny. Such words were *Parcae, sorores, Clotho, Lachesis, Atropos, fortuna, fors, sors.* We frequently find *Parcae* used in connection with *fata* to bring out more concretely the idea which is merely suggested by the more abstract term.

VI. 10969 (443) parce oculis nec nostra uelis cognoscere fata,
sanguinea palla quae texit prodiga Clotho
et fauit rupisse suas quoque fila sorores
luctifica properante manu.

I. 1008, VI. 25369 (59) quoi fatum graue
infestae] Parcae ac finem uitae statuerunt.

III. 3146 (1160) sed legem fatis Parcae dixere cruentam.

III. 9106 (1156) Parcae crudeles, nimium properastis rumpere fata mea.

VIII. 21269 (1552) fatis certa uia est neque se per stamina mutat Atropos.

I subjoin a list of other passages in which there is a direct reference to the Parcae.

VI. 7578 (422) inuidit Lachesis, Clotho me saeua necauit
tertia nec passa est pietate rependere matri.

I. 1009, VI. 10096 (55) en hoc in tumulo cinerem nostri corporis
infistae Parcae deposierunt carmine.

VI. 10226 (1119) Parcae nam inpubem quem rapuere mihi.

VI. 10493 (1122) in]uida bis denos Lachesis concesserat annos:
nondum alio pleno quod dederat rapuit.

VI. 11407 (1222) i]nuida nascenti Lacesis fuit, inuida Cloto.

VI. 11624 (494) cuius furibundae ruperunt fila sorores.

VI. 20674 (436) sic etenim duxere ollim primordia Parcae
et neuere super nobis uitalia fila.

VI. 21521 (1109) Parcarum putria fila querens
et gemerem tristi damnatam sorte iuuentam.

VI. 25063 (1549) 5. adiecit Chloto iteratum rumpere filum,
ut natum raperet tristis, ut ante, mihi.
17. stamina ruperunt subito tua candida Parcae
apstuleruntque simul uota precesque mihi.

VI. 25617 (965) supremum Parcae sorte dedere mihi.

VI. 28047 (1128) dispar damna lege Parkar[u]m et stamina dispar.

VI. 29426 (1164) inuida quem tenerum Parca tenax rapuit.

VI. 30114 (1114) cum mea Lethaeae ruperunt fila sorores.

VI. 30121 (401) sper]aui uissere Parcas.

IX. 60 (1533) terminus hicc est,
quem mihi nascenti quondam Parcae cecinere.

IX. 2272 (1523) ipso mihi flore iuuentae
ruperunt fila sorores.

X. 5429 (1144) tempus uicturo mihi longum stamine Parca
aetatis nostrae [p]r[aerip]uit[que c]olu.

X. 5665 (378) heu nimium celeres in funere Parcae.

X. 6785 (1189) huic non dura colu Clotho decreuit.

X. 8131 (428) a male Parcarum dura de lege sororum raptus.

XI. 1209 (1550) erubuit nostras Atropos ipsa colus.

XIV. 2709 (1248) quod si mutari potuissent fila sororum.

II. 3871 (978) Parcae falluntur, Fontanum quae rapuerunt
cum sit perpetuo fama futura uiri.

III. 2183 (822) quod si longa magis nexissent stamina Parcae.

III. 2341 (1204) crudeles Parcae nimium.

III. 2964 (1141) 13. hanc Atropos rapuit Lachesisq. et tertia Clotho.
15. incusat denique Parcas.

III. 2628 (456) qu]od si longa magis duxissent fila sorores.

III. 6384 (1206) inuida Parcarum series liuorque malignus
bis septena mea ruperunt stamina lucis.

III. 9623 (627) cunctis fila parant et Parce nec parcetur ullis.

VIII. 724 (1612) Parcae quos tribuerent,
ter quinos bis singulos peregi annos.

VIII. 8870 (501) ni Lachesis breuia rupisset stamina fuso,
pro dolor, ut nulli decreta rumpere fas est
Parcarum diua durosque euadere casus.

VIII. 646 in annis uiginti duobus quos Parcae praefinierant edito.
Cf. VI. 7898 (1058), X. 7968 (1701), III. 8847 (1666), VIII. 9142 (472).

We thus find the Parcae mentioned in forty-one epitaphs, all of which are in poetic form unless we except VIII. 646, which is poetic in tone and is classed by I. Cholodniak (*Carmina Sepulcralia Latina*) as iambic verse. The epitaphs in which these expressions occur are as a rule more ambitious in form than those which employ the word *fata* to express destiny. Still, the views of life and death which underlie them are the same. Destiny is here depicted under the image of the Parcae as decreeing death, especially the death of the young, as immutable, cruel, and hostile to man. The Parcae are referred to in all these epitaphs as the cause of premature death, except in the two following cases: VIII. 212, X. 6785.

The epithets are similar to those which we noted in connec-

tion with *fata*, i.e. *inuida, crudeles, infestae, tristis, dura, tenax, celeres, furibundae, prodiga* (scil. *scelerum*).

Sometimes the Parcae are conceived as goddesses of death and are thought of as residing in the lower world. In VI. 30114 (1114) they are called the *Lethaeae sorores*. In III. 2341 (1204) they are called *infernae*. In VI. 30121 (401) we meet with the expression *vissere Parcas*. Here *Parcas* is synonymous with the lower world.

In VI. 12307 (1050) we meet with an unusual expression in regard to fate:

> sed quoniam dirae genuerunt fata uolucres,
> te, Basse, ereptum fleuimus ante rogum.

This passage has been variously amended, but not in a satisfactory way. In fact, it does not seem to need emendation. The term *dirae uolucres* was evidently suggested by Vergil (*Aen.* III. 262) and Bücheler quotes this passage in connection with the epitaph. It would not seem altogether strange that one who was acquainted with Greek mythology should speak of the Harpies as causing death. They are not infrequently represented as goddesses of death both in Greek literature and in Greek art. In Aesch. *Eumen.* 50 they are spoken of as closely related to the Erinyes, and Vergil uses the expression of the Harpy Celaeno "furiarum ego maxima." Judging, however, from the somewhat confused method of thought and the unskilful use of language displayed in the rest of the epitaph, the writer does not appear to have been one who would have been quick to throw aside popular ideas of death and to adopt those of Greek mythology even though reflected in so popular a poet as Vergil. While the epitaphs show abundant evidence of the popularity of Vergil among the common people and while there are numerous illustrations of the influence of his poems on the language of the epitaphs, there is almost no evidence that his conceptions of death affected their beliefs. It is accordingly more natural to suppose that the writer simply availed himself of the language of Vergil to embody the prevailing conceptions of death. In the popular mind the prophecy of evil was often

identified with the evil itself. The prophet was thought of as causing the evil which he foretold. Thus, in Homer, we have the expression, *Iliad* I. 108:

ἐσθλὸν δ' οὔτε τί πω εἶπας ἔπος, οὔτ' ἐτέλεσσας.

The simple conceptions of life and death as embodied in Homer far better reflect the plane of thought on which the common people of Rome stood than do the writings of Vergil or any of the other poets of Rome, representing as they do the refinements of culture in which the populace had no share. The Parcae were not only thought of as determining destiny by spinning the thread of life, but they were also represented as those who prophesied.

IX. 60 (1533) terminus hicc est,
quem mihi nascenti quondam Parcae cecinere.

Cf. VI. 29426 (1164), III. 3146 (1160), VIII. 16566 (1332). In a spirit similar to that which we observed in the expression of Homer are the two following epitaphs, in which the evil and the prophecy of evil seem to be almost identified in the minds of the writers.

I. 1009, VI. 10096 (55)
en hoc in tumulo cinerem nostri corporis
infistae Parcae deposierunt carmine.

III. 2964 (1141) incusat denique Parcas
quae uitam pensant quaeque futura canunt.

The conception of the Parcae as cruel goddesses who prophesied the greatest misfortune which could befall mortals, *i.e.* the death of the young, might naturally suggest to the unskilful but ambitious poet the idea of applying to them the expression used of the most prominent evil prophets which appear in Latin literature. If the writer had had the Harpies in mind as those who caused the death, he would not have ventured to speak of them so vaguely and indefinitely when this conception, as far as we can judge from the large number of the sepulchral inscriptions, was entirely

foreign to the mind of the common people. That he should have attempted to give variety to the expression by employing a new phrase to express a conception which was in the mind of every one and which had already appeared in various forms in the language of the epitaphs, was natural on the part of one who shows throughout the poem a desire to put the well-worn common sentiments in regard to death in a new and striking form.

Destiny and fate are also personified under the name of *fortuna*. Her sphere of action is more varied than that of *fata* or the Parcae. In the following epitaphs, however, *fortuna* seems but another designation of the same power which we have met in the case of *fata* and the Parcae.

VI. 10969 (443) placet hoc, fortuna, sepulchrum?

VI. 10971 (442) o fortuna, fidem quantam mutasti maligne.

VI. 20128 (1065) atrox o fortuna, truci quae funere gaudes,
quid mihi tam subito Maximus eripitur?

V. 6808 (63) queror fortunae cassum tam iniquom et graue[m.

X. 5495 (376) si fortuna pie seruasset uota parentum.

XI. 531 (1170), XI. 2329 (506), II. 3475 (980), III. 729 (1485), III. 2628 (456), III. 6416 (82), VIII. 9048 (1610), VIII. 10828 (110), VIII. 18792 (1788), VI. 16709.

In the following epitaphs *fortuna* is still regarded as the power which determines the length of life.

I. 1019, VI. 30105 (68) spe amissa uoluit me fortuna heic retine(re),
quoniam me fortuna iniqua non siuit frui,
nihil timeo nec confido.

V. 6693 (610) sic fortuna tibi dederat transcurrere uitam.

XIV. 316 (1105) et quem mi dederat cursum fortuna peregit.

II. 4315 (500) fortunam metuant omnes.

VIII. 9170 (515) iam requiem sumimus, ubi nos fortuna remisit.

XII. 287 (814) quem dederat cursum fort[una peregi.

Fortuna is represented also as the power which shapes the life of man and which sends prosperity. Her name is often

associated with *spes*. Her abode is in the upper world, and she is the goddess of the living whom the dying leave behind.

VI. 11743 (1498) Euasi effugi. spes et fortuna ualete.

VI. 14211 (964) dextera fama mihi fuit et fortuna.

VI. 15225 (204) si pro uirtute et animo fortunam habuissem.

I. 1010, VI. 24563 (185) fortuna spondet multa multis, praestat nemini.

VI. 28239 (447) uiuite felices superi quorum fortuna beatast.

I. 1019, VI. 30105 (68) uixsi et fortunam, quoad uixi, toli.

VIII. 8567 (569) gaudia que dederat rapuit fortuna repente.

VIII. 12792 (1187) munus erat, fortuna, tuum seruare pudicam.

VI. 9693 (1136), VI. 15225 (204), I. 1010, VI. 19175 (185), V. 3415 (1095), V. 5930 (1589), IX. 60 (1533), IX. 4756 (409), III. 1854 (1117), VIII. 11828 (99), VIII. 11883 (530).

To the writers of the epitaphs fate seldom appears as a fixed law of nature, as to the Stoic, or as a predetermined order of events, as to Vergil, but rather as a blind necessity depending on chance and not on law. The most marked exceptions are the following:

III. 406 (432) uota superuacua fletusque et numina diuum naturae leges fatorumque arguit ordo.

XII. 533 (465 B) fati non uincitur ordo.

In the following inscription the idea of envy and hostility on the part of the fates is more prominent than that of an unvaried order of events.

III. 6384 (1206) inuida Parcarum series liuorque malignus bis septena mea ruperunt stamina lucis.

An expression which has been interpreted as similar in thought to the last mentioned is found

III. 3397 (555) inuida fatorum genesis mihi sustulit illam.

The *inuida fatorum genesis* of this epitaph is usually compared with Lucan (I. 70) *inuida fatorum series*. There would seem, however, no justification either in literature or inscrip-

tions for the assumption that *genesis* can be used in any such sense as is implied in the comparison. If the writer of this epitaph had desired to express the idea of a fixed order of events, he would doubtless have used the word *series* which would suit the metre as well as *genesis;* for we do not find in the rest of the epitaph any effort to express common thoughts in bold and unusual form. Let us compare this expression with the following:

X. 4022 quoniam me tibi tullit genesis iniqua.

XII. 2039 iniqua stella et genesis mala.

VI. 17130 (963) inuidus aurato surrexit mihi Lucifer astro,
cum miserum me urgeret inuidia.

IX. 5041 (984) hic puer infirmeis etiam nunc uiribus ut quoi
octauom ingrediens sidera conficerent.

V. 3466 planetam suum procurare uos moneo; in Nemese ne fidem habeatis; sic sum deceptus.

V. 7047 (1092) astro nato nihil est sperabile datum.

III. 2722 properavit aetas, uoluit hoc astrum meum.

XII. 955 (470) si haliquit casu alite[r] aduxerit aster.

These epitaphs display the same belief in a mysterious power determining the life of man which we have previously observed in our consideration of *fata*, *fortuna*, etc., but in these cases the power is associated with the stars. In the epitaph under consideration the horoscope of man still remains the essential idea, but in this case there is the added thought that the horoscope of man is determined by the fates. In VI. 9604 (1253) we meet with a similar use of the gen., *dubias fatorum clades*, disasters which befall mortals at the hands of the fates. The writer seems to have desired to combine the two ideas which in other epitaphs remained independent, that destiny was determined by the stars, and that destiny was determined by the fates.

With this class of epitaphs we may also compare

VI. 19914 (174) cot debuit facere filius,
scelesta gens fecit ut hoc faceret pater.

Bücheler's note on *gens* is as follows: "Utrum scelerati homines an mala genesis scriptori observata sit parum liquet." In objection to the first alternative we may say that *gens* is not found elsewhere in literature or in the inscriptions as equivalent to *homines*. This fact is pointed out in a note on this epitaph in the *C.I.L.* Another objection to this interpretation, and one of at least equal weight to my mind, is the fact that it is not in harmony with the usage of the epitaphs to introduce such a marked change in the thought of this oft-recurring formula. Its purport is elsewhere invariably the same, *i.e.* that death or destiny has compelled the father to perform that service for the son which in the ordinary course of nature the son should have performed for the father. It is in harmony with the usage of the inscriptions also to find *scelestus* and *sceleratus* used in connection with words associated with death. We meet in VI. 7579 *scelestum discidium*. The dropping of syllables is not an uncommon error of the inscriptions, as *horatam* for *honoratam*, VI. 3452.

The frequent use of such words as *sors*, *fors*, and *casus* seems to imply that destiny is determined by mere chance or accident, and that it baffles all calculation.

VI. 25781 (1219) abrupit dirae sortis iniqua dies.

VI. 29609 (974) inuida sors fati rapuisti Vitalem.

V. 6808 (63) queror fortunae cassum tam iniquom et graue[m].

III. 2964 (1141) quam fors ad superos noluit esse diu.

VI. 9118 (467), VI. 19049 (545), VI. 25063 (1549), V. 1710 (640), XI. 531 (1170), XIV. 1821 (563), II. 5478 (1158), III. 9623 (627), VIII. 152 (516), VIII. 8870 (501), VIII. 10828 (110), VIII. 18792 (1788), XIII. 2077.

The beliefs reflected in the epitaphs of the common people of Rome do not seem to differ materially from those of the primitive people of the Indo-European family. Nature displayed her power to primitive man in nothing more forcibly than death. Its approach was unseen, and it came with irresistible might, filling the hearts of all with dread and alarm. Death, and the unseen power which caused death, appear to

have been among the first forces of nature to be personified. That Moera was originally a goddess of nature is suggested by Aphrodite Urania, whom Pausanias (I. 19, 2) calls the eldest of the Moerae, and by Gaea, whom Hesiod (*Theog.* 891 ff.) represents as controlling the destiny of the primitive world when the Titans held sway. Such a personification was the first step in the development of mythology. Everywhere in Homer we see the tendency to personification, and we can catch a glimpse of this early process of transformation of abstract ideas into the more definite forms of deities. Here θάνατος and κήρ appear, not as gods, but rather as the personifications of an abstract idea. Moera, too, is used in the singular except in one case, which is evidently of later origin, and is the personification of the idea of portion or destiny of every living being. As destiny came to assume more definite features it was conceived under the image of the three fates. They are represented as daughters of the night (Hes. *Theog.* 218), and are accordingly ranked among the earliest deities and as pre-existent to Zeus. They are still conceived as mere allegorical beings without a father, mere abstractions, like death and sleep. When Zeus rose to be the supreme ruler of the universe, the conception of the Moerae changed at the hands of the poets. They came to be represented as the daughters of Zeus and Themis. They were henceforth often regarded as subordinate to Zeus, and as mere tools in his hands to execute his will. The earlier conception of the absolute supremacy of destiny still remained the popular view, and even in the literary works of Rome was not wholly supplanted by the more elaborate inventions of a later time.

The fact that the *Iliad* was composed at a time when the conception of fate had not taken the definite form which it assumed in later mythology and had not yet been brought into harmony with the supremacy of Zeus leads to apparent contradictions in the relations of Moera and Zeus. At one time Moera is regarded as supreme, and Zeus and the other gods merely execute her decrees; at another time Zeus is the supreme ruler. In Roman literature we find a similar lack of harmony prevailing in relation to the power of destiny

and of the gods. Here the idea of fate is associated with the names of various deities, but the fundamental idea seems to be the same as that which we have observed in the epitaphs. No distinct personality was attached to these various deities, and even in Vergil fate is an impersonal power, and forms a background on which appear the more or less lifelike forms of the deities of Greek origin. Though the heroes of the *Aeneid* are represented as offering prayer to Jupiter as the omnipotent god, still we realize that the national feeling and even the more fundamental sentiment of the poet are reflected in such lines as:

fortuna omnipotens et ineluctabile fatum.

It is in the prominence given to fate that Vergil reflects the sentiments of the people, and it is this which has largely contributed to make him the popular poet of Rome. The idea of fate occurs in the *Aeneid* with monotonous frequency. It has been pointed out that *fatum* and *fata* are used upwards of forty times in the first three books. The view of fate presented in the *Aeneid* is evidently a concession on the part of the poet to the national consciousness; for the emphasis which the poet lays on destiny tends to lessen the interest which he wishes should centre about the human and divine actors in this drama. This single instance must suffice to illustrate how the Roman authors waver between the primitive conception of the supremacy of fate and the later idea of the supremacy of Jupiter and of the other gods.

This study of the sepulchral inscriptions seems to me to warrant the conclusion that Cicero, Seneca, and Juvenal were right when they said that the stories of the lower world and of its gods were universally regarded as idle tales. These epitaphs furnish a strong argument against the view held by Friedländer (*Sittengeschichte*, III.[6] 755). He considers that the story of Charon and the other myths connected with the lower world were generally accepted by the common people as a part of their religious creed. We are warranted in advancing still further in our conclusions and in maintaining that the common people had no more faith

in the gods of the upper world than they had in those of the lower.

We may also conclude that the common people did not conceive of *fata* as deities, or as determined by deities. The figures of the spinning Parcae might sometimes be chiselled on tombs as symbolic of death, or their names might be employed in epitaphs as poetic adornment, but in reality fate was to the Romans an inexplicable and irresistible force which regulated human life and which often interrupted it before it had run its natural course.

I shall consider in a second paper the views of the common people with regard to death and immortality, and I shall hope to show that Juvenal was right when he said (I. 149) that only children believed in the existence of the Manes.

VI.—*The Lenaea, the Anthesteria, and the Temple ἐν Λίμναις.*

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Since Dörpfeld's discovery in 1894 of the small Dionysus temple lying to the west of the Acropolis and south of the Areopagus, there has been much speculation as to the identity of the building and its connection with the worship of Dionysus at Athens. Dörpfeld thinks he has found the famous temple *ἐν Λίμναις* and has published his reasons for thinking so in a long article in the *Mittheil. d. k. d. arch. Inst. in Athen* for 1895. In advocating this theory Dörpfeld is quite consistent with his earlier views held before the temple was discovered, that the *λίμναι* lay to the northwest of the Acropolis. In this he was supported by Pickard in the *American Journal of Archaeology* for 1893 and by others. The most recent contribution to the literature of the subject is a paper by von Prott in the *Mittheil. d. k. d. arch. Inst. in Athen* for 1898 discussing the question at length and agreeing with Dörpfeld in his main contention, that the temple really is the temple *ἐν Λίμναις*. As I cannot agree with this conclusion after a careful examination of the evidence, it seems worth while to point out what appear to me to be the weak points in the theory and to discuss in connection with it the evidence for the Lenaea and the Anthesteria, the festivals with which it is involved.

Thucydides, in the much discussed passage in the second book (II. 15), in commenting on Athens in the olden time gives as a proof that the city in so far as it was outside of the Acropolis lay chiefly to the south of it, the fact that some of the oldest sanctuaries lay in that direction and names the temple of Olympian Zeus, the Pythium, the temple of Ge and that of Dionysus *ἐν Λίμναις*, where, he says, *ἀρχαιότερα Διονύσια ποιεῖται ἐν μηνὶ Ἀνθεστηριῶνι*. In other words, Thucydides

says that certain Dionysus rites which he characterizes as *ἀρχαιότερα* were celebrated at the temple *ἐν Λίμναις* which lay south of the Acropolis. This passage has been so much discussed and so many attempts have been made to change or emend it that it is hardly necessary to quote it in full here. Dörpfeld has argued at great length to show that there is nothing in the passage contrary to his view that the temple *ἐν Λίμναις* lay to the west of the Acropolis. His arguments were vigorously attacked by Stahl in an article in the *Rheinisches Museum* for 1895, to which he made reply in the same periodical for the year following. After all the discussion it seems impossible to me that the passage *τὸ δὲ πρὸ τούτου ἡ ἀκρόπολις ἡ νῦν οὖσα πόλις ἦν καὶ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον. τεκμήριον δέ· τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἐστι καὶ τὰ ἔξω πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἵδρυται, τό τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου καὶ τὸ Πύθιον καὶ τὸ τῆς Γῆς καὶ τὸ ἐν Λίμναις Διονύσου* can mean anything else than that the sanctuaries enumerated lay to the south of the Acropolis. Certainly the burden of proof lies with those who would have it mean otherwise, and their arguments so far are unconvincing.

Dörpfeld also argues that there is evidence that three of the temples named were on the northwest slope of the Acropolis and that the fourth would naturally be there too. But this conclusion is open to objection. For if we grant that there were three sanctuaries situated in this vicinity bearing the names mentioned by Thucydides, it would by no means follow that those were the ones he had in mind, since we also have evidence for buildings bearing the same names south of the Acropolis.

In regard to the Pythium there is sufficient evidence for a sanctuary of this name on the northwest slope of the Acropolis; but there is also evidence for a second Pythium near the Ilissus and a third near the market-place as Dörpfeld frankly admits. With the Olympium the case is not quite the same. The chief piece of evidence for the existence of such a shrine northwest of the Acropolis is a passage in Strabo (IX. 404) where we are told that the Athenians

watched the Harma for the lightning *ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχάρας τοῦ ἀστραπαίου Διὸς* which is *ἐν τῷ τείχει μεταξὺ τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου.* If this Pythium is the one on the northwest slope of the Acropolis, the Olympium mentioned would naturally be somewhere near it. This is probable but not certain. But southeast of the Acropolis there was another Olympium of which remains still exist, the great temple of Olympian Zeus. The fact that this building was not finished until the reign of Hadrian is not a proof that Thucydides is not referring to it. The temple had been begun on a magnificent scale by Pisistratus a century before his time, and the fact that it was completed so many years afterwards on the same spot shows that the enclosure must have remained sacred ground during the interval. Thucydides could thus very properly refer to it, especially when it is remembered that there were certain ancient shrines inside the enclosure and that certain very ancient rites were performed there throughout the classical period, and furthermore that Pausanias implies that there was situated the very early temple of Olympian Zeus, which popular report in his day attributed to Deucalion (Paus. I. 18, 7–8).

In regard to the sanctuary of Ge not very much can be said on either side. Pausanias, I. 22, 3, speaks of a shrine of Ge Kourotrophos and Demeter Chloe which lay to the west of the Acropolis; but in I. 18, 7 he mentions a temenos of Ge Olympia within the peribolos of the great Olympium, that is, southeast of the Acropolis. The evidence for one is about as strong as it is for the other. It seems clear, therefore, that even if we should set the Thucydides passage aside we should be no better off as regards the location of the sanctuaries he mentions. We have shrines of the same name in both quarters of the city. When therefore he tells us that he means those lying to the south of the Acropolis, I think we are forced to accept his statement.

Postponing for a time the further discussion of the temple *ἐν Λίμναις*, I propose to examine the evidence for the festivals of the Lenaea and the Anthesteria, which, I think, will throw some light on the subject.

Thucydides, in the passage which has been quoted, tells us that the *ἀρχαιότερα Διονύσια* were celebrated at the temple *ἐν Λίμναις* in the month of Anthesterion. This statement is at first sight perplexing. The comparative *ἀρχαιότερα* would naturally imply that there were but two festivals, an older festival as contrasted with a more recent one. If the more recent festival was the Great Dionysia, which is known to be the latest of the Dionysus festivals at Athens, the one to be contrasted with it would naturally be the Lenaea, the other festival where plays were produced. But from the lexicographers and other sources we hear of two other Dionysus festivals, the Anthesteria and the festival *κατ' ἀγρούς*. This at once constitutes a difficulty which Dörpfeld[1] escapes by making the Lenaea, the Anthesteria, and the Rustic Dionysia a single festival, in opposition to the traditional view of four festivals held since the days of Boeckh. He believes then that in early times, at any rate, there were but two Dionysus festivals, the Great Dionysia and the Lenaea, and the latter he thinks was celebrated at the temple *ἐν Λίμναις*. This, if right, would certainly explain the comparative, but there is much to be said in opposition to it. This much, however, can be gathered from Thucydides without dispute: that a Dionysus festival, which was an old one, was celebrated at the temple *ἐν Λίμναις* in the month of Anthesterion.

In the pseudo-Demosthenic speech against Neaera, probably to be attributed to Apollodorus, the speaker in mentioning certain duties of the wife of the King Archon says (§§ 100–101), that "they wrote the law on a stone slab and stood it up by the altar in the temple of Dionysus in the Marshes," which, later on, he calls the "oldest and most holy" temple of Dionysus, and says that it was opened only once in the year, namely, on the twelfth of the month of Anthesterion. This is perfectly clear, and confirms the passage in Thucydides just discussed. The name of the festival, as we learn from Apollodorus quoted by Suidas, and elsewhere, was the Anthesteria, and in connection with it were celebrated the

[1] *Das Gr. Theater*, p. 9.

Χόες or Feast of Pitchers,[1] and the Χύτροι or Festival of the Pots.[2] We know then the time of the Anthesteria, the place where it was celebrated, and something of the manner in which it was celebrated.

If now we examine the evidence for the Lenaea, we shall find that it is conflicting. Some authorities tell us that it was celebrated at the temple *ἐν Λίμναις*, while others say at a place called the Lenaeum. To be more precise, (1) Hesychius under *Λίμναι* says that this was a place where the Lenaea were held; but in another place (*s.v.* *Λήναιον*) he says that the Lenaeum was the place where the contests were held, and that there was a temple there of Dionysus Lenaeus, that is, Dionysus of the Wine-press. The first of these passages, however, is not as sound a piece of evidence as it might seem at first sight, for von Prott has pointed out that the manuscripts of Hesychius have *λαια*, not *Λήναια*, and we cannot be sure that *Λήναια* is the proper restoration. (2) Then the scholiast to Aristophanes, *Acharnians* (960), speaks of the Χύτροι as a festival of Dionysus Lenaeus, whereas in the *Frogs* (215) Aristophanes himself connects it with Dionysus *ἐν Λίμναις*. (3) Finally Suidas, *s.v.* *χόες*, although he tells us that this festival was part of the Anthesteria and celebrated on the twelfth of Anthesterion, in another place calls it a festival of Dionysus Lenaeus. His words are: *ὅτι Ὀρέστης μετὰ τὸν φόνον εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀφικόμενος (ἦν δὲ ἑορτὴ Διονύσου Ληναίου), ὡς μὴ γένοιτο σφίσιν ὁμόσπονδος ἀπεκτονὼς τὴν μητέρα, ἐμηχανήσατο τοιόνδε τι. χοᾶ οἴνου τῶν δαιτυμόνων ἑκάστῳ παραστήσας, ἐξ αὐτοῦ πίνειν ἐκέλευσε μηδὲν ὑπομιγνύντας ἀλλήλοις, ὡς μήτε ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κρατῆρος πίοι Ὀρέστῃ, μήτε ἐκεῖνος ἄχθοιτο καθ' αὑτὸν πίνων μόνος κ.τ.λ.* The weakness of this as a piece of evidence for connecting the Lenaea and the Anthesteria is apparent if one looks back two paragraphs where the following words occur: *ἑορτὴ Ἀθήνησι χόες ἀπὸ τοιαύτης αἰτίας. Ὀρέστης μετὰ τὴν τῆς μητρὸς ἀναίρεσιν ἦλθεν εἰς Ἀθήνας παρὰ Πανδίονα συγγενῆ καθεστηκότα, ὃς ἔτυχε βασιλεύων τῶν Ἀθηναίων. κατέλαβε*

[1] Suid. *s.v.* *χόες*; Athen., p. 437 b–d; 465 a. [2] Arist. *Frogs*, 215, etc.

δὲ αὐτὸν εὐωχίαν τινὰ δημοτελῆ ποιοῦντα. ὁ τοίνυν Πανδίων παραπέμψασθαι μὲν τὸν Ὀρέστην αἰδούμενος, κοινωνῆσαι δὲ πότου καὶ τραπέζης ἀσεβὲς ἡγούμενος μὴ καθαρθέντος αὐτοῦ τὸν φόνον, ὡς ἂν μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κρατῆρος πίνοι, ἕνα ἑκάστῳ τῶν κεκλημένων παρέθηκε χοᾶ. In this version of the story, which seems to have a common origin with the previous one, there is no mention whatsoever of Dionysus Lenaeus. In the first version, which is evidently defective, the words in parenthesis are plainly a gloss, and as such count for little.

But there is further evidence. We hear repeatedly of the festival ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ which is contrasted with the festival in the city, that is, with the Great Dionysia. This ἀγὼν ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ is the festival otherwise known as the Lenaea. Let us now examine the evidence for locating this Lenaeum. Hesychius (*s. v.* Λήναιον) says: "There is in the city the Lenaeum, which has a large enclosure, and in it a temple of Dionysus Lenaeus. In this enclosure the contests (that is, dramatic contests) of the Athenians took place before the theatre was built." This statement, with slight variations, appears in Photius, in the *Etymologicum Magnum* and in an anonymous writer published by Bekker. According to this the Lenaeum was in the city. Photius in another passage (*s. v.* ἴκρια) says that the ἴκρια were at the market-place and that from them the people beheld the Dionysiac spectacles before the theatre was built. This is practically repeated by the lexicographer Pausanias. From these two passages we should infer that the Lenaeum was near the market-place. There are, however, two scholia to the *Acharnians* (202 and 504) which put it in the fields. But Demosthenes in scoring the family of Aeschines alludes to the shrine of the hero Calamites, which, from the text, we infer was in a populous part of the city, and from Hesychius we learn that this shrine was near the Lenaeum. So, in spite of the two scholia, we should be justified in putting the Lenaeum in the city near the market-place. This agrees so well with the situation of the temple which Dörpfeld has found that the identification may be safely accepted. For if other evidence on this point were lacking, the finding of a stone wine-press or ληνός within

the enclosure and of other smaller ones outside of it would be sufficient to prove what the building was.

We have seen that the evidence for the place where the Lenaea were celebrated is conflicting. Part of it is in favor of the Lenaeum, the situation of which we know, and part of it is in favor of the temple ἐν Λίμναις. The latter, as has been shown, is not a strong body of evidence, as it consists only of a gloss in Suidas, of a scholium to a passage in Aristophanes, and a defective passage in Hesychius. For the situation of the temple ἐν Λίμναις we have the passage in Thucydides already quoted, and a piece of evidence of this kind given intentionally by a writer of the fifth century could not easily be set aside even if we had other evidence in opposition to it. But such is not the case. We have no other passage definitely stating the position of the sanctuary. In addition to being south of the Acropolis, the peculiar name of the temple also shows that it was situated at least in low ground, and this is confirmed by a reference in the *Frogs* (215), to the croaking of frogs being heard at the temple ἐν Λίμναις. The assumption, then, that the temple ἐν Λίμναις and the Lenaeum were one and the same, for which Wilamowitz argued in a footnote to his article on the Stage of Aeschylus,[1] will therefore not hold. They are two different sanctuaries located in different parts of the city.

It has already been shown that the Anthesteria were celebrated in the month of Anthesterion. The Lenaea were celebrated in the month of Gamelion as A. Mommsen has proved beyond a doubt in his *Feste der Stadt Athen in Altertum* (p. 373). This is just what would be expected. The month Gamelion corresponded to the Ionic month Lenaeon, and there is some ground for believing that even in Athens in early times Gamelion went by this name.[2] Furthermore, the name Lenaeon was still in use in the fourth century in

[1] *Hermes*, 1886, p. 617, n. 1.

[2] A. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 373, doubts whether Gamelion ever actually went by the name of Lenaeon in Athens, although he admits that Lenaeon represented Gamelion in Ionic cities.

the calendars of Myconos,[1] Delos,[2] and other places as several inscriptions testify. The Lenaea then would naturally be the festival of the month of Lenaeon, just as we have seen the Anthesteria was the festival of Anthesterion, and in fact we have this so stated in a scholium quoted by Mommsen.[3] These then were two distinct festivals celebrated at different places and in different months and cannot be regarded as one and the same. This might perhaps be inferred from the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes where we have the Rural Dionysia, the Lenaea and the Anthesteria alluded to in this order as the play progresses.

Since, then, the Lenaea and the Anthesteria were separate festivals, the statement of the pseudo-Demosthenes in the speech against Neaera that the temple *ἐν Λίμναις* was opened on only one day in the year becomes another argument against identifying the temple *ἐν Λίμναις* and the Lenaeum. For we can hardly imagine a festival like the Lenaea celebrated in a precinct where the temple was closed.

The question now confronts us as to how we are to explain the comparative *ἀρχαιότερα* in the passage in Thucydides. Mommsen thinks that the comparative proves that the Lenaea were not known as Dionysia in the time of Thucydides. This is ingenious if not quite convincing. It is perhaps more likely that Thucydides is speaking loosely and uses *τὰ ἀρχαιότερα Διονύσια* where he means *τὰ Διονύσια τοῦ ἀρχαιοτέρου χρόνου*. Thucydides is constantly contrasting the things of former times with those of later days. The use of the comparative would then mean that the Anthesteria, the festival of early times, was contrasted with the festivals of more recent foundation.

As to the position of the temple *ἐν Λίμναις*, it must satisfy two conditions. It must be south of the Acropolis and in low ground, and so cannot be the temple found by Dörpfeld. That is the Lenaeum, which has been shown to be a different building. It cannot be either of the Dionysus temples lying

[1] Dittenberger, *Syl.* 373, 16 ff.

[2] *Bul. de Cor. Hel.* 1881, p. 25.

[3] *Schol. to Aeschin.* I. 43, p. 16: *τὰ δὲ Λήναια μηνὸς Ληναιῶνος.*

near the theatre. One of these is excluded by its age, for it is not older than the fifth century, and the other by a variety of reasons. (1) It is not in or near marshy ground. (2) We know from Pausanias (I. 20, 3) that this was the temple of Dionysus Eleuthereus. (3) The temple *ἐν Λίμναις* was open on only one day in the year, the twelfth of Anthesterion, whereas this temple must have been open at the time of the Great Dionysia in Elaphebolion and on the days when, as Pausanias (I. 29, 2) tells us, its statue was carried in procession. (4) Dionysus *ἐν Λίμναις* was connected with the celebration of the Anthesteria, while Dionysus Eleuthereus was connected with the Great Dionysia. This therefore cannot be the temple *ἐν Λίμναις*. As this is the case, the only conclusion to be drawn is that the temple *ἐν Λίμναις* has not yet been found.

The argument has been advanced by those who follow Dörpfeld's theory, that there is no place which can be called *λίμναι* south of the Acropolis, and that therefore we should not look for the temple in that direction. But it is equally true that there is no such place west of the Acropolis. It is argued that here in early times was a great water-distributing place, and that that will account for the name. It should be pointed out, however, first, that a place for distributing water is not a marsh; and second, that the region lying between the Acropolis and the Pnyx was a small one and very thickly populated in antiquity, as the German excavations have proved. Through this district passed the main road leading up from the market-place to the Acropolis, lined with houses on each side. Surely such a district could not appropriately be designated by the word *λίμναι*. Where then was the temple *ἐν Λίμναις*? A passage in Isaeus (VIII. 35) says that it was in the city, but Wilamowitz has argued plausibly that it was beyond the walls. Whether it was within or without the walls, however, we cannot set the passage in Thucydides aside, but must look for the temple south of the Acropolis, between the modern highway and the Ilissus. The absence of a marsh in that region to-day proves nothing, since the whole surface of the region has no doubt been greatly changed

by earthquakes. Only extensive excavation can give us any light on its condition in ancient times.

The result of this inquiry then is this. The Lenaea and the Anthesteria were separate festivals celebrated in different months; the former at the Lenaeum, which Dörpfeld has found west of the Acropolis, the latter at the temple *ἐν Λίμναις*, which has not yet been discovered.

VII. — *The Deme Kolonos.*

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In my work entitled *The Five Post-Kleisthenean Tribes*, I took the position that with the exception of divided demes, as Agryle, Lamptrai, etc., which were composed of two parts, an upper and a lower, and of different demes of the same name, as Halai, Oinoe, etc., none belonged to more than one tribe at the same time. Kirchner had earlier defended the view that a deme might belong to more than one tribe simultaneously, and this view had gained acceptance with some scholars of note. To determine the truth in this matter it was necessary that each example which seemed to support his assumption should be examined carefully and the degree of reliability of the evidence determined. With this purpose in mind I set out to study each of the instances separately, and this study would have formed the subject of the present paper if the investigation had been completed in time, and had not of necessity been of such a statistical nature.

The present paper, then, will be a discussion of the deme Kolonos, a part of the longer investigation.

Prior to the creation of Ptolemais a deme of this name is found belonging to Aigeis, Leontis, and Antiochis, and subsequently to Aigeis, Leontis, and Ptolemais. Furthermore, the demotikon, *i.e.* the name which indicates a citizen's civil residence, appears as ἐκ Κολωνοῦ, Κολωνῆθεν, and Κολωνῆς (-εῖς). The question is, then, how are these facts to be interpreted? And on this point there is considerable difference of opinion.

Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum*, I., p. 355, writing in 1874, when the material was less abundant than now, expressed the belief that there was only one deme of this name, which belonged to Antiochis in the time of ten

tribes, to Aigeis in the time of twelve, and which changed its tribal connection again in later times.

Dittenberger, *Hermes*, IX. (1875), p. 403 ff., shows the impossibility of this view by pointing out that Kolonos belonged both to Aigeis and Antiochis in the time of ten tribes, to Aigeis in the time of Antigonis and Demetrias, to Aigeis and Ptolemais in the second century B.C., and to Leontis and Ptolemais in Roman times. Such a change in the tribal connection of a deme as his words imply presupposes that, when a new tribe was created, a general redistribution of the demes took place. This we now know was not the case, and that the introduction of a new tribe affected the membership of those demes only which were transferred to the new tribe.

Wachsmuth later, *ibid.* 2, 1 (1890), p. 233 ff., abandons his former position and admits that there were probably two demes, one Kolonos, the other Kolone, analogous to Oion and Oie (Oe), the former having the demotikon ἐκ Κολωνοῦ, the latter Κολωνῆθεν. The deme that appears under Leontis with the demotikon Κολωνῆς (-εῖς) he thinks is a part of the Kolonos which belonged to Aigeis. He further states that Kolonos did not remain under Aigeis in imperial times.

The points which will be discussed in this paper are:

1. What distinction exists in the use of the demotika, ἐκ Κολωνοῦ, Κολωνῆθεν, and Κολωνῆς (-εῖς), and how many Kolonos-demes were there?

2. Did Aigeis retain its Kolonos in imperial times?

To take up the questions in the order given we find first that there are thirteen references in the inscriptions of *C.I.A.* where the deme belonged to Aigeis:

C.I.A. II. 643	400/399 B.C.
C.I.A. II. 660	390/89 B.C.
C.I.A. II. 870	middle of fourth century B.C.
C.I.A. II. 872	341/0 B.C.
C.I.A. IV. 2, 1025 *b*	before 307/6 B.C.
C.I.A. II. 1023	ca. end of fourth century B.C.
C.I.A. II. 324	275/4 B.C.
C.I.A. II. 338	273/2 B.C.

C.I.A. II. 329	272/1 B.C.
C.I.A. II. 859	237/6 B.C.
C.I.A. II. 471	123/2 B.C.
C.I.A. II. 469	107/6 B.C.
C.I.A. II. 465	105/4 B.C.

Of these thirteen references eleven, according to the *C.I.A.*, have ἐκ Κολωνοῦ for the demotikon, and two Κολωνῆθεν. What first attracts our attention is that in both these latter the form is due to a restoration. The references are *C.I.A.* II. 1023 and 643. The first inscription contains a fragmentary list of Athenian citizens set up for some purpose not now known, and arranged under their respective demes. In l. 31 there remains -ῆθεν, the ending clearly of some demotikon. In l. 44 there is left -λωνῆθεν, which can stand for Κολωνῆθεν only, and Koehler rightly restores this. In l. 31 the same author restores Ἀγκυλῆθεν, thus making the list one of citizens of Aigeis, but he confesses that this reading is by no means certain. It is based on his own identification of the men mentioned in l. 37 as: -σίας Μελησίππου with Μελήσιππος Μελησίου of *C.I.A.* II. 872, l. 29, one of the prytanes of Ankyle. Rangabé, *Antiquités Helléniques*, No. 2349, reads in l. 31 Κεφαλῆθεν, thus regarding the inscription as a list of citizens of Leontis, and furthermore he restores Σωσίας in l. 37.

But it can be practically demonstrated that neither of these readings is correct. Noting the number of letters to the left of a vertical line drawn through the η of -ῆθεν, l. 31, we find that in the six cases where a full restoration is possible and certain, four (ll. 36, 41, 42, and 45) have seven letters to the left of the vertical, and two (ll. 40 and 44) have six. To read either Ἀγκυλῆθεν or Κεφαλῆθεν in l. 37 requires a restoration of only five letters, whereas we should have six or seven. Inasmuch as Κολωνῆθεν in l. 44 is certain, we must look for a deme in l. 31 which belonged to the same tribe as Kolone. Since Kolone belonged to both Leontis and Antiochis we naturally look among the demes of those tribes and find that Ἀλωπεκῆθεν, the demotikon of Alopeke of Antiochis, is best

suited to the place, for to read this necessitates a restoration of six letters.

Nor is this merely a mechanical process, as it might seem. There is other evidence which strongly confirms this reading. In the list there were twelve persons belonging to the deme of l. 31, or, counting fathers' names, twenty-four names. Of these twenty-four Koehler writes sixteen, most of which are preserved entire in the inscription or are quite certain restorations. Of these sixteen names, two, Leostratos, l. 38, and Diophanes, l. 42, are the names of demesmen of Alopeke found in *C.I.A.* II. 803 d, l. 127, the date of which is 360/59 B.C., and in *C.I.A.* II. 316, l. 60, the date of which is 283/2 B.C. Our inscription was set up about the end of the fourth century B.C. Moreover, l. 38 shows *-όφιλος Λεωστράτου*. Koehler does not restore this, though *Δημόφιλος Λεωστράτου*, the restoration of Rangabé, is obvious and thoroughly in keeping with the space to be filled out. Now in *C.I.A.* II. 803 d, l. 127, we learn that Leostratos of Alopeke was superintendent of the dockyards in 360/59 B.C., and that not long after this Demophilos of the same deme paid 101 drachmas for Leostratos. From other instances of a similar procedure noted in the same inscription and commented on by Boeckh in his work entitled *Urkunden über das attische Seewesen*, the most obvious interpretation of this is that Demophilos was the son and heir of Leostratos, and on the death of his father redeemed an unpaid obligation of his. This being the case, we may reasonably identify them with Demophilos and Leostratos (son and father) of *C.I.A.* II. 1023, l. 38.

Again, in lists of citizens of Aigeis the number from Ankyle is relatively small, while in lists of citizens of Antiochis the number from Alopeke is relatively large. As a matter of fact Ankyle was a small deme of Aigeis, whereas Alopeke was one of the largest, if not the largest, of Antiochis. This proportion agrees with the restoration I am contending for in *C.I.A.* II. 1023, for here we find twelve citizens from the deme of l. 31, which I restore as Alopeke, three from the deme of l. 27, one from that of l. 25, and four from that of l. 20. If we should read Ankyle in l. 31, the number

of citizens from that deme (twelve) would be out of all proportion to the relative size of the deme.

Furthermore, of the names in the earlier part of the inscription, Olympiodoros, l. 23, and Antiphanes, l. 24, are found to be the names of citizens of Anaphlystos, another deme of Antiochis, the first in *C.I.A.* II. 1858, 1871, 1872, 1874, and 1877, the second in *C.I.A.* II. 794 b, l. 59, and Philinos, l. 7, was the name of a member of Antiochis, as seen by *C.I.A.* II. 444, l. 89. So Nikokles, l. 9, is found in *C.I.A.* II. 983, I. l. 61 to be the name of a demesman of Semachidai, another deme of Antiochis.

These considerations make it more than probable that in l. 31 we should restore Ἀλωπεκῆθεν, thus making the list one of citizens of Antiochis and not of Aigeis or Leontis.

The second reference under Aigeis in which the demotikon is Κολωνῆθεν is *C.I.A.* II. 643, 400/399 B.C. The inscription contains a list of the *ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν.* For the second member of the board, who, as shown by the official tribal order observed in arranging the names, is from Aigeis, there is left on the stone ΣΟΦΟ + 13 spaces (the inscription has the *stoichedon* arrangement). Koehler restores Σοφο[*κλῆς* Κολωνῆθεν]. But on the basis of *C.I.A.* II. 672, where is found Σοφοκλῆς Ἰοφῶντος *ἐκ* Κολωνοῦ, and *C.I.A.* II. 1177, where we read Ἰοφῶν Σοφοκλέους *ἐκ* Κολωνοῦ, we may more plausibly restore here *ἐκ* Κολωνοῦ which has the same number of letters as Κολωνῆθεν. Since writing this I find that Fränkel in Boeckh's *Staatshaushaltung der Athener*, p. 272, footnote, takes the same position. It may be urged that at this period the genitive singular ending of *o*-stems was written not *-ου* but *-ο*. While this is generally true the objection is not fatal, for the writing *-ου* appears sporadically as early as 500 B.C. (see Meisterhans, *Gram. d. att. Inschrift.*, p. 21).

Admitting these alterations, we see that the deme of Aigeis had only *ἐκ* Κολωνοῦ for its demotikon, which points unmistakably to Κολωνός for the name of the deme.

There are eight references in which the deme is found under Leontis:

C.I.A. II. 864 . . . . . fourth century B.C.
C.I.A. II. 799c. . . . . 369/8 B.C.
C.I.A. II. 991 . . . . . ca. 200 B.C.
C.I.A. II. 470 . . . . . 119/8 B.C.
B.C.H. p. 147 . . . . . 118/7 B.C.
C.I.A. III. 1076 . . . . . 22/3 A.D.
C.I.A. III. 1091 . . . . . 85/6 A.D.
C.I.A. III. 1128 . . . . . 164/5 A.D.

Of these all have Κολωνῆθεν when the demotikon is appended to the demesman's name; when placed at the head of a list of names, as in *C.I.A.* II. 864, and when used as the name of demesmen collectively, as in *C.I.A.* II. 991, the demotikon is in the nominative plural and has the form Κολωνῆς or -εῖς according to the period. Since stems in -ο would not yield -ῆθεν, but -οθεν, we must refer Κολωνῆθεν not to Κολωνός, but to Κολώνη or Κολωναί, and regard it as a deme entirely distinct from Kolonos.

Under Antiochis there are only two references:

C.I.A. II. 869 . . . . middle of the fourth century B.C.
C.I.A. II. 944 . . . . . ca. 325/4 B.C.

In both of these the form found is Κολωνῆς or -εῖς according to the date of the inscription. In both cases the name stands at the head of a list of names where the plural form is natural. Κολωνῆς (-εῖς) must be referred to a singular Κολωνεύς, instead of which the form in -θεν seems to have been preferred for this deme.

Coming next to the deme of this name belonging to Ptolemais, we find six references in which the tribe is indicated:

C.I.A. II. 471 . . . . . 123/2 B.C.
C.I.A. III. 1093 . . . . . 103/4 A.D.
C.I.A. III. 1120 . . . . . 150/1 A.D.
C.I.A. III. 1128 . . . . . 164/5 A.D.
C.I.A. III. 1138 . . . . . 174/5 A.D.
C.I.A. III. 1153 . . . . . ca. 190 A.D.

In each instance the demotikon is Κολωνῆθεν. In my work on the five post-Kleisthenean tribes an attempt was made to show that this deme was the Kolone or Kolonai which formerly belonged to Antiochis. The basis for the belief lay in the fact that both Aigeis and Leontis retained their demes of this name after Ptolemais was created; Aigeis according to the positive evidence of inscriptions until 105/4 B.C. (and probably still later, as I shall attempt to show), and Leontis until 164/5 A.D., whereas there is no inscriptional evidence that Antiochis could claim such a deme after the close of the fourth century B.C.

From the facts presented it can be clearly seen that there were two deme names, Κολωνός and Κολώνη or Κολωναί, and probably three different demes belonging to as many different tribes — Aigeis, Leontis, and Antiochis prior to the creation of Ptolemais, and to Aigeis, Leontis, and Ptolemais subsequently. The existence, however, of three demes of this name cannot be positively proved at present, but seems not unnatural when we consider that many deme names derived from some topographical characteristic were duplicates (cf. Halai, Oinoe, Oion (2) and Oie and Oa, Phegaia (2) and Phegous, Potamos, Myrrhinous and Myrrhinoutta). Besides, this assumption explains the tribal relation satisfactorily, and I doubt whether this can be satisfactorily explained otherwise.

There still remains the question whether Aigeis retained its deme Kolonos in Roman times.

Wachsmuth says it did not, and in this he is followed by Dittenberger, for in the Indices to *C.I.A.* III. he does not recognize Kolonos among the demes of that tribe. In fact, ἐκ Κολωνοῦ, the demotikon of Kolonos exclusively, occurs only twice in imperial times, *C.I.A.* III. 1765 and 1766, and here its tribe is not indicated. Dittenberger puts both references under Kolone of Leontis, but why, does not appear. His reason for not putting them under Aigeis, I take it, is that no connection with Aigeis is shown, and Wachsmuth says Aigeis did not retain its Kolonos in imperial times. But should we adopt this principle of assigning demes we should be at a loss to determine the tribes of Ikaria, Otryne,

Plotheia, and Teithras (to Aigeis), of Pelekes (to Leontis), of Aigilia, Themakos, and Hyporeia (to Ptolemais), of Xypete (to Kekropis), of Anakaia, Thymaitadai, Auridai, Dekeleia, Keiriadai, and Sphendale (to Hippothontis), and of Atene (to Attalis), for in imperial times the tribes of these sixteen demes are nowhere indicated in inscriptions, and yet no one would venture to assign them to any other tribes than those to which they formerly belonged.

In view of this condition of affairs and the fact that the Kolonos of Aigeis has only the demotikon ἐκ Κολωνοῦ, while those of other tribes never have this form, we should unhesitatingly class these two references under Aigeis. Accordingly, Aigeis retained its Kolonos through all periods.

VIII. — *Notes on the Athenian Secretaries and Archons.*

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In regard to the secretary, which comes first in the treatment of Aristotle, different views have recently been put forward by two German scholars. The task of each has been to supplement the description given in the *Politeia* by means of the facts offered in the epigraphic material. This necessitates a recognition in the inscriptions of the secretary Aristotle had in mind.

Aristotle's statement is as follows:[1]

Κληροῦσι δὲ καὶ γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν καλούμενον, ὃς τῶν γραμμάτων [τ'] ἐστὶ κύριος, καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα τὰ γιγνόμενα φυλάττει, καὶ τἆλλα πάντα ἀντιγράφεται καὶ παρακάθηται τῇ βουλῇ· πρότερον μὲν οὖν οὗτος ἦν χειροτονητός, καὶ τοὺς ἐνδοξοτάτους καὶ πιστοτάτους ἐχειροτόνουν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς στήλαις πρὸς ταῖς συμμαχίαις καὶ προξενίαις καὶ πολιτείαις οὗτος ἀναγράφεται· νῦν δὲ γέγονε κληρωτός.

From the year 363 B.C. on, the title γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν is applied in the inscriptions to the annual official whose task it was to write out the decrees of the Senate and Assembly, and to have them engraved on stone tablets. Before this year, the title γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς is given to the official whose duties are, so far as can be determined, identical with those of the γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν, but whose term of office is limited to a single prytany. There can be no doubt whatever that this is the secretaryship of which Aristotle gives the history.

But the difficulty is that after 363 B.C., for a period of about fifty years, or, more precisely, till 318/7 B.C., the title γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς exists alongside of the title

[1] *Ath. Pol.* LIV. 3.

γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν, and with duties which a special examination, made for the purpose of discovering differences, has proved to be exactly identical.[1] It is in disposing of this title that the two German scholars, Penndorf[2] and Drerup,[3] have been unable to agree.

Aristotle discusses two other secretaries besides the one in question, viz. the secretary in charge of the laws, and the secretary to whom he ascribes the sole task of reading documents before the Senate and Assembly. Penndorf found it impossible to identify the γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς of the period 363–317 B.C. with either of these. He, therefore, concluded that the γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς of this period was the γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς of the earlier period, but with this difference, that his duties were almost, if not entirely, given over to a newly created state official, the γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν. To find something for the γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς to do, he identifies him with the one mentioned in the inscriptions along with the prytanes who particularly distinguished themselves in their term of office.[4] This latter official usually has the title γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου. As a reason for this identification is urged the fact that, just as the γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς before 363 B.C. always belonged to a different tribe from the one for which he officiated, so the γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου, in the five cases known to us, is also from a different tribe from the one whose prytanes are commended.

The difference between the γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς and the γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν, which Penndorf particularly emphasizes, is that the former is a *senatorial* or prytany official, and the latter a *state* official. If the name γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου given to the assumed senatorial official means anything, it implies an activity in the Assembly as well as in the Senate. It cannot be proved, moreover, that the γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου held office for one prytany only. The number of cases, in which a difference

[1] *Leipz. Stud.* xviii. p. 146. [2] *Leipz. Stud.* xviii. p. 101 ff.
[3] *Phil.-hist. Beiträge f. Curt Wachsmuth*, p. 137 ff.
[4] See *C.I.A.* II. 865 ff.

between the tribe of the γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου and the tribe whose prytanes are commended, is too few to be inexplicable on the basis of a yearly tenure of office.

Penndorf maintains the continuity of the office held by the γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς from the earliest times until after the death of Aristotle. Aristotle, however, and he is our only sure authority, quite clearly designates the γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν as the successor of the γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς, and totally disregards the γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς of the period 363–318/7 B.C. For him there is but one contemporary official concerned with the psephismata. The continuity of the office held by the γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς is maintained after 363 B.C. by the γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν, just as if the office of the γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς had gone out of existence. Penndorf is obliged to admit this, and to seek a way out by attributing an oversight to Aristotle.

This much is certain, that between 363 and 318/7 B.C., the name of only one secretary, the γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν is present in the preamble of decrees, and that the purpose of its presence is to certify that the published copy of the decree is official and is identical with the motion carried in the meeting. The name of the γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν serves as guarantee for the correctness of the inscriptions even when they are published by the γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς. When Penndorf was discussing the secretaries of the period prior to 363 B.C. he held it for self-evident that a secretary could not attest the correctness of a decree which he had not himself published.[1] The same should surely hold true for the period 363–318/7 B.C. as well.

The view of the other scholar, Drerup, is based on the dogma "dass in einer feststehenden Formel wie im Publications-beschluss, verschiedene Titel auch verschiedene Ämter bezeichnen müssen."[2] The result of the application of this

[1] *Leipz. Stud.* xviii. p. 124; cf. also Drerup (*l.c.* p. 143): Von vornherein ist aber die Annahme von der Hand zu weisen, dass die Aufzeichnung der Dekrete wechselweise vom Prytanienschreiber und einem Unterbeamten besorgt worden wäre.

[2] *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1898, p. 1457.

dogma to the epigraphic material is that all three of the secretaries mentioned by Aristotle, the secretary *ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους*, the secretary who *οὐδενός ἐστι κύριος ἄλλ' ἢ τοῦ ἀναγνῶναι*, as well as the *γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν*, are at some time or other intrusted with the publication of decrees. Even worse atrocities than this would result if the term "feststehende Formel" were not so elastic. Since outside of the stereotyped formulae a certain variety of nomenclature undoubtedly appears, it is more methodical to take as a working hypothesis the dogma that identity of function implies identity of office. The assumption of Drerup that all the secretaries mentioned by Aristotle must be found in the inscriptions, is unwarranted. In the nature of the case we should not expect to find the secretary of the laws there.

All this goes to show that the view put forward by Boeckh and Gilbert, and recently supported by me in the "Athenian Secretaries,"[1] has more in its favor than the testimony of Aristotle. That view is, that *γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν* and *γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς* are merely different titles for one and the same official. In view of the simplicity of this solution, it is worth while to consider why scholars have felt themselves constrained to assume an error on the part of Aristotle. The reason is found in the occurrence of the two titles *γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς* and *γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν* side by side in the same inscription. Apart from the fact that there is no good reason why a writer should not vary his expression by employing at pleasure both of two identical terms, there is in the inscription itself, it seems to me, a very good motive for the use of each title in its own place. The inscription runs as follows:[2]

καὶ ἐπειδὰν τὸ οἴκημα ἀ[νοι]χθεῖ ἐξετάζειν κατὰ ἔθνος ἕκαστα καὶ ἐπιγράφειν τ[ὸν] ἀριθμόν, ἀντιγράφεσθαι δὲ τὸγγραμματέα τὸγκατὰ πρυτανείαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους γραμμα(τέ)ας τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖ[ς δ]ημοσίοις γράμμασιν· ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἐξετασθῇ πάντα καὶ ἀναγραφῇ, τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς ἀναγράψαντα ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ στῆσαι ἔμπροσθεν τῆς χαλκοθήκ[ης· ἐς] δὲ τὴν

[1] *Cornell Studies in Class. Phil.* VII. [2] *C.I.A.* II. 61.

ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης δοῦναι τοὺς ταμίας [τῆς] βουλῆς: Δ Δ Δ: [δρ]αχμὰς ἐκ τῶγκατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλ[ισκο]μένων τῇ βουλῇ· ποιήσασθαι δὲ τὸγγραμματέα τ[ῆς β]ουλῆς ἀντίγραφα ἐκ τῶν στηλῶν τὰ ἀναγεγραμμένα [πε]ρὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ χαλκοθήκει.

In the first place the title *γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν*, which the issue shows to have been the one in popular use, is employed. In the second place we have to deal with a stereotyped formula, in which, before the time of this inscription, the title *γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς* alone is found. Usage forced the writer to employ the old official title in this formula. For the repetition of the title *γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς* in the third place no reason is needed from our point of view. A reason is, however, needed for the ascription of the task of copying to the *γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς*, if this task is thought of as a mark of differentiation between the *γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς* and the *γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν*; for the task of copying is attributed by Aristotle to the *γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν*.

In the latter half of the fourth century B.C. the Prytany Secretaries followed one another in the official order of their tribes and I have already attempted to prove that the same is true for the two centuries following 307/6 B.C.[1] The recent publication of an inscription found at Magnesia[2] seems to present evidence hostile to my contentions, for through this the archon Thrasyphon is definitely fixed in the year 221/0 B.C. It is only hostile, however, if the introduction of the tribe Ptolemais is regarded as certainly determined for the year 229 B.C.[3] If the tribe Ptolemais was not established before 227/6 B.C., the evidence of this new inscription is perfectly in accord with an unbroken continuation of the official order from the beginning of the third century until 221/0 B.C.

[1] See *Cornell Studies*, VII. and X.

[2] The Magnesian inscriptions are in the hands of Otto Kern, and are to be published *shortly*. In the meanwhile, they are being lent round to various German scholars, and have been in part already used by Dittenberger in the second edition of his *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* 1898, No. 256 ff.; cf. Pauly-Wissowa, II. 1, p. 1134.

[3] Dr. F. O. Bates, whose name is most prominently associated with this view, has signified to me his willingness to accept the neighborhood of 227 B.C. instead.

Let us arrange by means of the official order the archons of the latter part of the third century. They must group themselves somewhat as follows:

YEAR.	ARCHON.	TRIBE.	YEAR.	ARCHON.	TRIBE.
237/6	Heliodorus	Kekropis	217/6	*Aischron*	Pandionis
236/5	Leochares	Hippothontis	216/5	Patiades	Leontis
235/4	Theophilos	Aiantis	215/4		Ptolemais
234/3	Ergochares	Antiochis	214/3		Akamantis
233/2	Niketes	Antigonis	213/2	{ *CI.A.* IV. 2, 385 f.? }	Oineis
232/1	Antiphilos	Demetrias			
231/0	Jason	Erechtheis	212/1		Kekropis
230/29		Aigeis	211/0	*Nikophon?*	Hippothontis
229/8	*Kallaischros?*	Pandionis	210/9	*Dionysios?*	Aiantis
228/7	Diomedon	Leontis	209/8		Antiochis
227/6	Menekrates	Akamantis	208/7	Archelaos	Antigonis
226/5	*Chairephon*	Oineis	207/6		Demetrias
225/4	.... -s	Kekropis	206/5	Kallistratos	Erechtheis
224/3	Diokles	Hippothontis	205/4		Aigeis
223/2	Euphiletos	Aiantis	204/3	Antimachos?	Pandionis
222/1	Herakleitos	Antiochis	203/2		Leontis
221/0	Thrasyphon	Antigonis	202/1	Phanarchides?	Ptolemais
220/19		Demetrias	201/0		Akamantis
219/8		Erechtheis	200/199	*Sosigenes?*	Oineis
218/7		Aigeis			

The dating of the group Leochares, Theophilos, Ergochares, Niketes, Antiphilos, Jason, ... -s, Diokles, Euphiletos, Herakleitos, Thrasyphon, seems tolerably certain.[1] The appearance of the public slave Dionysios in Diokles' archonship with the title *νεώτερος*, and in Thrasyphon's archonship without it,[2] indicates that Diokles, and consequently the whole group, precedes the year 221/0 B.C. One of the immediate predecessors of Menekrates is Kalli-, and it is possible to identify this fragmentary name with the other fragmentary name [Ka]lla[ischros], which has recently been discovered. Diomedon is dated in 228/7 B.C., because of the

[1] See for fuller discussion of these archons the *Cornell Studies*, X. p. 39 ff.

[2] *C.I.A.* II. 839, l. 10; II. 403, l. 52.

connection between the inscription which bears his name and the events of that and the preceding year. The location of Menekrates and his successor, . . . -on, which Schtschoukareff has already supplied with Chairephon, concerns us next. At the end of Menekrates' archonship it is probable that Ptolemais was in existence.[1] The two archons just mentioned must come between . . . -s and Antiphilos. This seems only possible when Menekrates occupies 227/6 B.C. But at the beginning of 227/6 B.C. Ptolemais was not yet in existence. Only when we suppose the new tribe to have been created in the course of this year, can we explain the facts. With the introduction of this tribe may perhaps be associated the receipt of the money which Ptolemy sent to help buy off the Macedonian commander Diogenes.

The location of Heliodoros and Archelaos must next be discussed. Heliodoros was archon before, and Archelaos probably after, the introduction of Ptolemais. The most suitable place for Heliodoros seems to be 237/6 B.C. We can be pretty certain from internal evidence that some time intervened between the two.[2] In Archelaos' archonship Eurykleides and Mikion are still alive and active. From the fact that Pausanias[3] cites, as an analogy for the murder of Aratos by Philip of Macedon, the poisoning by the same monarch of Eurykleides and Mikion, it has often been assumed that these assassinations took place at the same time, viz. in 214/3 B.C. This date, however, is attested only for the death of Aratos. The time of the death of Eurykleides and Mikion is nowhere given, and has been assigned

[1] Professor V. v. Schoeffer in reviewing the Russian work cited below says: "Ohne auf Einzelheiten einzugehen Kann Ref. nur die Bemerkung machen, dass die Ptolemais nicht vor Antiphilos, höchst wahrscheinlich erst unter Menekrates, eingerichtet worden ist," *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1899, p. 1027.

[2] In No. X. of the *Cornell Studies*, p. 39 f., I have contended for such an interval. Professor Schebelew in a Russian treatise on the history of Athens between 229 and 31 B.C., has independently come to the same conclusion, and his arguments have convinced Professor V. v. Schoeffer that he was wrong in making Archelaos the immediate successor of Heliodoros; cf. *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1899, p. 1027.

[3] Paus. II. 9, 4.

by the latest historian[1] of this period to the years immediately preceding 200 B.C. There is no reason for believing that these statesmen were dead in 209/8 B.C., and consequently no objection to placing Archelaos in that year.

The absence, however, of Ptolemais in 227/6 B.C makes a break in the list of secretaries' tribes, which must be supplied by the insertion of some other tribe in the interval between 221/0 B.C. and 169/8 B.C., or rather between 221/0 B.C. and 200 B.C.; for such an insertion is best conceivable in connection with the creation of Attalis and the dropping of Antigonis and Demetrias. It is possible that Attalis was irregularly given representation in the secretaryship in the year of its creation, but such an hypothesis lacks analogies and evidence. It seems to me best to admit frankly a difficulty here, without despairing of a solution. The addition of new evidence must be awaited.

[1] Niese, *Geschichte d. griech. u. maked. Staaten*, II. 1899, p. 589.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL SESSION

OF THE

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Albert G. Harkness, Brown University, Providence, R. I.
Karl P. Harrington, University of Maine, Orono, Me.
J. E. Harry, Georgetown College, Georgetown, Ky.
Samuel Hart, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn.
George Hempl, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
H. H. Hilton, Boston, Mass.
W. D. Hooper, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga.
William A. Houghton, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.
J. W. D. Ingersoll, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
Andrew Ingraham, Swain Free School, New Bedford, Mass.
A. V. Williams Jackson, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
Charles W. L. Johnson, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
John B. Kieffer, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa.
Charles Knapp, Barnard College, New York, N. Y.
W. B. Langsdorf, Miami University, Oxford, O.
Arthur G. Leacock, Dalton, Pa.
Francis A. March, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.
Edward P. Morris, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
Lewis F. Mott, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
George N. Olcott, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

James M. Paton, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.
Emma M. Perkins, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
John Pickard, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
Samuel Ball Platner, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
Benjamin H. Sanborn, Wellesley, Mass.
Henry A. Sanders, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
W. S. Scarborough, Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, O.
Charles P. G. Scott, Radnor, Pa.
Thomas D. Seymour, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
E. G. Sihler, New York University, New York, N. Y.
Clement L. Smith, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Sidney G. Stacey, Erasmus Hall High School, Brooklyn, N. Y.
F. H. Stoddard, New York University, New York, N. Y.
Edwin G. Warner, Polytechnic Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Mary C. Welles, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
Andrew F. West, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
Arthur L. Wheeler, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
Benjamin I. Wheeler, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
John Henry Wright, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

[Total, 57.]

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

NEW YORK, July 5, 1899.

The Thirty-first Annual Session was called to order at 3.45 P.M. in the Central Hall of the Museum of the New Library at New York University, by the President, Professor Clement L. Smith, of Harvard University.

The Acting Secretary of the Association, Professor Samuel Ball Platner, of Western Reserve University, presented the following report: —

1. The Executive Committee has elected as members of the Association: —

Miss Katherine Allen, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
Dr. Eugene Plumb Andrews, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
Prof. William W. Baden, Central University of Kentucky.
Dr. F. O. Bates, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
Campbell Bonner, Esq., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Carroll Neidé Brown, Esq, Wesleyan Academy, Wilbraham, Mass.
Prof. John M. Burnam, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
Prof. Harry Edwin Burton, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
George Henry Chase, Esq., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Prof. William Kendall Denison, Tufts College, College Hill, Mass.
Prof. Walter Dennison, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O.
John Edward Dinsmore, Esq., Lincoln Academy, Newcastle, Me.
Prof. Frederic Stanley Dunn, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore.
Dr. Charles L. Durham, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
Dr. W. S. Ferguson, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
Prof. Andrew Fossum, St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minn.
Dr. B. O. Foster, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (American School in Rome, 1899–1900.)
Prof. Fred B. R. Hellems, University of Colorado, Denver, Col.
Edwin H. Higley, Esq., Groton School, Groton, Mass.
Archibald Livingston Hodges, Esq., Girls' High School, New York, N. Y.
Charles Hoeing, Esq., University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.
Dr. Joseph Clark Hoppin, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Miss Anna Spalding Jenkins, 27 Monroe St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Dr. Arthur G. Leacock, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Prof. Lawrence McLouth, New York University, New York, N. Y.
Dr. George N. Olcott, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

Prof. Charles W. Peppler, Emory College, Oxford, Ga.
Miss Alice Perkins, Schenectady, N. Y.
Henry W. Prescott, Esq., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Dr. Clifton Price, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
Prof. John Dyneley Prince, New York University, New York, N. Y.
Dr. Henry A. Sanders, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
Prof. John H. Sanford, Adelphi College, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Dr. Frederic W. Shipley, Lewis Institute, Chicago, Ill.
Dr. Sidney G. Stacey, Erasmus Hall High School, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Miss Josephine Stary, New York, N. Y.
Prof. George C. Swearingen, Millsaps College, Jackson, Miss.
Prof. Esther Van Deman, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.
Dr. Arthur L. Wheeler, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
Prof. Mary G. Williams, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.

2. The TRANSACTIONS and PROCEEDINGS for 1898 (Vol. XXIX) were issued in December. Separate copies of the PROCEEDINGS may be obtained of the Secretary or of the publishers.

3. The Report of Publications by members of the Association since July 1, 1898, showed a record of books, pamphlets, and articles by about sixty members.

Professor Platner, the Acting Treasurer, then presented the report of the Treasurer for the year 1898–99: —

RECEIPTS.

Balance from 1897–98		$1048.54
Membership dues	$855.00	
Arrears	150.00	
Initiation fees	110.00	
Sales of Transactions	224.96	
Dividends Central New England and Western R. R.	6.00	
Offprints	4.50	
Interest	16.64	
Total receipts for the year		1367.10
		$2415.64

EXPENDITURES.

Transactions and Proceedings (Vol. XXIX)	$968.98	
Committee of Twelve	52.80	
Salary of Secretary	250.00	
Postage	42.00	
Stationery and Job Printing	55.05	
Expressage	4.10	
Incidental (telegrams, advertisement, etc.)	13.56	
Total expenditures for the year		$1386.49
Balance, July 3, 1899		1029.15
		$2415.64

On motion of Professor J. H. Wright, it was

Voted, That the Secretary or, in his absence, some one designated by the Executive Committee, be authorized to act for the Association in making arrangements for the General Congress of Philologists to be held in December, 1900.

The President reported that an invitation extended to the Members of the Association by Chancellor and Mrs. MacCracken to attend a reception at their residence, on that evening after the regular session, had been accepted by the Executive Committee.

The President then appointed Professors Clapp and Jackson a committee to audit the Treasurer's report.

The reading of papers was then begun. The total number of members in attendance at this meeting was fifty-seven.

1. Repetition in Classical Authors, Greek and English, by Professor J. E. Harry, of Georgetown College.

Man is both imitative and repetitive; from the earliest period of youth to second childhood he not only imitates others, but also repeats himself, both consciously and unconsciously. Little externals, certain habits of speech, certain tricks of verse, reveal the individual. The epistles which have come down to us under Plato's name are full of little marks which show that Plato did not write them. A truth that impresses itself vividly on one's mind, a sight or sound that excites his admiration, some act which he approves, some expression which he fancies, — all these will be strikingly prominent in his utterances, *e.g.* music, the sun, and the theatre in Shakspere, the moon (94) and stars (141) and rippling brooks in Tennyson, grottoes and caverns in Keats, music (146), the sun (260), moon (266) and stars (311) in Shelley (*theatre* only three times), "regardant les cieux," in Alfred de Musset. *Caves* occur 131 times in Shelley (26 in *P. Unbound* — the same number as in all Shakspere). *Music* is found only 13 and the *moon* 33 times in Milton.

Great teachers repeat very often. Ruskin kept telling his students for thirty years that their spaces must be of true outline. Carlyle repeats his doctrine of Work, Duty, Obedience, and his denunciation of cant, shams, insincerity, and sentimentalism, over and over again, while characteristic words, as mud-volcano, Tartuffe-looking, terrifico-absurd, dis-gigged, frequently appear. Matthew Arnold almost wearies his readers by repetitions.

Shakspere says in his fifty-ninth sonnet: —

> If there be nothing new, but that which is
> Hath been before, how are our lives beguiled,
> Which, labouring for invention, bear amiss
> The second burden of a former child.

And again in the seventy-ninth: —

> Why is my verse so barren of new pride,
> So far from variation or quick change?

Euripides' repetitions are numerous. Compare *Hipp.* 79 f., *Bacch.* 315 f., *Med.* 1091, *Alc.* 882, *Hipp.* 925 ff., *Med.* 516 ff. The colloquial phrase τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνο occurs in *Med.* 98, *Hel.* 622, *Ion* 554. Jason's ἄμιλλαν γὰρ σὺ προύθηκας λόγων (*Med.* 546) recurs in *Suppl.* 428.

In Aristophanes four and a half verses of the *Wasps* (1032–36) reappear in the *Peace* (755–759). *Clouds* 698 is repeated in *Wasps* 1166, *Ach.* 1019 in *Clouds* 1263, *Knights* 155 in *Peace* 886, *Lys.* 939 in *Eccl.* 981, *Peace* 183 in *Frogs* 466. Hemistichs are frequently repeated. The same proverb, or pun, occasionally appears twice. The θεαταί are called δεξιοί in *Knights* 228, *Wasps* 521, *Clouds* 527; ἄξιος ὁ ποιητής occurs in *Ach.* 633 and *Knights* 509, πραγμάτων τε καὶ μαχῶν ἀπαλλαγείς in *Ach.* 269 and *Peace* 293. The fut. indic. with neg. equiv. to an affirm. command appears 94, μή with the pres. imv. 73, εἰ with fut. indic. 36 times. Good-humored abuse of the audience is found in *Frogs* 276, 783, *Wasps* 73 ff., *Clouds* 1096; gods in ridiculous situations in *Peace*, *Birds*, *Frogs*, *Plutus*. Dicaeopolis is similar to Trygaeus, Pseudartabas to Triballos, Lysistrata to Praxagora. Peithetaerus brings the gods to terms, Lysistrata the men. In *Frogs* 841 ff, we have an echo of the scene between Dicaeopolis and Euripides. Clito is called a λαχανοπωλήτρια in *Thesm.* 387 and a λαχανόπωλις in *Wasps* 497.

Milton begins books V. and VI. of *Paradise Lost* in similar fashion. Cf. *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*. *P. L.* I. 21 is repeated (substantially) in the *Hymn on Christ's Nativity*, and the idea in *Hymn* XVI. 8 is the same as *P. L.* I. 177. Cf. Sonnet xix. with the prologue of *Samson Agonistes* and *P. L.* III. 22 ff.; *P. L.* V. 601 with 840; also I. 254 f., IV. 75; IV. 450 ff., VIII. 253 ff.

There are 10,565 verses in *P. L.* (only a few hundred less than in the *Odyssey*), yet 2113 of these (exactly 20%) end in only fifteen different sounds: *light* 250, *say* 196, *know* 193, *thee* 185, *air* 163, *hear* 147, *high* 149, *fire* 123, *tell* 126, *crew* 119, *all* 107, *hate* 107, *power* 84, *thought* 82, *hill* 82. *Heaven* occurs at the end of 126 verses, *earth* 59, *hell* 149, *man* 58, *Eve* 40, *Adam* never. Adjectives expressing vastness are most frequently used: *innumerable* 20, *numberless* 11, *immeasurable* 3, *infinite* 23, *boundless* 3. *Dire* appears 28 times Few adverbs are used, except such simple words (generally Anglo-Saxon) as *here* 135, *thence* 72. Words which express prominent ideas are placed, so far as possible, at the end of the verse (*fire* 25 times in the first two books of *P. L.*, seldom within the verse), as *hell*, *heaven*, *fruit*, *taste*, *tree*, *life*, *Eve*, *man*.

Burns frequently begins his poems by referring to the wind, winter, or storms. The first line of *A Red Red Rose* ("O, my luve 's like a red, red rose") reappears in the second stanza of another poem (*The Red, Red Rose*).

Poe repeats his theory of poetry many times in his critical works. *The Murders in the Rue Morgue*, *The Mystery of Marie Rogêt*, *Berenice*, *Eleonora*, *The Imp of the Perverse*, *Metzengerstein*, and *Ligeia* have several points of similarity. In many of his tales Poe's hero is a morbid man dreaming over old volumes in some secluded mansion. His poetical theme is often a beautiful woman (generally dead). In one of his prose works he tells us that the most poetical subject in the world is the death of a beautiful woman. Ligeia is mentioned three times by the poet in *Al Aaraaf*, published when he was twenty, and ten years later he wrote the story of that name. Premature burial is a subject he often discusses. His *Morella* and *Ligeia* are identical in plot; the same may be said of *Berenice* and *The Fall of the House of Usher*.

Bryant uses such words as *old*, *far*, *remote*, *deep*, *solitude*, *silence* very often.

A sensuous strain runs all through Keats. Shelley repeats whole verses very frequently.

Ornate commonplaces constitute a great part of Tennyson's works. His predilection for the liquid sounds (especially *l*) could be inferred from the *Lotos-Eaters* alone. Titles and heroes furnish such examples as *Lancelot and Elaine*, *Idylls of the King*, *Locksley Hall*, *Lilian*. In one of the Idylls *Lancelot*, *Lynette*, and *Lyonors* are the chief characters. Tennyson's fondness for the soft *w* and *y* (often in conjunction with *l*), for alliteration and assonance, is also noteworthy. *Dewy dawn of memory* appears 3, *dewy* 28, *mellow* 23, *weary* 40, and *lovely* 15 times; *For it was in the golden prime* 4, *golden prime* 9, and *golden* 125 times. No single word will show his predilection for the mellow *l*, *v* (*w*), and *y* better than *valley*. This is a prose word; the other poets, as a rule, prefer *vale* (Milton 15 to 14, Shelley 43 to 9). Shakspere has *valley* only half a dozen times, whereas Tennyson uses the word 36 and *vale* only 13 times. *Lawns* (34), *swards* (8), *meadows* (41), *flowers* (142—almost twice as often as Milton), *brooks* (39), and *streams* (49), are scattered through his works in profusion. Milton has *lawn* only 7, *brook* 17, *stream* 33 times (*sward* not at all). In Tennyson *rose* appears 74, *lily* 52, *violet* 20, *jasmine* 4 times; in Shelley *rose* 34, *violet* 29 times. The repetition of a word, phrase, or thought, either immediately or a few lines below the first appearance, is very common. Examples can be found in *Guinivere*, *The Passing of Arthur*, *Merlin and Vivien*, *Godiva*, *The Last Tournament*, *The Revenge*, *The Coming of Arthur* (last stanza of the Dedication), *Oenone*, *Maud*, *Geraint and Enid*.

Remarks were made upon this paper by Professors March and Wright, and in reply by the author.

2. Extracts from Thucydides with Brief Notes, VII. 7, 1; VII. 8, 2; VIII. 29, 2, by Professor W. S. Scarborough, of Wilberforce University.

(1) καὶ συνετείχισαν τὸ λοιπὸν τοῖς Συρακοσίοις [μέχρι] τοῦ ἐγκαρσίου τείχους.—VII. 7, 1.

(2) ἢ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ λέγειν ἀδυνασίαν ἢ καὶ μνήμης ἐλλιπεῖς γιγνόμενοι κ.τ.λ.—VII. 8, 2.

(3) καὶ ἅμα ταῖς γοῦν ναυσίν, ᾗ πρότερον, ἐθάρσησε κρατηθείς.—VII. 49, 1.

(4) —ὅμως δὲ παρὰ πέντε ναῦς πλέον ἀνδρὶ ἑκάστῳ ἢ τρεῖς ὁβολοὶ ὡμολογήθησαν.—VIII. 29, 2.

(1) And they assisted the Syracusans to complete the remaining wall up to the cross-wall, so as to make one with it (*thus forming a continuous wall*).

(2) Either because of an inability to express themselves clearly or on account of a lapse of memory, etc., etc.

(3) And at the same time—even though he had been defeated—he placed greater (μᾶλλον) confidence in his fleet than before (*an indication that he was by no means discouraged*).

(4) Nevertheless for every five ships more than three oboli were agreed upon for each man.

Possibly few passages in all Thucydides have given rise to a greater number of interpretations or have perplexed editors and expositors more than the lines quoted (VII. 7, 1).

Grote tells us that Dr. Arnold after rejecting various explanations proposed by others, and after vainly attempting to elucidate it in a way convincing to his own mind, pronounces it to be unintelligible at least, if not corrupt (pp. 274–275 Arnold). Grote himself says the words are obscure.

Colonel Leake says, "The Syracusan cross-wall (*ἐγκάρσιον τεῖχος*) was now united with the enclosure (see map and plan of Syracuse) of Temenitis, and thus largely extended the dimensions of that outwork of Achradina." See notes on Syracuse, p. 67.

Göller and Thirlwall are of the opinion that *τὸ λοιπόν* refers to the completion of the Syracusan counter-wall which had been left unfinished. Dale thinks otherwise.

Bloomfield suggests that the words *μέχρι τοῦ ἐγκαρσίου τείχους* may mean beyond the interval where the two walls converged toward each other.

Says Poppo, "Haec verba si omnia retinemus, explicationem non habent. Goellero quidem Syracusani prius absolutis extremis muri tunc intermedia quoque aedificando ope Corinthiorum et reliquorum, qui tunc advenissent, videntur explevisse. Sed idem diligentius, quid verbis *μέχρι τοῦ ἐγκαρσίου τείχους* significari putet," etc.

Böhme puts it thus: Das dies ein anderer Flügel der Syrakusischen Gegenmauer ist, als der C. 6 beschriebene, scheint mir keinem Zweifel zu unterliegen; denn letzterer hatte auf alle Fälle nicht die Richtung auf die Quermauer zu: wie hätte er sonst das nördliche Ende des athen. Baues überholen können?

Frost in his edition of Thucydides (bks. VI. VII.) says that the allies, on their arrival, built a wall from a fort (*τείχισμα*) which they had constructed on the high ground of Epipolae to cover the approach to Epipolae by Euryâlus (VII. 43 —*τὸ τείχισμα ὃ ἦν αὐτόθι τῶν Συρακοσίων αἱροῦσι, i.e.* near Euryâlus) down Epipolae (VII. 43 —*τὸ παρατείχισμα*) to join the cross-wall (*μέχρι τοῦ ἐγκαρσίου τείχους* — VII. 7, 1). Thus the *ἐγκάρσιον τεῖχος* and the *παρατείχισμα* formed an uninterrupted line, although no doubt a curved one, from the summit of Epipolae to the Syracusan city wall.

Professor Charles Forster Smith follows Holm (Sic. II. 392–395) and rejects *μέχρι*. He is of the opinion that it may have sprung from a misunderstanding of *πρὸς τὸ ἐγκάρσιον τεῖχος ἁπλοῦν* (C. 4, 1). — *τὸ λοιπόν* is connected with *τοῦ ἐγκαρσίου τείχους*. — Cf. C. 71, 6.

I fail to see the necessity for rejecting *μέχρι* or any of the words introduced by it; I have therefore retained it in my translation. I do not regard it as an interpolation, but as a legitimate part of the text. It seems to me that, studied in the light of previous passages bearing upon this part of the narrative and of the plan and topography of Syracuse before and after the arrival of Gylippus, the text becomes both clear and simple.

At this time Syracuse was, as it were, a network of walls and counter-walls, vallations and circumvallations, constructed by both besieged and besiegers.

Compare VI. 98–103 inclusive; VII. 4–6 inclusive. — Vide *τείχισμα, παρατείχισμα, προτείχισμα*. Gylippus built a fort (*τείχισμα*) on the high ground of Epipolae, at a point that seems to have been the terminus of the new wall

of junction (παρατείχισμα) referred to in VII. 43. It was intended to guard the entrance from Euryâlus.

In our next passage (8, 2) some critics substitute γνώμης for μνήμης. In support of their reading they cite the three requisite qualifications of an orator. The sense, however, requires the retention of μνήμης. *A lapse of memory* is no doubt the meaning of Nikias as represented by the historian.

In the third and fourth passages (VII. 49, 1, VIII. 29, 2) the exact meaning of κρατηθείς and παρὰ πέντε ναῦς has given rise to much confusion. In the light of the context the ordinary meaning of κρατέω seems to me best suited for this passage. If παρά is taken in the sense of εἰς or κατά, as we find it in some editions, then the translation, *for every five ships*, is most assuredly the thought of the speaker.

3. The text of the Andria of Terence, with Critical Notes, by Professor H. Rushton Fairclough, of Leland Stanford Jr. University.

This paper is published in full in the TRANSACTIONS.

Remarks were made upon this paper by Professors Wright and Sihler.

4. Notes on Ancient Persian Cosmology, by Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, of Columbia University.

This paper will appear in full in the *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*.

Three points were presented for discussion: first, the Zoroastrian doctrine of the origin of the universe; second, the Magian theory of the organization, arrangement, and government of the world; and third, the ancient Persian ideas as to creation in detail.

The dualistic conception of the universe was first shown to be the keynote of the Iranian system of cosmology. The account of the beginning of things, and of the warfare between Ormazd and Ahriman, as found in the Pahlavi Bûndahishn, was presented with some fulness; a collection of the cosmological references in the Avesta supplemented this; and finally the paper took up the Greek allusions to Magian cosmogonic ideas as found especially in citations from Aristotle, Theopompus, Dio Chrysostom, and others.

5. Wax Writing-Tablets from Pompeii, by Professor James C. Egbert, Jr., of Columbia University, read in the absence of the author by Dr. George N. Olcott, of Columbia University.

This paper is a brief review of the contents of the supplement of the fourth volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, which is assigned to inscriptions discovered at Pompeii. The supplement is devoted to the wax-writing tablets which were found in 1875 in the house of L. Caecilius Iucundus, a *coactor argentarius*, collector or broker.

The tablets found in a wooden box about two feet square are of ash or pine,

rectangular in shape, from four to five inches in length, with breadth somewhat less. They are triptychs with the exception of eight or ten which are diptychs. They are bound in a manner similar to our books, and were fastened by means of threads passing through perforations in the edge and sealed down in a groove on the fourth page. This method of securing the tablets differs from that of the wax-tablets of Dacia and that of the military *diplomata*, which are fastened by means of threads drawn through two holes bored in the extremities of the groove on the fourth page whereon the seals were placed (cf. *Sententiae* of Julius Paulus, 5, 25, § 6, and Suetonius, *Nero*, 17).

The date of these tablets is readily determined from the contents. One belongs to 15 A.D., another to 27, another to 33 or 52, and the remainder to a period running from 52–62. Mommsen believes that the earthquake of February 5th, 63 A.D., and not the eruption of 79, was the cause of the concealment of the chest.

The general arrangement of these documents is as follows. The first and sixth pages show a plain wooden surface, the second and third contain the text, the fourth gives the names of the witnesses and the seals, while the fifth contains the outer copy of the receipt in abstract.

The purpose of the document is indicated briefly in the margin, *i.e.* the edge of the frame, which could be readily seen when the tablets were placed in their case. These documents are business receipts obtained by Caecilius Iucundus in recognition of the payment by him of money due from his collections or sales.

The language is markedly formulaic and varies only slightly, in sufficient degree, however, to admit of a twofold classification. The first, which we may term the "*se dixit*" class, contains a statement which is a record in writing of the word of mouth. It is the older form of receipt, and originally due to ignorance of writing and the necessity of relying on professional scribes. This is the *acceptilatio*, or the form of words by which a creditor releases his debtor after a *stipulatio* or contract has been made by word of mouth, *i.e.* by *interrogatio* and *responsio*. The second, which we may denote the "*scripsi*" class, is of the autograph form, as is shown by the term *chirographum* which is used as the designation of the receipt. This autograph was used to strengthen the validity of an inner receipt of the "*se dixit*" form, and it finally became the form employed both within and without.

The number of seals varies with the character of the document. If the inner copy is an *acceptilatio*, the number of seals varies from seven to eleven; but if it is autograph, there are never more than five seals, and in one instance there are only two, both of which are of the writer. Again, those with the autograph form within, or both within and without, have with the autograph form an additional seal or sub-seal impressed once by the author of the receipt or twice when the receipt is drawn by a slave or some one acting for the author. The sums obtained from the auction sales vary from 38,079 sesterces to 342 sesterces. Payments were made on the kalends and ides, but the *coactor* allowed a postponement of 13 days in one instance, in another of 17, in another of 33 days, and even of 9 months. Fifteen of these documents are receipts acknowledging the payment by Iucundus of rents due the municipality of Pompeii. All the municipal receipts are given by a slave of the municipality under the direction of the *duoviri*, whose seals appear on the fourth page. The following will illustrate the two classes of inscriptions: —

A. The sum of 38,079 sesterces which was paid to L. Caecilius Iucundus in accordance with the bargain made by him, and which was realized from the sale

at auction of property belonging to M. Lucretius Lerus, the said M. Lucretius Lerus hereby declares he has received, less the costs of 2 %. Done at Pompeii on the 11th day before the kalends of February in the consulship of Nero Caesar and L. Antistius.

B. On the 11th day before the kalends of March in the duovirate of Sex. Pompeius Proculus and C. Cornelius Macer, I, Privatus, slave of the municipality, hereby declare in writing that I have received from L. Caecilius Iucundus the amount in arrears of 1652 sesterces, as payment for one year of the receipts or rents of the laundries. Done at Pompeii in the third consulship of Nero Caesar and the first of M. Messalla.

Adjourned at 6 P.M.

Evening Session.

The Association assembled at eight o'clock in Central Hall, to listen to the address of the President, Professor Clement L. Smith, of Harvard University. The speaker was introduced by Chancellor Henry W. MacCracken, who extended a welcome to the Association on behalf of New York University.

6. The American College in the Twentieth Century, by Professor Clement L. Smith, of Harvard University, President of the Association.

The address was devoted to a review of the changes which the past thirty years — the lifetime of this Association — have brought to the American college, and a consideration of the problems with which the college will in consequence find itself confronted as it passes from the present to the coming century. These changes are manifold, but they are all the outcome of a single cause, which has worked on the college in various ways, — the enlargement of the range of education by the conquest and adaptation to its use of new fields of knowledge. This cause has worked on the college from below by the great expansion of secondary instruction; from within, by the wide range of election which it has introduced in the college itself; from above, by the improvement and enlargement of the professional courses and by the creation of the graduate school. Under these new conditions can the college maintain its old position? Has it still a function that cannot be fulfilled by the secondary school or by the graduate school? If it still has a province of its own, where shall its boundaries be set? What shall be the distinctive aim of the college training, and how much shall there be of it?

By the expansion of the preparatory instruction, — mainly stimulated by the college itself, — the age of admission to college, and consequently the age of graduation, has been pushed forward more than a year, and to that extent the college has encroached on the period formerly available for professional study. This embarrasses the professional schools very seriously, because the higher quality of work which they now exact not only requires more time in itself, but demands a preliminary intellectual training that only the college can adequately supply; and the student who goes through both the college and the professional school is kept

at his studies till he is twenty-six or twenty-seven years old. The college should therefore recede, they say, and let its students graduate at twenty-one, as it did formerly. This would mean a three years' course; for in view of the necessary freedom of college life, it is not desirable to remedy the difficulty by reducing the age of admission.

So far as their own students are concerned, the claim of the professional schools must be admitted to be reasonable; and a consideration of the bearing of the proposed reduction on other classes of students leads to the conclusion that the best solution of the problem would be an elastic arrangement permitting a student to graduate in either three or four years.

A more important question is that of the character of the college training; and on this subject the present conditions give ground for serious apprehension. The college has suffered much, in the past thirty years, from the invasion of alien elements, which have materially affected its spirit and perverted its aims. These have come from the development of the so-called modern and useful studies, an excellent movement in itself, but harmful so far as it has turned the college into a training ground for particular callings, making its influence narrowing instead of broadening. It is of much less consequence to maintain the present conventional length of the college course than it is to keep the college true to its proper aim, which is liberal culture, the building up of manhood and character, the better equipment of the man, mentally and morally, not for a special employment, but for any sphere of service to which he may be called.

For the development of responsible manhood the college must be a place of freedom, in conduct and in choice of studies. The limits to be imposed on this freedom are such only as are necessary to the college for the fulfilment of its function. Not all studies may have a place on the college course, nor stand on an equal footing if admitted; but all may come in that can serve the ends of liberal culture, and these are many times more than any one student can use. His selection of a course adapted to his particular mental development from the rich feast which the modern college spreads before him is a most difficult matter. The wise regulation of the elective system is one of the still unsolved problems of college policy.

The character of the college training depends largely on its requirements for admission, which determine the basis of intellectual attainment on which the college must build. It is clear that the college cannot afford to accept any and every sort of preparatory training, even though equally prolonged and substantial. The relations of studies cannot be ignored. The school course and the college course must be planned as two successive stages of the same training, with the same end in view; and the choice of studies that may be offered to students in either stage must be determined solely with reference to that end. The question, so far as it concerns the preparatory course, is twofold. First, what is the best foundation for the college training? Secondly, how strictly shall the best be insisted on? How far can the college afford to go in admitting those who from choice or necessity content themselves with something short of the best, thereby introducing a certain amount of deteriorating leaven into the student mass? If it be admitted that the classical training is the best foundation for a liberal education, the further question, the question of expediency, still remains: Shall we admit to college none but those who have the best? It is this question of expediency, and not the ques-

tion of excellence, that most divides us. The experiment of larger freedom here has been entered upon, and the experience of the coming century must settle the question.

The higher education of women presents another set of problems for the coming century to solve. This movement has thus far been mainly a struggle for rights; and now that the cause is won, and the expediency of opening to women the highest intellectual opportunities is no longer disputed, more attention can be given to the important question of the best form of college training for women, and of the best conditions under which it can be carried on. This is a problem on which we have hardly more than entered as yet, and its wise solution must await the results of further experiment.

(The main part of this address is published in the *Atlantic Monthly* for February, 1900.)

MORNING SESSION.

NEW YORK, July 6, 1899.

The Association assembled at 9.50 A.M.

The President appointed the following committees: —

On Officers for 1899–1900: Professors Wright, B. I. Wheeler, and Knapp.

On Time and Place of Meeting in 1900: Professors Cowles, Hempl, and Harry. Professor Cowles having asked to be excused from serving on account of necessary absence, the President appointed Professor Elwell in his place.

7. The Treatise περὶ ὕψους, a Rhetorical and Didactic Treatise, by Professor E. G. Sihler, of New York University.

1.

Without recurring here in detail to a number of sound observations made by Rhys Roberts in a recent paper in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1897, pp. 176–211, and on Caecilius in the *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. 18, p. 302 *sqq.*, I must say that Professor Roberts himself is clearly still in great measure under the traditional thrall of the "*aesthetic*" point of view. The very palpable and bulky element of rhetorical technique in "Longinus" puzzles him, as on p. 183: "L. may often seem (why *seem?*) to attach excessive (why *excessive?*) importance to rhythm, to figures, and to questions of form generally," and: "our author's chief aim (*sic*) is, on the other hand, aesthetic rather than purely scientific." Ernesti, whose technological lexica have by no means been displaced by the volume of Volkmann, had so faithfully recorded the technical matter of Longinus, that the impressions of Mr. Roberts are unnecessarily vague: he sees what he sets out to see.

2.

The very matter of *theme* suggests the inquiry: what is the range of synonymous or correlated terminology? I have gathered the following: ἀξίωμα 39, 3; (αὔξησις discriminated 12, 1); τὸ περὶ τὰς νοήσεις ἀδρεπήβολον 8, 1; γενναῖος

8, 1; διάστημα 41, 1; 40, 2; διηρμένος 7, 1; δίαρμα 12, 1; ἑδραῖον μέγεθος 40, 4; εὐγενὴς 43, 6; μεγαλορρήμων, 23, 2; μεγαλοπρεπής 30, 1; μεγαληγορία 15, 1; μεγεθύνω, 9; 13, 1; μεγεθοποιός 39, 4; μέγας, 30, 2; 9, 3; τὸ μέγα 35, 2; 36, 1; μεγαλήγορος 8; μέγεθος, 3, 2; 7, 1; 9, 5; 9, 10; 9, 13; 13, 2; 16, 1; 17, 2; 30, 2; τὰ μεγέθη 39, 3; 40, 1; μεγαλοφυής c. 2; 9, 1; 9, 14; 15, 3; μεγαλοφροσύνη c. 9; 14, 1; 36, 1; (μετέωρος discriminated from ὑψηλός) 3, 2; μεγαλοπρεπής 12, 3; ὀγκηρός 3, 1; ὄγκοι 3, 3; 8, 3; 12, 3; 15, 1; 39, 3; 41, 1; ὀγκοῦν 28, 1; σεμνός 30, 2; στόμφος c. 3; ὑψηλός 3, 2; c. 8; 10, 1; 11, 2; 13, 2; 18, 1; 43, 2–3; 43, 6; ὑψηλοφανής 24, 1; ὕψος 5, 1; 7, 2; 7, 3; 9, 5; 9, 13; *12, 1;* 12, 5; *16, 2;* 23, 1; 29, 2; 32, 4; 36, 1; 36, 2; 39, 3; 42, 3; 43, 1; ὕψη 7, 4; 43, 6; **ὕψος καὶ κατόρθωμα** 36, 2; ὑψηγορία 8, 1; 14, 1; 34, 4; τὸ ὑπερτεταμένον 12, 5; (ἐκπλῆξαι 12, 5; δεινοῦν 3, 1; cf. μεγεθύνω), and the opposites: ἀσχήμων 43, 6; ἀσθένεια, 3, 3; ἄσεμνος 5, 1; 10, 7; 43, 1; ἀγενὴς 9, 3; ἀμεγέθης 34, 4; 41, 3; εὐτελισμός 11, 2; μειρακιώδης 3, 4; μειωτικὸν ὕψους 42, 3; ξηρότης 3, 3; σχολικόν 10, 7; **ταπεινός** 9, 10; 40, 2; 43, 6. — If we briefly set over against this the range of terminology in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Reiske's pages), we shall, as I believe, strongly feel the kinship of their literary and professional sphere: ἀξίωμα 20, 53, 421, 1083; ἀξίωσις 1023; ἀδρός 29; ἀξιωματικός 70, 104, 112, 541, 1006; ἀνδρώδης 1071; αὐξητικός 433; 1093; βάρος 53; γενναῖος 71; 112; διηρμένος 267, 433; δύναμίς τις 546; εὐγενής 15, 115, 1093; κατάπληξις 939, cf. 963; ἐξαίρειν 242; τὰ ἰσχυρότατα 378; μέγεθος 108, 112, 267, 546, 782, 995, 1061; μέγεθος καὶ πάθος 108; μ. καὶ τόνος 995; τὸ μέγα 539, 967; μεγαλοπρεπής 70, 101, 104, 105, 112, 376, 429, 482, 541, 765, 786; μεγαλοπρεπῶς 420; μεγαλοπρέπεια 53, 101, 420, 421, 425, 779, 865, 939, 963; τὸ μεγαλότεχνον 541; μεγαληγορία 881; μετέωρον 625; ὄγκος τῆς ποιητικῆς κατασκευῆς 764; ὀγκώδης 643; τὸ περιττόν 539; πομπικός 429, 625; παρακεκινδυνευμένη φράσις 765; σεμνός, τὸ σεμνόν 5, 434, 539, 541, 1006, 1069, 1075, 1088, 1096; 71, 105, 108, 109, 123, 429, 433, 470, 600; ἡ σεμνότης 20, 44, 101, 145, 242, 420, 430, 432; σεμνολογία 53, 865, 939, 994, 584; τὸ τραγικόν 643; ὑψηλός, τὸ ὑψηλόν 29, 107, 115, 118, 123, 423, 482, 541, 596, 645, 758, 762, 964, 969, 1006, 1059, 1061, 1071. The substantial identity of range in Dionysius and "Longinus" is obvious, while Longinus has a greater range in proportion.

3.

The *practical* and *professional* bias of this treatise is brought out or suggested repeatedly: Longinus desires to produce something useful for ἄνδρες πολιτικοί c. 1; the essay is to be *useful* for χρηστομαθοῦντες c. 2; suitable for λόγοι ἀληθινοί c. 3, 1; τὸν ἀληθῆ ῥήτορα c. 9, 3; and so he differentiates *rhetorical* from *poetical* imagination, the former aiming at ἐνάργεια, the latter at ἔκπληξις, 15, 2; τὸ μέγεθος οὐκέτ' ἔξω τῆς **χρείας καὶ ὠφελείας** πίπτει 36, 1; τὸ ἔμπρακτον καὶ ἐναληθές 15, 8. The author criticises Caecilius because, while illustrating elevated style by numberless instances, as if the world were ignorant of it, Caecilius had failed to present a *definite practical method* of acquiring it: c. 1, 1; to supply this, then, is clearly the chief point of the essay, not aesthetical theorizing. Similarly Dionysius professes the training for πολιτικοὶ λόγοι 57, 65; ἐπιλέγεσθαι **τὰ πολιτικὰ** (ὀνόματα) πανταχόθεν 384; Thucydides is πρὸς **τοὺς ἀληθεῖς** ἀγῶνας ὠφελιμώτερος 428; conciseness is proper παντὶ **ἀληθεῖ** λόγῳ 464, cf. 1007; clear-

ness a prime requisite for **ἐναγώνιοι** λόγοι 982; Philistos is more suitable **πρὸς τοὺς ἀληθινοὺς ἀγῶνας** than Thucydides 782, 921; **ἀθληταὶ τῆς ἀληθινῆς** λέξεως 1007; both Dionysius and Longinus probably oppose herein the vain bombast of the Asianic type: both Dionysius (27) and Longinus (c. 3, 2) refer to Hegesias, the most eminent exponent of the Asianic style, as the most notorious exemplar of factitious and spurious loftiness of style.

4.

The concise presentation of the actual plan and theme of this treatise will still further illustrate the didactic purport as well as its substantial maintenance of rhetorical categories and technique, — while we fully appreciate the fact that Longinus knows how to clothe the skeleton of his design with much more grace and variety of expression than does Dionysius, and we feel a certain fervor of presentation which betokens a mind of great earnestness in strong sympathy with its subject. But I trust that by ignoring both this outer as well as this inner element, and by demonstrating the *technical* sequence in the treatise, I may slightly elucidate one of the earlier chapters in the history of classic philology.

Chap. 8 contains this outline: "There are five sources (**πηγαί**) most productive of lofty style, or *five forms* (**ἰδέαι**, cf. *Hermogenes*) of power in expression — (**ἡ ἐν τῷ λέγειν δύναμις** is of course more significant of the very general sphere of the power of utterance to be acquired, than the absurd "Sublime" of tradition): *how to become a strong* [writer and] *speaker*; how to attain what Dionysius calls **δεινότης**, and for which we have the factitive **δεινοῦν** in Longinus 3, 1; cf. **μεγεθύνω**. These five elements (**μερίς** elsewhere) are presented by Longinus in two groups. The first two native, inborn; the other three acquirable by **τέχνη**.

I. (*a*) The faculty of laying hold of strong or noble ideas,
(*b*) Emotion of intense and inspired character.
II. (*c*) A certain shaping of figures (α) of **νόησις**
(β) of **λέξις**,
(*d*) Noble utterance (α) **ὀνομάτων ἐκλογή**
(β) **ἡ τροπικὴ καὶ πεποιημένη λέξις**.
(*e*) **σύνθεσις**.

5.

(*a*) The faculty of generating noble ideas, genius, in fact, as we should say: **τὸ μεγαλοφυές** (9, 1), illustrations being largely derived from Homer — six leaves lost here — with a famous comparative judgment of *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, famous, though not entirely fair to the latter; 9, 12; also the words of *Genesis* on the creation of Light (probably from Caecilius the Hebrew), a quotation on which Mommsen has based inferences (*Provinzen*, p. 494) which seem to go far beyond the slender data available. The practical and didactic point promptly follows upon that famous analytical chapter, viz. in chapter 10; let the student choose, *i.e.* deliberately select lofty or strong conceits, and by their *aggregation* (**πύκνωσις**) produce the effect he desires, a point illustrated by the aggregation of the symptoms of amatory passion in the Ode of Sappho, **παθῶν σύνοδος**, 10, 3.

(*b*) In fact we have passed from *a* to *b* (the exact point of transition is lost) in the six lost leaves, the first great *lacuna*: and down to the end of c. 15 we

deal with πάθος, the element of *emotion*. Caecilius is criticised (8, 1–2) for omitting πάθος from the five factors, for virtually identifying ὕψος and the element of emotion. But a closer study of our treatise reveals the fact that Longinus does substantially this very thing.

6.

Let us take up the factors *c*, *d*, *e*, i.e. the distinctly technical elements, which will aid the practical student of oratory toward the acquisition of strength or elevation. This element of the essay occupies chapters 16–40. Then there follows in 41–43 some survey of the *negative factors* which lower and degrade the style and tone of the orator. Chap. 44 is a strong and somewhat impulsive self-revelation of the author's spiritual nature, its revulsion from the vain life of getting and spending, the passion for profit and pleasure in mighty Rome, so hostile to the aspirations and the ideals of the essay. The writer seems to have been an earnest Stoic, as I may show elsewhere.

(*c*) The *figure* of the oath (ὁμοτικὸν σχῆμα) (a σχῆμα διανοίας) is cited from Demosthenes, *de Corona* 208, though the author, with a deliberate polemical turn addressed to the τεχνογράφοι, calls it an ἀποστοφή, discoursing on the interdependence of ὕψος and σχήματα. Another σχῆμα illustrating sources of elevated style is *interrogation* (πεῦσις κ. ἐρώτησις), c. 17, and in 18, 2 the author enters upon a psychological analysis of the function of this figure, this being his didactic mode throughout, viz. to bring psychological analysis to the support of technical practice and procedure. Thus, too, Dionysius H. p. 1121 speaks of ἴδιον σχῆμα πεύσεως. The next figure of which Longinus avails himself, is that of the **ἀσύνδετα**, which he illustrates from Xenophon and Homer, and proceeds to take up his favorite factor of *intensity*, accumulation, σύνοδος τῶν σχημάτων, which he aptly illustrates from Dem. *in Midiam* 72, and in c. 27 Longinus resorts to the practical experiment of inserting conjunctions in the manner of Isocrates, by which πάθος is destroyed; we see the experienced teacher in a favorite operation. Next in c. 22 he takes up the figure of the ὑπέρβατα (Volkmann,[2] p. 437) in either λέξεις or νοήσεις, which he soberly defines in regular didactic manner. These mutations of ordinary sequence typify a great many πάθη, as rage, fear, displeasure, jealousy, with illustrations from Herod. VI. 11 and, *again*, *the practical experiment* of rearrangement, as above. Thucydides is most forceful (δεινότατος) in tearing asunder natural union or cohesion (cf. Dionys. 976) with much violence. Dem. is great in doing it effectively. — Follows the psychological elucidation. Next he cites **τὰ πολύπτωτα** c. 23, *the accumulations*, *inversions*, *climax*; inversions of cases, tenses, numbers, genders — (κόσμος being fairly used as synonymous with ὕψος) varying and rousing the current of the delivery (τὰ ἑρμηνευτικά), the more grandiloquent *plural* being illustrated from Sophocles and from Plato's Epitaphios (*i e.* Menexenos): the psychological factor being in the element of the *unexpected* (παρὰ δόξαν), provided always that the subject-matter will allow amplification, fulness, hyperbole or πάθος. Similarly he illustrates the change of plural to *singular* (24, 1), the dramatic effect of the *historical present* (c. 25) from Xenophon, and Thucydides is commended.

Chap. 26, on the *use of the second person*, is probably the weakest thing in the essay; it would seem preposterous to burden Homer (to say nothing of metre) with any stylistic consciousness in connection with φαίης ἄν, etc. Somewhat

more substantial is the remark on the sudden *transition from report to first person* (*αὐτοπρόσωπον*), the matter being illustrated both from *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, also from Hecataeus and from Dem. The emotion is stirred through the element of suddenness. Chap. 28 touches upon **περίφρασις** in opposition to proper and direct expression (*κυριολογία*) (again *κόσμος* is a variant of *ὕψος*), illustrated from Xenophon and the Menexenos. The censure which is directed against Plato from certain quarters in this respect is probably that of Caecilius (28, 4). So far extends the matter of the manipulation of figures to obtain effects of the grand style (*τοσαῦτα περιλογήσθω*).

(*d*) Follows factor No. 4; choice of vocabulary, **ἐκλογὴ ὀνομάτων** — lacuna of 4 leaves. — We thus lose the discussion of noble and elevated vocabulary, and when the Ms. begins again (c. 31), the discussion has, in the *β* of factor *d*, reached the theme of commonplace metaphor (*ἰδιωτισμός*), which, however, may be used very effectively, with illustrations from Anacreon and from Theopompos. In the question as to the limit of metaphors, Caecilius had agreed with those who establish a maximum of three, but the author follows the standard of Demosthenes, with illustrations from *de Corona*, 296. And while citing the technical suggestions as to tempering boldness of metaphor, he turns in his usual manner to the psychological element underlying this particular feature, and incidentally *all but identifies* (32. 4) *elevation* and *emotion*, as I pointed out before. Going on to speak of the effectiveness of metaphor in local delineation and description, he illustrates from Xenophon and particularly from Plato's *Timaeus*, — the most copious single extract in the extant essay.

Digression: chapters 33–36 are a digression on a theme much discussed in the rhetorical training of that time, viz. *Positive genius* in literature with occasional lapses, *versus* the negative virtue of mere correctness or faultlessness. The challenge which Plato had once issued to Lysias, in the *Phaedrus*, was still eagerly taken up; Caecilius in his monograph on Lysias (32, 8) had censured Plato with great asperity. Dionysius, the friend of Caecilius, does the same, not only on p. 765 R. which Otto Jahn cites in the footnote, but also on pp. 965, 1024, 1032, 1033. This digression is full of matter for the student of Greek literature and the ancient philology, for Longinus compares Homer with Apollonios and Theokritos, Archilochos is ranged with Eratosthenes, Pindar with Bacchylides, Sophocles with Ion, and, in an elaborate analysis, Demosthenes with Hyperides. And the writer, a consistent Platonist in this anciently established feud, places Plato far above Lysias, both in the *amount* and in the *degree* of excellencies.

Resumption: At the beginning of c. 37, with the phrase *ἐπανιτέον γάρ*, the writer returns to his proper themes, and, in the strict sequence of *τέχνη* begins to discuss after metaphor the **παραβολαί** and **εἰκόνες**, which discussion for us is cut short by the *loss of two leaves*.

Where the Ms. begins again we are still dealing with *τροπικὴ λέξις*, specifically with *Hyperbole: i.e.* with its limit, faults being illustrated from Isocrates' *Panegyricus*. In his usual psychological explanation Longinus aptly finds the proper occasion for hyperbole, *i.e.* when the excess of emotional force, justified by some circumstance of uncommon weight requires adequate utterance; the subject-matter begets it. He illustrates even from comedy.

(*e*) The fifth and last factor is **σύνθεσις**. The traditional version of the title of the noted monograph by Dionysius of Halicarnassus "de Compositione Verbo

rum" is not as significant as Cicero's "collocatio." Both Dionysius and Longinus smack of the school: Dionysius H. p. 7 of R. *ποιά τις θέσις παρ' ἄλληλα τῶν τοῦ λόγου μορίων.* Longinus, p. 39, 1, *ἡ διὰ τῶν λόγων αὐτὴ ποιὰ σύνθεσις.* This is the most comprehensive chapter in rhetorical technique. Why? Because it begins, somewhat like modern philology, with a phonetic analysis of sounds and articulation. Of course *their* interest was a practical one. The sensuous element of speech, the euphonic and acoustic interest in *cadence* in actual delivery, this was the motive for that minuteness of analysis; was a cadence soft, nimble, hurried, or was it severe, strong, vigorous, forceful? See Ernesti s.v. **ἕδρα** (I fail to find this technical use not only in Liddell & Scott, who often give the gist of Ernesti, but even in Stephanus' *Thesaurus*). Thence the analysis proceeds to syllables, to words, and to *clauses* (*κῶλα* and *κόμματα*); thence to *periods.* Classifying syllables and words on the score of quantity, and metre, and rhythm are essential topics in *σύνθεσις*, and they are applied to prose as well as to poetry; *ἁρμονία* is used as a technical equivalent for *σύνθεσις*, both by Dionysius and by Longinus. The latter, after speaking of the immediate sensuous effect of certain musical instruments, adds that the coincident *πάθος* of nobly sonorous words is transmitted from speaker to hearer. A passage from Dem. *de Corona* 188, illustrates the force of noble metres, in this case of the *dactyl* (it is noteworthy how utterly the elocution of the schools seems to have been determined by quantity); this point Longinus further illustrates by curtailing words and thus breaking up the sequence of quantities: *τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν τότε τῇ πόλει περιστάντα κίνδυνον παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν ὥσπερ νέφος.* Change to *ὡς νέφος*, and the sonorous loftiness of the passsage is cut short and mutilated; it is clear, he says, *πόσον ἡ ἁρμονία τῷ ὕψει συνηχεῖ.* This matter of metre in prose is treated with great fulness by D. H. *de Comp. Verbb.* p. 58, and particularly 104 *sqq.*, on certain rhythms as elements of elevated synthesis, — the dactyl, anapaest, molossus, spondee being particularly named, while tribrach, amphibrach, trochee have opposite effect; and similarly Longinus speaks of the psychological effect of the petty and ignoble metres such as pyrrichius, trochee, dichoreus.

Next in the regular order he considers the structure of the elements of speech in their organic unit the *period*, in which as in a feast from joint contributions, *all the elements* of the grand style may be brought together. For detail he refers to his own two monographs on *σύνθεσις*, 39, 1. This forcefulness through *arrangement* is particularly predicated of Philistos, Aristophanes, and Euripides, with illustrations chiefly from the latter. He urges that it is almost impossible to bring out the grand and strong elements of poetry by mere *scanning*, the distinct allusion being this, that the actual scanning practised in the schools was eminently singsong, mechanical, and neutralized all the elements of *πάθος* contained therein.

7.

This, strictly speaking, is the end of the treatise, for he has disposed of the *fifth factor* of the elevated and virile style. But by way of *epimetrum* he gives some survey of those literary elements which cut short and reduce elevation and strength, matters which need not detain us now. Nor need we dwell on chap. 44, because it is, as I said before, mainly a kind of spiritual self-revelation of the author.

My inquiry has, I believe, distinctly shown this: that the writer sets out to improve upon the work of Caecilius, whose analytical merits he fully concedes while desiring to supplement him by furnishing *a practical method* for the acquisition of elevation and forcefulness in practical oratory; his criticisms of certain definitions in Caecilius impressed us as not very well grounded, because he seemed in great measure to identify at least the *spheres of* **ὕψος** *and of* **πάθος**. We also saw that, in dividing these elements into *natural* and *technical*, he nevertheless in the former, like Dionysius of H., left a wide field to deliberate imitation. In the *technical section* we saw that he took up the great traditional categories of *σχήματα*, of *ἐκλογή ὀνομάτων*, of *σύνθεσις* or *ἁρμονία* in precisely the order and general arrangement rendered customary by the rhetorical schools and the *τεχνογράφοι*.

Remarks were made on this paper by Professor Wright.

8. The Origin of Grammatical Gender, by Professor B. I. Wheeler, of Cornell University.

In his recent book on the *Nature and Origin of the Noun Genders*, Professor Brugmann has succeeded in setting forth with extraordinary clearness the essential points of a discussion which concerns one of the most elusive problems of historical grammar.

The theory of Indo-European noun-gender which before Brugmann had received general acceptance was that formulated by Adelung, Grimm, and Pott, and first suggested by Humboldt and Herder.

The old view is evidently no longer tenable, — unless, at least, we postulate, for the sole purpose of creating the sexualized gender, a people of more aggressive personifying-sexualizing tendency than any known to us now or in history. Brugmann's contention, on the other hand, while it has served the double purpose of exposing the weakness of the old view, and of quickening thought and observation for the discovery of a better, particularly in pointing out that the masculine and feminine endings had originally no connection with gender, has offered nothing that can be accepted outright in place of the old.

No provision of any sort is made for explaining the adaptation to sex-denotation of any other classes of nouns than the *ā*-class and what our author calls the *-i̯ē-*class. Furthermore, no provision is made for the isolated words, not members of any well-defined suffix-class. There is altogether lacking, too, any account of the psychological motive through which words of different ending should have been grouped into a psychologically determined class involving denotation of sex; *gn̥nā́* might, for instance, refer to an object which is of the female sex, and still no consciousness arise that it contained an allusion to that particular characteristic of the object. As the *os*-termination confessedly involved at the time no suggestion of masculinity, there was in that nothing to point the distinction. There were in existence, to be sure, words exclusively applicable to women, like *svésor*, 'sister,' as well as words exclusively applicable to men; but, according at least to the theory we are discussing, there had been up to this time no grouping in the linguistic consciousness of feminine names as *vs.* masculine names. The difficulty here involved is greatly increased when we seek for a process by which nouns of

various stems, as in *-ā* and *-ī* (*-i̯ā*), should come to recognize each other, and unite in a group, *e.g. gn̥nā́, u̯l̥qī, gn̥tí's*, — a group marked by no grammatical symbol or mechanism, and in no way recognized by the language. The cases of assimilation in gender which are noted in living Indo-Europ. languages are all under the guidance and leadership of an external symbol or sign of category, the article, or the pronoun, or the adjective; it is the acceptance of the article as outward symbol, that not only indicates, but makes possible, the new grouping.

The imperfect and, as we may class it, rudimentary grouping of diverse word-forms which carry a like idea or involve a hint of relationship, is created or maintained, so far as it exists at all, under the protection, and, as it were, the patronage of some category of form; thus the diverse noun-plurals, *e.g.* Gr. *-οι*, *-αι*, *-ες* are held together by the verb-plural, aided by adjectives and pronouns. The 'defective' systems, like *go–went–gone*, *good–better–best*, *am–is–was–been*, are held together, as apparent groupings on the basis of idea alone, through the form-systems *swear–swore–sworn*, *love–loved–loved*, *bright–brighter–brightest*, etc., into whose shells they have crept. The very genius of those languages, commonly called the 'inflectional,' which von der Gabelentz so aptly termed the 'defective languages,' is determined by their method of association.

It is on general principles improbable that the categories of sex-gender originated from within the nouns themselves. The nouns, by their very nature, indicate directly the objects for which they stand, after the manner of *uncle*, *aunt*, *father*, *mother*, *nephew*, *niece*, *man*, *woman*, *wizard*, *witch*, *bull*, *cow*, *buck*, *doe*, etc., and may not be expected to require for the identification of the object such an indication of sex as is, for example, eminently convenient in words of shifting application like the personal pronouns *he–she–it*. This consideration led me in an article on *Grammatical Gender*, *Classical Review*, 1889, pp. 390 ff., to suggest that the development of grammatical gender in the noun had been determined by the inflections of the pronoun. This view, which has since been presented by Henning, *Kuhn's Zeitschr.*, XXXIII, 402 ff. (1893), and with admirable insight by Jacobi, *Compositum und Nebensatz*, pp. 115 ff. (1897), clearly points the way to the solution of our problem. I shall, in the following, indicate in brief outline what I believe to be the chief stations on the route, which though at various points corresponding to Jacobi's route, is yet distinct from it.

It is in the pronoun that we find the opportunity for the emergence and development of the categories distinguishing sex-gender, and in the gender-forms of the pronoun the *ποῦ στῶ* for forming groups of gender-words among the nouns. As gender was originally indicated in the Indo-Europ. languages neither by the verb nor the noun, we must indeed expect to find its origin in the pronoun or adjective. What has been seen to be *a priori* likely receives support and confirmation from the existing facts in non-Indo-Europ. languages with imperfectly developed systems of grammatical gender.

There is in English no grammatical gender of nouns. The distinctions of real and metaphorical sex belong to the objects, not the names. Thus in the cases usually cited from Modern English usage, such as *the ship*, *she*, etc., the he-ness and she-ness inhere in the objects, not the names. Names like *poetess*, *giantess*, *negress*, — or like *he-goat*, *she-wolf*, *bull-calf*, *buck-rabbit*, *cock-sparrow*, constitute no exception to the statement that English has no grammatical gender. They are all more or less convenient makeshifts. They simply provide names for

objects, as do *father*, *brother*, *mother*, *sister*, but *she-wolf* is more specific than *wolf*, just as ἡ θεός than ὁ θεός (cf. plur. οἱ θεοί 'gods and goddesses').

The attempt to explain the phenomena of compounds of two endings and of feminines in *-os* from the point of view of grammatical gender is likely to be, as it has thus far been (cf. the attempts of Lange and Delbrück), a failure. They must rather be treated as the fragmentary remains of an early type and status, existing before the sex-gender inherent in the pronoun had created a concord of the adjective and grafted itself upon those suffixal classifications of the noun which *as a result of the engrafting have come to exhibit the phenomena of grammatical gender.*

The compounds represent in their type survivals from a period in the history of the Indo-Europ. language before case-endings became definitely affixed to the noun-'stems,' and before grammatical gender was introduced; ἀκρόπολις (and not *ἀκράπολις), λογοποιός (not *λογομποιός), for instance, present on the one hand an adjective without concord, on the other a noun without case-ending (accus.). The noun-'stem' appears here, not as a grammatical abstraction, but as a petrified fact or, as the case may be, type. In recognition of this principle, Jacobi in his book *Compositum und Nebensatz* (1897) has developed his most instructive and important discussion of the compounds as petrified subordinate sentences. The case-endings were first added in order to particularize and definitely specify a relation which had heretofore been inferred from the context and situation.

But why was the compound-type preserved after its successor appeared? I do not find that this question, fundamental as it is, has yet been asked. The primitive type of syntax represented by the compound survives in the later stages of languages by virtue of its ability to express a class of relations which need to be expressed, — a class of relations in which the particularizing definiteness of the case-endings is absent. *Herein lies the opportunity for an isolation by which the compound* has resisted absorption into the new mechanism of the sentence and *has preserved its identity as a type* in the various I.-E. languages. The compound as it exists in the I.-E. languages bears in its most essential character the impress of its primitive use, and maintains one phase at least of the primitive syntax. Thus *horse-tamer* (ἱπποδάμος) is a compound because *horse-* is free from the individualization present in the sentence type *he tames a horse*, and not definitely avoidable in *he tames horses;* cf. *book-keeper*, *hat-rack*, *river-pilot*, *cliff-dweller*, ἄγροικος.

The I.-E. sentence, as we know it, took its shape through the introduction especially of the individualizing or particularizing endings *-s* and *-m*. The most fundamental historical classification of I.-E. nouns which can be made discovers two main groups. One consists of those which take *-m* in the accus. sing., the other of those which do not. The former group has grown and almost overwhelmed the latter. The one class comprises individualized nouns, capable of forming plurals as a sum of individualized units, the latter names of material, inert matter, mass, or substance of being or action, like *sāld* 'salt,' etc., which in general formed no plurals, — beyond certain collective designations, characterized in the *r-*, *l-*, *n-*, *i-*, *u-*, stems by heavy endings. These mass words like *sāld*, etc., constitute the first stratum of 'neuters.' The second stratum, widely separated in form and content, consists of the 'neuters' in *-om*, which are secondarily

developed out of the individualized *o*-nouns and form plurals in $\bar{a} : ə$ by use of the collective formation in $\acute{a}$, which was closely associated with many of these nouns; cf. *-bhorŏs* : *bhorā́*. These neuters in *-om* must have been originally forms of individualized *o*-nouns representing the passive recipient, the goal or complement of the action named in the verb, in distinction from the bearer and exponent of the action represented in the *s*-forms. In this character and with this value the two sets of forms (*-s* and *-m*) became crystallized in the paradigms of those nouns which through loss of the 'thematic vowel' (Streitberg, *Ein Ablautproblem der Ursprache*, *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* XXIV, 29 ff.), provided a great part of what are now the masculines and feminines of the 'third declension.' *After that had taken place*, and, with the development of the conventional economy of the sentence, after the feeling for a nominative as the grammatical subject, whatever the attitude (voice?) of the verb, had emerged (cf. Delbrück, *Vgl. Syntax*, Sec. 73), words which by virtue of their value as denoting things had been chiefly used in the *-m* form, so long as the verb was usually the name of an action set forth in an actor named with the *s*-form, now began to appear and be used as nominatives and in this *m*-form, which had meanwhile come to be identified with their substance. In this they were aided by the analogy of the neuters of the first stratum, which knew no difference between nominative and accusative forms.

The theory of the facts offered here provides explanation for three most striking characteristics of the I.–E. noun inflexion, for which no explanation has yet been offered or attempted: (1) That a characteristic ending of neuters appears only in the *o*-declension. (2) That in all neuters nominative and accusative agree. (3) That the likeness in ending of neuter nominative and masculine accusative is limited to the *o*-declension.

If this view of the origin of the neuters in *-om* be accepted, there remains no stumbling-block in the way of recognizing what appears to be the most fundamental and oldest classification of I.–E. nouns, that of the oldest neuters, represented historically by the third decl. neuters, a perishing body of relics, on the one hand, and the individualized *o-*, *i-*, *u*-stems on the other. We have here a classification somewhat analogous to that in other languages between definite and indefinite, — or even between animate and inanimate, rational and irrational; cf. Winkler, *Weiteres zur Sprachgesch.*, pp 4 ff., a classification recognized as representing a first crude impulse, which through the engrafting of the notion of sex-gender inherent in the pronoun is capable of yielding the phenomena of grammatical gender.

The connection between pronoun and noun was established by means of the adjective, and the 'concord' of the adjective (*-os*, *-a*, *-om*) stands as witness to the fact. The adjective, if we speak in terms of origins, 'agrees with' the pronoun rather than the noun. Adjectives were names of shifting application like pronouns, and like them were aided in their denotation of objects by an indication of sex. The pronoun made use of she-forms, one of which, *sā*, appears in Skr. *sā*, Gr. *ἡ*, etc, and is vouched for as old by its almost complete isolation from a system. In this Jacobi, p. 121, has seen the source of femin. *ā*-ending. Another form I.–E. *sī* (*syā*) surviving in Goth. *si*, O. Ir. *sī* may also furnish the clue to the origin of the fem. *ī-* (*i̯ā-*) suffix.

The *s* of the nominative surely had nothing to do originally with the denotation

of gender; its retention in fem. nouns of the third declension, in epicene nouns in *-os*, in the fem. of adjectives of two terminations, and in nouns like ἡ ὁδός shows that clearly enough. The *ā*-form was introduced into the adjectives (verbal noun-adjectives) of the *os*-ending to aid the precision of denotation when an object of female sex was referred to by such noun-adjective, thus *sā leu̯qós* yielded to *sā leu̯qā* or *leu̯qā*. Names which bore in themselves the means of preciser denotation resisted more successfully the intrusion of the *ā*-sign, and the compound adjectives of two terminations (ῥοδοδάκτυλος), adjectives partly substantivized (χέρσος), and fem. nouns in *-os* still show the traces of the early struggle. Once the possibility of modifying the adjectives in the forms *-os*, *-a*, *-om*, *néu̯os*, *néu̯ā*, *néu̯om* (*novus*, *-a*, *-om*) was established, the noun easily became infected. An adjective used as a noun, *néu̯ā*, 'the new woman!' might bring the distemper aboard at any time. When a group of such words, — and *gn̥nā̆* of course would join the group, had fastened the notion that *-ā* referred to *sā̆* and femininity, other words in *-ā* by virtue of the folk-instinct for like notions in like forms would be constrained into yielding some vaguely-felt folk-etymological connection with the idea of femininity, after the same general manner that Eng. *fortress* in the common linguistic consciousness is vaguely felt to have some sort of feminine value. In many cases, doubtless, the personifying fancy found free opportunity, *e.g.* in a word for 'earth' (Gr. γαῖα), and aided in bringing form and idea into harmony; it acted, however, not as Grimm would have it, at its own instance, but under the stimulus of form requiring satisfaction. The parallelism of the contrast between collective-abstracts in *-ā* and verbals in *-os*, and that between she-nouns in *-ā* and he-nouns in *-os*, aided powerfully in establishing the feeling for the quasi-sheness of the abstract-collectives. With the establishment of this connection, gender had ceased to be merely a property of objects, and, as furnishing a bond between forms, had become grammatical gender.

What it was in its beginnings Indo-European gender remained throughout its history, an imperfect blending of two systems of classification. At one extreme the classifications were based on meaning, at the other on form. The older form-classes predominated, some infused more, some less with the spirit of the other system; as a rule their coherence was technical and legal rather than spiritual. But through their coherence they acquired an organization, effected preëminently by means of the adjective concord, which, artificial as it was, gave to the mechanism of the sentence suppleness of use and precision of application. According to Brugmann's theory, with the discussion of which we started, the idea of sex-gender was spontaneously developed out of the old form-classes; according to that presented here, the old form-classes were called forth into a new life, partly a real life, partly a quasi life, but called forth, after the manner of the Shunammite's son, by another system of classes stretched and measured upon them.

Remarks were made on this paper by Professor March, Professor Hempl, and Mr. Ingraham, and in reply by the author. The paper appears in full in the *Journal of Germanic Philology*.

The President reported that the members of the Association were invited by the Local Committee to enjoy a drive through the upper part of Greater New York, at two o'clock in the afternoon.

9. Notes on certain Euphonic Ellipses in the *Antigone* of Sophocles, by Professor J. H. Wright, of Harvard University.

The English expression, 'the queen's garden' is equivalent only to '*the* garden of *the* queen,' and since it cannot mean either '*the* garden of *a* queen,' or '*a* garden of *the* queen,' the '*the*' in the sentence clearly does duty for two '*the's*.' And in the expression 'for conscience' sake' the sibilant ending of 'conscience' does duty both as part of the stem of the word and as genitive suffix.

Similar cases of euphonic ellipsis occur in Greek, and attention is here called to a few in the *Antigone*, where the interpretation of the text turns upon the recognition of the phenomenon in its true nature. Clear cases are:

316 *οὐκ οἶσθα καὶ νῦν* **ὡς** *ἀνιαρῶς λέγεις;* = *οὐκ οἶσθα* [*ὡς*] *καὶ νῦν ὡς ἀνιαρῶς λέγεις;*

557 *καλῶς σὺ* **μὲν** *τοῖς, τοῖς* **δ'***ἐγὼ 'δόκουν φρονεῖν* = *σὺ μὲν τοῖς* [*μὲν*] *τοῖς δ' ἐγὼ* [*δ'*] *ἐδόκουν.*

904 *καίτοι σ' ἐγὼ 'τίμησα τοῖς φρονοῦσιν* **εὖ**, where *εὖ* must be taken with both *ἐτίμησα* and *φρονοῦσιν.*

The following cases, which are limited to such as contain *ὡς* (*ὥστε*) or forms of the article, are less obvious:

705 f. *μή νυν ἓν ἦθος μοῦνον ἐν σαυτῷ φόρει,* | *ὡς φὴς σύ, κοὐδὲν ἄλλο, τοῦτ' ὀρθῶς ἔχει,* where *ὡς* probably introduces both *φής* and the clause *τοῦτ' ὀρθῶς ἔχει.* This explanation enables us to retain the *ἔχει* of L (*ἔχειν r*).

292 **ὡς** *στέργειν ἐμέ* = *ὥσ*[*τε*] *στέργειν ἐμέ.* Cf. Tr. 174 **ὡς** *τελεσθῆναι χρέων* = *ὥς*[*τε*] *τελεσθῆναι χρέων.*

454 *ὥστ'* **ἄγραπτα** = *ὥστε τἄγραπτα.*

447 **ᾔδησθα** *κηρυχθέντα μὴ πράσσειν τάδε* = **ᾔδησθα** [*τὰ*] *κηρυχθέντα.* Cf. Antigone's echo of this phrase in *τὰ σὰ* | *κηρύγματα* 453 f.

9, 10 *ἦ σε λανθάνει* | *πρὸς τοὺς φίλους στείχοντα τῶν ἐχθρῶν κακά;* = *στείχοντα* [*τὰ*] *τῶν ἐχθρῶν κακά.*

Possibly also 289 *ἀλλὰ ταῦτα καὶ πάλαι πόλεως* = *ἀλλὰ ταῦτα* [*τὰ*] *καὶ πάλαι πόλεως.*

Remarks on this paper were made by Professors West, Seymour, Earle, Elmer, and Hempl, and in reply by the author.

10. Quod: its Use and Meaning, especially in Cicero, by Assistant Professor J. W. D. Ingersoll, of Yale University.

Statements as to the usage of other writers than Cicero are here omitted, though the results expressed do not rest solely on the examination of Cicero's writings.

The conjunction *quod*, developed out of the accusative neuter pronoun *quod*, occurs in Cicero in about 3000 cases. In the several classes of cases *quod* is at different degrees of remoteness from simple pronominal usage. Although often designated as a causal conjunction, *quod* means "because" in less than one-fifth of the total number of cases in Cicero, though in a considerably larger number the *quod*-clause is logically causal, being made so in the additional cases, not by the

force of *quod* itself, but by the connection of the clause, as attributive or substantive, with the context.

I. Among the conjunctional (or semi-conjunctional) uses of *quod* in which it lies nearest to pronominal usage is that in the formulae *quid est quod? nihil est quod*, and the like. This class contains about one twenty-fifth of all the cases in Cicero, and the verb is always (in Cicero) in the subjunctive.

II. Next to *quid est quod?* and the like, in point of nearness to pronominal usage, come "brachylogical" clauses (*quod* = "as to the fact that"). This class contains rather less than one-tenth of all the cases in Cicero, with the verb almost invariably in the indicative.

III. Largest of all the classes of *quod*-clauses in Cicero is the next one,— attributive (or appositional) clauses. Here the *quod*-clause is of the nature of a substantive in apposition with an expressed or more or less definitely implied antecedent. The class contains nearly half of all the cases, and the logical function of the clause is varied, *i.e.*, it has the same function as its antecedent, which may be subject, object, etc. The mood varies according to the connection of the clause and the character of the context, the numerical proportion of indicatives to subjunctives being about 5 to 2.

IV. The class of substantive clauses (using the term here in the narrower sense, excluding attributive or appositional clauses) includes subject-clauses, object-clauses, *quid, quod? nisi quod*, and *quam* (or *praeterquam*) *quod*. The class contains rather less than one-fifth of all the cases in Cicero. Here, too, the mood depends upon the connection of the clause and the character of the context, the subjunctive being a little more than half as frequent as the indicative.

V. Last of all the five main classes of cases in Cicero is *quod* causal, of which the number of cases is rather less than one-fifth of the total number. The causal use is probably developed especially from the use of *quod*-clauses with antecedents expressed and with verbs of emotion or the expression of emotion. Various sorts of cause are expressed, but the greater part of the cases is made up of motive clauses. The mood depends upon the connection, etc., the indicatives being to the subjunctives about as 7 to 4.

As to mood in general, the subjunctive is used only for particular reasons. In Cicero the total number of indicatives is more than twice as large as that of the subjunctives. Counting out cases in indirect discourse, clauses dependent upon a subjunctive or an infinitive, and cases in class I (where the mood is regularly subjunctive), the indicatives are about nine times as numerous as the subjunctives. The only numerous class of subjunctives aside from those just mentioned is the subjunctive of informal indirect discourse, of which there are in Cicero 191 cases, *i.e.*, a little less than one-fifth of all the subjunctives. These cases occur in classes III, IV, V, named in the order of frequency of occurrence. Their common characteristic is that the *quod*-clause is a dependent clause in a more or less clearly implied thought or statement, which, if fully expressed, would be in indirect discourse. There are also a few cases of independent subjunctive, a few of "negative reason," and a few isolated or uncertain cases. In all other cases the indicative is used, including also somewhat more than one hundred cases where it is retained in indirect discourse or in a clause dependent upon a subjunctive or an infinitive.

Besides the 3000 cases included above there are numerous cases where *quod* more or less closely approaches conjunctional usage, or holds the place of a con-

junction in the English idiom. These cases fall into ten classes, of which *quod si* and the like make up the most numerous one.

11. Homeric Viands, by Professor Thomas D. Seymour, of Yale University.

The paper presents no new theory, but strives only to bring what is known into a clearer light. The simplicity of the diet of the Homeric warriors was noted by Plato. They ate no boiled meat, nor fish, nor sweets, nor relishes. Bread, roast beef, roast pork, roast mutton, and roast goat are the only viands served in the Iliad. Vegetables, fruits, and nuts did not abound on the plain of the Scamander. An onion is the only fresh vegetable mentioned as eaten in the poems, and that was used as a relish with wine. Chick peas and beans were used dry, — probably being treated as grain. Olives were not eaten, nor was olive oil used in the preparation of food. Figs, pears, and pomegranates are mentioned, but in passages which seem of later origin than the bulk of the poems. The Homeric "apples" were doubtless of an undeveloped variety. Oats and rye were unknown. Wheat and barley were the common grains. Leaven was not used, and the so-called "bread" was large cakes baked on a griddle. Thick porridge was made of barley meal. The flesh of young animals was little esteemed; veal was not eaten. Deer, thrushes, and wild pigeons were eaten on occasion. The poet was familiar with fishing by hook, by spear, and by net, although he did not represent his warriors as eating fish except under stress of hunger. The old Greeks were hearty eaters, but not gluttonous. Their apparent ever-ready disposition to eat was due in part to their notions of hospitality. They were not hard drinkers. Even the insolent suitors of Penelope and the luxurious Phaeacians did not incline to drink too much wine, and they seem to have had no malt nor spirituous liquors. Polyphemus's drunkenness was due to an accident: he did not know the wine was so strong. The wine was always weakened with water, and thus it was used by young women and children. Only two varieties of wine are specified. Most of the wine drunk by the warriors before Troy seems to have come from Thrace and from Lemnos.

Remarks upon this paper were made by Dr. W. N. Bates.

Professor Seymour then presented in printed form the final Report of the Committee of Twelve on Courses in Latin and Greek for Secondary Schools, and asked that action upon this report be deferred until the evening session.

Adjourned at 1 P.M.

Evening Session.

The Association convened at 8 P.M.

Professor T. D. Seymour made a statement on behalf of the Council of the Institute, that a meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, for the reading and discussion of papers, would be held in New Haven, December 27–29, and that the members of the Association were cordially invited to be present and coöperate.

The Report of the Committee of Twelve, presented at the morning session, was then taken up, and the following Resolution was presented by Professor Harkness: —

The American Philological Association hereby approves and adopts the Report of its Committee of Twelve on Courses in Latin and Greek for Secondary Schools. In the opinion of this Association the courses proposed, if generally adopted, will give to our school education in Latin and Greek greater uniformity and efficiency, and will have an important influence in unifying college entrance requirements.

The Secretary of the Association is instructed to convey to the National Educational Association a copy of this Resolution.

After remarks had been made by the Chairman of the Committee, Professor Seymour, and by Professors West, Clapp, and Sihler, the Resolution was adopted by a unanimous vote.

The question of printing this Report was discussed by Professors March, Seymour, West, Paton, and Platner.

Professor Pickard made the following motion: —

That the Committee of Twelve be authorized to publish the report in a large edition for circulation among teachers.

This motion, after having been discussed by Professors Seymour, West, and Platner, was carried.

The Report of the Committee of Twelve is printed in full in the Appendix to this volume of the PROCEEDINGS.

12. Blass's Theory of Enhoplii, by Professor T. D. Goodell, of Yale University, read in abstract, in the absence of the author, by Professor E. B. Clapp of the University of California.

The paper was a discussion of Blass's explanation (given in the preface to his Bacchylides, and earlier in Fleckeisen's *Jahrbücher*, 1886, p. 455 ff.) of the metre commonly called dactylo-epitritic. It was argued that the passages on which Blass relies, in Aristophanes, Plato, the Oxyrhynchos fragment of Aristoxenos, and Marius Victorinus, when more carefully examined, furnish no basis for that explanation; that the theory is inconsistent with the definition of the foot given by Aristoxenos, which definition should be adhered to as alone corresponding to rhythmical facts; and that fancies of later *metrici* should not be allowed to lead us astray from the principle, that in metric we are dealing with series of spoken sounds, which are variable, not with constants that merely need to be counted.

13. The Use of the Imperfect Indicative in Plautus and Terence, by Dr. Arthur L. Wheeler, of Yale University. This paper is printed in full in the TRANSACTIONS. Remarks were made upon it by Professors Sihler, Lodge, and Harry, and in reply by the author.

14. The Origin of the Latin Letters G and Z, by Professor George Hempl, of the University of Michigan.

This paper appears in full in the TRANSACTIONS.

15. Conceptions of Death and Immortality in Roman Sepulchral Inscriptions, by Professor Karl P. Harrington, of the University of Maine.

Christian cemeteries exhibit certain familiar symbols and expressions appropriate to the well-nigh universal assumption of a future life. Roman tombs also were not without their oft-recurring phrases and symbols in art, such as S.T.T.L., the furling of the sails of the ship of life represented on the marble monument at Pompeii, the reversed torch on many sarcophagi, etc. Less obtrusive sometimes, but no less surely discoverable, are the many words and expressions that reveal the faith or hope of friends with regard to a future existence, or the almost equally significant silence; while a multitude of phrases indicate what were the common conceptions of death itself. This paper is based upon an examination of more than a thousand representative inscriptions collected in Buecheler's "Carmina Epigraphica." It has been necessary constantly to bear in mind the difficulty of making infallible distinctions, and the necessity of recognizing sometimes an apparent inconsistency in a given inscription. Christian inscriptions have been left out of consideration, the purpose being to discover how the typical Roman, before Christianity revolutionized philosophy and religion, looked upon a tremendous fact and an all-absorbing problem which face every man that comes to years of discretion.

I. DEATH.

1. A large class of epitaphs (perhaps one in eight) makes no direct reference to the subject. A familiar example is the epitaph of Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus, where nothing is stated except the name of the deceased, his relationships, his character, his public honors, and his glorious deeds, the fact of death being assumed rather than stated.

2. Still more numerous (about one in five) are the epitaphs in which death is but casually or vaguely referred to, or merely implied, in such phrases as *vixi*, *requievi*, *is non fuit*, *semper qui fuit dulcius*, etc.

3. In about the same number the fact of death is to be inferred from some one of the expressions denoting the place of burial, *hic iacet*, *hic situs est*, *hic est sepultus*, etc.

4. More than half of the inscriptions being included under the previous heads, the largest class of the remainder is composed of those in which death is represented as being a consummation of fate.

a. Fate in general, not personified, is the cause, impersonal, intangible, unavoidable fate:

No. 362, *acerbo es deditus fato;* No. 96, *fata non parcunt bonis.*

b. The personal Fates, or Parcae, have carried off the dead person (a conception, by the way, logically leading to a little better hope for the future than the

previous one): No. 55, *en hoc in tumulo cinerem nostri corporis infistae Parcae deposierunt carmine;* No. 221, *sed non amori liberum, non Parca parcit coniugis;* No. 1542, *Fatus (sic!) hoc voluit meus.*

c. Occasionally it is one of the three sister Fates, mentioned by name: No. 422, *invidit Lachesis, Clotho me saeva necavit, tertia nec passa est pietate rependere matri;* No. 1552, *fatis certa via est neque se per stamina mutat Atropos.*

d. Sometimes it is the personified Fortuna: No. 404, *felix, si longior aetas mansisset, quam dura sibi Fortuna negavit.*

5. *a.* In about one epitaph in fifteen *mors* is specifically mentioned as responsible: No. 219, *qui morte acerba raptus est;* No. 419, *est tradita morti.*

b. Usually *mors* is not personified; but in rare cases we have the "*Mors Atra*" of Tibullus I. 3: No. 346, *legibus inferni motis Proserpina reddi Eurydicen iussit, sed eam Mors atra reduxit.*

6. Much more rarely the thought is that the gods have carried off the deceased.

a. The gods above, or the gods in general: No. 421, *abrepta a superis flentes iam liqui parentes;* No. 1184, *delectat iam nulla quies nisi mortis imago, in somnis repeto quam rapuere dei.*

b. Singularly enough, the gods below (*inferi*) are seldom mentioned in this connection, perhaps through a desire not to excite their wrath by any seeming disrespect. Cases, however, occur: No. 192, *ut perferantur, si qua sunt, ad inferos.*

The names of individual divinities in the lower world are found.

c. Persephone has ravished away the deceased: No. 1161, *annus erat vitae primus, mox deinde secundi liminibus rapuit me sibi Persephone.*

d. Pluto: No. 474, *ante diem meritum hunc demersit at Styga Pluton.*

e. Terra and Vulcan appear once together: No. 67, *ossa dedi Terrae, corpus Volchano dedidi.*

f. An unknown god: No. 54, *nescioqui inveidit deus.*

7. The variety of figurative expressions for death is large, and includes many familiar ones, as well as some less commonly met with:

a. The falling of unripe fruit: No. 1543, *sic sunt hominum fata, sicut in arbore poma: immatura cadunt et matura leguntur.*

b. The fading of the rose: No. 216, *rosa simul florivit et statim periit.*

c. Turning to ashes: No. 403, *et cinis in tumulis iacet et sine nomine corpus.*

d. Passing out of the gate: No. 470, *porta probat homines, ibi hest trutina ultuma vitai.*

e. The passing of life out into the winds: No. 590, *in aethera vita soluta est.*

f. Being received into the bosom of earth: No. 8, *qua re lubens te in gremiu, Scipio, recipit terra, Publi, prognatum Publio, Corneli.*

g. "Earth to earth": No. 192, *date terrae fructum, ut terra possit reddere.* (Here is a hint of a resurrection.)

h. The taking away of light (quite common): No. 516, *Luce privata misera quescit in marmore clusa.*

i. The fading away of strength (perhaps with the application to the sunset): No. 245, *mox exorta est, sensim vigescit, deinde sensim deficit.*

j. Descending to the shades: No. 399, *cito decidi ad umbras.* (In No. 434, by a curious misapprehension or confusion, ascension is implied instead; *nunc*

vero infernas sedes Acherontis ad undas tetraque Tartarei per sidera tendo profundi.)

k. Nature gave a temporary entertainment to the soul as a guest, which is now at an end: No. 57, *domicilium fecit vivos aeternum hoc sibei, ratus hospitium esse, quod natura tradidit, fructusque recte est rebus cu ameiceis suceis.*

l. The completion of duty (English, "defunct"): No. 197, *Ita levis incumbat terra defuncto tibi.*

m. Sailing into port: No. 97, *immodice ne quis vitae scopulis haereat, cum sit paratus portus eiaculantibus, qui nos excipiat ad quietem perpetem.*

n. Being ravished away: No. 969, *nunc erepta domu cara.*

o. Being stolen by witchcraft: No. 987, *eripuit me saga manus crudelis ubique.*

p. Being carried off by Night: No. 803, *Florentes annos subito nox abstulit atra.*

q. Going to the dogs (?): No. 206, *in canibus habeo deditu.*

From these examples it appears that the Romans preferred to speak of death, when at all, which was rarely, under some circumlocution. The plain statement, *hic mortuus est*, is as much avoided on a sepulchre as in the ordinary literature of the same people.

II. Immortality.

The following classes of epitaphs may be distinguished, ranging in hopefulness from one extreme to the other: —

1. A majority make no reference to the subject. Only the immortality of fame is in mind, as in the Scipio inscription first quoted.

2. Hopelessness, more or less definite, the language implying no expectation of anything beyond the cessation of physical life. This is the case in perhaps one inscription in every fifteen. No. 409, *actumst, excessi, Spes et Fortuna valete, nil iam plus in me vobis per saecla licebit;* No. 420 (here is a definite statement of the creed): *omnia cum vita pereunt et inania fiunt;* No. 204, *nunc quoniam omnes mortui idem sapimus, satis est.*

3. In a good many cases the grave is regarded as the eternal resting-place of the dead: No. 88, *studium habui ut facerem viva mihi aeternam domum.* In No. 389 it is clearly the body that is thought of: *hic ego secure iaceo consumpta per ignes.* In No. 434, however, it appears to be the *ego: haec domus aeterna est, hic sum situs, hic ero semper.* Certainly in No. 443 the language is that which belongs to the soul: *sede sub hac parva titulo parvoque tenetur parva anima.*

4. An intense longing to hope for something to come, with a trembling hesitation to do so: No. 1184, *O mihi si superi vellent prestare roganti ut tuo de tumulo flos ego cerna novum crescere vel viridi ramo vel flore amaranti vel roseo vel purpureo violaeque nitore, ut qui praeteriens gressu tardante viator viderit hos flores, titulum legat et sibi dicat 'hoc flos est corpus Flaviae Nicopolis.'*

5. In a considerable number of cases a glimmering hope is barely implied in some vague reference. Here, perhaps, belong such expressions: No. 9, *is diveis mandatus;* No. 11, *hospes, gratum est quod apud meas restitistei seedes* (indicating consciousness on the part of the deceased); No. 86, *nullum dolorem ad inferos mecum tuli;* No. 150, *mater rogat quam primum ducatis se ad vos.*

6.* Hope conditionally stated, as a possibility. This conception is frequently found in the classical writers; cf. Cic. ad Fam. IV. 5, 6; Tacit. Agr. 46, 1; Ovid. Am. 3, 9, 59. Similarly, No. 428, *si sapiunt aliquid post funera Manes;* No. 179, *Bene adquiescas, Hilara, si quid sapiunt inferi;* No. 1190, *si tamen at Manes credimus aliquit. vivere quo prodest, nisi si post morte cavemus?*

7. Definite, positive faith:

a. Sometimes the Manes are immortal: No. 106, *Manes colamus, namque opertis Manibus divina vis est aeviterni temporis.*

b. The expectation of seeing friends in an after life is expressed: No. 111, *felix, tua quia sum fuique postque mortem mox ero;* No. 430, *solamen erit quod te iam iamque videbo, cum vita functus iungar tis umbra figuris.*

c. The spirit is to be at Lethe, Styx, etc.: No. 218, *Speudusa Lethen incolis.*

d. With Pluto: No. 960, *nunc data sum Diti longum mansura per aeum.*

e. With Persephone: No. 422, *non dum Persephones sperabam visere regna.*

f. In the Elysian fields: No. 525, *nunc campos colis Elysios herbasq. virentes.*

g. Taken to dwell with the gods: No. 94, *tam dulcem obisse feminam puto quod deorum est visa coetu dignior.*

h. Gone to the stars: No. 611, *mundus me sumpsit et astra.*

i. Or perhaps the life beyond is to be like this: No. 1552A, *Si post fata manent sensus, gaudere parentem saepe, Secunde, tuum reliquas et spernere turmas.*

These results show that the Romans were cautious about expressing their convictions as to immortality, if they had them, but that all shades of belief were fairly well represented. Naturally, in the absence of a divine revelation, agnosticism is the prevailing temper; but the instinct for life hereafter finds expression in many of the forms with which we are familiar under a different dispensation. In but comparatively few cases is the idea of quiet rest in the grave through eternity expressed, while the imagination pictures the world to come as one where even the highest Christian ideal, translation into the society of divinity, is realized.

Adjourned at 10.30 P.M.

Morning Session.

New York, July 7, 1899.

The Association assembled at 9.10 A.M.

The Committee on Time and Place of Meeting in 1900 reported, through Professor Elwell, in favor of holding the next annual meeting at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, beginning on Tuesday, July 10, 1900. Adopted.

Professor F. A. March, of Lafayette College, reported as Chairman of the Committee on Spelling Reform.

There has been no action taken by us during the year, but we report progress.

The National Educational Association has adopted a list of amended spellings for its publications, and urges that they be generally adopted, as follows: —

Program, tho, altho, thoro, thorofare, thru, thruout, catalog, prolog, decalog, demagog, pedagog.

Superintendent E. Benjamin Andrews has recommended their use in the schools of Chicago and elsewhere, and other superintendents and many teachers and editors hav adopted them.

Much discussion has followd in the public prints, and reformers hope for rapid progress. The French reformers ar very activ.

The Committee to audit the Treasurer's accounts reported, through Professor Clapp, that it had examined the accounts of the Treasurer, compared them with the vouchers, and found them correct.

The Committee on Officers for 1899–1900 reported through Professor Knapp the following recommendations: —

President, Abby Leach, Vassar College.
Vice-Presidents, Samuel Ball Platner, Western Reserve University.
Andrew F. West, Princeton University.
Secretary and Treasurer, Herbert Weir Smyth, Bryn Mawr College.
Executive Committee, The above-named officers, and
Harold North Fowler, Western Reserve University.
George Hempl, University of Michigan.
Francis A. March, Lafayette College.
Elmer T. Merrill, Wesleyan University.
Charles Forster Smith, University of Wisconsin.

It was voted that the Secretary be instructed to cast the ballot of the Association for the persons named in the recommendation, which being done, they were declared duly elected.

16. The Motion of the Voice in Ancient Music, by Dr. Charles W. L. Johnson, of Yale University.

This paper is printed in full in the TRANSACTIONS. Remarks were made upon it by Professor Sihler.

Professor Hart then proposed the following vote of thanks, which was adopted by a rising vote: —

Voted, That the American Philological Association, in bringing its thirty-first annnal session to a close, desires to express its cordial thanks to the authorities of New York University for the privilege of meeting in their new buildings, to Chancellor and Mrs. MacCracken for the gracious hospitality of their reception on Wednesday evening, to those who arranged for the pleasant drive of yesterday afternoon, and to Professor Sihler of the Local Committee for the thoughtful provision which has been made for the comfort and pleasure of the meeting of the Association during their sojourn on University Heights.

17. The Skepticism and Fatalism of the Roman People as illustrated by the Sepulchral Inscriptions, by Professor Albert Granger Harkness, of Brown University.

This paper appears in full in the TRANSACTIONS. Remarks upon the paper were made by Professor Paton, and in reply by the author.

18. Uses of the Oxford Historical English Dictionary, by Professor Francis A. March, of Lafayette College.

This paper commended the Oxford Dictionary to the writers in our current periodicals on vext questions about the derivation or meaning of words, the correctness of idioms, or of pronunciations, and the like.

It was suggested by an articl in the *Journal of Education*, June 29, 1899, inquiring whether "air" or "stillness" is the subject in the line in Gray's Elegy, "And all the air a solemn stillness holds." A broadside of answers was givn from persons of the highest eminence in Church and State, education and literature. None of them referd to the Oxford Dictionary. The writers rightly write as authorities. But the Dictionary is the highest authority if a decisiv opinion is sought; and it is a great thesaurus of facts, if materials to reason from ar sought. Under each word is its authoritativ biografy in the form of quotations in which it has been used, from its first appearance to the present day, thousands of them under many a word. It ought to be a hand-book in every newspaper office and writer's study.

Remarks upon this paper were made by Professors Clapp, Hempl, and Knapp, Dr. Scott, and in reply by the author.

19. The Ephesian Amazons, by Professor John Pickard, of the University of Missouri.

In the light of the discussion of Pliny XXXIII. 53 by Jahn, Ad. Schöll, Klügmann, Kekulé, Wolters, Helbig, Michaelis, and Furtwängler we may accept as fairly certain that there existed statues of Amazons by the artists mentioned in the text, and as highly probable that these stood in the great sanctuary of the Ephesians. Κύδων = Κυδωνιάτης designates Cresilas as from Cydonia. Strongylion's name cannot have fallen out from the fourth place in Pliny's list because: 1, of the small size of his *εὐκνήμων*, borne as it was in the baggage of Nero; 2, of the fact that it was probably an equestrian statue; 3, of the fact that Strongylion was of a later time than the artists mentioned by Pliny.

We possess three types of Amazons which are to be referred to the period and the artists under discussion, the Berlin type, the Capitol type, and the Mattei type. Because of stylistic peculiarities and of likeness to the Doryphorus, the Berlin type is assigned to Polycleitus.

The Capitol type, restored in accordance with the Paris gem, is aptly described by the *volneratam* of Pliny XXXIII. 76. The structure of the eye, and the parts about the eye, suggest the Pericles term. Accordingly this type is assigned to Cresilas.

The Mattei statue, restored with the motive of the Natter gem, is not to be accepted as a modification in later time of either of the other figures, but is a very original creation full of intense activity and energy. *ἐπερειδομένην τῷ δορατίῳ* (Lucian, *Imag.* 4) is a striking rhetorical phrase to describe this motive. This

animated and lifelike figure may well have been created by the same genius that brought into being Helius and his spirited steeds, the fiery horse of Nyx, and the Hebe of the east gable of the Parthenon, and the Athena and Poseidon of the west gable. The more slender proportions of the Mattei figure are due to the motive and not to "post-Lysippian origin." The Delphian charioteer, the Munich oil pourer are two of many examples of slender proportions in Fifth Century sculpture. The drapery of the Mattei statue, beautiful as it is, has certain peculiarities which mark it as belonging to the time just before that of the "three fates" of the Parthenon east gable. The style of the whole statue points to a fifth century origin.

These considerations seem to warrant us in believing that Pheidias was the sculptor of the original of the Mattei Amazon. Unfortunately no copy of the head has thus far been discovered.

The incorrect restoration of the Capitol and of the Mattei types, with the right hands raised toward the head in a manner resembling the motive of the Polycleitan type is responsible for a large portion of the similarity which critics believe they see in these three types.

Remarks were made upon this paper by Professor Paton, and in reply by the author.

20. The Lenaea, the Anthesteria, and the Temple ἐν Λίμναις, by Dr. W. N. Bates, of the University of Pennsylvania.

This paper is printed in full in the TRANSACTIONS. Remarks were made upon it by Professor Paton.

21. Some Notes on the Archons of the Third Century, by Dr. W. L. Ferguson, of Cornell University.

This paper appears in full in the TRANSACTIONS.

22. The Deme Kolonos, by Dr. F. O. Bates, of Cornell University (read by title).

This paper appears in full in the TRANSACTIONS.

23. An Emendation of Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* III. 9–10, by J. L. Margrander, Esq., of Rochester (read by title).

The received reading of Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* III. 9–10 is as follows:

Quia nomen insaniae significat mentis aegrotationem et morbum [id est insanitatem et aegrotum animum, quam appellarunt insaniam. Omnis autem perturbationes animi morbos philosophi appellant negantque stultum quemquam his morbis vacare; qui autem in morbo sunt, sani non sunt, et omnium insipientium animi in morbo sunt: omnes insipientes igitur insaniunt]. Sanitatem enim animorum positam in tranquillitate quadam constantiaque censebant; his rebus mentem vacuam appellarunt INSANIAM, *propterea quod in perturbato animo, sicut in corpore, sanitas esse non posset. Nec minus illud acute, quod animi adfectionem*

lumine mentis carentem nominaverunt AMENTIAM *eandemque* DEMENTIAM. *Ex quo intelligendum est eos, qui haec rebus nomina posuerunt, sensisse hoc idem, quod a Socrate acceptum diligenter Stoici retinuerunt, omnis insipientes esse non sanos. Qui est enim animus in aliquo morbo — morbos autem hos perturbatos motus, ut modo dixi, philosophi appellant, — non magis est sanus quam id corpus, quod in morbo est. . . .*

The conventional treatment of this passage is anything but satisfactory. Editors (Tischer-Sorof, Kühner, Heine, Müller) are content to reject the bracketed words, point out how aptly the sentence *quia nomen insaniae . . .* would be followed by the words *sanitatem enim . . .*, and call attention to the gap after the words *omnis insipientis esse non sanos* (10). There is no reference to an attempt at further restoration, and Tischer-Sorof, in their *Kritischer Anhang*, even seem to discourage any. To me the passage does not by any means appear to be so hopeless.

The bracketed words are currently held to be a double gloss. They evidently do consist of two distinct parts; but these parts are of different character and require different treatment.

The words *id est insanitatem . . . appellarunt insaniam* are taken as a gloss on the preceding words *quia . . . morbum*. While they have every mark of a gloss, and the unmitigated artificiality of the term *insanitatem* forbids regarding them as Ciceronian, there are objections to associating them with the words before. The words *quia . . . morbum* are not of a kind to provoke a gloss; the gloss assigned would shed no light on the text; there is nothing to prompt the introduction of the term *insanitatem;* a glossator would not substitute the concrete *aegrotum animum* for the more congenial abstract expression; the clause *quam appellarunt insaniam* is, with reference to the text supposed to be commented on, awkward and disturbing. For these reasons I hold that the words *id est insanitatem . . .* are indeed a gloss, but one that has been shifted from its proper place. This it is not difficult to determine. The clause *quam appellarunt insaniam* at once reminds one of the words *his rebus mentem vacuam appellarunt insaniam*, a little further on, and every reason which speaks against assigning the gloss to the words before it, speaks as emphatically for taking it with the words *his rebus mentem vacuam*. These words are just such as would invite comment; the gloss would here be a real elucidation of the text; *sanitatem* immediately prompts *insanitatem; mentem* is directly responsible for (*aegrotum*) *animum;* the clause *quam appellarunt insaniam* may be either due to dittography (*va-cuam appellarunt insaniam*), or, better still, is a reminiscence of the text. For then we should have a clue as to the further depravation of the text.

I remarked above that the two parts of the bracketed passage should be differently treated. The words *id est . . . appellarunt insaniam* are a palpable gloss; the words *omnis autem . . . insaniunt* have neither the air of a gloss, nor do they contain aught that Cicero might not have written. They may be merely shifted. For, if the gloss words *quam appellarunt insaniam*, after their introduction into the text, and the text words *va-cuam appellarunt insaniam* happened to occupy similar positions in his Ms., the copyist, by a natural slip, might have disarranged the lines, and so given occasion for the confusion worse confounded of our Mss. As to the shifted words themselves, they will exactly fill the gap which commentators have felt to exist between the words *omnis insipientis esse non sanos* and the following sentence.

Restored in the manner here proposed, the passage would run as follows:

Quia nomen insaniae significat mentis aegrotationem et morbum. Sanitatem enim animorum positam in tranquillitate quadam constantiaque censebant; his rebus mentem vacuam appellarunt* INSANIAM [** id est insanitatem et aegrotum animum, quam appellarunt insaniam.*], *propterea quod in perturbato animo, sicut in corpore, sanitas esse non posset. Nec minus illud acute, quod animi adfectionem lumine mentis carentem nominaverunt* AMENTIAM *eandemque* DEMENTIAM. *Ex quo intelligendum est eos, qui haec rebus nomina posuerunt, sensisse hoc idem, quod a Socrate acceptum diligenter Stoici retinuerunt, omnis insipientis esse non sanos. Omnis autem perturbationes animi morbos philosophi appellant negantque stultum quemquam his morbis vacare; qui autem in morbo sunt, sani non sunt, et omnium insipientium animi in morbo sunt: omnes insipientes igitur insaniunt. Qui est enim animus in aliquo morbo — morbos autem hos perturbatos motus, ut modo dixi, philosophi appellant — non magis est sanus quam id corpus quod in morbo est.*

A number of points are in favor of this arrangement of the text. *Omnis* repeated (even without internal relation to *omnis* preceding) and *autem* closely knit the inserted words with those preceding; *modo*, which could hardly be referred to 4, 7 greatly gains in point; objection to the term *philosophi* vanishes, as soon as it becomes restricted by the term *Stoici*, which now precedes; the words *omnes insipientes igitur insaniunt* fitly resume the words *omnis insipientis esse non sanos*. Moreover, the inserted words come into natural relation with the words *qui est enim . . .*, which are not idle, but in close parallelism with the words *propterea quod . . . posset*, above (9), justify the transference of the term *sanus* from the sphere of the body to that of the soul. Finally, throughout these sections, Cicero gives the impression that it is his purpose fully to report and compare the Roman and Stoic views. Of the former we have a sufficiently detailed statement; but, unless we make the restoration here proposed, the case of the Stoics were too scantily presented to satisfy the demands of symmetry.

24. The Force of Tenses in the Prohibitive: the Poets of the Silver Age, by Professor W. K. Clement, of the University of Idaho (read by title).

The purpose of this paper was to bring forward some additional evidence that the theory, recently put forth, that the Perfect Subjunctive in Prohibitions indicates special emotion, is not always true.

A study was made of the poets of the Silver Age, *i.e.* Persius, Lucan, Valerius Flaccus, Silius Italicus, Statius, Martial, and Juvenal.

All the cases where the Present or Perfect Subjunctive occur in prohibitive clauses, were discussed, and the result, excluding all doubtful or disputed cases, was as follows: —

	Strong Emotion Present.	Strong Emotion Absent.
Ne with Perfect	15 (93%)	1 (7%)
Ne with Present	10 (38.5%)	16 (61.5%)
Cave with Present	5 (83%)	1 (17%)

These statistics show that while strong emotion is almost always indicated by the Perfect, it is by no means regularly absent from the Present.

The President then declared the session adjourned.

The thirty-second annual session will be held at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis., beginning Tuesday, July 10, 1900.

ERRATA.

PROCEEDINGS, 1898, page lxiii, lines 9 and 10 from above, read: "This intensified stress and the circumstance that simple *ἐτίμησα* would fall below the expectation raised by *καίτοι* and *ἐγώ* force a pregnance on *ἐτίμησα*," etc.

PROCEEDINGS, 1898, page lxiv, lines 6 and 5 from below, read: "For Antigone, the child of Oedipus and Iocaste, the proposition that the fraternal tie was closer than the marital or parental, was absolutely true."

INDEX.

Arabic numerals indicate the pages of the *Transactions;* Roman numerals indicate the pages of the *Proceedings.*

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL RECORD.

JULY 1, 1898, TO JULY 1, 1899.

The Bibliographical Record is designed to contain not only publications distinctly philological in character, but also such as deal with the educational aspects of the study of language and literature. It has been compiled from information furnished, at the request of the Executive Committee, by the members themselves.

ABBREVIATIONS: *AJA* = American Journal of Archaeology; *AHR* = American Historical Review; *AJP* = American Journal of Philology; *AJT* = American Journal of Theology; *Archiv* = Archiv für latein. Lexicographie; *Bookm.* = The Bookman; *CR* = Classical Review; *ER* = Educational Review; *HSCP* = Harvard Studies in Classical Philology; *HSPL* = Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature; *JAOS* = Journal of the American Oriental Society; *JGP* = Journal of Germanic Philology; *LWBL* = Library of the World's Best Literature; *MLA* = Publications of the Modern Language Association; *MLN* = Modern Language Notes; *NW* = The New World; *PAPA* = Proceedings of the American Philological Association; *SR* = School Review; *TAPA* = Transactions of the American Philological Association; *WRUB* = Western Reserve University Bulletin.

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[1] This list has been corrected up to December 10, 1899; permanent addresses are given, as far as may be. Where the residence is left blank, the members in question are in Europe. The Secretary and the Publishers beg to be kept informed of all changes of address.

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Prof. Samuel C. Derby, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. 1895.
Prof. James H. Dillard, Tulane University, New Orleans, La. 1894.

Prof. Howard Freeman Doane, Doane College, Crete, Neb. 1897.
Prof. B. L. D'Ooge, State Normal School, Ypsilanti, Mich. 1895.
Prof. Martin L. D'Ooge, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1873.
Louis H. Dow, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1895.
Prof. Joseph H. Drake, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1897.
Prof. Maurice Edwards Dunham, University of Colorado, Boulder, Col. 1890.
Prof. Frederic Stanley Dunn, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore. 1899.
Miss Emily Helen Dutton, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1898.
Dr. Mortimer Lamson Earle, Barnard College, New York, N. Y. 1890.
Prof. William Wells Eaton, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt. 1882.
Prof. Herman L. Ebeling, Trenton, N. J. 1892.
Prof. William S. Ebersole, Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Ia. 1893.
Prof. W. A. Eckels, Miami University, Oxford, O. 1894.
Thomas H. Eckfeldt, New Bedford, Mass. 1883.
Homer J. Edmiston, 358 Harvard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1894.
Dr. Katharine M. Edwards, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1893.
Prof. James C. Egbert, Jr., Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1889.
Prof. A. Marshall Elliott, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1884.
Prof. W. A. Elliott, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa. 1897.
Prof. Herbert C. Elmer, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1887.
Prof. L. H. Elwell, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1883.
Miss E. Antoinette Ely, The Clifton School, Cincinnati, O. 1893.
Prof. Edgar A. Emens, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. (727 Crouse Ave.). 1895.
Prof. Annie Crosby Emery, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1896.
Vernon J. Emery, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1893.
C. W. Ernst, Back Bay, Boston, Mass. 1872.
Prof. George Taylor Ettinger, Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa. 1896.
Rev. Dr. W. E. Evans, Columbia, S. C. 1897.
Dr. Arthur Fairbanks, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1886.
Prof. H. Rushton Fairclough, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1887.
Prof. Charles E. Fay, Tufts College, College Hill, Mass. 1885.
Prof. Edwin W. Fay, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. 1889.
Pres. Thomas Fell, St. John's College, Annapolis, Md. 1888.
Dr. W. S. Ferguson, Charlottetown, P. E. I., Canada. 1899.
Prof. O. M. Fernald, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1876.
F. J. Fessenden, High School, Pottstown, Pa. 1890.
Prof. Edward Fitch, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. 1890.
Miss Helen C. Flint, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1897.
F. S. Fosdick, High School, Buffalo, N. Y. 1896.
Prof. Frank H. Fowler, Knox College, Galesburg, Ill. 1893.
Prof. Harold N. Fowler, Western Reserve University (College for Women), Cleveland, O. (49 Cornell St.). 1885.
Dr. Susan B. Franklin, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1890.
Dr. I. F. Frisbee, Latin School, Lewiston, Me. 1898.
Prof. A. L. Fuller, Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. 1889.

Prof. Charles Kelsey Gaines, St. Lawrence University, Canton, N. Y. 1890.
Dr. William Gallagher, Thayer Academy, South Braintree, Mass. 1886.
Frank A. Gallup, Colgate Academy, Hamilton, N. Y. 1898.
Prof. Charles Mills Gayley, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1895.
Prof. Henry Gibbons, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (405 South 41st St.). 1890.
Prof. Seth K. Gifford, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. 1891.
Prof. John Wesley Gilbert, Payne Institute, Augusta, Ga. 1897.
Prof. Basil L. Gildersleeve, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1876.
Prof. Thomas D. Goodell, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (35 Edgehill Road). 1883.
Ralph L. Goodrich, U. S. Courts, Little Rock, Ark. 1882.
Dr. Charles J. Goodwin, Lehigh University, South Bethlehem, Pa. 1891.
Prof. William W. Goodwin, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (5 Follen St.). 1870.
Prof. E. L. Green, Mulat, Florida. 1898.
Prof. Herbert Eveleth Greene, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1890.
Prof. Wilber J. Greer, Miami University, Oxford, O. 1892.
Prof. James O. Griffin, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1896.
Prof. Alfred Gudeman, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1889.
Dr. Charles Burton Gulick, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (18 Walker St.). 1894.
Prof. William Gardner Hale, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. (5757 Lexington Ave.). 1882.
Prof. Arthur P. Hall, Drury College, Springfield, Mo. 1886.
Prof. F. A. Hall, Drury College, Springfield, Mo. 1896.
Prof. Randall C. Hall, General Theological Seminary, New York, N. Y. (245 West Forty-eighth St.). 1888.
Charles S. Halsey, Union Classical Institute, Schenectady, N. Y. 1887.
William McD. Halsey, 34 West Fortieth St., New York, N. Y. 1886.
Prof. T. F. Hamblin, Bucknell University, Lewisburgh, Pa. 1895.
Dr. Adelbert Hamilton, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1895.
Prof. William A. Hammond, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1897.
Principal John Calvin Hanna, High School, Oak Park, Ill. (209 South East Ave.). 1896.
Prof. G. R. Hardie, St. Laurence University, Canton, N. Y. 1896.
B. F. Harding, Belmont School, Belmont, Mass. 1889.
Prof. Albert Harkness, Brown University, Providence, R. I. 1869.
Prof. Albert Granger Harkness, Brown University, Providence, R. I. 1896.
Pres. William R. Harper, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1887.
Prof. Karl P. Harrington, University of Maine, Orono, Me. 1892.
Prof. W. A. Harris, Baylor University, Waco, Tex. 1895.
Prof. J. E. Harry, Georgetown College, Georgetown, Ky. 1896.
Prof. Samuel Hart, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1871.
Prof. Paul Haupt, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1884.
Dr. Edward Southworth Hawes, Polytechnic Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1888.

Prof. F. M. Hazen, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1896.
Theodore Woolsey Heermance, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (399 Berkeley Hall). 1897.
Prof. Otto Heller, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1896.
Prof. George Hempl, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1895.
Prof. George A. Hench, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1895.
Prof. G. L. Hendrickson, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1892.
Prof. H. N. Herrick, Eureka College, Eureka, Ill. 1896.
Prof. John H. Hewitt, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1886.
Edwin H. Higley, Groton School, Groton, Mass. 1899.
Prof. Henry T. Hildreth, Roanoke College, Salem, Va. 1896.
H. H. Hilton, 9 Tremont Place, Boston, Mass.
Archibald L. Hodges, Girls' High School, New York City. 1899.
Prof. Arthur W. Hodgman, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. 1896.
Charles Hoeing, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y. 1899.
Prof. Horace A. Hoffman, University of Indiana, Bloomington, Ind. 1893.
Dr. D. H. Holmes, Boys' and Girls' High School, New York City. 1898.
Prof. W. D. Hooper, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga. 1894.
Prof. E. Washburn Hopkins, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (235 Bishop St.). 1883.
Dr. Herbert M. Hopkins, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2644 Dwight Way). 1898.
Rev. George B. Hopson, St. Stephen's College, Annandale, N. Y. 1898.
Prof. William A. Houghton, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. 1892.
Prof. Albert A. Howard, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (8 Hilliard St.). 1892.
Prof. Frederick H. Howard, Colgate Academy, Hamilton, N. Y. 1894.
Prof. George E. Howes, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt. 1896.
Prof. Frank G. Hubbard, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1896.
Dr. J. H. Huddilston, University of Maine, Orono, Me. 1898.
Dr. Ray Greene Huling, 101 Trowbridge St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.
L. C. Hull, Polytechnic Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y. (29 Schermerhorn St.). 1889.
Prof. W. H. Hulme, College for Women of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. 1895.
Prof. Milton W. Humphreys, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. 1871.
Prof. A. J. Huntington, Columbian University, Washington, D. C. (1010 N St., N. W.). 1892.
Dr. George B. Hussey, East Orange, N. J. 1887.
Prof. J. Corrin Hutchinson, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. 1894.
Prof. Edmund Morris Hyde, Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pa. 1883.
Prof. Henry Hyvernat, Catholic University of America, Brookland, D. C. 1897.
Prof. J. W. D. Ingersoll, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (311 Crown St.). 1897.
Andrew Ingraham, Swain Free School, New Bedford, Mass. 1888.
Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1884.
Prof. George E. Jackson, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1890.
Charles S. Jacobs, Albion College, Albion, Mich. 1897.

Prof. M. W. Jacobus, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. (149 High St.). 1893.
Prof. Hans C. G. von Jagemann, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (113 Walker St.). 1882.
Miss Anna L. Jenkins, Girls' High School, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1899.
Prof. J. Haywode Jennings, Kenton, Tenn. 1892.
Dr. Charles W. L. Johnson, Yale University, 399 Berkeley Hall, New Haven, Conn. 1897.
Henry C. Johnson, 32 Nassau St., New York, N. Y. 1885.
Prof. William H. Johnson, Denison University, Granville, O. 1895.
George W. Johnston, University of Toronto, Toronto, Can. 1895.
Principal Augustine Jones, Friends' School, Providence, R. I. 1896.
Dr. Robert P. Keep, Free Academy, Norwich, Conn. 1872.
Dr. George Dwight Kellogg, American School of Classical Studies, Rome, Italy (Via Gaeta 2). 1897.
Prof. Martin Kellogg, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1884.
Prof. Francis W. Kelsey, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1890.
H. W. Kent, Norwich, Conn. 1890.
Prof. John B. Kieffer, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa. 1889.
Miss Lida Shaw King, American School of Classical Studies, Athens, Greece. 1896.
Prof. Robert A. King, Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Ind. 1893.
Dr. William Hamilton Kirk, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 1898.
Chancellor J. H. Kirkland, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 1887.
J. C. Kirtland, Jr., Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. 1895.
Prof. George Lyman Kittredge, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (9 Hilliard St.). 1884.
Dr. William H. Klapp, Academy of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1324 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1894.
Camillo von Klenze, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1895.
Dr. Charles Knapp, Barnard College, New York, N. Y. (1773 Sedgwick Ave.). 1892.
Charles S. Knox, St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H. 1889.
Prof. A. G. Laird, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1890.
Prof. William A. Lamberton, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.
Prof. W. B. Langsdorf, Miami University, Oxford, O. 1895.
Prof. Charles R. Lanman, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (9 Farrar St.). 1877.
Lewis H. Lapham, 28 Ferry St., New York, N. Y. 1880.
Prof. C. W. Larned, U. S. Military Academy, West Point, N. Y. 1880.
Prof. William Cranston Lawton, Adelphi College, Brooklyn, N. Y. (302 Carlton Ave.). 1888.
Prof. Abby Leach, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1888.
Dr. Emory B. Lease, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. 1895.
Dr. J. T. Lees, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. 1888.
Prof. Thomas B. Lindsay, Boston University, Boston, Mass. 1880.
Prof. Alonzo Linn, Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pa. 1892.
Prof. Henry F. Linscott, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. 1896.
Prof. Gonzalez Lodge, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1888.
Prof. George D. Lord, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1887.

D. O. S. Lowell, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass. 1894.
Prof. Frederick Lutz, Albion College, Albion, Mich. 1883.
Chancellor George E. MacLean, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. 1891.
Miss Grace H. Macurdy, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1894.
Prof. H. W. Magoun, Redfield College, Redfield, S. D. 1891.
Prof. J. H. T. Main, Iowa College, Grinnell, Ia. 1891.
Prof. J. Irving Manatt, Brown University, Providence, R. I. 1875.
Prof. John M. Manly, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1896.
Prof. F. A. March, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. 1869.
Prof. F. A. March, Jr., Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. 1884.
John L. Margrander, Red Springs, N. C. 1896.
Prof. Allan Marquand, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1891.
Prof. C. B. Martin, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O. 1895.
Prof. Winfred R. Martin, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1879.
Miss Ellen F. Mason, 1 Walnut St., Boston, Mass. 1885.
Dr. Maurice W. Mather, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (13 Mt. Auburn St.). 1894.
W. Gordon McCabe, University School, Richmond, Va. 1876.
Dr. Nelson G. McCrea, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1890.
Prof. J. H. McDaniels, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y. 1871.
Prof. George F. McKibben, Denison University, Granville, O. 1885.
Miss Harriet E. McKinstry, Lake Erie College, Painesville, O. 1881.
Prof. H. Z. McLain, Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Ind. 1884.
Prof. W. J. McMurtry, Yankton College, Yankton, S. D. 1893.
James D. Meeker, Hotchkiss School, Lakeville, Conn. 1897.
Prof. Frank Ivan Merchant, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, S. D. 1898.
Prof. Elmer T. Merrill, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. 1883.
Prof. William A. Merrill, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1886.
Prof. Charles L. Michener, Penn College, Oskaloosa, Ia. 1895.
Prof. C. W. E. Miller, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1892.
Dr. Richard A. Minckwitz, Central High School, Kansas City, Mo. 1895.
Charles A. Mitchell, University School, Cleveland, O. 1893.
Prof. Clifford Herschel Moore, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (34 Shepard St.) 1889.
Prof. Frank G. Moore, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1888.
Prof. George F. Moore, Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. 1885.
Prof. J. Leverett Moore, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1887.
Prof. Lewis B. Moore, Howard University, Washington, D. C. 1896.
Paul E. More, 1220 Hamilton Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 1896.
Prof. Edward Clark Morey, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa. 1899.
Prof. James D. Morgan, Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa. 1897.
Prof. Morris H. Morgan, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
Prof. Edward P. Morris, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (53 Edgehill Road). 1886.
Frederick S. Morrison, Public High School, Hartford, Conn. 1890.
Prof. Lewis F. Mott, College of the City of New York, N. Y. (17 Lexington Ave.) 1898.

Prof. George F. Mull, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa. 1896.
Prof. Augustus T. Murray, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1887.
Prof. Wilfred P. Mustard, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. 1892.
Prof. Francis Philip Nash, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y. 1872.
Dr. Barker Newhall, Kenyon College, Gambier, O. 1891.
Prof. Frank W. Nicolson, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. 1888.
Prof. Edward North, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. 1871.
Prof. Richard Norton, American School of Classical Studies (Via Gaeta 2), Rome, Italy. 1897.
Prof. Hanns Oertel, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (31 York Sq.). 1892.
Dr. George N. Olcott, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1899.
Prof. Edward T. Owen, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1896.
Prof. W. B. Owen, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. 1875.
Prof. William A. Packard, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1872.
Prof. Arthur H. Palmer, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (42 Mansfield St.). 1885.
Dr. William F. Palmer, West View, Cuyahoga County, O. 1893.
Prof. Charles P. Parker, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (1075 Massachusetts Ave.). 1884.
Dr. W. H. Parks, care of Wells, Fargo, & Co., Paris, France. 1888.
Dr. James M. Paton, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. 1887.
Dr. Charles Peabody, 197 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1894.
Prof. Ernest M. Pease, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1887.
Prof. Harry Thurston Peck, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1887.
Prof. Tracy Peck, Yale University New Haven, Conn. 1871.
Miss Frances Pellett, 37 North St., Binghamton, N. Y. 1893.
Prof. Charles W. Peppler, Emory College, Oxford, Ga. 1899.
Miss Alice J. G. Perkins, Schenectady, N. Y. 1899.
Prof. Emma M. Perkins, Western Reserve University (College for Women), Cleveland, O. 1892.
Prof. Bernadotte Perrin, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (136 Farnam Hall). 1879.
Prof. Edward D. Perry, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. (133 East 55th St.). 1882.
Prof. William E. Peters, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. 1892.
Prof. John Pickard, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1893.
Dr. William Taggard Piper, 179 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1885.
Prof. Samuel Ball Platner, Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. 1885.
Prof. William Carey Poland, Brown University, Providence, R. I. (53 Lloyd St.). 1872.
Prof. John Pollard, Richmond College, Richmond, Va. 1892.
Prof. Samuel Porter, Gallaudet College, Washington, D. C. 1869.
Prof. William Porter, Beloit College, Beloit, Wis. 1888.
Prof. Edwin Post, De Pauw University, Greencastle, Ind. 1886.
Prof. Franklin H. Potter, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. 1898.

Prof. L. S. Potwin, Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. (322 Rosedale Ave.). 1881.
Henry Preble, 42 Stuyvesant Place, New Brighton, Staten Island, N. Y. 1882.
William K. Prentice, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1895.
Henry W. Prescott, 4 Aldie St., Allston, Mass. 1899.
Dr. Clifton Price, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1899.
Prof. Ferris W. Price, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa. 1895.
Prof. Thomas R. Price, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. (263 West 45th St.). 1880.
Prof. Benjamin F. Prince, Wittenberg College, Springfield, O. 1893.
Prof. John Dyneley Prince, New York University, University Heights, New York, N. Y. 1899.
Mrs. George Haven Putnam, Barnard College, New York, N. Y. 1894.
Prof. M. M. Ramsey, Columbian University, Washington, D. C. 1894.
Prof. John W. Redd, Centre College, Danville, Ky. 1885.
Prof. Horatio M. Reynolds, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (213 Durfee Hall). 1884.
Prof. Leon J. Richardson, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1895.
Dr. Ernst Riess, Manhattan College, New York, N. Y. (2293 Seventh Ave.). 1895.
Prof. Edmund Y. Robbins, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1895.
Dr. Arthur W. Roberts, William Penn Charter School, Philadelphia, Pa. 1884.
Harley F. Roberts, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (267 Lawrance Hall). 1888.
Principal Oscar D. Robinson, High School, Albany, N. Y. 1896.
Prof. W. A. Robinson, Lawrenceville School, Lawrenceville, N. J. 1888.
Prof. Joseph C. Rockwell, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1896.
Prof. F. E. Rockwood, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa. 1885.
Alfred G. Rolfe, High School, Pottstown, Pa. 1895.
Prof. John C. Rolfe, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (602 Monroe St.). 1890.
Dr. Julius Sachs, Classical School, 38 West Fifty-ninth St., New York, N. Y. 1875.
Benjamin H. Sanborn, Wellesley, Mass. 1890.
Dr. Henry A. Sanders, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1899.
Prof. Myron R. Sanford, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt. 1894.
Joseph H. Sawyer, Williston Seminary, Easthampton, Mass. 1897.
Prof. W. S. Scarborough, Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, O. 1882.
Prof. H. Schmidt-Wartenberg, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1894.
Vice-Chanc. Henry A. Scomp, American Temperance University, Harriman, Tenn. 1897.
Dr. Charles P. G. Scott, Radnor, Pa. 1880.
Edmund D. Scott, Holyoke High School, P.O. Box 578, Holyoke, Mass. 1894.
Prof. John Adams Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 1898.
Prof. Henry S. Scribner, Western University of Pennsylvania, Allegheny City, Pa. 1889.
Jared W. Scudder, High School, Albany, N. Y. (117 Chestnut St.). 1897.
Dr. Helen M. Searles, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1893.
Charles D. Seely, State Normal School, Brockport, N. Y. 1888.
Prof. William J. Seelye, Wooster University, Wooster, O. 1888.
Dr. J. B. Sewall, 17 Blagden St., Boston, Mass. 1871.

Prof. T. D. Seymour, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (34 Hillhouse Ave.). 1873.
Prof. R. H. Sharp Jr., Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va. 1897.
Prof. J. A. Shaw, Highland Military Academy, Worcester, Mass. 1876.
Prof. Edward S. Sheldon, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (11 Francis Ave.). 1881.
Prof. Paul Shorey, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1887.
Prof. Edgar S. Shumway, Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J. 1885.
Prof. E. G. Sihler, New York University, University Heights, New York, N. Y. 1876.
Prof. M. S. Slaughter, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1887.
Prof. Charles Forster Smith, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1883.
Charles S. Smith, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1895.
Prof. Clement L. Smith, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (64 Sparks St.). 1882.
Prof. Josiah R. Smith, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. 1885.
Prof. Kirby F. Smith, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1897.
Leigh Richmond Smith, San Jose, Cal. 1896.
Prof. Herbert Weir Smyth, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1886.
George C. S. Southworth, Salem, Col. Co., O. 1883.
Prof. Edward H. Spieker, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1884.
Prof. W. O. Sproull, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O. (29 Mason St.). 1891.
Prof. Jonathan Y. Stanton, Bates College, Lewiston, Me. 1888.
Miss Josephine Stary, 31 West Sixty-first St., New York, N. Y. 1899.
Prof. R. B. Steele, Illinois Wesleyan University, Bloomington, Ill. 1893.
Prof. J. R. S. Sterrett, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1885.
Prof. F. H. Stoddard, New York University, University Heights, New York, N. Y. 1890.
Dr. Charles W. Super, Ohio University, Athens, O. 1881.
Prof. Marguerite Sweet, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1892.
Prof. Frank B. Tarbell, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1882.
Prof. Julian D. Taylor, Colby University, Waterville, Me. 1890.
Glanville Terrell, 17 Trowbridge Place, Cambridge, Mass. 1898.
Prof. J. Henry Thayer, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (67 Sparks St.). 1871.
Prof. William E. Thompson, Hamline University, Hamline, Minn. 1877.
Prof. Fitz Gerald Tisdall, College of the City of New York, N. Y. (80 Convent Ave.). 1889.
Prof. Henry A. Todd, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1887.
Prof. H. C. Tolman, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 1889.
Prof. Edward M. Tomlinson, Alfred University, Alfred, N. Y. 1885.
Edward M. Traber, State Agricultural College, Fort Collins, Colo. 1896.
Prof. J. A. Tufts, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. 1898.
Prof. Milton H. Turk, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y. 1896.
Prof. James C. Van Benschoten, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. 1898.
Dr. Frank L. Van Cleef, Ithaca, N. Y. 1887.
Addison Van Name, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (121 High St.). 1869.
Dr. W. H. Wait, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1893.

Dr. John H. Walden, 13 Mt. Auburn St., Cambridge, Mass. 1889.
Prof. Arthur T. Walker, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan. 1895.
Dr. Alice Walton, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1894.
Dr. Edwin G. Warner, Polytechnic Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1897.
Andrew McCorrie Warren, care of Brown, Shipley & Co., Founders' Court, London. 1892.
Prof. Minton Warren, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1874.
Dr. Winifred Warren, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1897.
Pres. William E. Waters, Wells College, Aurora, N. Y. 1885.
C. R. Watson, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1895.
Prof. Helen L. Webster, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1890.
Miss Mary C. Welles, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (33 Wall St.). 1898.
Prof. Elmer E. Wentworth, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1896.
Prof. Andrew F. West, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1886.
Prof. J. H. Westcott, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1891.
Prof. J. B. Weston, Christian Biblical Institute, Stanfordville, N. Y. 1869.
Prof. L. B. Wharton, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va. 1888.
Albert S. Wheeler, Sheffield Scientific School, New Haven, Conn. 1871.
Dr. Arthur L. Wheeler, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (81 Cottage St.). 1899.
President Benjamin I. Wheeler, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1879.
Prof. James R. Wheeler, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1885.
Prof. G. M. Whicher, Packer Collegiate Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1891.
Dr. Andrew C. White, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. (424 Dryden Road). 1886.
Prof. John Williams White, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (18 Concord Ave.). 1874.
Prof. Henry C. Whiting, Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa. 1897.
Vice-Chanc. B. Lawton Wiggins, University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn. 1892.
Prof. Alexander M. Wilcox, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan. 1884.
Prof. Henry D. Wild, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1898.
Charles R. Williams, Indianapolis, Ind. 1887.
Dr. George A. Williams, 14 Pierce St., Providence, R. I. 1891.
Prof. Mary G. Williams, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1899.
Dr. Harry Langford Wilson, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1898.
Dr. J. D. Wolcott, Hotchkiss School, Lakeville, Conn. 1898.
Prof. E. L. Wood, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1888.
Prof. Henry Wood, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1884.
Prof. Frank E. Woodruff, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. 1887.
Dr. B. D. Woodward, New York, N. Y. (462 West Twenty-second St.). 1891.
Prof. Ellsworth D. Wright, Lawrence University, Appleton, Wis. 1898.
Prof. Henry P. Wright, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (128 York St.). 1883.
Prof. John Henry Wright, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (38 Quincy St.). 1874.
Dr. Clarence H. Young, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. (312 West 88th St.). 1890.
Prof. A. C. Zenos, McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, Ill. 1889.

[Number of Members, 483.]

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Washington, D. C.: Library of the Catholic University of America.
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[Number of subscribing institutions, 65.]

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[Number of foreign institutions, 42.]

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Revue de Philologie, Paris.
Revue des Revues (Prof. J. Keelhoff, Rue de la petite ourse 14, Antwerp, Belgium).
Société de Linguistique, à la Sorbonne, Paris.
Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift, Berlin.
Deutsche Litteraturzeitung, Berlin.
Indogermanische Forschungen (K. J. Trübner, Strassburg).
Literarisches Centralblatt, Leipsic.
Neue Philologische Rundschau, Gotha (F. A. Perthes).
Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie, Berlin.
Rivista di Filologia, Turin (Ermanno Loescher).
Direzione del Bolletino di Filologia Classica, Via Vittorio Amadeo ii, Turin.
Zeitschrift für die österr. Gymnasien, Barbaragasse 2, I., Vienna.

[Total $(483 + 65 + 42 + 1 + 15) = 606$.]

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.

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

(ORGANIZED 1869).

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[1] The offices of *Secretary* and *Treasurer* were united in 1884; and in 1891–1892 the title *Curator* was allowed to lapse.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

THE annually published "Proceedings" of the American Philological Association contain an account of the doings at the annual meeting, brief abstracts of the papers read, reports upon the progress of the Association, and lists of its officers and members.

The annually published "Transactions" give the full text of such articles as the Executive Committee decides to publish. The Proceedings are bound with them as an Appendix.

The following tables show the authors and contents of the volumes of Transactions thus far published: —

1869-1870. — Volume I.

Hadley, J.: On the nature and theory of the Greek accent.

Whitney, W. D.: On the nature and designation of the accent in Sanskrit.

Goodwin, W. W.: On the aorist subjunctive and future indicative with ὅπως and οὐ μή.

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.

Hadley, J.: On English vowel quantity in the thirteenth century and in the nineteenth.

March, F. A.: Anglo-Saxon and Early English pronunciation.

Bristed, C. A.: Some notes on Ellis's Early English Pronunciation.

Trumbull, J. Hammond: On Algonkin names for man.

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.

Trumbull, J. Hammond: Words derived from Indian languages of North America.

Hadley, J.: On the Byzantine Greek pronunciation of the tenth century, as illustrated by a manuscript in the Bodleian Library.

Stevens, W. A.: On the substantive use of the Greek participle.

Bristed, C. A.: Erroneous and doubtful uses of the word *such*.

Hartt, C. F.: Notes on the Lingoa Geral, or Modern Tupí of the Amazonas.

Whitney, W. D.: On material and form in language.

March, F. A.: Is there an Anglo-Saxon language?

March, F. A.: On some irregular verbs in Anglo-Saxon.

Trumbull, J. Hammond: Notes on forty versions of the Lord's Prayer in Algonkin languages.

Proceedings of the fourth annual session, Providence, 1872.

1873. — Volume IV.

Allen, F. D.: The Epic forms of verbs in *άω*.

Evans, E. W.: Studies in Cymric philology.

Hadley, J.: On Koch's treatment of the Celtic element in English.

Haldeman, S. S.: On the pronunciation of Latin, as presented in several recent grammars.

Packard, L. R.: On some points in the life of Thucydides.

Goodwin, W. W.: On the classification of conditional sentences in Greek syntax.

March, F. A.: Recent discussions of Grimm's law.

Lull, E. P.: Vocabulary of the language of the Indians of San Blas and Caledonia Bay, Darien.

Proceedings of the fifth annual session, Easton, 1873.

1874. — Volume V.

Tyler, W. S.: On the prepositions in the Homeric poems.

Harkness, A.: On the formation of the tenses for completed action in the Latin finite verb.

Haldeman, S. S.: On an English vowel-mutation, present in *cag*, *keg*.

Packard, L. R.: On a passage in Homer's Odyssey (λ 81–86).

Trumbull, J. Hammond: On numerals in American Indian languages, and the Indian mode of counting.

Sewall, J. B.: On the distinction between the subjunctive and optatives modes in Greek conditional sentences.

Morris, C. D.: On the age of Xenophon at the time of the Anabasis.

Whitney, W. D.: *Φύσει* or *θέσει* — natural or conventional?

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.

Haldeman, S. S.: On an English consonant-mutation, present in *proof, prove.*

Carter, F.: On Begemann's views as to the weak preterit of the Germanic verbs.

Morris, C. D.: On some forms of Greek conditional sentences.

Williams, A.: On verb-reduplication as a means of expressing completed action.

Sherman, L. A.: A grammatical analysis of the Old English poem "The Owl and the Nightingale."

Proceedings of the seventh annual session, Newport, 1875.

1876. — Volume VII.

Gildersleeve, B. L.: On *εἰ* with the future indicative and *ἐάν* with the subjunctive in the tragic poets.

Packard, L. R.: On Grote's theory of the structure of the Iliad.

Humphreys, M. W.: On negative commands in Greek.

Toy, C. H.: On Hebrew verb-etymology.

Whitney, W. D.: A botanico-philological problem.

Goodwin, W. W.: On *shall* and *should* in protasis, and their Greek equivalents.

Humphreys, M. W.: On certain influences of accent in Latin iambic trimeters.

Trumbull, J. Hammond: On the Algonkin verb.

Haldeman, S. S.: On a supposed mutation between *l* and *u*.

Proceedings of the eighth annual session, New York, 1876.

1877. — Volume VIII.

Packard, L. R.: Notes on certain passages in the Phaedo and the Gorgias of Plato.

Toy, C. H.: On the nominal basis on the Hebrew verb.

Allen, F. D.: On a certain apparently pleonastic use of *ὡς*.

Whitney, W. D.: On the relation of surd and sonant.

Holden, E. S.: On the vocabularies of children under two years of age.

Goodwin, W. W.: On the text and interpretation of certain passages in the Agamemnon of Aeschylus.

Stickney, A.: On the single case-form in Italian.

Carter, F.: On Willmann's theory of the authorship of the Nibelungenlied.

Sihler, E. G.: On Herodotus's and Aeschylus's accounts of the battle of Salamis.

Whitney, W. D.: On the principle of economy as a phonetic force.

Carter, F.: On the Kürenberg hypothesis.

March, F. A.: On dissimilated gemination.

Proceedings of the ninth annual session, Baltimore, 1877.

1878. — Volume IX.

Gildersleeve, B. L.: Contributions to the history of the articular infinitive.

Toy, C. H.: The Yoruban language.

Humphreys, M. W.: Influence of accent in Latin dactylic hexameters.

Sachs, J.: Observations on Plato's Cratylus.

Seymour, T. D.: On the composition of the Cynegeticus of Xenophon.
Humphreys, M. W.: Elision, especially in Greek.

Proceedings of the tenth annual session, Saratoga, 1878.

1879. — Volume X.

Toy, C. H.: Modal development of the Semitic verb.
Humphreys, M. W.: On the nature of caesura.
Humphreys, M. W.: On certain effects of elision.
Cook, A. S.: Studies in Heliand.
Harkness, A.: On the development of the Latin subjunctive in principal clauses.
D'Ooge, M. L.: The original recension of the De Corona.
Peck, T.: The authorship of the Dialogus de Oratoribus.
Seymour, T. D.: On the date of the Prometheus of Aeschylus.

Proceedings of the eleventh annual session, Newport, 1879.

1880. — Volume XI.

Humphreys, M. W.: A contribution to infantile linguistic.
Toy, C. H.: The Hebrew verb-termination *un*.
Packard, L. R.: The beginning of a written literature in Greece.
Hall, I. H.: The declension of the definite article in the Cypriote inscriptions.
Sachs, J.: Observations on Lucian.
Sihler, E. G.: Virgil and Plato.
Allen, W. F.: The battle of Mons Graupius.
Whitney, W. D.: On inconsistency in views of language.
Edgren, A. H.: The kindred Germanic words of German and English, exhibited with reference to their consonant relations.

Proceedings of the twelfth annual session, Philadelphia, 1880.

1881. — Volume XII.

Whitney, W. D.: On Mixture in Language.
Toy, C. H.: The home of the primitive Semitic race.
March, F. A.: Report of the committee on the reform of English spelling.
Wells, B. W.: History of the *a*-vowel, from Old Germanic to Modern English.
Seymour, T. D.: The use of the aorist participle in Greek.
Sihler, E. G.: The use of abstract verbal nouns in *-σις* in Thucydides.

Proceedings of the thirteenth annual session, Cleveland, 1881.

1882. — Volume XIII.

Hall, I. H.: The Greek New Testament as published in America.
Merriam, A. C.: Alien intrusion between article and noun in Greek.
Peck, T.: Notes on Latin quantity.
Owen, W. B.: Influence of the Latin syntax in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels.
Wells, B. W.: The Ablaut in English.
Whitney, W. D.: General considerations on the Indo-European case-system.

Proceedings of the fourteenth annual session, Cambridge, 1882.

1883. — Volume XIV.

Merriam, A. C.: The Caesareum and the worship of Augustus at Alexandria.
Whitney, W. D.: The varieties of predication.
Smith, C. F.: On Southernisms.
Wells, B. W.: The development of the Ablaut in Germanic.
Proceedings of the fifteenth annual session, Middletown, 1883.

1884. — Volume XV.

Goodell, T. D.: On the use of the Genitive in Sophokles.
Tarbell, F. B.: Greek ideas as to the effect of burial on the future life of the soul.
Perrin, B.: The Crastinus episode at Palaepharsalus.
Peck, T.: Alliteration in Latin.
Von Jagemann, H. C. G.: Norman words in English.
Wells, B. W.: The Ablaut in High German.
Whitney, W. D.: Primary and Secondary Suffixes of Derivation and their exchanges.
Warren, M.: On Latin Glossaries. Codex Sangallensis, No. 912.
Proceedings of the sixteenth annual session, Hanover, 1884.

1885. — Volume XVI.

Easton, M. W.: The genealogy of words.
Goodell, T. D.: Quantity in English verse.
Goodwin, W. W.: Value of the Attic talent in modern money.
Goodwin, W. W.: Relation of the Πρόεδροι to the Πρυτάνεις in the Attic Βουλή
Perrin, B.: Equestrianism in the Doloneia.
Richardson, R. B.: The appeal to sight in Greek tragedy.
Seymour, T. D.: The feminine caesura in Homer.
Sihler, E. G.: A study of Dinarchus.
Wells, B. W.: The vowels *e* and *i* in English.
Whitney, W. D.: The roots of the Sanskrit language.
Proceedings of the seventeenth annual session, New Haven, 1885.

1886. — Volume XVII.

Tarbell, F. B.: Phonetic law.
Sachs, J.: Notes on Homeric Zoölogy.
Fowler, H. N.: The sources of Seneca de Beneficiis.
Smith, C. F.: On Southernisms.
Wells, B. W.: The sounds *o* and *u* in English.
Fairbanks, A.: The Dative case in Sophokles.
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.
Sihler, E. G.: The tradition of Cæsar's Gallic Wars, from Cicero to Orosius.
Clapp, E. B.: Conditional sentences in Aischylos.
Pease, E. M.: On the relative value of the manuscripts of Terence.
Smyth, H. W.: The Arcado-Cyprian dialect.
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.*
Goebel, J.: On the impersonal verbs.
Bridge, J.: On the authorship of the Cynicus of Lucian.
Whitney, J. E.: The "Continued Allegory" in the first book of the Fairy Queene.
March, F. A.: Standard English: its pronunciation, how learned.
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.
Gudeman, A.: A new source in Plutarch's Life of Cicero.
Gatschet, A. S.: Sex-denoting nouns in American languages.
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.
Whitney, W. D.: Translation of the Kaṭha Upanishad.

Proceedings of the twenty-second annual session, Norwich, 1890.

1891. — Volume XXII.

Capps, Edw.: The Greek Stage according to the Extant Dramas.
Clapp, Edw. B.: Conditional Sentences in the Greek Tragedians.
West, A. F.: Lexicographical Gleanings from the *Philobiblon* of Richard de Bury.
Hale, W. G.: The Mode in the phrases *quod sciam*, etc.

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 hav gaind or lost an initial consonant by attraction.

Proceedings of the twenty-fourth annual session, Charlottesville, 1892.

1893. — Volume XXIV.

Sonnenschein, E. A.: The scientific emendation of classical texts.
Bréal, M.: The canons of etymological investigation.
Streitberg, W.: Ein Ablautproblem der Ursprache.
Osthoff, H.: Dunkles und helles *l* im Lateinischen.
Shorey, Paul: The implicit ethics and psychology of Thucydides.
Scott, C. P. G.: English words which hav gaind 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 hav gaind 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.
Warren, M.: On the contribution of the Latin inscriptions to the study of the Latin language and literature.
Paton, James M.: Some Spartan families under the Empire.
Riess, Ernst: On ancient superstition.
Perrin, B.: Genesis and growth of an Alexander-myth.
Slaughter, M. S.: The *Acta Ludorum* and the *Carmen Saeculare*.
Scott, C. P. G.: The Devil and his imps: an etymological inquisition.
March, F. A.: The fluency of Shakespeare.

Proceedings of the special session, Philadelphia, 1894.
Proceedings of the twenty-seventh annual session, Cleveland, 1895.

1896. — Volume XXVII.

Riess, E.: Superstition and popular beliefs in Greek tragedy.
Harkness, Albert Granger: Age at marriage and at death in the Roman Empire.

Allinson, F. G.: On the accent of certain enclitic combinations in Greek
Wright, John H.: The origin of sigma lunatum.

Proceedings of the twenty-eighth annual session, Providence, 1896.

1897. — Volume XXVIII.

Brownson, C. L.: Reasons for Plato's hostility to the poets.
Sihler, E. G.: Lucretius and Cicero.
Bloomfield, M.: Indo-European notes.
Peck, Tracy: Cicero's hexameters.
Fairbanks, Arthur: On Plutarch's quotations from the early Greek philosophers.
March, F. A.: The enlargement of the English dictionary.
Collitz, H.: Traces of Indo-European accentuation in Latin.
Smyth, H. W.: Mute and liquid in Greek melic poetry.

Proceedings of the twenty-ninth annual session, Bryn Mawr 1897.

1898. — Volume XXIX.

Fay, E. W.: The origin of the gerundive.
Hempl, G.: Language-rivalry and speech-differentiation in the case of race-mixture.
Harry, J. E.: The omission of the article with substantives after οὗτος, ὅδε, ἐκεῖνος in prose.
Ebeling, H. L.: The Admetus of Euripides viewed in relation to the Admetus of tradition.
Smyth, H. W.: Mute and liquid in Greek melic poetry (II.)
March, F. A.: Orthography of English preterits.
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Proceedings of the thirtieth annual session, Hartford, 1898.

1899. — Volume XXX.

Fairclough, H. R.: The text of the Andria of Terence.
Wheeler, A. L.: The uses of the Imperfect Indicative in Plautus and Terence.
Hempl, G.: The origin of the Latin letters G and Z, with Appendix, on the *coceulod orieso* of the Salian hymn.
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Harkness, A. G.: The scepticism and fatalism of the common people of Rome as illustrated by the sepulchral inscriptions.
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Bates, F. O.: The Deme Kolonos.
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Proceedings of the thirty-first annual session, New York, 1899.

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APPENDIX.

CONTENTS.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF TWELVE ON COURSES OF STUDY IN LATIN AND GREEK FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS.[1]

INTRODUCTION.

I. THE WORK OF THE COMMITTEE OF TWELVE.

The Committee of Twelve of the American Philological Association was appointed at a special session held in Philadelphia in December, 1894. It was instructed to bring to the attention of those who were interested in the subject a resolution which the Association had unanimously passed, that "in any programme designed to prepare students for the classical course, not less than three years of Greek should be required." The same committee was afterwards requested to take into consideration also "the question of the amount of Latin needed for the various courses in secondary schools."[2]

In accordance with these instructions, in the spring of 1895 the Committee prepared an address on the study of Greek, which was approved at the next session of the Association and was extensively circulated.[3] At the meeting of the National Educational Association in July of the same year a copy of this address was laid before the Department of Secondary Education, which received it cordially and gave it a place in the minutes of the meeting.[4]

[1] The Committee of Twelve desires to express its sense of obligation to the twelve hundred teachers who have aided it by generously imparting information and counsel. The heaviest burdens of the committee have been borne by Professor Hale, of the University of Chicago, Professor Kelsey, of the University of Michigan, Professor West, of Princeton University, and the chairman, Professor Seymour, of Yale University. Special recognition is due to the courtesy of the United States' Commissioner of Education, the Hon. W. T. Harris, who caused the preparation of the important table in Appendix B and furnished the data for Appendix C.

[2] Proceedings of the American Philological Association, Special Session, 1894, p. xxviii.

[3] Proceedings for July, 1895, pp. xxxii–xxxviii.

[4] Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the National Educational Association, 1895, pp. 581, 632–635; School Review, 1895, pp. 434–441.

In the spring of 1896 the Committee prepared a report on the amount of time that should be allotted to Latin in school programmes. This report was not only submitted to the American Philological Association, but was also, in accordance with a suggestion made by several members of the National Educational Association, presented at Buffalo in July to the Joint Session of the Departments of Higher and of Secondary Education, which expressed hearty approval of it by a unanimous vote, and ordered it printed in the minutes.[1]

At this time the National Educational Association was undertaking a comprehensive study of school programmes in their relation to college entrance requirements. At the Denver meeting a joint committee, composed of prominent members of the Departments of Higher and of Secondary Education, had been appointed, with instructions to report on the whole subject of entrance requirements the following year. This committee first made an extensive investigation of existing conditions,[2] and then proceeded to formulate a plan of work. Having reached the conclusion that the problem of securing uniform entrance requirements can be solved only through the attainment of greater uniformity in courses of study, the joint committee voted, as a part of its scheme, to invite certain scientific societies to render expert assistance in forming model programmes which might be adopted by high schools, academies, and private schools in all parts of the country. The plan of work elaborated by this committee, including a proposition to invite the coöperation of the American Philological Association, was laid before the Joint Session of the Departments of Higher and of Secondary Education at Buffalo, and was adopted without modification.[3] The

[1] Proceedings and Addresses of the National Educational Association, 1896, pp. 559–562; Proceedings of the American Philological Association for July, 1896, pp. li–lv. The Report was published also in the School Review for June, 1896, pp. 472–474; the New York Evening Post for July 11, 1896; and Book Reviews for August, 1896, pp. 101–103.

[2] See the School Review for June, 1896.

[3] Proceedings and Addresses of the National Educational Association, 1896, pp. 558–559; School Review for June, 1898, p. 443.

secretary of the joint committee at once sent a telegram to the American Philological Association, which was then in session at Providence, inviting it "to prepare at its convenience a report on the proper course of secondary instruction in Latin and Greek." The American Philological Association accepted the invitation and instructed its Committee of Twelve to draw up courses of study in the two languages as requested.[1]

The Committee of Twelve took up promptly the important work that had been assigned to it, and after some preliminary correspondence met in New York in December, 1896. It voted to send a circular of inquiry to teachers in all parts of the United States, requesting information regarding the present condition of the study of the classics, and suggestions in relation to classical programmes. It decided also to invite representative men engaged in the work of secondary education, scholars of undoubted pedagogic ability and experience, to coöperate with it, as auxiliary committees for Latin and for Greek, and to hold a meeting of the combined committees in the spring vacation of 1897.[2]

More than six thousand copies of the circular of inquiry were sent out—to teachers of Latin and Greek, to superintendents, to principals of schools, and to others who are prominent in educational work. About one thousand replies were received, and thus there was placed in the hands of the Committee a mass of material for consideration—exact information, and the opinions of specialists—such as had never before been gathered in relation to this subject. Great and general interest in the undertaking was evinced by the care with which most of the answers to the questions of the circular had been prepared. The replies were carefully tabulated by Dr. Arthur Fairbanks, of Yale University, and were brought before the Committee at the meeting in New York, April 14.[3] The Committee of Twelve was in session with its auxiliary committees for two days. After listening

[1] Proceedings of the American Philological Association for July, 1896, p. lx.

[2] Proceedings of the American Philological Association for July, 1897, p. xxviii.

[3] See the School Review for June, 1897, pp. 350–359.

to a statement with regard to the answers to its inquiries, and to a discussion of certain fundamental questions connected with secondary instruction in the classics, the combined committees divided into two sections for the preparation of school programmes for Greek and for Latin. In the time at their disposal the committees were able only to draft tentatively a four-year Latin course and a three-year Greek course; the whole matter of five-year and six-year Latin courses was referred to a special subcommittee, which met in Chicago in May.

As a result of these labors, in the fall of 1897 the Committee of Twelve issued a Preliminary Report, which contained a brief statement in regard to the organization of the Committee and the purpose of its work, and presented for criticism the tentative courses that had been drawn up — four-year, five-year, and six-year courses in Latin, and a three-year course in Greek.[1] This Preliminary Report was submitted to the principal educational associations of the country, and copies were sent also to a number of educational experts; many kindly and helpful suggestions were received, and it became evident that the tentative programmes with slight modifications would give as general satisfaction as any courses of study which the Committee could devise.

Notwithstanding the favorable reception of this Report, the Committee of Twelve resolved again to avail itself of the advice and criticism of those who are actually engaged in the work of classical instruction in secondary schools, before issuing its report in final form. A meeting of the combined committees was appointed to be held at Ann Arbor, Michigan, in the spring vacation of 1898, and in order to attract a number of classical teachers, with whom the problems under consideration could be discussed face to face, a Classical Conference was arranged, with a two-days' programme of scientific and pedagogical papers.

The meetings opened with a session of the Latin section of the combined committees, on March 30; the Conference was held

[1] Published also (in essentially the same form) in the School Review for June, 1897, pp. 362–366; Proceedings of the American Philological Association for July, 1897, pp. xxxi–xxxiv.

on March 31 and April 1, and the Committee of Twelve met for its final session on April 2. The attendance at the Classical Conference was full and representative,[1] while at the sessions of the Committee officers and representative members were present, by invitation, from the more important educational associations of the East, the South, and the West, whose direct testimony gave a deeper insight into the conditions of classical study, in all parts of the country, than could have been gained from correspondence alone. Before adjourning, the Committee of Twelve voted that the publication of the courses of study, to the formulation of which so much time and effort had been given, should be accompanied by a statement of the reasons which had influenced its conclusions.

From what has been said it will be evident that this Report was not prepared hastily by a committee anxious to avoid the consideration of burdensome details, and that it is not based primarily on theoretical considerations. It embodies conclusions reached after painstaking inquiry into actual conditions, as well as the results of mature and intelligent experience on the part of the advisers of the Committee; and it was drawn up after full consideration of the difficulties that lie along the path of educational advance in the secondary field.

The Committee is firmly of the opinion that the work outlined in the classical programmes here offered lies within the range of accomplishment of any school which has a competent classical teacher, and that there is no reason why at least the four-year Latin course and the three-year Greek course may not be generally adopted as a standard of classical work in the schools of the North, the South, the East, and the West.

[1] See the School Review for June, 1898, pp. 425, 481.

II. PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS REGARDING THE REPORT.

The investigations pursued by this Committee show that a tendency exists in many places to increase the amount of time allowed to Latin in school programmes, and that there is nowhere a movement in the other direction. The Reports of the United States' Commissioner of Education for the last nine years also reveal the highly encouraging fact that *the increase of enrollment of pupils in Latin in our secondary schools is very large, and is relatively greater than the increase in any other study.*[1] Nearly 175,000 more pupils were studying Latin in 1897–98 than in 1889–90. The increase of pupils in Greek, while not so marked, is likewise distinctly encouraging. Nearly 25,000 were reported as studying Greek in preparatory courses in 1897–98, against about 13,000 eight years earlier. This increase is not confined to any one section of the country, as may be seen from the map on page 48, which shows the distribution of Greek and Latin students in the secondary schools in 1890 and in 1898.

Then, too, substantial progress has been made in the proper training of teachers. We are undoubtedly still far from having attained a proper professional standard; but, on the other hand, the facilities for training classical teachers are being constantly, even if somewhat irregularly, developed. It is now possible, as it was not twenty years ago, to find a fair number of well equipped university courses devoted, at least in part, to the special training of capable instructors for our high schools and academies. There is also a distinct tendency to adapt text-books, in both Latin and Greek, to the pedagogical needs of pupils and teachers, and to emphasize the humanistic, as opposed to the pedantic, ideal of classical culture. The existence of all these favorable tendencies at the present time seems to indicate that we are entering upon a better age for the school study of the classics. A situation so hopeful as this naturally makes the necessity of giving organic unity to the increasing body of classical interests more pressing than ever before.

[1] See Appendix B at the end of this Report.

The Committee is the more encouraged in proposing the courses of study submitted in this Report, because it has made a careful investigation of the classical instruction in about a thousand high schools and academies, and has had associated with it, in all its conferences, representative schoolmen from the chief regions of our country where the classics are taught. On the basis of information thus obtained as to the actual condition of the teaching of Latin and Greek, and the resources and legitimate expectations of the secondary schools, the Committee has been enabled to test in advance, so to speak, the practicability of the plans here presented. It is gratifying to be able to state that these plans are not based on a compromise of conflicting interests, but that, both in the judgment of the Committee and in that of the auxiliary committees, composed of representative teachers of Latin and Greek, the courses present a rational and practical standard, containing all the essentials in a sufficiently uniform relation, and yet affording a flexibility sufficient to allow for all reasonable diversity in different classes of schools in different parts of the land. The plans involve no radical reconstruction, but aim to bring the actually existing practices of our schools into organic unity through gradual adaptation to a more consistent standard.

The problem encountered in dealing with the question of instruction in Latin in our American high schools, academies, and other secondary schools, while similar to the corresponding problem for Greek, is more complicated. It is similar, because the principles which regulate the introduction of young students to both languages have long been recognized as practically identical. *Utrique eadem via est*, the maxim of Quintilian, might be taken without modification as summing up the settled belief of the best teachers of our own century with reference both to the unity of the classics as a field of study and to the unity of method to be pursued in teaching the two classical languages. The problem is more complicated, because Latin is taught in a far larger number of schools than Greek, because many schools have more than one course in Latin instead of a single course as

in Greek, and lastly because the length of time devoted to Latin varies more than the length of time devoted to Greek.

But another and far more serious cause of complication lies outside the relation of the two languages to each other, and is, in fact, a difficulty which underlies our secondary education generally, so far as concerns the drawing up of programmes of study, that is, the lack of uniformity in courses of study in high schools and academies, with its concomitant, the lack of uniformity in college standards of entrance. If, as we believe, the need of greater uniformity is urgent in order to enable our secondary education to accomplish its proper ends, then in no part of the field is it more conspicuously urgent than in the framing of programmes of study. For unless school programmes can in some rational way be so brought into harmony that classical courses, for example, so far as equal amounts of time are allotted to them, shall mean substantially the same thing in all parts of the country, we cannot expect to remedy the existing inequalities and stop the waste of time and energy in our school instruction, or to adjust the equally irrational inequalities of our college entrance requirements in the same field. If, on the other hand, the school programmes in Latin and Greek can be made substantially uniform, the schools themselves will be greatly helped, and a long step will have been taken toward the solution of a question which has deeply vexed the colleges.

In the case of the classics, as in the case of other studies, the desired remedy is not to be sought in any attempt to bring all the schools to the adoption of a single inflexible programme. Such uniformity would be both impracticable and in itself undesirable. Neither is it desirable that the various regions of the country should each make an independent programme. There is already too much of such diversity, which tends to stereotype and perpetuate causes of division and hindrance, to provincialize rather than to nationalize our teaching. The Committee recognizes, of course, that local differences in the Latin and Greek courses will always exist, and that many of these differences are inevitable under any plan that may be

proposed. Many of them are, indeed, made reasonable by local conditions. The Committee was not directed to prepare a plan which could be carried out at once in every school, but the best programme which is practicable for the schools of the country under prevailing conditions — for public high schools, as well as for endowed academies and private "fitting schools." The precise amount of time that a school can allow for Latin and Greek determines much, and this amount is sure to vary. Even more is determined by the strength and skill of the teaching force. Legitimate differences of opinion must also exist with reference to the order in which the several authors may best be taken up, and the precise amount of each that shall be read. Still other causes of variation will occur to those who are actually engaged in the work of teaching, and allowance must be made for such causes in any proposal designed to secure general assent. But after all concessions have been made to the inevitable diversity that arises from differences of locality and of methods, there still remain other differences which need elimination, or at least reduction to some common standard of variation, if any permanent success is to attend the present hopeful movement toward uniformity.

It is indeed fortunate for the cause of classical studies at the present time that the schools and colleges are already generally agreed as to the importance of greater organic unity in the courses of our preparatory schools. The present decade has witnessed far more extensive and intelligent discussion and conference looking toward the accomplishment of this result than has ever before been known in our country.

In offering the fruits of its labors to the two educational bodies under which it has been working, the Committee of Twelve desires to make grateful acknowledgment of the invaluable assistance which it has received from the members of the auxiliary committees and from other educational workers, who have freely responded to every request for information and counsel; and it wishes further to express the hope that this Report may contribute in some measure to the unification and advancement of our secondary instruction in Greek and Latin.

III. THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMITTEE OF TWELVE AND OF THE AUXILIARY COMMITTEES.

THE COMMITTEE OF TWELVE.

THOMAS DAY SEYMOUR, Professor of Greek, Yale University, *Chairman.*

CECIL F. P. BANCROFT, Principal of Phillips Andover Academy

FRANKLIN CARTER, President of Williams College.

WILLIAM GARDNER 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.

ABBY LEACH, Professor of Greek, Vassar College.

CHARLES FORSTER SMITH, Professor of Greek, University of Wisconsin.

CLEMENT L. SMITH, Professor of Latin, Harvard University.

HERBERT WEIR SMYTH, Professor of Greek, Bryn Mawr College.

MINTON WARREN, Professor of Latin, Johns Hopkins University.

ANDREW F. WEST, Professor of Latin, Princeton University.

THE AUXILIARY COMMITTEES.

THE LATIN AUXILIARY COMMITTEE.

GEORGE B. AITON, Inspector of State High Schools, Minneapolis, Minn.

J. REMSEN BISHOP, Walnut Hills High School, Cincinnati, Ohio.

DAVID Y. COMSTOCK, Principal of St. Johnsbury Academy, St. Johnsbury, Vt.

E. W. COY, Principal of the Hughes High School, Cincinnati, Ohio.

LAWRENCE C. HULL, Lawrenceville School, Lawrenceville, N. J.

RICHARD A. MINCKWITZ, Kansas City High School, Kansas City, Mo.

OSCAR D. ROBINSON, Principal of the Albany High School, Albany, N. Y.

CHARLES H. THURBER, Dean of Morgan Park Academy, Morgan Park, Ill.

A. W. TRESSLER, Principal of the High School, Ripon, Wis.

W. R. WEBB, Principal of Webb School, Bell Buckle, Tenn.

THE GREEK AUXILIARY COMMITTEE.

EDWARD B. CLAPP, Professor of Greek, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.

E. G. COY, Principal of the Hotchkiss School, Lakeville, Conn.

J. G. CROSWELL, Principal of the Brearley School, New York City.

WILLIAM GALLAGHER, Principal of the Thayer Academy, South Braintree, Mass.

ROBERT P. KEEP, Principal of the Free Academy, Norwich, Conn.

C. A. MITCHELL, Classical Master of the University School, Cleveland, Ohio.

W. D. MOONEY, Principal of the Mooney School, Franklin, Tenn.

J. H. PRATT, Principal of the Milwaukee Academy, Milwaukee, Wis.

JULIUS SACHS, Principal of the Collegiate School, West Fifty-ninth street, New York City.

H. G. SHERRARD, Classical Master of the High School, Detroit, Mich.

GREEK COURSES IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS.

The preparation of the Greek programmes presented to the Committee a simple problem, in view of the limited time which can be given in the schools to the reading of Greek literature, and of the small amount of Greek literature which is suitable for classes of beginners. The problem had been still further simplified by the discussions and actions of recent conferences, particularly the Greek Conference of the Committee of Ten, the Commission of New England Colleges, and the Greek Conference held at Columbia University in the spring of 1896—all of these being in substantial agreement, and already approved by many of the most able teachers of the country. The replies to the Committee's circular of inquiry gave abundant information, both as to what is actually done in our schools, and as to what is desired. From California, Wisconsin, and Tennessee, in particular, had come letters which presented a most hopeful view of the position of the classics in the schools, and urged that the Committee should yield to no suggestion of a weaker, less exacting course of preparation for college. The Committee is unanimous in reaffirming the position taken by the Greek Conference of the Committee of Ten, and proposes a programme which is in essential agreement with those of the Commission of New England Colleges and the Columbia Conference of 1896.

The Committee recommends that three years be devoted to the study of Greek in secondary schools, with the understanding that the year consists of not less than thirty-eight weeks of school work, and that five periods of recitation a week, of not less than forty-five minutes each, be given to this study. In some parts of the United States work is crowded into two years, to which in other parts three years are devoted. Under exceptional circumstances, with earnest scholars and skilful teachers and long school years, the work of preparation for college in Greek may be done well in two years; but in general, with less

earnestness and skill, this work is likely to be superficial if it is so hurried, and the Committee of Twelve still (and more earnestly than ever) urges the maintenance of a three-year preparatory course of study in Greek.

The Committee further recommends heartily a thorough and methodical study of Greek grammar as the necessary basis of accurate reading. No one proposes to return to the former practice of committing to memory all of the rules of Greek grammar before applying them in reading; but pupils cannot be expected to prove fair scholars unless they know Greek forms and the elements of Greek syntax well before they are sent to college. Moreover, a vigorous and continued effort should be made to correlate and arrange the isolated grammatical facts in the pupil's mind. Our Greek grammars aim to be scientific, and their arrangement should be well understood by the pupil, in order that he may know where to look for the information which he needs. The teacher is in danger of forgetting that the pupil does not easily obtain the general view of the field of grammatical study with which he is himself familiar, and that it is this knowledge alone which enables the beginner to put into their right relations the grammatical facts which he learns. For instance, the pupil should know the most important syntactical uses of each case — understanding that the genitive has accepted the work of the ablative in addition to its own, and the dative that of the instrumental and the locative. The correspondence between the constructions of conditional and relative sentences should be clearly apprehended. Although the "analysis" of the verbal forms is no longer required so strictly as it was a quarter of a century ago, the pupil may well be taught the elements of word formation and inflection.

The Committee further recommends that, from the beginning, systematic instruction be given in Greek composition, and that exercises in writing Greek, based upon connected reading in Greek prose, be continued through the third year. Elementary Greek composition, which alone is attempted in the schools of America, is an indispensable auxiliary to, and we may almost

say a part of, grammatical study. The teacher does not expect to train his pupil to vie with Xenophon as a Greek writer; he is entirely satisfied if his pupil can read Greek. Composition should not, therefore, be considered as taking time from reading, but as preparing the pupil to read more readily and accurately. It fixes the pupil's vocabulary more firmly in his mind, serves as a constant review of Greek forms, quickens his sensitiveness to the peculiar significance of the order of words in the Greek prose sentence, and to the difference of meaning between similar words and constructions. It is useful also as a check to the carelessness into which many pupils are in danger of falling, if (as is well) they read large quantities of Greek cursorily "at sight." For accurate scholarship in Greek we know no better training than many and carefully corrected exercises in Greek composition. These exercises should not be postponed to a late part of the course, but should be begun at the outset, when they will materially assist the pupil in mastering the forms, make his knowledge of constructions exact, cause him to observe Greek usage, and help him to feel the accuracy and force with which the Greek language can express thought. If they are neglected during any part of the reading course, to be resumed only a short time before the pupil leaves the secondary school, the subject is likely to become distasteful, because unwonted and difficult to the pupil, who will have been deprived of the aid which he should have received from the exercise during his entire course.

The continuance of exercises in Greek composition during the third year, while most of the time of instruction is given to Homer, is particularly important. This has been proved to be the best means of preserving the familiarity with Attic forms and constructions which is essential for satisfactory work in the college course, in the reading of Plato, Demosthenes, Sophocles, Euripides, etc.

In the hands of a skilful teacher, the most efficient exercises in Greek composition are in retroversion, that is, the re-turning into Greek of the English of some Attic prose which has been read

by the student. If the teacher has not the time to prepare such exercises for his class, several text-books are ready to render this service. Certain advantages, however, are possessed by the systematic presentation of Greek constructions, in books which are prepared with no reference to a special text. A combination of the two methods is desirable wherever practicable.

In this country, teachers are in little danger of going to excess in attending to the niceties of Greek composition. The making of Greek iambic and lyric verse, which has been practised in England, quickens the æsthetic and literary sensibilities, but is useful chiefly for those who have time for advanced scholarship. The criticisms which have been uttered against such composition of verses do not hold against the composition of simple Attic prose which is here recommended.

The Committee further recommends that exercises in the reading of unprepared passages (commonly known as sight reading) be begun at the outset of the Greek course and be continued through it. Exercises in the reading of unprepared passages of Greek enable the teacher to discern, and so to meet, the pupil's difficulties in the interpretation of a new sentence. Very many Freshmen seem to have pursued a wrong method of seeking to gain the understanding of a Greek sentence which a little reading of unprepared passages in the class-room would enable the teacher to detect, and perhaps to remedy. If the pupil comes to the teacher only with work carefully prepared with the aid of lexicon and commentary, the teacher may not discover some of the pupil's weaknesses, and may not understand his difficulties. These exercises also give the pupil readiness in translation and a feeling of mastery over the newly acquired language. Rapid reading, as well as exact interpretation, is necessary to true scholarship.

The practice of reading Greek aloud with intelligent expression is warmly recommended by the Committee. This aids materially in the treatment of Greek as a living language, and, so far as the acquisition of forms and vocabulary is concerned, the voice is as important for the teachers of Greek and Latin as

for those of German and French. Careful attention should be paid to the quantity of the syllables, since the rhythm, not only of the poets, but also of the great orators, was based upon this quantity.

In the Greek preparatory course small opportunity can arise for question as to what shall be read, and in what order. Although Xenophon's style is now known to be not absolutely pure Attic, yet no Greek reading better than the *Anabasis* has been found for the second year of the Greek course. Some teachers, however, may prefer to read only two books of the *Anabasis*, and make up from other works of Xenophon, or from other authors, the equivalent of the third and fourth books of the *Anabasis*.

In order to secure a much-desired uniformity, colleges have been requested by several commissions and associations to base their examinations in Greek grammar and composition (in distinction from the ability to read Greek and translate it) on the first two books of the *Anabasis*.

The Committee, finally, recommends that Homer be read in the last year of the preparatory course. From one point of view the pupil ought to continue the study of Attic prose without interruption during the third year of his Greek course, without being introduced to another Greek dialect. But for the sake of those students who take Greek in the secondary school but do not go to college, and as an inspiration to the scholars who are at an age to be thoroughly interested in the Homeric poems, the teachers of secondary schools are almost unanimous in their desire that the third year of the three-year Greek course should be given mainly to Homer. The best pupils feel Homer to be *literature*, and so get an enticing foretaste of what awaits them in the reading of the college course. Some teachers prefer to begin Homer with the reading of the early books of the Iliad; others prefer the Odyssey; others would read the Iliad one year and the Odyssey another. Most colleges allow an option between equivalents, in order to give the fullest freedom to the secondary schools.

COURSE OF STUDY RECOMMENDED IN GREEK.

(*Five periods weekly throughout the three years.*)

FIRST YEAR.

First and second terms: Introductory lessons.

Third term: Xenophon's *Anabasis* (twenty to thirty pages). Practice in reading at sight and in writing Greek. Systematic study of grammar begun.

SECOND YEAR.

Xenophon's *Anabasis* (continued), either alone or with other Attic prose (seventy-five to one hundred and twenty pages).

Practice in reading at sight, systematic study of grammar, thorough grammatical review, and practice in writing Greek, both based on the study of Books I and II of the *Anabasis*.

THIRD YEAR.

Homer (twenty-five hundred to four thousand lines); *e. g.*, Iliad I–III (omitting II, 494–end) and VI–VIII.

Attic prose (twenty-five to forty pages), with practice in writing Greek; grammar; practice in reading at sight.

NOTE.— If preparation for an advanced examination in Greek composition is not desired, the course may be reduced by one lesson a week the first year.

LATIN COURSES IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS.

The determining factor in constructing a course in Latin in any of our high schools, academies, or private schools is practically the amount of time which can be allowed to that study, in view of the claims of other studies and the length of the school course. The ordinary arrangement is that of the four-year course of five exercises weekly. The average age of pupils at the beginning of the course is between fourteen and fifteen years. This four-year course is commonly the standard in our high schools and academies. There are schools, however, which are unable to allow four years to Latin, and these, as a rule, provide a three-year course. In a considerable number of schools, on the other hand, a five-year or a six-year course is to be found. The tendency to lengthen the Latin course beyond four years is clearly becoming stronger. This tendency did not receive its initial impulse from the colleges and universities, but manifests rather the characteristics of a spontaneous movement on the part of principals and teachers in secondary schools. It had its origin in a growing conviction that the ends of education, at least in the earlier stages, are best subserved by the concentration of effort upon a limited number of leading studies, properly correlated, rather than by the scattering of energies over an indefinite range of loosely related subjects. The lengthening of the Latin course is being accomplished, however, not by keeping the pupil at school longer, but by having him begin Latin earlier. The old four-year course in many places has been extended downward one or two years; and it is in this way that most of the five-year and six-year courses have been established. Such is clearly the rational procedure, both because of the better results obtained with pupils who begin Latin early, and because of the undesirability, if not the impossibility, of securing the additional Latin by keeping pupils at school beyond the age at which they now usually complete the course.

The problem, therefore, which is likely to be encountered by every school that has to face the question of the extension of its Latin course is the problem of having Latin begun one or more years earlier than at present, and of using the additional time upon a rationally coherent plan. As a four-year or five-year course is extended, here and there in different parts of the country, into a six-year course, and even as a three-year course is extended into a four-year course, it is desirable that the extension be accomplished according to some common understanding. In the case of schools which do not purpose to extend the course in length, but desire to use the present available time to better advantage, it is perhaps even more important that the inner modifications which may be introduced without additional expenditure of time should likewise be made in accordance with a common plan.

In taking up the first problem — the problem presented by the variation in length of Latin courses — the Committee was forced to regard the four-year course of five exercises a week as the only available general standard, for the reason that, as has been said, it corresponds, more nearly than any other, to the actual practice of the majority of American schools. The three-year course was considered as an incomplete four-year course, and was not treated as a separately existing type. Consequently no attempt was made to present a model three-year course, for it was assumed that three-year courses, if constructed, would be formed out of elements of the four-year course. Then a six-year course was framed, containing everything in the four-year course, together with such amplifications and additions as would render the six-year course a rationally connected whole. The five-year course, being intermediate between the four-year and the six-year courses, appeared in one aspect as an extension of the four-year course, and in another as an uncompleted six-year course. Inasmuch as, in many instances, the conversion of a four-year into a six-year course might be made, not by establishing a six-year course immediately, but by passing through a transitional five-year course, it seemed best to draw up the

five-year course in such a manner that it would serve as a transition from the four-year to the six-year course, and would at the same time preserve its own rational unity, so that schools which might never attain to a six-year course should nevertheless find all the parts of a five-year course thoroughly coördinated with one another.

Moreover, since schools with younger pupils naturally find it better to spend more time on the elements, while schools with older and presumably more mature pupils may prefer to do a larger amount of reading, the five-year course has been drawn up in a double form, with this alternative in view; but in either form it will serve as a logical transition from the four-year to the six-year course, and likewise as a course complete in itself. The proposed arrangement, whereby it will be made possible for schools to devote either four, five, or six years to Latin in accordance with a common plan, travelling the same road together, and parting company only where one stops and another goes on, will, if adopted, greatly reduce the practical difficulties arising from the present lack of uniformity in the length of Latin courses.

In dealing with the second problem, that of using to better advantage the time now allowed to Latin, through inner modification of the existing course of study without increase of length, the Committee found it necessary to construct, piece by piece, a standard course. Again the four-year course of five exercises a week had to be assumed as a standard. This number of exercises forms a fourth of the usual school week of about twenty periods. The proportion of time thus assumed for Latin corresponds closely, as has already been intimated, to the present practice of most of the schools possessing a four-year course. For some of them such a standard would represent an increase, though a very slight one, beyond the amount of time now given. A standard of five exercises weekly for four years is therefore a practicable one for most of the schools that now give four years to Latin.

This amount of time being assumed as available, or obtainable without great effort, the next question which confronted

the Committee was to determine what subjects should be included in the four-year Latin course, how far each should be carried, and in what order they should be taken up. It would have been an easy task to draw up an inflexible programme based solely on theoretical considerations; but such a programme would show little wisdom. The only course left open to the Committee was to endeavor to find a feasible way of improving upon our present practice, keeping constantly in mind the limitations prescribed by existing conditions.

The staple of our Latin instruction in the existing four-year courses consists of Latin grammar — usually taught in the form of Latin lessons,— Latin prose composition, four or five books of Cæsar's Gallic War or some equivalent, six orations of Cicero, and six books of Virgil's Æneid. These may be taken as constituting a substantially irreducible minimum. Most schools having a four-year course do as much work as this; some do much more, many a little more. The contents of this minimum enter solidly into college entrance requirements throughout the country, and the propriety of regarding them as essential elements in any Latin programme will not be questioned. At times, indeed, some opposition has been made to the study of Cæsar, as too difficult for students in the second year of the course. But this objection loses its validity when the study of Cæsar is preceded by the reading of an adequate amount of simple Latin, and in any case the objection suggested may be met by allowing an equivalent from some easier author to be offered for a *part* of the Commentaries; to omit Cæsar entirely would be a retrograde step in the framing of Latin programmes. Apart from this question with regard to the availability of Cæsar, no serious difference of opinion exists.

If, then, we assume that Latin grammar, Latin composition, some easy reading, four or five books of Cæsar (with a partial equivalent allowed), six orations of Cicero, and six books of Virgil may be considered as forming the assured basis of a standard four-year course, the question at once arises whether this is all that should enter into such a course. These subjects

represent nothing more than the average practice of the majority of schools with four-year courses, and something less than many such schools are actually giving — and that, too, without being able to allow quite so much time as five exercises weekly throughout the four years.

To accept this substantially irreducible minimum found in the great majority of four-year courses, without adding anything to allow for the extra work now actually done in many places, and without taking account of the present marked tendency to increase the amount of Latin taught, would be equivalent to the proposing of a standard actually lower than our present practice. Accordingly it is necessary to strengthen the proposed standard four-year course to an extent which will make it somewhat better than some of the existing four-year courses ; otherwise no proper model will be presented, in conformity with which our present four-year courses may be made not only more nearly uniform, but also a little better intrinsically. The small increment thus desired may be added in either of two ways. One is by an increase of the amount of work in the present subjects — a little more grammar, or easy reading, or prose composition, or Cæsar, or Cicero, or Virgil. The other is by increasing the variety and interest of the course by adding other subjects.

There is merit in both methods, and neither is to be recommended to the entire exclusion of the other. In laying out a four-year course with five exercises weekly, it will be found practicable to take advantage of both methods. The desired increment, if it is to be obtained without adding to the list of existing subjects, may be secured by devoting more time to the grammar lessons, the written prose exercises, and the easy reading which precedes and prepares for the reading of Cæsar, Cicero, and Virgil ; or it may be secured by an increase in the amount of reading in the works of one or more of these authors, provided it always is understood that, in case a school cannot both improve the quality of the more elementary work and at the same time read the maximum quantity suggested in any or all of the

authors, it is better to do with thoroughness the elementary grammar, written prose exercises, and easy reading, and to read the minimum amounts of the authors, than to sacrifice in any degree the earlier and fundamental work.

But in many schools, for various reasons, — principally the desire for greater variety to increase the interest of pupils, — other authors are introduced in addition to Cæsar, Cicero, and Virgil. Many teachers favor the Lives of Cornelius Nepos for easy reading just before Cæsar, or in place of a part of the Commentaries. The plan proposed by the Committee, while not giving Nepos a fixed place, leaves ample room for such use as has been indicated. Selections from Eutropius, Florus, and the Fables may, of course, be employed, or the useful "made Latin" of Lhomond's *Viri Romae*. The Committee, however, does not find it expedient to recommend any one of these classes of material, or any special combination of them, as a fixed part of a course. They may all be made to serve one purpose; and, while uniformity may appear desirable at this point, it is by no means essential.

In the list of authors, two additions are proposed — the Catiline of Sallust and a small amount of Ovid. Sallust, indeed, has of late years been less read in schools than formerly, but there are excellent reasons in favor of this author. His Catiline forms the best bridge over the gap between Cæsar and Cicero. Even young pupils find it attractive. It is not too hard. It helps to illustrate from a different angle of vision the intensely interesting age to which Cæsar and Cicero also belong. Its fine portraitures and graphic style give it merited rank as a classical masterpiece. And, finally, it is so brief that, while adding little to the amount read, it affords a special satisfaction in that it enables the young student to complete an entire work, instead of constantly occupying himself with selections; while at the same time it introduces variety into his reading. Having made the acquaintance of Cæsar, Sallust, and Cicero, the pupil has gained a considerable knowledge of the golden age of Latin prose — the foundation of all his subsequent study of the literature —

as well as of the most important period of Roman history, that immediately preceding the downfall of the Republic. In like manner the study of Ovid forms a useful preparation for the reading of Virgil. Even a few hundred lines will serve to give variety to the poetical reading of the student, and enhance his appreciation of the golden age of Roman poetry, the period of Augustus, which forms the literary as well as the historical sequel to the great Republican period.

It will be seen that a preference is here indicated for a particular order of authors: first, the prose writers of the Republic, represented by Cæsar, Sallust, and Cicero; and then the poets of the Augustan age, represented by Ovid and Virgil. The prose writers give the normal syntax and the general standards of literary expression, thus providing the young student with the proper foundation for all subsequent study of the language. The poets selected not only belong to a later age than the prose writers named, but are read with greater ease and profit after the student's knowledge of prose usages is established. A further consideration in favor of the order recommended may be found in the relation of the authors read to the exercises in prose composition. Prose composition should be taught through the whole four years of the course, and the exercises should be formed upon the best prose models. In the programme of the first year provision is made for easy written exercises in connection with lessons in grammar. In that of the second year the Latin writing will naturally be based on Cæsar. If Cicero is read in the third year, the Latin writing will of course be based on Cicero, and may continue to be based upon this author in the fourth year, even if poetry be read exclusively. If, on the other hand, Virgil is read in the third year, it will be difficult to maintain the course in Latin writing, in either that or the following year, on as high a level as is possible under the other arrangement. Still, the fact remains that there is a division of opinion upon this one phase of the subject. In many schools Virgil is read before Cicero. If the adoption of a model four-year Latin course were to turn upon this one point of the order in

which the two authors should be read, probably no agreement would be reached. It is, of course, more important that the two authors be *read*, in whatever order, than that the order of the reading should be uniform. It is also important that the reading of additional writers, such as Sallust and Ovid, shall not be made to depend upon any considerations of order. In the four-year course outlined below, the last two years are mainly occupied with Sallust, Cicero, Ovid, and Virgil. The order in which these four authors are placed in the programme indicates the clear preference of the Committee, reached after extended conference with representative school-men in the auxiliary committees; while, on the other hand, the omission of any line of separation between the third and fourth years is intended to express the recognition, on the part of the Committee, of the existence of differing opinions on the subject.

The arrangement of the earlier part of the four-year course naturally involves several questions connected with the methods to be pursued in the elementary study of the subject. The work of the earliest stage must, of course, be mainly disciplinary. The study of grammar gives acquaintance with the forms and laws of the language, and the progressive acquisition of vocabulary gives the material for reading, while easy exercises in the writing of Latin prose and training in simple reading organize this material again under the forms and laws of grammar. These principles govern all sound elementary teaching in the subject.

At the same time emphasis needs to be laid on the spirit and perspective characterizing this earlier work. Easy reading should be begun at the earliest possible moment. The writing of easy sentences, even if consisting of only three or four words, should be commenced at the outset, and out of this writing should be developed gradually the fuller practice in connected expression which ought to be continued through the entire course. In all written exercises, of whatever kind, the long vowels should be marked. There should be abundant practice in reading Latin aloud, pains being taken to make the pronunciation conform to the quantities; while, at the same time, great

emphasis should be laid upon intelligent expression. The student should be carefully trained to take in the meaning of the sentence *in the order in which it stands*, and *before translating*. The English of the translation, too, should be *genuine* English, not *Latin*-English. As a help to the pupil's understanding, he should memorize short prose passages, maxims, and bits of poetry. These will remain with him, and will ever afterwards contribute to his enjoyment of the classics.

The proposed standard four-year course has been drawn upon the basis of these convictions. It has not, to be sure, been the intention to represent our present practice without change; and accordingly we can scarcely expect that all of the schools which give four years to Latin will immediately adopt the course as it stands. In the case of most schools, however, it seems reasonable to look forward to the acceptance of as strong a programme as is here given, even if only the minimum amounts of the authors recommended shall be read. The plan is proposed as a model toward which all our present four-year courses can be made to approach closely, and thus to conform to one another in a degree which in no other way seems possible of attainment. Though uniformity in the particular parts of the authors read may be desirable, no recommendation is made in this respect, except in the case of Sallust's Catiline. Teachers naturally will not be in perfect agreement in regard to the particular books of Cæsar and orations of Cicero which they would prefer to have their classes read. In most cases the selection is influenced by tradition, and, in any event, it is impossible to arrive at uniformity, for the reason that many teachers prefer to make changes from year to year. In relation to college entrance requirements, however, this diversity occasions no especial difficulty, because the colleges are inclined more and more to be liberal in accepting equivalents.

Embodying in a programme the suggestions which have been offered, we obtain the following standard four-year Latin course:

PROPOSED FOUR-YEAR LATIN COURSE.

(*Five periods weekly throughout the four years.*)

FIRST YEAR.

Latin lessons, accompanied from an early stage by the reading of simple selections. Easy reading: twenty to thirty pages of a consecutive text.

In all written exercises the long vowels should be marked, and in all oral exercises pains should be taken to make the pronunciation conform to the quantities.

The student should be trained from the beginning to grasp the meaning of the Latin before translating, and then to render into idiomatic English; and should be taught to read the Latin aloud with intelligent expression.

SECOND YEAR.

Selections from Cæsar's *Gallic War* equivalent in amount to four or five books; selections from other prose writers, such as Nepos, may be taken as a substitute for one, or at most two, books.

The equivalent of at least one period a week in prose composition based on Cæsar.

Reading aloud and translating, together with training in correct methods of apprehending the author's meaning, both prepared and unprepared passages being used as material. The memorizing of selected passages.

THIRD AND FOURTH YEARS.

Sallust's *Catiline.*

Cicero: six to nine orations (including the *Manilian Law*).

Ovid: five hundred to fifteen hundred verses.

Virgil's *Æneid:* six to nine books.

The equivalent of at least one period a week in prose composition based on Cicero.

The reading of Latin aloud. The memorizing of selected passages.

The bearing which the adoption of a standard four-year course would have on college entrance requirements is obvious. The minimum amounts proposed — consisting of Latin grammar, prose composition, four books of Cæsar, Sallust's Catiline, six orations of Cicero, a little Ovid, and six books of Virgil — may easily be accepted as a fixed minimum entrance requirement.

The question may be raised whether the proposed standard four-year course is sufficiently elastic in the choice of subjects. If it is not, it is in so far impracticable. Nevertheless, if a standard is made too elastic, its value as a standard is destroyed. American schools exhibit a marked diversity, such as perhaps will not be found in the schools of all Europe. This striking individuality is not a thing to be rashly denounced or unduly discouraged. It is in accord with our diversified and free American life. But in the case of our schools, and of our colleges too, the individuality is excessive, and detrimental to the interests of scholar and teacher alike. The effect upon the colleges produced by this individuality on the part of the schools may be imagined when it is remembered that a single class in one of the former is sure to contain students from a large number of the latter.

The differences in our Latin programmes ought not to be so great as to preclude agreement upon a list of fundamental subjects, their general order of presentation, and their mode of treatment. The line between tolerable and intolerable differences may, like some other boundary lines, be impossible to draw with precision; yet even when we cannot draw exact boundaries, it is usually possible to distinguish regions, and to define and even reduce the area under dispute. Such disagreement as actually exists in the present instance is mainly the result merely of particular preferences in matters of detail. The principal difference, as already mentioned, concerns the reading of Cæsar; but the difficulty occasioned by the difference is met, in the proposals of the Committee, partly by the suggestion of an equivalent for a part of Cæsar in the programme of the school, and partly by the willingness of colleges to accept still other equivalents at the entrance examinations. There is also a minor

difference of opinion in relation to the use of Sallust and Ovid; but with these exceptions there is no important disagreement regarding the minimum amounts. Where so much is unanimously approved, and where the preponderating weight of opinion is strongly fixed in regard to even the mildly disputed points, it is certainly time to agree upon a minimum standard for gradual imitation, especially when the proposed standard is homogeneously consistent, and embodies a fundamental principle.

Up to this point the question of flexibility has remained untouched, but agreement as to the mode of attaining flexibility has been made possible. In the framing of a standard course, the Committee found itself concerned, not so much with the question whether it should recommend more or fewer subjects, but whether it should recommend a greater or less amount of each subject. In the case of grammar and prose composition, it recognized that the determination of the amount of ground to be covered must be left to the individual teacher; though the Committee is of the opinion that the systematic study of both of these subjects should be carried through the entire course.

As regards the ground to be covered in the authors, while it is desirable that as much reading as possible should be done, nevertheless thoroughness should never be sacrificed to quantity. Only a moderate range of variation therefore is suggested —which amounts, for example, to a single book in the case of Cæsar, three orations in the case of Cicero, a thousand lines in the case of Ovid, and three books in the case of Virgil. This additional reading can be done rapidly, if the earlier work in the authors has been sufficiently accurate and painstaking. It may not be expedient for all schools at once to read the maximum amounts suggested. But the programme presented possesses the advantage of conforming closely, in the statement of maximums, to the actual practice of many schools—a practice which is not beyond the attainment of a school that is able to devote five exercises weekly to Latin for four years—while in the statement of minimums it presents a standard easily reached under almost any conditions.

The Committee, however, would not have been justified in limiting its attention to the problems presented by the four-year course. It was surprised to find in how many schools five-year and six-year courses are in actual operation today. The demand seemed imperative that it should undertake to formulate courses extending beyond the four-year limit. It accordingly presents a five-year course, drawn in double form. The first form is the standard four-year course, with the work of the first year extended over two years in order to give twice the amount of time for grammar lessons, the writing of simple exercises, and easy reading. This form is intended to meet the needs of students who commence Latin a year earlier than in the ordinary four-year course. All educational experience shows that the best results may be secured from the study of Latin when the subject is commenced somewhat earlier than is usual in this country, and at least two years are given to the elementary work before the pupil begins the reading of Nepos or Cæsar. The second form is designed for schools which have more mature and stronger pupils. The work of the first four years of this course coincides with that of the four-year standard course; the additional year is devoted mainly to reading. The recommendation is made that Virgil's Æneid be completed, in order that pupils who have the time for a five-year course may enjoy the satisfaction of reading to the end the greatest Latin epic, and viewing it as an artistic whole. An additional amount of Cicero is also recommended: the two essays On Old Age and On Friendship, which are short and complete in themselves, together with some of the briefer and more interesting Letters. Thus the pupil's acquaintance with Cicero's many-sided literary and intellectual accomplishments will be extended, while the selections suggested will furnish the best possible model of style for the writing of Latin in the latter part of the course.

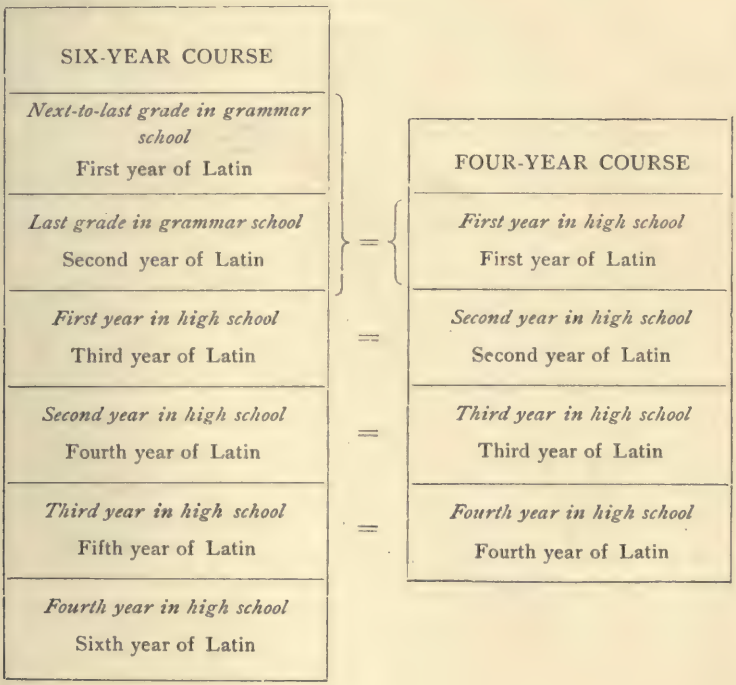
A six-year course may be established at once by introducing Latin into the last two years of the grammar schools; such was the method adopted in the city of Chicago. Or a six-year course may be developed out of the five-year course, through the use of

either of the forms which have been suggested. In either case it is obviously desirable to aim at a fair degree of uniformity in such courses, and thus avoid for them the inconveniences from which our present four-year courses suffer. In the six-year course, at any rate, two years can be given to that careful and thorough preparation for reading which not only forms the best foundation for all later work in Latin, but also constitutes, for this period of the student's education, the most effective instrument of training in exact habits of thought and of expression. If two years are given to this sort of work, most of the difficulties felt by the young pupil in entering upon the study of Cæsar will have been anticipated and overcome. Thus arranged, the first five years of the six-year course and the five-year course in the first form presented will be identical in respect of the subjects taken up and the order of arrangement. The work of the sixth year will then correspond closely with that of the last year of the five-year course as given in the second form; that is, it will be devoted to the finishing of the Æneid, to the reading of Cicero's essays on Old Age and on Friendship, and of selected Letters, and to weekly exercises in prose composition based on Cicero. Here also the principal object should be, not to extend widely the range of authors taken up, but so to adjust the work of the course to the needs of the pupil's intellectual life as most effectively to promote his development at this period.

In a number of cities it has been thought advantageous to give two years of Latin in the grammar school rather than one. The reason is that, since the length of the high-school course, by common consent, remains fixed at four years, the study of Latin for only a single year before entrance into the high school is not only less fruitful in itself, but is also less satisfactorily adjusted to the other studies of the grammar-school course. The arrangement is also found to be advantageous from the point of view of the adjustment of the grammar-school and high-school courses to each other. In a city in which two years are given to Latin in the grammar school, the high school also will undoubtedly continue to give a four-year course. Pupils, then, who come

up from the grammar schools with two years of Latin will in the high school find it possible to enter upon work which corresponds with that of the second, third, and fourth years of the four-year course, and will need to be taught separately from other high-school students only in the sixth year of their Latin study; in other words, immediately upon entering the high school they may be united with the second-year students in the four-year course. In large high schools separate sections need to be formed in any case for each Latin class, and probably it will be found advantageous to teach the students of the six-year course by themselves. In like manner, the adjustment of a six-year or five-year course to an already existing four-year course will be found easy in the case of academies and private schools.

A plan by which the work of the four-year Latin course may be correlated with that of the six-year course is indicated in the following diagram:



Led by the considerations which have been briefly presented, the Committee, after careful deliberation, has framed the three programmes subjoined: one for a four-year course, one for a five-year course (in two forms), and one for a six-year course. We commend these programmes to the consideration of the schools, hoping that they may be found convenient as standard or model courses.

FOUR-YEAR LATIN COURSE.

(*Five periods weekly throughout the four years.*)

FIRST YEAR.

Latin lessons, accompanied from an early stage by the reading of very simple selections. Easy reading: twenty to thirty pages of consecutive text.

In all written exercises the long vowels should be marked, and in all oral exercises pains should be taken to make the pronunciation conform to the quantities.

The student should be trained from the beginning to grasp the meaning of the Latin before translating, and then to render into idiomatic English; and should be taught to read the Latin aloud with intelligent expression.

SECOND YEAR.

Selections from Cæsar's *Gallic War* equivalent in amount to four or five books; selections from other prose writers, such as Nepos, may be taken as a substitute for an amount up to, but not exceeding, two books.

The equivalent of at least one period a week in prose composition based on Cæsar.

Reading aloud and translating, together with training in correct methods of apprehending the author's meaning, both prepared and unprepared passages being used as material. The memorizing of selected passages.

THIRD AND FOURTH YEARS.

Sallust's *Catiline*.

Cicero: six to nine orations (including the *Manilian Law*).

Ovid: five hundred to fifteen hundred verses.

Virgil's *Æneid:* six to nine books.

The equivalent of at least one period a week in prose composition based on Cicero.

The reading of Latin aloud. The memorizing of selected passages.

FIVE-YEAR LATIN COURSE.

FIRST FORM.

(*Five periods weekly throughout the five years.*)

FIRST AND SECOND YEARS.

The same as the first year of the four-year course.

THIRD YEAR.

The same as the second year of the four-year course.

FOURTH AND FIFTH YEARS.

The same as the third and fourth years of the four-year course.

FIVE-YEAR LATIN COURSE.

SECOND FORM.

(*Five periods weekly throughout the five years.*)

FIRST YEAR.

The same as the first year of the four-year course.

SECOND YEAR.

The same as the second year of the four-year course.

THIRD AND FOURTH YEARS.

The same as the third and fourth years of the four-year course.

FIFTH YEAR.

Virgil's *Æneid:* completed.

Cicero: *De Senectute* and *De Amicitia;* selected Letters.

The equivalent of at least one period a week in prose composition based on Cicero.

The reading of Latin aloud. The memorizing of selected passages.

SIX-YEAR LATIN COURSE.

(*Five periods weekly throughout the six years.*)

FIRST AND SECOND YEARS.

The same as the first year of the four-year course.

THIRD YEAR.

The same as the second year of the four-year course.

FOURTH AND FIFTH YEARS.

The same as the third and fourth years of the four-year course.

SIXTH YEAR.

Virgil's *Æneid:* completed.

Cicero: *De Senectute* and *De Amicitia;* selected Letters.

The equivalent of at least one period a week in prose composition based on Cicero.

The reading of Latin aloud. The memorizing of selected passages.

Estimated average age of pupils				SIX-YEAR COURSE
12–13		FIVE-YEAR COURSE	FIVE-YEAR COURSE	*First and second years*
		First and second years	*First year*	AGE OF BEGINNERS ABOUT TWELVE YEARS
13–14	FOUR-YEAR COURSE	AGE OF BEGINNERS ABOUT THIRTEEN YEARS	AGE OF BEGINNERS ABOUT THIRTEEN YEARS	Latin lessons. Easy reading. Written exercises. Training in understanding the Latin before translating. The reading of Latin aloud.
		Latin lessons. Easy reading. Written exercises. Training in understanding the Latin before translating. The reading of Latin aloud.	Latin lessons. Easy reading. Written exercises. Training in understanding the Latin before translating. The reading of Latin aloud.	
14–15	*First year* AGE OF BEGINNERS ABOUT FOURTEEN YEARS Latin lessons. Easy reading. Written exercises. Training in understanding the Latin before translating. The reading of Latin aloud.		*Second year* Cæsar: 4 or 5 books (an equivalent accepted for 1 or 2 books). Prose composition based on Cæsar. The reading of Latin aloud. Training in translation, etc. The memorizing of selected passages.	*Third year* Cæsar: 4 or 5 books (an equivalent accepted for 1 or 2 books). Prose composition based on Cæsar. The reading of Latin aloud. Training in translation, etc. The memorizing of selected passages
15–16	*Second year* Cæsar: 4 or 5 books (an equivalent accepted for 1 or 2 books). Prose composition based on Cæsar. The reading of Latin aloud. Training in translating, etc. The memorizing of selected passages.	*Third year* Cæsar: 4 or 5 books (an equivalent accepted for 1 or 2 books). Prose composition based on Cæsar. The reading of Latin aloud. Training in translating, etc. The memorizing of selected passages.	*Third and fourth years* Sallust's *Catiline.* Cicero: 6 to 9 *Orations.* Ovid: 500 to 1,500 verses. Virgil's *Æneid:* 6 to 9 books. Prose composition based on Cicero. The reading of Latin aloud. The memorizing of selected passages.	*Fourth and fifth years* Sallust's *Catiline.* Cicero: 6 to 9 *Orations.* Ovid: 500 to 1,500 verses. Virgil's *Æneid:* 6 to 9 books. Prose composition based on Cicero. The reading of Latin aloud. The memorizing of selected passages.
16–17	*Third and fourth years* Sallust's *Catiline.* Cicero: 6 to 9 *Orations.* Ovid: 500 to 1,500 verses. Virgil's *Æneid:* 6 to 9 books.	*Fourth and fifth years* Sallust's *Catiline.* Cicero: 6 to 9 *Orations.* Ovid: 500 to 1,500 verses. Virgil's *Æneid:* 6 to 9 books.		
17–18	Prose composition based on Cicero. The reading of Latin aloud. The memorizing of selected passages.	Prose composition based on Cicero. The reading of Latin aloud. The memorizing of selected passages.	*Fifth year* Virgil's *Æneid* completed. Cicero: *De Senectute* and *De Amicitia;* selected *Letters.* Prose composition based on Cicero. The reading of Latin aloud. The memorizing of selected passages.	*Sixth year* Virgil's *Æneid* completed. Cicero: *De Senectute* and *De Amicitia;* selected *Letters.* Prose composition based on Cicero. The reading of Latin aloud. The memorizing of selected passages.

APPENDIX B.

ON THE ENROLLMENT OF PUPILS IN THE VARIOUS STUDIES IN THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECONDARY SCHOOLS OF THE UNITED STATES FOR THE YEARS 1890–98.

Chapter XL of the Report of the United States' Commissioner of Education for 1896–97 (Washington, 1898) is devoted to the statistics of secondary schools, and contains comparative tables showing the percentages of pupils in the principal studies for each year from 1890 to 1897. In order to be able to exhibit the numerical totals as well as the percentages, and to bring the figures down to 1898, a member of the Committee addressed an inquiry to the Hon. William T. Harris, United States' Commissioner of Education, who furnished the appended statistical table.

An examination of the Commissioner's Report and the statistics contained in the table brings to light the following interesting facts:

1. In the nine years covered by the table the total enrollment of pupils in the secondary schools of the United States has risen from 297,894 to 554,814. This is a gain of 86 per cent., a rate probably five times that of the increase of population.

2. The remarkable increase just noted is found mainly in the high schools,[1] the enrollment in which increased in the eight years 1889–90 to 1896–97 from 202,963 to 409,443, a gain of more than 100 per cent. The enrollment in other secondary schools rose from 94,931 to 107,633, a gain of only 13.5 per cent., the rate of increase being about the same as that of the increase of population.

3. The statistics show that in these nine years marked progress has been made toward the concentration of school work upon a few central studies, in place of the tendency toward scattering which was formerly manifest. The rate of increase in the

[1] The figures for this are given *up to 1897* in the Commissioner's Report, p. 1874.

NUMBER AND PER CENT. OF STUDENTS IN THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED STATES PURSUING CERTAIN STUDIES, 1890–98.

	1889–90		1890–91		1891–92		1892–93		1893–94		1894–95		1895–96		1896–97		1897–98	
	Number of students	Per cent. to total	Number of students	Per cent. to total	Number of students	Per cent. to total	Number of students	Per cent. to total	Number of students	Per cent. to total	Number of students	Per cent. to total	Number of students	Per cent. to total	Number of students	Per cent. to total	Number of students	Per cent. to total
Total number of secondary students	297,894		309,996		340,295		356,308		407,919		468,446		487,147		517,666		554,814	
Number studying—																		
Latin	100,144	33.62	123,376	39.80	132,036	38.80	149,473	41.94	177,898	43.59	205,004	43.76	225,164	46.22	248,250	48.01	274,293	49.44
Greek	12,869	4.32	14,402	4.65	15,940	4.68	17,534	4.92	20,353	4.99	22,159	4.73	22,304	4.58	23,805	4.60	24,994	4.50
French	28,032	9.41	28,090	9.06	29,244	8.59	35,425	9.94	42,072	10.31	45,746	9.77	49,327	10.13	51,596	9.98	58,165	10.45
German	34,208	11.48	48,596	15.68	39,505	11.61	46,331	13.00	52,152	12.78	58,921	12.58	64,293	13.20	71,151	13.76	78,994	14.24
Algebra	127,397	42.77	154,647	49.89	162,135	47.65	177,913	49.92	215,023	52.71	245,465	52.40	260,409	53.46	280,358	54.22	306,755	55.29
Geometry	59,781	20.07	71,421	23.04	76,625	22.52	86,818	24.36	103,054	25.25	114,813	24.51	125,237	25.71	135,668	26.24	147,515	26.59
Trigonometry	.....	....	.....	....	10,085	2.96	12,865	3.61	15,500	3.80	15,243	3.25	15,328	3.15	15,909	3.08	15,719	2.83
Astronomy	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	24,690	5.27	25,272	5.19	25,263	4.89	24,433	4.40
Physics	63,644	21.36	71,473	23.06	75,002	22.04	79,298	22.25	97,974	24.02	103,768	22.15	106,427	21.85	107,993	20.89	113,650	20.48
Chemistry	28,665	9.62	32,162	10.37	34,295	10.08	35,568	9.98	42,060	10.31	43,607	9.31	44,597	9.15	47,461	9.18	47,448	8.55
Physical geography	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	105,124	22.44	121,464	24.93	127,398	24.64	134,982	24.33
Geology	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	25,066	5.52	25,330	5.20	25,506	4.93	25,851	4.66
Physiology	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	131,304	28.03	151,391	31.08	155,002	29.98	162,990	29.38
Psychology	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	15,677	3.35	18,621	3.82	19,768	3.82	20,198	3.64
Rhetoric	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	146,672	31.31	157,208	32.27	174,649	33.78	195,848	35.30
English literature	.....	...	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	215,810	38.90
History (other than United States)	82,909	27.83	92,272	29.77	106,666	31.35	119,250	33.46	145,939	35.78	162,336	34.65	174,070	35.73	186,581	36.08	209,034	37.68
Civics	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	118,807	21.41

number of students pursuing such studies as algebra, geometry, history, Latin, and German far exceeds the rate of increase in the total enrollment. This fact indicates that studies of central importance are receiving recognition of their proper place and value; while other studies are being relegated to a secondary position or altogether excluded from the schools. "Many hundreds of schools," says the Commissioner in his Report, "which formerly offered courses of study made up of elementary and secondary branches, now confine their instruction strictly to high-school studies. This may be seen in the steady increase in the proportion of students pursuing these secondary studies.'[1] So, too, in the private schools there are "indications of the strengthening of the secondary courses of study as in the case of the public high schools. Mixed courses made up of elementary and secondary studies are being replaced by courses in which only secondary studies proper are included. The demand for a better preparation of students for college is being met by private schools of secondary grade in all parts of the country."[2]

4. If now we arrange the studies of our table with statistics running from 1889–90 to 1897–98 according to the rate of increase in the enrollment of students pursuing them in the period extending from 1889 to 1898, we have the following order:

Studies	Enrollment in 1889–90	Enrollment in 1897–98	Percentage of increase
1. *Latin*	100,144	274,293	174—
2. History (except U. S.)	82,909	209,034	152+
3. Geometry	59,781	147,515	147—
4. Algebra	127,397	306,755	141—
5. German	34,208	78,994	131—
6. French	28,032	58,165	107+
7. *Greek*	12,869	24,994	94+
8. Physics	63,644	113,650	79—
9. Chemistry	28,665	47,448	65+

[1] See Commissioner's Report for 1896–97, p. 1877.

[2] See the same, p. 1880.

From these figures it appears that the study of Latin in the last nine years has gained in the enrollment of pupils at a rate greater than that of any other secondary-school study. The total gain of 174 per cent. is more than double the percentage of increase in the total enrollment of pupils in the schools. While the enrollment of pupils in Latin has thus increased 174 per cent., the increase of enrollment in German has been 131 per cent., and in Greek 94 per cent. In the same period the increase in the enrollment in Physics has been 79 per cent., and in Chemistry 65 per cent.

5. It is at least encouraging to the friends of classical study to notice that in 1897–98 almost one-half of all the pupils enrolled in the secondary schools (49.44 per cent.) were engaged in the study of Latin. With this general increase of interest in Latin studies undoubtedly will come also a fuller recognition of the importance of Greek as an educational instrument. In the next decade an even more rapid increase in the enrollment of students in Greek may be expected than the very satisfactory one of 94 per cent. reported for the period covered by the table.

APPENDIX C.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF CLASSICAL STUDENTS IN THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS OF THE UNITED STATES IN 1889–90, AND IN 1897–98.

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF CLASSICAL STUDENTS IN THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS OF EACH STATE AND TERRITORY IN 1890 AND 1898.[1]

	Latin		Greek	
	1890	1898	1890	1898
United States	100,144	274,293	12,869	24,994
North Atlantic Division	39,763	88,484	8,232	14,648
South Atlantic Division	11,229	25,126	1,151	1,988
South Central Division[2]	7,253	27,611	839	2,127
North Central Division	38,823	117,731	2,375	5,030
Western Division	3,066	15,341	272	1,201
North Atlantic Division—				
Maine	2,530	5,090	591	1,375
New Hampshire	2,078	3,024	601	893
Vermont	1,721	1,937	366	345
Massachusetts	11,039	20,139	2,520	4,487
Rhode Island	1,113	1,834	239	419
Connecticut	2,382	5,377	427	951
New York	9,399	24,260	1,811	3,218
New Jersey	2,394	6,171	619	1,048
Pennsylvania	7,107	20,652	1,058	1,911
South Atlantic Division—				
Delaware	408	1,050	18	34
Maryland	1,298	3,693	130	239
District of Columbia	1,325	1,732	82	171
Virginia	2,599	4,624	134	178
West Virginia	93	1,075	21	87
North Carolina	1,306	3,071	208	375
South Carolina	813	3,030	68	308
Georgia	2,972	6,268	384	581
Florida	415	583	106	15

[1] The statistics here given are taken from the Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1889–90 and from an advance sheet of the Report for 1897–98.

[2] See footnote on p. 47.

APPENDIX C — TABLE (*continued*).

	Latin		Greek	
	1890	1898	1890	1898
South Central Division[1] —				
Kentucky	1,711	4,595	147	503
Tennessee	1,545	5,178	197	637
Alabama	1,104	2,955	91	233
Mississippi	567	2,635	35	168
Louisiana	771	1,877	51	72
Texas	1,792	7,856	267	362
Arkansas	593	2,106	48	113
Indian Territory	34	205	3	35
Oklahoma	0	204	0	4
North Central Division —				
Ohio	9,741	21,919	665	1,239
Indiana	3,964	15,948	34	228
Illinois	6,660	19,398	413	833
Michigan	2,682	9,905	171	547
Wisconsin	2,140	4,790	239	427
Minnesota	2,808	7,542	209	320
Iowa	3,195	11,601	122	277
Missouri	3,679	10,907	307	706
North Dakota	127	695	2	14
South Dakota	118	770	2	53
Nebraska	1,482	7,556	81	215
Kansas	2,237	6,700	130	177
Western Division —				
Montana	82	585	0	7
Wyoming	64	165	0	0
Colorado	275	3,241	4	280
New Mexico	25	48	0	1
Arizona	10	87	0	0
Utah	130	645	12	43
Nevada	15	277	0	0
Idaho	25	211	25	5
Washington	151	1,288	16	21
Oregon	316	931	31	109
California	1,973	7,863	184	735

[1] The figures for Latin in 1890 in the South Central Division really foot up 8,117, instead of 7,253, as given here. The error is due to an incorrect addition on p. 1390 of the Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1889-90. The additions of all the figures given have been carefully tested, and no other error has been discovered.


NORTH CENTRAL DIVISION
1890
Latin, 38,883
Greek, 2,995
1898
Latin, 47,731
Greek, 5,030
WESTERN DIVISION
1890
Latin, 3,066
Greek, 272
1898
Latin, 15,341
Greek, 1,201
SOUTH CENTRAL DIVISION
1890
Latin, 7,253
Greek, 839
1898
Latin, 27,611
Greek, 2,127
NORTH ATLANTIC DIVISION
1890
Latin, 39,765
Greek, 6,632
1898
Latin, 48,564
Greek, 14,748
SOUTH ATLANTIC DIVISION
1890
Latin, 11,228
Greek, 1,151
1898
Latin, 25,128
Greek, 1,988
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400 600
MAP
SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF
CLASSICAL STUDENTS
IN THE
SECONDARY SCHOOLS OF THE
UNITED STATES
IN 1890 AND 1898

INDICES TO VOLS. XXI–XXX.

By CLARENCE P. BILL, Ph. D.

I. INDEX OF CONTRIBUTORS.

For indices to Vols. I–XX see appendix to Vol. XX. In the following index are found the titles of all papers presented before the Association, not excluding the few of which no abstract was published. Roman numerals denote volumes of the *Transactions*, heavy-faced Arabic numerals denote volumes of the *Proceedings;* others refer to pages. A heavy-faced Arabic numeral in parenthesis refers to a paper published in the *Transactions*, whose abstract is to be found in the *Proceedings* at the place stated. **26** S refers to *Proceedings* of *Special Session* of 1894, published in appendix to Vol. XXVI; W refers to report of the Whitney Memorial Meeting, held in 1894; P. A., *President's Address.*

II. INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

For explanation of the manner of reference, see Index I. In the following index all papers have been included except those of which no abstract was published.