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OF THE
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PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

1900.

VOLUME XXXI.



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TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

1900.

I. — *The Formation of Latin Substantives from Geographical
Adjectives by Ellipsis.*¹

BY PROF. JOHN C. ROLFE,
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SINCE the term 'ellipsis' has become the object of not unjustified suspicion, owing to the abuse of the principle by grammarians, especially in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a definition of the sense in which the word is here used seems to be called for. As Paul² points out, many so-called cases of ellipsis are really examples of the ἀπὸ κοινοῦ construction.

Substantives are formed from adjectives in Latin in two ways. In the case of such words as *boni* 'the good,' *consularis* 'an ex-consul,' *docta* 'a lady of culture,' *honestum* 'integrity,' there is no ellipsis of a substantive, but the meaning of the word is determined by the morphological elements of the adjective; that is to say, by the root and the suffix or suffixes which may be added to the root to express various relations and to determine the gender. Such substantives are treated with considerable fulness by Dräger, *Hist. Synt.*, I², §§ 16–24, Nägelsbach, *Lat. Stilistik*³, §§ 21–26, and for

¹ For permission to use the 'Archiv-zettel' on ellipsis, on which this paper is in part based, I am indebted to my friend and teacher, Professor Edouard v. Wölfflin.

² *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte*³, p. 289 f.

Quintilian by Hirt, *Progr. des Sophien-Gymnasiums zu Berlin*, 1890. They are not taken into consideration in the present paper.

In a second class of substantives the meaning of the new word is determined, not by its morphological elements alone, but by the meaning of an omitted substantive, which is related to the adjective as genus to species. Of such substantives Paul¹ says: "Wenn man hier eine Ellipse annehmen will, so ist nicht viel dagegen einzuwenden."

Just why this guarded form of statement is made, it is not easy to see, unless it be from an antipathy to the abused term, and a desire to banish it entirely from the grammarian's vocabulary. There can certainly be no question that such adjectives, when used as substantives, derive their meaning from the omitted word.

Some scholars² make a third class of such cases as *magni* (*aestimare*), *brevi* (*tempore*), *in altum* (*evehit*), and the like, on the ground that there is no consciousness of the omitted substantive, any more than there is, for example, in the English expressions 'the deep,' 'in short,' etc. Such words, however, appear to me to belong to the second of the two classes mentioned above, since their meaning must originally have been determined by the omitted word. As is well known, *magni pretii* and *brevi tempore* also occur.

The ellipsis is dictated by convenience or by necessity, to which clearness is sometimes apparently sacrificed; for while in the case of *civica* (*corona*) and *quartana* (*febris*) there is little or no room for question as to the substantive to be supplied, with *argentaria*, for example, we may think of the mine (*fodina*), of the workshop (*officina* or *taberna*), of the bank (*mensa*), or of the banking business (*ars*).³

The sacrifice of clearness is, however, only apparent, since the particular substantive which is to be supplied in each case is plainly indicated by the situation in which the word is used. Thus in English the term 'a Remington' may without danger

¹ *l.c.*, p. 298.

² *e.g.* Wölfflin, in *Archiv für lat. Lex. und Gramm.* IX., p. 285.

³ See *A.L.L.* X., p. 234.

of misunderstanding be used under various circumstances, and in different environments, of a gun, a typewriter, a bicycle, or a picture by a well-known American artist.

Just when such a word is to be listed as a genuine substantive it is difficult exactly to determine. Paul¹ says: "Sobald nun die Unterstützung durch die Situation für das Verständniss entbehrlich ist, so ist auch das Wort nicht mehr als ein Adj. zu betrachten, sondern als ein wirkliches Substantivum, und es kann dann von einer Ellipse in keinem Sinne mehr die Rede sein." While this is doubtless a fair statement of the case, it must be borne in mind that even after an adjective has become a genuine substantive, the original form of adjective + substantive may nevertheless be used on stylistic or euphonic grounds, just as in English we speak now of 'the Atlantic,' now of 'the Atlantic Ocean.' Thus we find in Lactantius, *Inst.* 5, 1, 24 *ex artis oratoriae* professione, although the word *oratoria* is used as a substantive by Quintilian (2, 14, 1), and Lactantius himself in *Inst.* 3, 25, 11 has *ne oratoria* quidem ignoranda est.

This method of forming substantives from adjectives is less fully and satisfactorily treated in our handbooks. It is discussed in general by Dräger, *Hist. Synt.* I², pp. 59-66, and Kühner, *Ausführ. Gramm.* II., p. 174 f. It was made the subject of special investigation by I. N. Ott,² who, however, gives hardly more than a bare outline of the subject. The individual words *navis* and *ars* are treated with considerable fulness by Wölfflin³ and by the writer.⁴ An especially interesting chapter, which has been particularly neglected, is that of the formation of substantives from proper adjectives; and in the present paper it is my purpose to consider one variety of such substantives; namely, those formed from geographical adjectives. Such adjectives abound in English and appear to

¹ *l.c.*, p. 298.

² *Die Substantivierung des lat. Adj. durch Ellipse*, prog. Rottweil, Tübingen, 1874.

³ *A.L.L.* IX., p. 285 f.

⁴ *A.L.L.* X., p. 229 f. Add Scribon. c. 200 *ex eo intelligitur quod neque chirurgia sine diaetetica nec haec sine chirurgia . . . perfici possunt*; Frag. Cens. ed Hultsch, ix, 1 *prior est musica inventione metrica*; Interp. Irēn. 2, 32, 2 *veterinaria*.

fall into two general classes. First we have adjectives which have become genuine substantives, so that their meaning is clear in any connection, and no ellipsis is thought of. The form of the word is either unchanged, as in 'china,' 'champagne,' etc., or more or less disguised, as in 'parchment,' 'peach,' 'pheasant,' 'copper.' The latter had, for the most part, if not wholly, become substantives before coming into the English language. Secondly, we have substantives formed from adjectives with which there is a more or less conscious ellipsis, the full comprehension of the meaning depending on the situation in which they are used, such as 'Remington' (gun, bicycle, etc.), 'Winchester' (rifle), 'Baldwin' (apple).

In Latin the great majority of examples belong to the latter class. I know of no substantives in Latin which were formed from adjectives before the existence of Italic as a separate tongue. It seems altogether probable that such substantives exist, but our scanty knowledge of the parent speech makes it difficult, if not impossible, to detect them. We have an example of a substantive whose form is disguised, although it is not from a proper adjective, in *bruma* for *brevissima* (*dies*). The meaning of *bruma* is clear in any connection, and with it we might class words like *magni*, *altum*, and *tempore*.¹ The only adjective from a geographical adjective which seems to belong here is *creta*, 'chalk,' for *creta* (*terra*), the original meaning of which was so completely lost sight of, that Plin. *N.H.* 33, 163 speaks of *cretam Eretriam*, exactly as we do of 'Dresden china.' Celsus, however, apparently with a truer feeling, has *terra Eretria* in 5, 15 and 6, 3. The word appears as a substantive in the earliest Latin, e.g. Plaut. *Aul.* 719 qui vestitu et *creta* occultant sese. The word seems not to occur in Greek,² but Diosc. 5, 171 has 'Ἐρετριάς (sc. γῆ). Plin. *N.H.* 35, 196 mentions *Cretae* plura genera: *Cimolia* (*Sarda*, *Umbrica*, *Thessalica*) *Argentaria*, etc.

Substantives of the second variety, those whose meaning depends on the situation, are very common in Latin. That

¹ See p. 6, above.

² Harper's *Dict. of Class Lit. and Antiq.* cites Κρητική (γῆ), but the word is not given by Liddell and Scott.

the fuller form is the earlier is seen more clearly in the case of some words than in that of others. Thus Plaut. *Bacch.* 202, *Capt.* 291, has *vas Samium*; while the Auct. ad Her. 4, 51, 64, offers the first instance of the substantive: *argentum quoque vult? Tametsi hospites habeo . . . nos Samis delectabimur.* Cf. Cato, *Agr.* 8, 1 *ficos Mariscas* in loco cretoso et aperto serito, and Mart. 7, 25, 8 *infanti melimela dato, fatuasque Mariscas.* But, as has already been pointed out,¹ even after such a word has been used as a genuine substantive, the full form may be used for emphasis, for euphony, or for some other special reason. Thus we find *Corinthia* (sc. *vasa*) used as a substantive by Cicero,² but he also has *Corinthia vasa.*³ Although the use of the substantive was so early and so common,—it occurs besides in Tibull., Virg., Petr., Sen. Phil., Pliny the elder, and Martial, —Suet. *Aug.* 70, has *vasa Corinthia* in the same sentence with the substantive *Corinthia*, where the use appears to be purely stylistic. The passage reads: *Notatus est et ut pretiosae supellectilis Corinthiorumque praecipudus, et aleae indulgens. Nam et proscriptionis tempore ad statuum eius ascriptum est:*

Pater argentarius, ego Corinthiarius,

cum existimaretur quosdam propter vasa Corinthia inter proscriptos curasse referendos.

As regards the feeling of the Romans themselves toward such words we may cite the following passages: Quint. 8, 2, 8 item, *quod commune est et aliis nomen, intellectu alicui rei peculiariter tribuitur, ut 'urbem' Romam accipimus, et 'venales' novicios, et 'Corinthia' aera, cum sint urbes aliae quoque et venalia multa, et tam aurum et argentum quam aes Corinthium.* Charis. 1, 94, 9 K.: *praetextum quidam dici volunt, quia intelligitur vestimentum; sed consuetudo vicit, quae praetextam dicit, referens scilicet ad togam. Nam quaecumque derivantur vel mediae sunt potestatis, quovis genere dici possunt. Sumunt enim genus ab his quibus con-*

¹ p. 7, above.

² *Tusc. Disp.* 2, 14, 32.

³ *Rosc. Am.* 46, 133; *Verr.* 2, 2, 19, 46.

iuncta sunt; ut puta Lucanicum, intelligitur pulmentum vel intestinum, et hic Lucanicus, auditur botulus vel apparatus, et haec Lucanica feminino genere, intelligitur hira.

As we see from this passage of Charisius, the same word is used with different meanings, according to the signification of the substantive which was originally understood. Sometimes the meanings are more widely different than in the cases which he cites, with or without distinction of gender. The meaning is, however, always clear from the situation. Thus we have *Africana* (sc. *ficus, fera, gallina*); *Appia* (sc. *via* or *aqua*); *Laconicum* (sc. *balneum* or *vestmentum*); *Corinthius, -a, -um* (sc. *signum, aes, cavum aedium, opus, suppellex, herba*); etc., etc. In some cases the gender determines the word to be supplied, as in *phasianus, phasiana*; see *ales* and *avis* in the Alphabetical List, p. 16; also *calciamenta* and *calceus, lacus* and *locus*. In some cases neither the gender nor the situation determines definitely which of two words is elided; see, for example, *actor* and *histrion*, *ostrea* and *conchylia*, *palma* and *palmula*, *medicamentum* and *pigmentum*.

We must carefully distinguish and exclude those cases in which we have the ἀπὸ κοινοῦ construction rather than ellipsis; that is to say, when the omitted word may be supplied from the context: e.g. Varr. *R.R.* 3, 9, 1 sunt gallinae quae vocantur generum trium, villaticae et rusticae et *Africanae*; Plin. *N.H.* 34, 94 nunc praevertemur ad differentias *aeris* et mixturas. In *Cyprio* . . . ; id. 12, 15 malus *Assyria*, quam alii *Medicam* vocant. This rule applies also to those cases, especially common in Pliny's *Natural History* and in Isidore, where several successive chapters are devoted to a description of different kinds of oils, gems, fruits, and the like; see the Alphabetical List, s.v. *cepa, gemma*. We are justified in assuming ellipsis only when a word is used under such circumstances that the ἀπὸ κοινοῦ construction is absolutely excluded.

As we find *ars medendi* in Plin. *N.H.* 25, 6, in place of *medicina* (*ars*), so we sometimes find the genitive of the noun in place of the geographical adjective. Cf. Plaut. *Trin.* 549 sicut *fortunatorum* memorant *insulas* and Plin. *N.H.* 6, 202

Fortunatas (sc. *insulas*); Enn. ap. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 5, 17, 49 *Maeotis paludes* and Plin. *N.H.* 4, 75 *quartus sinus . . . Maeotis* (sc. *paludis*) ostio finitur; Stat. *Silv.* 4, 6, 8 *Phasidis ales* and Suet. *Vit.* 13 in hac (*patina*) . . . *phasianarum* et pavonum *cerebella . . . commiscuit.*

The order of the adjective and substantive, when both are expressed, seems to be regulated by the usual rules. A longer adjective does not of necessity precede a shorter substantive, nor do we always find the same order observed by the same writer. Cf. *aes Cyprium*, Vitruv. 7, 11, 1 and *Cyprium aes*, Isid. 16, 20, 2; *vasis Corinthiis*, Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 46, 133 and *Corinthiorum vasorum*, id. *Verr.* 2, 2, 19, 46; *domus Palatina*, Suet. *Dom.* 15 and *Palatina domus*, id. *Aug.* 29.

A similar ellipsis occurs in Greek, in some cases corresponding with the Latin, but in others not: e.g. *φασιανός* (sc. *ῥοιθας*), *Περγαμήνη* (sc. *διφθέρα*)—*Κύπρινον* (sc. *μύρον*); cf. Latin *Cyprinum* (sc. *oleum*): *Ῥόδια* (sc. *ὑποδήματα*); cf. Lat. *Rhodia* (sc. *vitis*). I have observed no cases in which the Greek is merely transliterated, as in *musice*, *rhetorice*, *ethice*, and the like.¹ Silius Italicus, however, has the Greek accusative form *Magneta*; cf. Cic., *Magnetem lapidem*. See Alphabetical List, s.v. *lapis*.

In the Latin adjectives we find a great variety of suffixes: ² *-o-* in *Campanus*, *Chius*, *Eretrius*, *Graecus*, *Hispanus*, etc.; *-io-* in *Cyprius*, *Dorius*, *Marcus*, *Sardius*, *Tyrius*, etc.; *-co-* in *Baeticus*, *Colchicus*, *Delphicus*, *Laconicus*, *Persicus*, etc.; *-ano-* in *Africanus*, *Abellanus*, *Cumanus*, *Formianus*, *Phasianus*; *-ino-* (*-eno-*) in *Alexandrinus*, *Brundisinus*, *Cyprinus*, *Damascenus*, *Palatinus*; *-ensi-* in *Alidensis*, *Ostiensis*, *Stratoniensis*, *Tarquiniensis*; and the following miscellaneous forms: *Atellaniolus*, *Arduennus*, *Iapyx*, *Magnes*, *Picens*.

Considering the question from the historical point of view, we find, as in the case of *navis* and *ars*, that the ellipsis is more frequent in late Latin (see the Alphabetical List, s.v.

¹ See *A.L.L.* X., p. 230.

² Cf. Stolz, *Hist. Gr.* I. 447 Der Reichtum an suffixalen Bildungen wurde insbesondere bei der von Ländernamen abgeleiteten Adjectiven auch zur Differenzierung der Bedeutung verwendet.

disputatio, hasta, lacus, mensa, orbis, pons, stilus, vicus, volumen), and that it is characteristic of the colloquial idiom, and especially of poetry (see *balneum, carmen, via; heros, Iuno, lacerna, lactuca, lapis, loca, mare, mensa, palma, pons, urbs*). The permanence of the full form is somewhat greater than in the case of *navis* and *ars*, and the development of adjective into substantive can less easily be traced.

In what follows a few of the more interesting groups are treated in detail, to which are added Alphabetical Lists of the omitted words, and of the geographical substantives, which are intended to be reasonably complete. In the case of such words as *aqua, lacus, porta, tribus, vinum*, etc., with which ellipsis is common, no light would be thrown on the subject by giving a long list of examples.

In the case of most names of rivers, lakes, islands, mountains, and the like, we seem to have substantives rather than adjectives, with which *flumen* (*fluvius, amnis*), *lacus*, etc., may or may not be used as appositives. This is shown in the case of rivers by such combinations as *Rhenus flumen, Rhodanus flumen*, etc.; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6, 234 *monte sub aërio qui nunc Misenus ab illo dicitur*. Such names were probably originally adjectives. See Delbrück, *Vergl. Syntax* I (Vol. III. of Brugmann's *Grundriss*), p. 92. They had, however, for the most part become substantives at an early period, and their use with or without *flumen*, etc., throws little light on the subject of the paper. A few examples are given in the Alphabetical List.

1. *aes, vas, opus, signum, suppellex, herba.*

The adjective *Corinthius* is used with all of these words. In the passage from Quintilian which is cited above¹ the ellipsis of *aera* is directly postulated for *Corinthia*, but in Mart. 9, 57, 2 *non ansae veterum Corinthiorum*, we should more naturally supply *vasorum*, especially as the expression *Corinthia vasa* is of frequent occurrence.² In fact, *vasa* seems to be the more probable word in most cases; cf., however,

¹ p. 9.

² See above, p. 9.

Stat. *Silv.* 2, 2, 68 *aeraque ab Isthmiacis auro potiora favillis*, cited by Mayor on Plin. *Epist.* 3, 1, 9, where he supplies *aera* with *Corinthia*. That *opera* may sometimes be considered as a possibility is shown by Cic. *Parad.* 5, 2, 36 in pari stultitia sunt, quos signa, quos tabellae, quos *Corinthia opera* . . . delectant. When the gender is feminine, *olla (ollae)* is to be supplied; see the Alphabetical List, s.v. *olla*; and this word is a possibility, instead of *vasa*, when the gender is not indicated by the case form, as in *Campanis*, etc.

In the singular *aes Corinthium* appears to be used of the metal, as in the passage from Quintilian; cf. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 4, 14, 32 quod ingeniosi, ut *aes Corinthium* in aeruginem, sic illi in morbum . . . incidunt; *ad Att.* 2, 1, 11 Tusculanum et Pompeianum valde me delectant, nisi quod me, illum ipsum vindicem aeris alieni, *aere non Corinthio*, sed hoc circumforaneo abruerunt.

If it be true that *aes Corinthium* is used only of the metal, in Plin. *Epist.* 3, 6, 4 neque ullum adhuc *Corinthium* domi habeo, we must supply *signum*; cf. 3, 6, 1 ex hereditate . . . emi *Corinthium signum*. *Opus* is, however, a possibility; and Mayor supplies *aes*.

In Cic. *Verr.* 2, 2, 34, 83 we have *supellectilem* ex aere elegantiore, et *Deliacam* et *Corinthiam*, an example of the ἀπὸ κοινοῦ construction. *Corinthium (cavum aedium)* occurs in Vitr. 6, 3, 1 ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, and *Corinthia* (sc. *herba* or *planta*) in Plin. *N.H.* 24, 157.¹

Besides *aes Corinthium* we have *aes Cyprium*, whence the substantive *Cyprium*, Eng. 'copper,' in Isid. *Orig.* 16, 16, 3; cf. *Cypro*, Spart. *Carac.* 9, 5. Further *aes Campanum*, Plin. *N.H.* 34, 95, and 96; *aes Deliacum* and *Aegineticum aes*, id. 34, 8. With *vasa* we find, besides *Corinthia*, *Samia* and *Deliaca*.

Wölfflin has shown² that in Plin. *N.H.* 18, 360 atque etiam in *Campanis* venturam tempestatem praecedens suus fragor

¹ Cited incorrectly by Georges, *Handwörterbuch*,⁷ as 4, 157. For the passage see Alph. List, s.v. *herba*.

² Beiträge zur lat. Lexikographie, in *Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philol. und der histor. Classe der k. bayer. Acad. d. Wiss.*, 1900; cf. *A.L.L.* XI., p. 537 f.

praedicat, the reference is not to bells, as has generally been assumed, but to vessels of Campanian bronze (sc. *vasa*). *Campana* in the sense of a bell is very late, occurring first in Ferrandus.¹ According to Wölfflin it is not formed by the ellipsis of a feminine substantive, but a feminine singular was formed from the neuter plural *Campana* (*vasa*), just as *folia* became *la feuille* in French.

2. *ager, praedium, fundus.*

Ellipsis of *ager* occurs in Cato, *Agr.* 22, 3 *Trapetus emptus est in Suessano*; Varr. *R.R.* 3, 12, 1 *Quintus Fulvius Lippinus dicitur habere in Tarquiniensi saepta iugera quadraginta . . . etiam hoc magis in Stratonienti*; and is very common. Cic. has *ex agro Piceno*, *N.D.* 3, 30, 74; *agrum Picentem et Gallicum*, *de Sen.* 4, 11. In place of the adjective we sometimes find in poetry the name of the people. *E.g.* Hor. *Carm.* 3, 4, 21 *vester in arduos tollos Sabinos*; Ov. *Am.* 2, 16, 37 *non ego Paelignos videor celebrare salubres*.

The distinction between *ager* and *fundus* is clear from Cic. *Leg. Agr.* 3, 2, 8 *ita latum est, ut meliore iure tui soceri fundus Hirpinus sit sive ager Hirpinus*—totum enim possidet—quam meus paternus avitusque fundus Arpinas. The distinction between *praedium* and *fundus* is less obvious, and we may sometimes be in doubt which word is to be supplied. Ellipsis occurs, *e.g.*, in Auct. ad *Her.* 4, 50, 63 in *Tusculano coepi insanire*; Cic. *ad Att.* 2, 12, 2 *emerseram commodum ex Antiati in Appiam ad Tris Tabernas*; and very frequently. See further Cic. *ad Att.* 2, 1, 11, cited above, p. 13. Cf. *vicus*, alphabetical list, p. 23.

3. *apparatus, botulus, hira, intestinum, pulmentum, farcimen, venter.*

For the first five words we may refer to the passage from Charisius which is cited above.² For the last two see Gell. 16, 7, 11 *atque etiam (Laberius) in mimo, qui Saturnalia inscriptus est, 'botulum' pro farcimine appellat*; Varr. *L.L.*

¹ See Wölfflin, *A.L.L. X.*, p. 538.

² p. 9 f.

5, III quod fartum intestinum crassundiis, Lucanam dicunt, quod milites a Lucanis didicerunt, ut quod Faleriis, *Faliscum ventrem*; Mart. 4, 46, 8 et Lucanica *ventre cum Falisco*. That *Lucanica* became a general term is seen in Mart. 13, 25, filia *Picenae* venio *Lucanica* porcae.

4. arbor, ficus, malus, malum, etc.

Ellipsis is especially frequent, as in English, in the case of the names of trees, fruits, flowers, and kindred terms. So Plin. *N.H.* 12, 14 peregrinae et cerasi *Persicaeque* . . . dicentur inter frugiferas — Gk. *περσικόν* (*δέυδρον*), Eng. peach. The word seems to have become a genuine substantive, as is shown by the form, in Colum. 9, 4, 3 arbores sunt probatissimae . . . *persici* atque *piri*, etc. Pliny, however, in *N.H.* 15, 45 has *persicae arbores*. Cf. 12, 15 *malus Assyria*, quam alii *Medicam* vocant; 15, 51 haec in Epiro primum provenisse argumento sunt Graeci, qui *Epirotica* vocant. *Carica* (*ficus*) appears in the familiar anecdote in Cic. *Div.* 2, 40, 84 cum M. Crassus exercitum Brundisii inponeret, quidam in portu *caricas* Cauno advectas vendens, '*Cauneas*' clamitabat — an example nearly parallel with *creta Eretria*.¹ The Edict of Diocletian, 6, 84, has *ficus caricas*; 6, 85 *caricae pressae*. Cf. Ov. *Fast.* 1, 185 quid vult palma sibi rugosaque *carica*? Cato, *Agr.* 8, 1 mentions *ficos Mariscas* . . . *Africanas* et *Herculaneas*, *Socotinas*, *Tellanas*. Martial (7, 25, 8) has *Marisca* and *Chia* as substantives; so Juv. 2, 13 *Mariscas* in a derived sense.

Cato, *Agr.* 143 has *mala Scantiniana* in doliis (habeat vilica), cf. Varr. *R.R.* 1, 59, 1; Martial 13, 46 *Persica* cara (sc. *mala*), 'peaches.' *Cydonea* (sc. *mala*), 'quinces,' is found in Mart. 13, 24, and in the Latinized form *cotonia* in Varr. *R.R.* 1, 59, 1, and elsewhere. Cf. Colum. 10, 404 *Armeniisque* (sc. *malis*) . . . stipantur calathi (of the apricot). That sometimes *pomum* rather than *malum* is to be supplied is suggested by Hor. *Serm.* 2, 3, 272 *Picenis* excerpens semina *pomis* (cf. *Serm.* 2, 4, 70), and by Eng. pomegranate, *pomum*

¹ See p. 8.

granatum, also called *malum granatum* and *granatum* (sc. *malum*); *Punicum malum*, and *Punicum* (sc. *malum*). *Pomum* displaced *malum* in late Latin, doubtless because of confusion between *mālum* and *mālum* at the time when distinctions of quantity were no longer observed; cf. *ēdere* and *ēdere* (which gave place to *manducare*, Fr. *manger*). *Δαμασκηνόν* (sc. *πρόννον*) occurs as a substantive in Greek. In Latin *Damascenum* appears to be used only as a substantive. So Plin. *N.H.* 15, 43; Mart. 5, 18, 3; Edict of Diocl. 6, 86. This view is perhaps confirmed by the fact that Colum. 10, 404 has *pruna Damasci*. See above, p. 10.

Ellipsis of *vitis* or *uva* occurs in Virg. *Ge.* 2, 102 non ego te, dis et mensis accepta secundis, transierim, *Rhodia*; Colum. 3, 2, 1 *Rhodiae, Libycae* quoque et *cerauniae* (conseri debent); Plin. *N.H.* 14, 42 *Aegia* et *Rhodia*. To speak at length of the ellipsis of *vinum* would be merely to give a catalogue of different varieties of wine; see especially Mart. 13, 106–125 and Plin. *N.H.* 14. For *herba, lactuca, nux, oleum, rosa*, etc. see the

ALPHABETICAL LISTS.

I. *Elided Substantives*.¹

aes: see above, p. 12 f.

actor (cf. *histrio*): Liv. 7, 2, 12 eo institutum manet ut *actores Atellanarum* nec tribu moveantur et stipendia . . . faciant.

ales (cf. *avis, gallina, volucer*): Stat. *Silv.* 4, 6, 8 Phasidis *ales*. Petr. 93 *ales* Phasiacis petita Colchis. Lamp. *Alex.* 41, 7 nam aviaria instituerat pavonum, *fasianorum* . . . Ed. Diocl. 4, 17 *fasianus* pastus, *agrestis*.

amnis (*fluvius, flumen*): see above, p. 12.

apparatus: see above, p. 14.

aqua: Liv. 1, 3, 5 fluvius *Albula*, quem nunc Tiberim vocant. Ov. *Fast.* 4, 68 tanto est *Albula* pota deo. Sen. *Nat. Quaest.* 3, 20, 5 hoc minus tibi videbitur mirum, si notaveris *albulas* et fere sulphuratam aquam circa canales suos ripasque durari. Suet. *Aug.* 82.—Stat. *Silv.* 1, 3, 66 teque, per obliquum penitus quae laberis amnem, *Marcia*; cf. 1, 5, 26. Front. *de Aquaed.* 6 post annos XL quam *Appia* perducta est; etc., etc.

arbor: see above, p. 15.

¹ Words in the case of which ellipsis does not actually occur, or may be assumed to occur, are printed in Italics.

- arma** (cf. *parma, gladius*): Cic. *Phil.* 7, 6, 17 cum (M. Antonius) ornasset *Thraecidicis* comitem.
- arx** (cf. *urbs*): Virg. *Aen.* 8, 358 hanc Ianus pater, hanc Saturnus condidit *arcem*, Ianiculum huic, illi fuerat *Saturnia* nomen. Ov. *Fast.* 6, 31 a patre dicta meo quondam *Saturnia* Roma est; etc., etc.
- avis**: Plin. *N.H.* 10, 132 Phalerides, in Seleucia Parthorum et in Asia aquaticarum laudatissimae, rursus *phasianae* in Colchis. . . . Suet. *Vitell.* 13 in hac (patina) scarorum iocinera, *phasianarum* et pavonum cerebella . . . commiscuit. Cf. *ales*, and see above, p. 10.
- balneum**: Cic. *ad Att.* 4, 10, 2 nostram ambulationem et *Laconicum* . . . velim invisas. *C.I.L.* X. 829.
- bestia** (or *fera*, sc. *bestia*): Varr. *L.L.* 7, 40 si ab Libya dictae essent Lucae, fortasse na pantherae quoque et leones non *Africae bestiae* dicerentur, sed Lucae. Liv. 44, 18 ludis circensibus tres *Africanas* lusisse. Plin. *Epist.* 6, 34, 3; etc., etc.
- botulus**: see above, p. 14.
- calceus** (cf. *calciamenta, solea*): Cic. *de Orat.* 1, 54 si mihi *calceos Sicyonios* attulisses, non uteror.
- calciamenta**: Lucil. 3, 53 M. et pedibus laeva *Sicyonia* demit honesta. Lucr. 4, 1125 argentum et pulchra in pedibus *Sicyonia* rident. Gk. *Σικυώνια* (sc. *ὑποδήματα*) Luc. *Rhet. Praec.* 15; Poll. 7, 93.
- campi**: Virg. *Ge.* 1, 38 quamvis *Elysios* miretur Graecia *campos*. Mart. 9, 51, 5 tu colis *Elysios*. Tert. *adv. Marc.* 4, 34 (47).
- canis**: Lucr. 5, 1063 inritata *canum* cum primum inmane *Molossium* mollia ricta fremunt. Hor. *Serm.* 2, 6, 114. Lucan 4, 440 venator tenet ora levis clamosa *Molossi, Spartanas Cretasque* ligat, nec creditur ulli silva cani. Stat. *Achil.* 1, 747 muto legit arva *Molosso* venator. Gk. *Μολοσσικός κύων*, Arist. *Thesm.* 416; cf. *Molossicus canis*, Plaut. *Capt.* 86.
- cantus**: Apul. *Met.* 10, 31 pone tergum tibicen *Dorium* canebat; 10, 32 tibiae multiforabiles *cantus Lydios* dulciter consonant.
- carmen** (cf. *cantus, versus*): Porph. in Hor. *Epist.* 2, 1, 145 per hunc, inquit, morem . . . *Fescennina* inventa sunt. Hieron. *Epist.* 130, 5 stridor Punicae linguae procacia tibi *Fescennina* cantabit.
- cavum aedium**: Varr. *L.L.* 5, 161 *Tuscanicum* dicitur a Tuscis, posteaquam illorum *cavum aedium* simulare coeperunt. Vitruv. 6, 3, 1 *cava aedium* quinque generibus sunt distincta, quorum ita figurae nominantur, *tuscanicum, corinthium*. . . . Plin. *N.H.* 35, 154 ante hanc aedem *Tuscanica* omnia in aedibus fuisse auctor est Varro.
- cepa**: Plin. *N.H.* 19, 101 *cepa* genera apud Graecos . . . *Ascalonia* ab oppido Iudaeae nominata. Isid. *Orig.* 17, 10, 13 *Ascalonia* nuncupata ex una urbiem Palaestinae, quae Ascalon dicitur.
- certamen** (cf. *sacra*): Enn. ap. Cic. *de Sen.* 5, 14 sic ut fortis equus, spatio qui saepe supremo vicit *Olympia*. Cic. *de Div.* 2, 70, 144 cursor ad *Olympia* proficisci cogitans. Schol. in Juv. 13, 98 in Elide, ubi

- athletae habent *Olympiacum certamen*. Gk. Ὀλύμπια (sc. ἱερά), Hdt. 8, 26. Ὀλυμπιακὸς ἀγών, Thuc. 1, 6.
- collis** (cf. *mons*): Mart. 12, 21, 6 nec *Capitolini collis* alumna tibi (certabit). Auct. ad Her. 4, 32, 43 ut si quis de *Tarpeio* loquens, eum *Capitolinum* nominet.
- conchyliā** (cf. *ostrea*): Hor. *Epod.* 2, 49 non me *Lucrina* iuverint *conchyliā*. Mart. 6, 11, 5 tu *Lucrina* voras; 12, 48, 4.
- creta** (see *terra*): Plin. *N.H.* 35, 196 est et alius *Cimoliae* usus in vestibus.
- deus** (*dea*): Ov. *Fast.* 3, 856 quam sterili terrae *Delphicus* edat opem; etc., etc. Cf. *Iuno*.
- disputatio**: Cic. *ad Att.* 15, 2, 4 quod prima *disputatio Tusculana* te confirmat, sane gaudeo; cf. *ad Att.* 15, 14, 2; *de Fato* 2, 4; *de Div.* 2, 1, 2. Lact. *Inst.* 3, 13, 4 Cicero in *Tusculanis disputationibus*; 7, 10, 9 Cicero in *Tusculanis* sensit; cf. *de Ira* 22, 2.
- domus*; see p. 11.
- fabella** (cf. *fabula*): Liv. 7, 2, 11 quae exodia postea appellata consertaque *fabellis* potissimum *Atellanis* sunt.
- fabula**: Varr. *L.L.* 7, 29 item significat in *Atellanis* aliquot Pappum senem quod Osci Casnar appellant. Gell. 16, 6, 7 Pomponius *Atellanarum* poeta.—Tert. *de Anim.* 23 per quod historias atque *Milesias* . . . recognoscunt. Charis. 1, 194, 4 K. Sisenna *Milesiarum* libro XIII . . . ita protulit. Gk. Μιλησιακά, Plut. *Crass.* 32, etc.
- farcimen**: see above, p. 14.
- fera**: see *bestia*.
- feriae**: Cic. *de Rep.* 1, 9, 14 cum P. Africanus . . . *feriis Latinis* constitueret in hortis esse . . . *Latinis* ipsis ad eum . . . venit Q. Tubero; *Planc.* 9, 23 vix iam qui carnem *Latinis* petant reperiuntur; etc., etc.
- ficus**: see above, p. 15.
- fundus**: see above, p. 14. Cic. *N.D.* 3, 35, 86 quasi ego paulo ante de *fundo Formiano* P. Rutilii sim questus.
- gallina**: cf. *ales, avis*, and see above, p. 10. Publ. inc. 1, 6 R *gallina* tibi *Numidica*, tibi gallus spado.
- gemma**: Plin. *N.H.* 37, 151 *Callaicam* vocant e turbido callaino. Isid. *Orig.* 16, 7, 10 *Callaica* colore viridis . . . nihil iucundius aurum decet. Plin. *N.H.* 37, 181 Samothracia insula dat sui nominis (gemmam) nigram ac sine pondere, similem ligno.
- gesticulator** (cf. *actor, histrio*): Tert. *de Spec.* 17 de spurcitia . . . quam *Atellanus gesticulator* representat.
- gladius** (cf. *arma*): Auson. *Caes.* 18 Commodus . . . *Threidico* princeps bella movens *gladio*.
- hasta**: Ov. *ex Pont.* 1, 7, 51 ipse suas etiam vires inhiberet Achilles: missa gravis ictus *Pelias hasta* dabat; 2, 2, 26. P.L.M. 1, 15, 177 B. terribilis quo *Pelias* ibat in hostem. (? iverat *hasta*, conj. Schrader).
- herba**: Varr. *R.R.* 1, 42 si est natura temperata terra, scribunt opus esse *medicae* sesquimodium. Virg. *Ge.* 1, 215. Gk. Μηδική πῶα, Arist.

Equit. 606; Μηδική (sc. πῶα) *Arcad.* 107, 10. — *Plin. N.H.* 25, 84 *Vettones* in Hispania eam quae *Vettonica* dicitur in Gallia. — *Plin. N.H.* 24, 157 idem *Minyada* appellat et nomine alio *Corinthiam* cuius decocto in aqua suco protinus sanari ictus serpentium . . . dicit.

heros (?): *Stat. Theb.* 6, 467 ni frena ipsosque frementes . . . retro *Tiryntius heros* torsisset; *Silv.* 3, 3, 57 pertulit et saevi *Tiryntius* horrida regis pacta; cf. *Theb.* 5, 180.

hira: see above, p. 14.

histrion (cf. *actor, gesticulator*): *Quint.* 6, 3, 47 neque illa obscena quae *Atellani* e more captant. *Val. Max.* 2, 4, 4. *Suet. Nero* 39 *Datus, Atellanarum histrio* . . . ita demonstraverat.

indumentum (*vestmentum*): *Amm. Marc.* 24, 4, 8 non nullos fulgentes *sericis indumentis* . . . sequitur multitudo servorum.

insulae: see above, p. 12. *Bell. Afr.* 23, 3 *Gnaeus Pompeius filius* . . . classem ad *insulas Balesares* versus convertit. *Cic. ad Att.* 12, 2, 1 rumor est . . . *Pompeium* non comparare nec in *Balaribus* omnino esse.

intestinum: see above, p. 14.

Iuno: *Cic. de Div.* 1, 24, 48 cum columnam auream, quae esset in fano *Iunonis Laciniae*, auferre vellet (*Hannibal*). *Liv.* 23, 33, 4. *Virg. Aen.* 3, 552 attollit se diva *Lacinia* contra.

lacerna: *Mart.* 4, 28, 1 donasti tenero, *Chloe*, *Luperco Hispanas, Tyriasque* coccinasque; 14, 133, 1 non est lava mihi mendax, nec mutor alieno. Sic placeant *Tyriae*: me mea tinxit oris.

lactuca: *Colum.* 11, 3, 26 sunt autem complura *lactucae* genera . . . at *Cappadocia* . . . mense *Februario* (recte disseritur); 10, 191 *Cappadocamque* premit ferali mense *Lupercus*. *Mart.* 5, 78, 3 non deerunt tibi, si soles προπίνειν, viles *Cappadocae* gravesque porci.

lacus (cf. *palus*): *Virg. Aen.* 5, 813 tutus, quod optas, portus accedet *Averni*. See above, p. 12.

lagona: *Mart.* 13, 120 de *Spoletinis* quae sunt cariosa *lagonis* malueris; 6, 89, 1 cum peteret seram media iam nocte matellam . . . *Panaretus, Spoletina* data est.

lapis: *Lucr.* 6, 1046 *lapis* hic *Magnes* cum subditus esset. *Cic. de Div.* 1, 39, 86 si *Magnetem lapidem* esse dicam, qui ferrum ad se adlicit. *Sil. Ital.* 3, 265 *Aethiopes* . . . qui *magneta* secant. *Eng.* 'magnet.' *Gk.* ὁ Μάγνης, ἡ Μαγνήτης λίθος, ἡ Μαγνησία λίθος, ἡ Μάγνησσα, *Orph. Lith.* 302. *Tert. adv. Marc.* 2, 10 lapidem optimum indutus es *Sardium*, topazium.

libra: *Isid. Orig.* 16, 25, 6 *Campana* a regione Italiae nomen accepit, ubi primum eius usus repertus est. Haec duas lances non habet.

loca (cf. *lacus, lucus*): *Virg. Aen.* 3, 442 ubi . . . accesseris urbem divinosque lacus et *Averna* sonantia silvis; 5, 732 *Averna* per alta congressus pete meos.

lucis: *Virg. Aen.* 6, 117 necte nequiquam *lucis* *Hecate* praefecit *Avernis*.

- lucus** : Caes. *B.C.* 1, 25, 3 quo facilius omne *Hadriaticum mare* in potestate haberet. Liv. 5, 33, 7. Catull. 4, 6 et hoc negat minacis *Hadriatici* negare litus.—Liv. 23, 33, 2 quod proprior Italiae ac *mari tantum Ionio* discretus erat; 42, 48. Virg. *Aen.* 3, 211 insulae *Ionio* in magno. Ov. *Met.* 4, 534; etc., etc.
- malum** (*malus*) : see above, p. 15.
- medicamentum** (cf. *pigmentum*) : Sen. *Nat. Quaest.* 1, 3, 12 interest quamdiu (purpura) macerata sit, crassius *medicamentum* an aquatius traxerit. Plin. *N.H.* 35, 44.
- membrana** : Plin. *N.H.* 13, 70 idem Varro membranas Pergami tradit repertas. Hieron. *Epist.* 7, 2 rex Attalus membranas a Pergamo miserat . . . unde et *pergamenarum* nomen . . . servatum est. Io. Lyd. *de Mens.* 24 Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ μέμβρανα Περγαμηνὰ καλοῦσιν. Eng. 'parchment.'
- mensa** : Cic. *Verr.* 2, 4, 59, 131 (praeteribo) quod *mensas Delphicas* . . . ex omnibus aedibus sacris abstulit. Mart. 12, 66, 7 argentum atque aurum non simplex *Delphica* portat. Porph. in Hor. *Serm.* 1, 6, 116 marmoream *Delphicam* significat, quae scilicet pretii non magni est.
- mons** : Cic. *ad Att.* 13, 33, 4 a ponte Mulvio Tiberim duci secundum *montes Vaticanos*. Hor. *Carm.* 1, 20, 7. Plin. *N.H.* 8, 37 bovae in tantam amplitudinem exeuntes ut . . . occisae in *Vaticano* solidus in alvo spectatus sit infans; etc.
- navis** : see *A.L.L.* IX., p. 285 f.
- nux** : Plin. *N.H.* 15, 88 ceteris quidquid est solidum est, ut in *Abellanis* et ipso nucum genere quas antea *Abellinas* patriae nomine appellabant. In Asiam Graeciamque e Ponto venerunt ideoque *Ponticae nuces* vocantur; 17, 96 Cato propagari tradit *nuces Abellanas* et *Praenestinas* (cf. Cato, *Agr.* 8, 2). Apic. 6, 228 adicies *Ponticam*.
- oleum** : Juv. 5, 86 ipse *Venafrano* piscem perfudit. Cels. 4, 6 (p. 128, 37 D.) neque inutile erit caput atonsum habere, idque irino vel *Cyprino* calido madefacere. Plin. *N.H.* 28, 109 (crocodilea) inlita ex *oleo Cyprino* molestias in facie nascentis tollit.
- olla** : *C.I.L.* VI. 2067 lampadibus incensis *Tuscanicas* contigerunt. See above, p. 13.
- opus** : Vitruv. 8, 7, 14 in *Signinis* autem *operibus* haec sunt facienda; 2, 4, 3 fluviatica vero propter macritatem inutilis *signino* . . . recipit soliditatem. Colum. 9, 1, 2 infossi lacus *Signino* consternuntur.
- orbis** : Ov. *Fast.* 4, 466 (Liber) *Eoo* dives ab orbe redit; 5, 577. Prud. *Apoth.* 608 estne deus, cuius cunas veneratus *Eous* . . . regula fercula supplex . . . offert?
- ostrea** (cf. *conchyliia*) : Plin. *N.H.* 9, 168 (Sergius Orata) primus optimum saporem *ostreis Lucrinis* abiudicavit.
- palma** (cf. *palmula*) : Plin. *N.H.* 23, 97 a vitibus oleisque proxima nobilitas *palmis* . . . sucum decoctarum antiqui dabant . . . ad sitim sedan-

dam, in quo usa praeferebant *Thebaicas*. Stat. *Silv.* 4, 9, 26 cartae *Thebaicaeve caricaeve*.

palmula: Varr. *R.R.* 2, 1, 27 non scitis *palmulas* careotas in Suria parere? Suet. *Aug.* 76 verba ipsius ex epistulis sunt: nos in essedo panem et *palmulas* gustavimus; *Claud.* 8.

palus: see p. 11. Lucan, 9, 153 resectum corpus Alexandri pigra *Mareotide* mergam.

parma (cf. *arma*): Plin. *N.H.* 33, 129 plurimumque refert concava sint et poculi modo an *parmae Threcidicae*.

perna: Mart. 13, 45 *Cerretana* mihi fiat vel missa licebit de Menapis.

pigmentum (cf. *medicamentum*): Varr. *R.R.* 3, 2, 4 nunc ubi hic vides citrum aut aurum? Num minium aut *Armenium*? *Isid. Orig.* 19, 17, 6 aliud est autem *Sericum*, aliud *Syricum*. Nam *Sericum* lana est quam Seres mittunt; *Syricum* vero *pigmentum*, quod Syri colligunt.

planta: see above, p. 15.

pomum: see above, p. 15.

pons: Cic. *in Cat.* 3, 2, 6 cum iam *pontem Mulvium* . . . legati ingredi inciperent. Mart. 4, 64, 33 cum sit tam prope *Mulvius*. *Prud. contr. Symm.* 1, 482 testis *Christicolae* ducis adventantis in urbem *Mulvius*.

pontus: Ov. *Trist.* 4, 4, 55 frigida me cohibent *Euxini* litora *ponti*; 4, 1, 60 dum miser *Euxini* litora laeva peto. Cic. *de Rep.* 3, 9, 15 quam multi, ut Tauri in *Axino* . . . duxerunt. Gk. ὁ Εὐξεινος. Val. Flacc. 4, 715 nec tantas iunctus *Tyrrhenus* et *Aegon* volvat aquas.

porta: Virg. *Aen.* 3, 351 *Scaea*que amplector limina *portae*; 2, 612. Auson. *Epit.* 15 (232) 3 hic iaceo *Astyanax*, *Scaeis* dieictus ab altis. Varr. *R.R.* 3, 2, 6 eorum aedificia, qui habitant extra *portam Flumentanam*. Liv. 26, 10, 3 ad *portam Capenam*. Cic. *in Pis.* 23, 55 cum ego (eum) *Caelimontana* introisse dixissem, sponsione me, ni *Esquilina* introisset, homo promptus lacessivit. Juv. 3, 11 substitit ad veteres arcus madidamque *Capenam*, etc. See above, p. 12.

portus: Nep. *Them.* 6, 1 cum *Phalerico portu* neque magno neque bono Athenienses uterentur. Cic. *de Fin.* 5, 2, 5 noli ex me quaerere, qui in *Phalerico* etiam descenderim. Plin. *N.H.* 2, 225 quae in Aesculapi fonte Athenis mersa sunt, in *Phalerico* redduntur.

praedium: see above, p. 10.

provincia: Tac. *Hist.* 1, 78 *provinciae Baeticae* Maurorum civitates dono dedit; 1, 53 hunc invenem Galba quaestorem in *Baetica* . . . legionii praeposuit.

pulmentum: see above, p. 14.

regio (cf. *terra*): Plin. *N.H.* 4, 91 *Sarmatiae, Scythiae, Tauricae*, omnisque a Borysthene amne tractus. *C.I.L.* VIII. 619, 6 praepositus vexillationibus Ponticis apud *Scythia* et *Tauricam*. Vopisc. *Aurel.* 45, 2 thermas in *Transtiberina regione* facere paravit . . . forum nominis sui in *Ostiensi* ad mare fundere coepit.

rosa: Plin. *N.H.* 21, 16 genera eius (rosae) nostri fecere celeberrima

Praenestinam et *Campanam*. Addidere alii *Milesiam* . . . *Trachiniam Alibandicam*; etc.

rupes: Varr. *R.R.* 2, 1, 5 sunt etiam in Italia circum Fiscellum et *Tetricam* montes multae (caprae). Virg. *Aen.* 7, 713 qui *Tetricae* horrentis rupes . . . colunt. Sil. Ital. 8, 417 hunc . . . a *Tetrica* comitantur *rupe* cohortes.

sacerdos: Cic. *de Div.* 1, 19, 38 vis illa terrae, quae mentem *Pythiae* . . . concitabat. Nep. *Milt.* 1, 3; etc. Gk. Πυθία (ἱέρεια).

[**sacrum**¹ (*sacra*): Plaut. *Mil.* 858 vos in cella vinaria *Bacchanal* facitis. Liv. 39, 18, 7 datum deinde consulibus negotium est, ut omnia *Bacchanalia* . . . deruerent.]

saltus: Caes. *B.C.* 1, 37, 1 celeriter *saltus Pyrenaeos* occupari iubet; 3, 19, 2. Liv. 21, 24, 1 cum reliquis copiis *Pyrenaeum* transgreditur. Plin. *N.H.* 3, 18 tropaeis quae statuebat in *Pyrenaeo*.

scripta: Cic. *ad Att.* 1, 20, 6 de meis *scriptis* misi ad te Graece perfectum consulatum meum . . . puto te *Latinis* meis delectari.

sermo: Cic. *de Off.* 2, 24, 87 (librum) quem nos . . . e *Graeco* in *Latinum* convertimus. Quint. 5, 10, 1 *Graeco* melius usuri; etc.

signum: *C.I.L.* VI. 750 Nonius Victor Olympius V.C.P.P. et Aur. Victor Augustus V.C.P. — tradiderunt *Persica* pri. non. April. And see above, p. 8.

silva: Caes. *B.G.* 5, 3, 4 in *silvam Arduennam* abditis; 6, 29, 4; 6, 31, 2. Tac. *Ann.* 3, 42 petebant saltus, quibus nomen *Arduenna*.

solea: Cic. *Phil.* 2, 30, 76 deinde cum calceis et toga (redii), nullis nec *Gallicis* nec lacerna. Gell. 13, 22, 1 sq. plerique requirebant cur 'soleatos' dixisset, qui *Gallicas*, non soleas, haberent. Sed Castricius . . . locutus est: omnia enim ferme id genus, quibus plantarum calces tantum infimae teguntur, cetera prope nuda et teretibus habenis vineta sunt, 'soleas' dixerunt, nonnumquam voce graeca 'crepidulas.' 'Gallicas' autem verbum esse opinor novum, non diu ante aetatem M. Ciceronis usurpari coeptum.

supellex: see above, p. 13.

terra: Plaut. *Truc.* 294 *creta* omne corpus intinxti tibi. Cic. *Verr.* 2, 4, 26, 58 cum Valentio eius interpreti epistula Agrigento adlata esset, casu signum iste animadvertit in *cretula*. See above, p. 8. Plin. *N.H.* 3, 14 praeter haec in *Celtica* Arcipino . . . ; etc. cf. *regio*.

tribus: *C.I.L.* 1, 51 C. Ovio(s) *Ouf(entina)*. Cic. *Verr.* 1, 8, 23 Q. Verrem, *Romilia*; etc. See above, p. 12.

urbs: Virg. *Aen.* 3, 133 muros optatae molior urbis *Pergameam*que voco. Apul. *Met.* 4, 32 *Milesiae* conditor. Auson. *Prof.* 10 (200) 38 *Burdigalae* hunc genitum transtulit ambitio *Pictonicae*que dedit (Fr. Poitiers). Paneg. Lat. 7, 1 (p. 179, 25 B) si *Flavia* Aeduorum tan-

¹ *Bacchanal* is of course not a geographical adj. It is cited to show that *sacra* may be a possibility with *Olympia*; see *certamen*.

dem aeterno nomine nuncupata . . . commovere se funditus atque huc venire potuisset. Cf. 7, 2; 8, 14.

vasa: see above, p. 12 f.

venter: see above, p. 14.

ventus: Caes. *B.G.* 5, 7, 3 quod *Corus ventus* navigationem impediēbat; 5, 8, 2 leni *Africo* profectus. Hor. *Carm.* 1, 3, 4 ventorumque regat pater, obstrictis aliis praeter *Iapyga*; etc.

versus (cf. *carmen*): Liv. 7, 2, 7 qui non, sicut ante, *Fescennino versu* similem incompositum . . . iaciebant. Cic. *de Div.* 2, 10, 25 totum omnino fatum etiam *Atellanio versu* iure mihi esse inrisum videtur. Plin. *N.H.* 15, 86 ipsae nuptialium *Fescenninorum* comites. Macr. *Sat.* 2, 4, 21 cum *Fescenninos* in eum Augustus scripsisset.

vestimentum (cf. *indumentum, vestis*): Plaut. *Epid.* 234 cani quoque etiam ademptumst nomen. Qui? Vocant *Laconicum*. Lucr. 4, 1130 interdum (bene parta patrum) in pallam atque *Alidensia Ciaeque* vertunt. Tert. *de Poen.* 11 num ergo in coccino et *Tyrio* pro delicatis supplicare nos decet? *de Cult. Fem.* 2, 13 vestite vos *serico* probitatis. Prop. 1, 14, 22 quid relevent variis *serica* textilibus. Isid. *Orig.* 19, 17, 6 (see *pigmentum*). Gk. τὸ σθηρικόν (sc. νῆμα).

vestis: Plin. *N.H.* 8, 196 pictas *vestes* iam apud Homerum fuisse, unde triumphales natae. Acu facere id Phryges invenerunt, ideoque *Phrygioniae* appellatae sunt. Tac. *Ann.* 2, 33, 1 decretum ne *vestis Serica* viros foedaret. Tert. *de Res. Carn.* 27 non *subsericam* utique, nec pallium, sed carnem volens accipi. Mart. 14, 127 haec tibi turbato *Canusina* simillima mulso munus erit. Cypr. *Act. Proc.* 5 (p. cxiii H.) cum se *Dalmatica* expoliasset et . . . in linea stetit.

via: Galba ap. Cic. *ad Fam.* 10, 30, 4 in ipsa *Aemilia* diu pugnatum est. Cic. *ad Att.* 2, 12, 2 emereram ex Antiati in *Appiam* ad Tris Tabernas; etc. See above, p. 12.

vicus: Auson. *Epist.* 5 (394) 36 villa *Lucani*- mox potieris *aco*¹; 22 (414) praef. qui apud *Hebromagum*¹ conditis mercibus immature periclitatur expelli; 22 (415) 42 iam iam Perusina et Saguntina fame *Lucaniacum* liberet; cf. 22 (414) 35 *Hebromagum tuam*.

vinum: Hor. *Carm.* 1, 27, 9 vultis serveri me quoque sumere partem *Falerni*? etc., etc. See above, p. 16.

vitis: see above, p. 16.

volucer (cf. *ales, avis*): Mort. 13, 45 *Libycae* nobis *volucres* et *Phasides* essent, acciperes.

volumen: Hieron. *adv. Pelag.* 2, 24 Isaias iuxta *Hebraicum* plorat, et dicit.

¹ Apparently not in Lewis and Short, Georges, or Forcellini-De Vit.

II. *Geographical Adjectives.*¹

Abellana nux.	Cerretana (perna).
Aegineticum aes.	Cimolia (creta).
Aegia (vitis).	Collina (porta).
Aegon (pontus?).	Cotonium (malum).
Aemilia (via).	Corinthia (herba, supellex).
Africa bestia.	Corinthium (vas, opus, signum).
Africana (bestia or fera), ficus, gallina.	Corus ventus.
Africus (ventus).	Creta (terra).
Alabandica rosa.	Cydoneum (malum).
Albula (aqua).	Cyprinum (oleum).
Alidense (vestimentum).	Cyprum (aes).
Antias (praedium or fundus).	Deliacum aes, supellex.
Appia (aqua, via).	Delmatica (vestis).
Arduenna (silva).	Delphica (mensis).
Armenium (pigmentum or medicamentum).	Delphicus (deus).
Armeniacum (malum).	Dorius (cantus).
Ascalonia (cepa).	Elysii (campi).
Assyria malus.	Epirotica malus.
Atellana (fabula, fabella).	Esquilina (porta).
Atellanus (actor, histrio, versus), gesticulator.	Euxinus (pontus).
Avellana, see Abellana.	Falernum (vinum).
Avernus (lacus, locus), lucus.	Faliscus (venter).
Axinus (pontus).	Fasianus, see Phasianus.
[Bacchanal (sacrum)].	Fescenninum (carmen).
Baetica (provincia, regio).	Fescenninus (versus).
Baleares (insulae).	Flavia (urbs).
Caelimontana (porta).	Flumentana (porta).
Callaica (gemma).	Formianus fundus.
Campana (libra), rosa.	Fortunatae (insulae).
Campanum (vas), aes.	Gallica (solea).
Canusina (vestis).	Gallicus ager.
Capitolinus (collis).	Graecus (sermo).
Cappadoca (lactuca).	Hadriaticum (mare).
Cappadocia lactuca.	Hebraiacum (volumen).
Carica (ficus).	Hebromagus (vicus?).
Caunea (ficus).	Herculanea ficus.
Cea (vestis).	Hirpinus (ager, fundus).
Celtica (terra).	Hispana (lacerna).
	Iapyx (ventus).

¹ In this list a few adjectives are given which are not cited in the preceding one. In such cases reference is made to the passages in which they occur.

- Ionium (mare).
 Lacinia (luno).
 Laconicum (balneum, vestimentum).
 Latina (scripta).
 Latinae (feriae).
 Latinus (sermo).
 Libyca (vitis, volucer).
 Lucaniacus (vicus ?).
 Lucanica (hira).
 Lucanicum (intestinum, pulmentum).
 Lucanicus (botulus, apparatus).
 Lucrina (conchyliā, ostrea).
 Lydius (cantus).
 Maeotis (palus).
 Magnes (lapis).
 Marcia (aqua).
 Mareotis (palus).
 Marisca (ficus).
 Medica (herba), malus.
 Milesia (fabula, urbs), rosa.
 Molossicus canis.
 Molossus (canis).
 Mulvius (pons).
 Numidica gallina.
 Olympiacum certamen.
 Olympium (certamen).
 Ostiensis regio.
 Oufentina (tribus).
 Palatina domus.
 Pelias (hasta).
 Pergamea urbs.
 Pergamenum (membranum).
 Persica (malus).
 Persicum (malum, signum).
 Phalaricus (portus).
 Phasiana (avis).
 Phasianus (ales).
 Phrygionia vestis.
 Picens ager.
 Picenus ager.
 Pictonica (urbs).
 Pontica (nux).
 Praenestina rosa.
 Punicum (malum).
 Pyrenaeus (saltus).
 Pythia (sacerdos).
 Rhodia (vitis).
 Romilia (tribus).
 Salsulae (aquae), Mela 2, 5, 7.
 Samia (terra). Plin. *N.H.* 35, 194.
 Samium (vas).
 Samothracia (gemma).
 Sarda (cimolia).
 Sardius (lapis).
 Sarmatia (regio).
 Saturnia (arx).
 Scaeeae (portae).
 Scantianum malum.
 Scythia (regio).
 Selinusina (terra), Plin. *N.H.* 35, 194.
 Serica (vestis).
 Sericum (vestimentum, indumentum).
 Sicyonia (calciamenta).
 Sicyonius calceus.
 Signinum (opus).
 Socotina ficus.
 Spartanus canis.
 Spoletina (lagona).
 Stratoniensis (ager).
 Suessanus (ager).
 Syria palmula.
 Syricum (pigmentum).
 Tarpeius (mons).
 Tarquiniensis (ager).
 Taurica (regio).
 Tellana ficus.
 Tetrica (rupes).
 Thebaica (palma).
 Thessalica (cimolia).
 Thraecidica (arma).
 Tiburs (ager), Cic. *de Orat.* 2, 55.
 Tirynthius (heros).
 Trachinia rosa.
 Transtiberina regio.
 Tuscanica (olla).
 Tuscanicum (cavum aedium).

Tusculana (disputatio).	Tyrrhenus (pontus?).
Tusculanus (ager), Plin. <i>N.H.</i> 2,	Umbrica (cimolia).
211.	Vaticanus (mons).
Tyria (lacerna).	Venafranum (oleum).
Tyrium (vestimentum).	Vettonica herba.

II. — *The Danaid-Myth.*

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OUR fullest account of Danaus and his daughters is to be found in the *Bibliotheca* ascribed to Apollodorus (II. 1). The essential features of the story are about as follows:—

Danaus and Aegyptus were two brothers of royal lineage; the one settled in Libya, the other in Arabia or Egypt. Aegyptus had by different wives fifty sons, and Danaus had fifty daughters. The two brothers fell into strife about the succession to their father's kingdom, and Danaus, fearing for the safety of his daughters and himself, fled with them to Argos. The sons of Aegyptus pursued, and by force or persuasion prevailed upon Danaus to give them his daughters in marriage. But after the wedding feast, Danaus bade his daughters slay their husbands during the night. Thus all the young men perished except Lynceus, whom his bride, Hypermestra, allowed to escape. For this disobedience, she was imprisoned by her father. Meanwhile, her sisters had sunk the heads of their murdered husbands in the Lernaean marsh, and had been cleansed of their guilt by Hermes and Athena. Afterward Danaus released Hypermestra and gave his sanction to her marriage with Lynceus. His other daughters were married to the victors in an athletic contest.

In the scholia to Euripides (*Hec.* 886) there is an account that differs in some noteworthy particulars from the narrative of Apollodorus. From that it appears that Danaus and Aegyptus lived in Argos, and that the former, moved by envy and fear, drove his brother into Egypt with his sons. The sons of Aegyptus afterward returned, and met their death in the fatal wedding-night. Nothing is said about the purification of the guilty sisters, nor about their second marriage; on the contrary, the scholiast relates that Lynceus

revenged the murder of his brothers by slaying Danaus and all his daughters except Hypermestra.

There are several allusions to the crime of the Danaids in writers of the classical period,¹ but no mention of their punishment in the lower world is found until the pseudo-Platonic dialogue *Axiochus* (p. 371 E). Hence there is some ground for believing this punishment to be a later addition to the story.

Writers on mythology have almost with one accord sought to find an explanation of the Danaid myth in natural phenomena. The interpretation of Preller (Preller-Plew, *Griech. Myth.* II. pp. 46-47), which is repeated in Roscher's *Lexikon*, may be taken as a type of these attempts. According to Preller, the Danaids are the nymphs of the Argive springs, their impetuous suitors are the streams of the land, which in wet seasons are violent torrents, but in summer dry up, as the nymphs cut off their heads; that is, check the waters at the fountains. Preller finds a confirmation of his view in the tradition that the heads of the sons of Aegyptus were buried in the Lernaean marsh. For, he says, springs are the heads of rivers, and the moist region of Lerna was especially rich in springs.

The interpretation of myths by natural phenomena is much less in favor now than formerly, and one may well be dissatisfied with Preller's fanciful explanation. Let us examine some of the arguments that may be urged in favor of his view. First, about the heads of the murdered youths. The tradition is not consistent, for Pausanias (II. 24, 2) says that their heads were buried beside a road leading into the Argive citadel, and their bodies thrown into the Lernaean marsh. This, of course, may be only a confusion; but even supposing the other version to be the correct one, the argument is worth very little, for it is doubtful whether the use of *head* for *source*, *spring*, was as familiar to the Greeks as it is to us. I know of only one certain instance of κεφαλή with the meaning *source* or *headwater*, in Herodotus (IV. 91). But since

¹ Cf. Aesch. *Prom.* 879 ff.; Eur. *Hec.* 886; *II. F.* 1016; Pindar, *Nem.* X. 1 ff.

in that passage Herodotus is reproducing an inscription of Darius, one commentator, Abicht, has gone so far as to suggest that the peculiar use of *κεφαλή* may be due to its representing an Old Persian word (Sir) which means both *head* and *source*. No example of *κεφαλή* with the meaning of *spring* is quoted in Sophocles's *Lexikon of Byzantine Greek*, and it is not until the modern period that we find the diminutive *κεφαλάριον* with the meaning *spring*. But leaving all this out of the question, the story about the heads of the sons of Aegyptus can be better explained in another way. I shall, therefore, return to this matter later.

Another circumstance that has done much to uphold the old interpretation of the myth is, that Amymone was numbered among the daughters of Danaus. Her adventure with a satyr and her amour with Poseidon are related by Apollodorus, *l.c.*, and Hyginus (*Fab.* 169). Now Amymone as the favorite of Poseidon, and the maiden from whom the river Amymone, near Lerna, took its name, is rightly to be considered a nymph.¹ But the story of Amymone does not really belong to the Danaid-myth. Some of the ancient writers themselves set her apart from the blood-stained sisters. Pindar (*Pyth.* IX. 193) gives the number of the women that were won in the athletic contest as forty-eight, and the scholiast *ad locum* says that Hypermestra and Amymone were excepted, — the former because she was married to Lynceus, the latter because she had found a lover in Poseidon. Lucian (*Dial. Mar.* 6, *ad fin.*) makes Poseidon say to Amymone that she alone shall escape the endless punishment to which the Danaids were doomed. Thus it seems not unlikely that in the earliest form of the story Amymone had nothing whatever to do with the women that murdered their husbands, and that the statement that she was one of the daughters of Danaus is an invention of genealogical writers. Similarly Agraulos, Pandrosos, and Herse, originally nymphs, were by Attic genealogists said to be daughters of Cecrops. (See Bloch in Roscher's *Lexikon*, article "Nymphen," col. 529.)

¹ In regard to the river and fountain Amymone, see Paus. II. 37, 1; Strab. VIII., p. 371.

Other bits of evidence cited in favor of the current interpretation are that the art of digging wells was, according to the legend, first taught by Danaus or his daughters, and the number of the Danaids corresponds to that of the Nereids. But Danaus, as the eponymous hero of the Danaän-race, is the reputed inventor of other arts as well: even that of writing is ascribed to him by some authorities. And as for the number fifty, what of the fifty sons of Priam and the fifty daughters of Thestius?

Whatever may be said of Amymone and certain other nymphs that were included in the family of Danaus, there is no reason to regard the women that murdered their husbands as nymphs, or to put an allegorical interpretation upon their crime. If this narrative is carefully examined, I think it will be found to be no nature-myth, but a mere monster-story like many that are told in the nursery to-day.

It is necessary, however, to set aside an element that does not belong to the original story. This is the fiction that the murder of the sons of Aegyptus was a justifiable action, committed by the Danaids in defence of their honor and freedom. Thus in the *Suppliants* of Aeschylus the Danaids are represented as having fled from Egypt to Argos in order not to be forced into a marriage with their violent cousins. But Eduard Meyer (*Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, pp. 78, 82) has shown that the story of Danaus and his daughters belonged to Greece, and that its connection with Egypt was a consequence of the identification of the Argive Io with the Egyptian Isis; for Danaus was said to be descended from Io.¹ (See Apollodorus, *l.c.*) When the story arose that Io wandered to Egypt and there gave birth to Epaphus, the historians and genealogists had to explain how the later descendants of Io came back to Argos. They resorted to the familiar device of a quarrel between Danaus and his brother, and hence arose the account of the flight of Danaus to Argos, and the conception of the Danaids as persecuted maidens. There are indications that this conception never

¹ Wecklein, in *Sitzungsber. d. bair. Akad.* 1893, pp. 401 ff., proposes a less satisfactory explanation of the transference of Danaus from Argos to Egypt.

took root in the popular belief. If it had done so, the deed of the Danaids would hardly have become proverbial for impious cruelty, nor would the story of their punishment in Hades have gained currency. Besides, when we remember that some of the poets attribute to the Danaids a certain Amazon-like harshness and ferocity, it is easier to believe that in the popular legends, at any rate, they are always bloodthirsty monsters. (Cf. Melanippides, *ap. Ath.* XIV., p. 651, and the fragment of the *Danaïds* quoted by Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* IV. 19, 122.)

The original form of the story about the crime of the Danaids may have been something like this. Fifty brothers, known to the later story as the sons of Aegyptus, are entertained by fifty maidens and their father, whom the later account identified with the eponymous hero of the Danaäns. During the night, at their father's instigation, the women kill the youths by cutting off their heads; only one escapes. The marriage, as is often the case in rude popular stories, is a mere euphemism.

Now compare with this ancient legend a folk-story current among many modern peoples. A band of brothers lose their way in a forest, and take refuge in the hut or cavern of an ogre or witch. The youths pass the night with the daughters of their host. The youngest and shrewdest of the brothers suspects that treachery is intended, and by a trick, such as an exchange of head-dress or a shifting of positions, causes the ogre to cut off the heads of his own daughters. Thus the youths escape.

I have seen no fewer than twelve versions of this latter story. It seems to be known to all European peoples, from the Avars of the Caucasus and the modern Greeks to the Basques of the Pyrenees and the Icelanders. In the nurseries of England and America it is the story of Hop o' my Thumb. There are of course many insignificant variations, and in most versions, as in "Hop o' my Thumb," the story has been suited to juvenile hearers by representing the persons concerned as little children. In most cases also the story has been filled out by the addition of new adventures.

The chief difference between these modern stories and what I believe to have been the older form of the Danaid myth consists in the introduction of the trick by means of which all the brothers make their escape. This is a new motive. Then in most of the modern stories the escape is entirely owing to the cleverness of the youngest brother; but in one (the Icelandic version) he is warned and assisted by a personage corresponding to Hypermestra in the Danaid-myth.

The resemblance of these modern stories to the Danaid-myth had been noted by one writer on folk-lore, Ludwig Laistner, in his *Das Rätsel der Sphinx*, a work from which I have drawn a large part of my information about these stories. Laistner, however, notices the resemblance only in passing, and adopts for the Danaid-myth a less satisfactory explanation which cannot be discussed here.

It seems probable, then, that the earlier form of the Danaid-myth was not widely different from folk-stories of modern races. That the Greeks had such stories of demoniac women is proved by the accounts of the Thracian King Diomedes, who used to compel strangers to satisfy the desires of his monstrous daughters and then put them to death. (See Schol. Ar. *Eccles.* 1029, and Hesychius, s.v. *Διομήδειος ἀνάγκη*.) A similar conception may underlie the story of Heracles's adventure with the fifty daughters of Thestius, told by Pausanias (IX. 27, 6).

Even if it be admitted that the Danaid-myth was originally a coarse story of this sort, the question of an explanation arises again. But it seems useless further to analyze such rough, simple folk-tales. Their origin concerns the psychologist more than the philologist. The close resemblance of the different versions to one another suggests a common origin. There are no traces of a literary tradition, and the wide diffusion of the stories militates against the assumption of a transmission from one people to another within historical times. (Exceptions may of course be made in the case of closely related and neighboring communities.) So, we may regard this ancient legend as a folk-story common to the

primitive Indo-European tribes, or, perhaps better, adopt Professor Gardner's phrase and say that such resemblances as exist between the Danaid-myth on the one hand and the modern stories on the other, or the resemblances among the widely separated modern stories, are due to "parallel workings of the mythopoeic instinct" rather than to a common origin.

The story that the heads of the sons of Aegyptus were thrown into the Lernaean marsh is best regarded as an aetiological myth growing out of some religious ceremony practised in that neighborhood. This view is expressed by Gruppe (*Griech. Mythologie*, p. 180), who seems to refer to the statement of some of the paroemiographers, that it was customary to throw expiatory offerings into the lake or marsh of Lerna. (Zenobius, IV. 86; Apostolius, X. 57; cf. Strab. VIII., p. 371, and Suidas, s.v. *Λέρνη θεατῶν*.)

It had occurred to me that the myth might have grown out of a peculiar rite briefly described by Plutarch (*Isis and Osiris*, 35). He says that "the Argives call the ox-born Dionysus out of the water with trumpets, throwing *εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον* a lamb as an offering to the Gate-keeper" (Hades). The *ἄβυσσος* referred to is certainly the bottomless Alcyonian lake of the Lernaean district, described by Pausanias (II. 37, 5-6. Cf. Schol. Pind. *Ol.* VII. 60.). Now this religious observance seems to have given rise to the story told in the Scholia to the *Iliad* (XIV. 319, Maass, II., p. 87) that Dionysus was slain by Perseus and his body thrown into the Lernaean lake. The story that the Danaids threw the heads of the murdered youths into the lake may also have arisen aetiologically from the same obscure ceremony. The rite described by Plutarch may of course be one of the very expiatory ceremonies that the paroemiographers mention.

The story that forty-eight of the daughters of Danaus were given in marriage to noble youths who were matched against one another in a foot-race was known even in Pindar's time (*Pyth.* IX. 193 ff.), and is related again by Pausanias (III. 12, 2). But there is some reason to believe that this feature of the myth is purely an invention of flattering genealogists. The

idea of the guilty sisters escaping punishment and living in peace and happiness for the rest of their days is hardly consistent with the popular conception of the Danaids as types of ferocity; and we have seen that according to one version of the story all the daughters of Danaus except Hypermestra were slain by Lynceus. I emphasize this point especially because Laistner asserts that the essential feature of the whole story is the race of the suitors, with which he combines the eternal water-pouring of the Danaids, and bases upon this combination a theory about the original form of the myth. But these two things evidently belong to different traditions which cannot be reconciled. Except the compiler Hyginus, not one of our authorities shows acquaintance with both the story of the race and that of the punishment of the Danaids in the lower world. It seems probable, therefore, that the account of the purification of the Danaids and their second marriage is an invention of Argive chroniclers, who wished to trace the noble families of Argos back to Danaus, yet strove to keep them clear of the infamy with which popular legend had branded his daughters. It was natural that Pindar should adopt this more refined version of the story, and Pausanias may have derived his information from Argive sources.

The story that the Danaids were condemned to fill a leaky vessel in Hades has been much discussed, and its antiquity has been questioned. We have seen that the first allusion to it occurs in the *Axiochus*. But in the *Gorgias* of Plato (p. 493 A-C) a similar punishment is attributed to those who die without knowledge of the mysteries. Hence some writers contend that the peculiar punishment was transferred from the uninitiated to the Danaids. Still, the absence of earlier literary evidence for the punishment of the Danaids may be fortuitous. Nor can the question of the respective ages of the two stories be decided from archaeological evidence. According to Pausanias (X. 31, 9-11) the celebrated painting of Polygnotus at Delphi contained figures of the uninitiated carrying water in leaky jars to fill a larger vessel. The punishment of the Danaids is represented on a black-figured vase in the Munich collection (153, Jahn), while the punish-

ment of the uninitiated is depicted on a black-figured Attic lecythus (reproduced in *Arch. Zeit.* 1871, pl. 31, 22).

The opinion expressed by Rohde (*Psyche*,² I., p. 326 ff.) in regard to the punishment of the Danaids and the uninitiated has been accepted by many scholars, and deserves special mention. He believes that there was an ancient popular superstition that people who died unmarried were doomed in the lower world to fill a leaky vessel. He sees a confirmation of this theory in the custom of placing the vessel called *λουτροφόρος* upon the graves of unmarried persons,—an indication that they had to perform through all eternity the ceremony of preparing the bridal bath, which they had neglected in life. Since marriage was regarded as a sacred rite, the punishment of those who had neglected it was readily transferred to the uninitiated. Later still, under poetic influence, the endless task was fastened upon the Danaids, who had scorned and outraged the marriage relation by murdering their husbands. Thus the old superstition about the fate of the *ἄγαμοι* was entirely forgotten.

In spite of the favor with which Rohde's view has met, objections can be raised against it. As Milchhöfer remarks (*Philol.* LIII, p. 397, n. 14), the vessels that the Danaids carry in works of art are not *λουτροφόροι*, nor does the great jar that they are to fill bear any resemblance to a bath-tub. Besides, there is no proof that the Greeks had any such belief about the fate of unmarried people as Rohde assumes. A recent writer (Waser) in the *Archiv für Religions-wissenschaft* (1899, p. 47 ff.) tries to strengthen Rohde's case by citing instances of German superstitions in which various fruitless labors are imposed upon the spirits of persons that die unmarried, but his examples are hardly to the point.

It is hard to believe that the punishment of the Danaids, which in the post-classical period of Greek literature was a hackneyed proverb, did not belong to the earlier form of the myth also. One is tempted to guess at reasons why this particular punishment was assigned to the Danaids. But it is perhaps safer to say that there is nothing in the eternal water-pouring itself that is exclusively appropriate to the

persons punished, any more than there is in the endless labor of Sisyphus. The task of filling a leaky vessel is widely known and variously applied in folk-lore, from Grimm's *Märchen* to *Uncle Remus*. Such a task would be assigned to the Danaids in Hades when people began to feel that their bloody deed demanded punishment in the lower world. The fact that the same endless task is also assigned to the uninitiated, or to the wicked in general (see Plato, *Rep.* II., p. 363 E), is another indication that the fastening of it upon the Danaids exclusively, in later times, is only a matter of convention.

III. — *Pliny, Pausanias, and the Hermes of Praxiteles.*

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IN the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* for August, 1897, pp. 119-139, is an article by Miss Eugénie Sellers (now Mrs. Strong), on the Hermes of Olympia. In it she attempts to show that the famous statue is not by Praxiteles, but by Cephisodotus the elder. Her arguments led Henri Lechat (*Revue des Études Grecques*, 1898, p. 207) to say that henceforth it might be more prudent to use the expression "Hermes of Olympia" than "Hermes of Praxiteles," and S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire Grecque et Romaine*, II. i., p. 173, in his note on the cut of the Hermes calls it "Hermès dit de Praxitèle." Such recognition by prominent archaeologists lends the article additional importance and may justify me in using it as the text for a few remarks. It is worth while to add that Rayet (*Gaz. B. A.* XXI., 1880, p. 410; *Études d'Archéologie et d'Art*, p. 68) suggests that Pliny speaks of the Hermes as a work of Cephisodotus.

The two classical texts relating to the authorship of the Hermes are Pausanias, V. 17, 3, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ ἄλλα ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον, Ἑρμῆν λίθου, Διόνυσον δὲ φέρει νήπιον, τέχνη δὲ ἐστὶ Πραξιτέλους, and Pliny *N.H.* XXXIV. 87, Cephisodoti duo fuere: prioris est Mercurius Liberum patrem in infantia nutriens; fecit et contionantem manu elata, persona in incerto est. sequens philosophos fecit.

Miss Sellers wishes to prove: first, that the Hermes mentioned by Pliny and attributed to Cephisodotus is the Hermes of Olympia; second, that the comparative study of the assertions of Pausanias and Pliny must lead us to accept the attribution given by the latter; third, that, in the present state of our knowledge, everything tends to support this result and to confirm the attribution of the statue to the elder Cephisodotus.

It is not my purpose to discuss Miss Sellers' article in detail. It contains many good observations and shows both learning and aesthetic sense, such as we expect to find in her work. But I wish to take up the first and second points which she undertakes to establish, not only because I think she has failed to establish them, but also because it seems to me that, in common with many others who write on archaeological subjects, she argues from insufficient premises.

The proof that Pliny refers to the Hermes of Olympia seems to consist in the fact that Hermes with the infant Dionysus is referred to only in the two passages cited. The tacit assumption seems to be that this was therefore the only famous representation of this group (*Gaz. B.A., l.c.*, p. 122, note). But this is a mere assumption. Pausanias has a definite reason for mentioning the group at Olympia, because he is describing Olympia. No such reason, so far as we know, constrains Pliny. Before it is assumed that he refers to the Hermes of Olympia, it must be proved either that this was better known than other representations or that this one was by Cephisodotus, which is precisely the thing which this assumption is to aid in proving.

Dionysus was a popular divinity, and it is not unnatural that his epiphany should be frequently represented; for this is the meaning of the representation of infant deities. (See Usener, *Sintfluthsagen, passim.*)

When Dionysus was to be represented as an infant, he was put in the hands of Hermes. Besides the Hermes of Praxiteles several other representations of the same group are known to us. In the Boboli garden at Florence is a rather unattractive Hermes with wings in his hair holding an infant on his right hand and a caduceus in his left. The proportions of the Hermes are heavy, and the shape of the head and the general attitude are such as are associated with Polyclitus. The position of the arm holding the infant does not seem to me perfectly natural; the drapery is arranged in a way quite out of the question for the fifth century B.C., so that the probabilities are in favor of the assumption that a Polyclitan type not originally intended to represent Hermes and Diony-

sus has been adapted by some inferior artist and then copied in Roman times, for the extant figure is clearly late work. Miss Sellers, note on p. 122, mentions also a bronze at Roye¹ and representations on gems, seemingly of Polyclitan style.

Another type, the date of which it is hard to fix, is seen on a coin of Pheneus in Arcadia. Here Hermes is apparently hurrying along and holding the infant Dionysus, if it be really Dionysus, almost at arm's length.

Other representations may be modifications of the Hermes of Praxiteles, but one, at least, in the Louvre, *J.H.S.* III., p. 107, pl., in which the infant seems to be held in the drapery of the elder god so arranged as to make almost a bag on his left arm, appears to be a more or less independent type.

So at least four types of Hermes with the infant Dionysus, or with some infant, for the child's name has little effect upon the type, exist even now. That others, more or less independent, existed in ancient times, is highly probable. That any of the extant types goes back to Cephisodotus is more or less unlikely. In fact, we know little or nothing of Cephisodotus, except that he was an Athenian, and flourished in the fourth century. That Pliny puts him two Olympiads before Praxiteles does not seem to prove that he is his father. The identification of the Munich group with the Eirene and Plutus of Cephisodotus is probable, for Eirene and Plutus are not popular nor frequently represented divinities; but the style of this group, instead of tending to prove that it is by the artist of the Hermes of Olympia, seems to me to prove the contrary. But this is a matter which can be adequately discussed only at great length and with numerous illustrations. In her discussion of it Miss Sellers exhibits great ingenuity, but fails to convince me, and would, I think, fail to convince any one who did not before believe as she does.

When we consider that the "Polyclitan" type of Hermes and Dionysus exists in several replicas or adaptations, we might even be tempted to believe that it was the most famous type. Then this would be the type referred to by Pliny, —

¹ Now at Péronne, published by S. Reinach, *Gaz. Beaux-Arts*, vol. xxiii., 1900, p. 457. See also *Rev. Archéol.*, 1884, II., pl. 4.

if he must be supposed to refer to the most famous type, — and the Attic Cephisodotus would be assumed to have been in his early youth a pupil of Polyclitus. Stranger assumptions than this have been made with hardly more ground to stand on. I do not, however, suggest this even as a possibility.

An argument advanced parenthetically (*l.c.*, p. 138) against the Praxitelean origin of the Hermes of Olympia is the fact that although there are more or less exact imitations of the type among small bronzes, reliefs, and gems, there is no copy in the size of the original. If it were really a work of Praxiteles, or if it had been universally regarded as his work, it would naturally have been copied. But here again we must not assume too much.¹

Of the statues mentioned by Pausanias at Olympia, very few, if any, seem to exist in ancient copies. Those for which such existence has been more or less doubtfully claimed are the following: (1) Paus. V. 17. 4, *παιδίον δὲ ἐπίχρυσον κάθηται γυμνὸν πρὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης. Βοηθὸς δὲ ἐτόρευσε αὐτὸ Καρχηδόσιος*, "a gilded child, naked, is seated before the Aphrodite. The artist who fashioned it was Boethus of Chalcedon." It has been conjectured that this is the original of the boy drawing a thorn from his foot; but there is no reasonable ground for the conjecture. (2) It has been suggested by v. Duhn that the statue of a seated lady in the Museo Torlonia may be a copy of the statue of Olympias by Leochares, mentioned Paus. V. 20, 10; but the marks on the pedestal in the Philippeum seem to show that Olympias was represented standing. (3) The statue of Cyniscus, Paus. VI. 4, 11, is believed by Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, pp. 452-471 = *Masterpieces*, p. 249 ff., and others to be the original of the "Westmacott athlete" and its replicas, as that is Polyclitan, and the position of the feet agree with the marks on the basis found at Olympia.

¹ There are several figures which may be regarded as more or less accurate imitations of the Hermes, but with the child omitted (see Roscher's *Lexikon d. gr. u. röm. Mythologie*, I., p. 2414; Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire*, II. i., p. 173), but these are not to be regarded as copies, and may very well prove nothing more than the general popularity of Praxitelean forms and postures.

(4) Waldstein, *Essays on the Art of Pheidias*, p. 350, thinks the statue of Euthymus by Pythagoras of Rhegium (Paus. VI. 6, 4) is the original of the Choiseul-Gouffier "Apollo" and other replicas. (5) Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, p. 471 ff. = *Masterpieces*, p. 262 ff., regards the statue of Pythocles by Polyclitus as the original of the two athlete figures of the Vatican and Munich (Helbig, *Führer*, I. p. 28, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek*⁵, No. 303), his reasons being substantially the same as those for connecting the Westmacott athlete with the statue of Cyniscus. (6) Similar reasons lead Furtwängler to connect with the Xenocles of Polyclitus (Paus. VI. 9, 2) several ancient copies, the chief of which are at Paris and Rome (*Meisterwerke*, pp. 419, 491 ff. = *Masterpieces*, pp. 224, 279 ff.). None of these identifications can be regarded as even approximately certain. Three of them depend upon the agreement of the position of the feet of statues in the style of Polyclitus with the foot marks on inscribed bases found at Olympia; but the similarity of the pose of many Polyclitan figures is so great that there is no difficulty in believing that the feet of three lost figures by Polyclitus would agree as perfectly with the marks of the bases. (7) Treu (*Olympia*, III., p. 190 f.) regards a head in the Hertz collection in Rome as an ancient copy of the Nike of Paeonius. The likeness is remarkable, but when one considers that the part of the Nike extant, the back of the head, was not visible from the ground, it becomes apparent that the Hertz head cannot be a copy of the head of the Nike unless we assume that a scaffolding was erected for the use of the copyist. It is, therefore, simpler to believe that the similarity of the back of the Hertz head to the back of the Nike head is to be explained in some other way, not by assuming that one is a copy of the other. (8) Treu (*Olympia*, III., p. 225 f.) regards a statue of Zeus in Dresden as a copy of one at Olympia, part of the torso of which is preserved (*Olympia*, III., pl. LVIII. 1; cf. *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1890, p. 107, 1892, p. 66 f.). It may well be, however, that the Olympia torso is itself a copy of the same original from which the Dresden figure is derived. The fact, therefore, that there are no exact replicas of the

Hermes in existence does not go far to prove that the statue was not by a famous artist, but may indicate that for some reason now unknown, statues at Olympia were not generally copied. An even more general observation may not be out of place. Of all the statues mentioned by Pausanias as to be seen in Greece in the time of the Antonines, comparatively few exist in identified ancient copies. The conclusion seems justified that the real reputation of a statue—the reputation it enjoyed in the fourth or even the third century B.C.—is not to be measured by the number of extant replicas. In general, those statues were copied in Roman times, which were then easily accessible. Now and then some exceptionally famous statue may have been copied even though it was more or less removed from the centre of Roman life,—so, for instance, the Aphrodite of Cnidus,—but, generally speaking, the statues, copies of which have come down to us, were either at Rome itself or at some place where many Romans lived.

The assumption that when several replicas of a Greek statue exist, we may assume the original to have been a famous work of a great artist, is a convenient working hypothesis; but the opposite proposition, that a statue of which there are no existing copies was not a famous work of a great artist, is certainly not true. There is, for instance, no extant copy of the Zeus at Olympia by Phidias.

Pausanias says the Hermes is by Praxiteles. This is a positive statement made with no limitations. Pliny says Cephisodotus was the sculptor of a Hermes with the infant Dionysus. Nothing shows that Pliny refers to this particular Hermes. Perhaps the fact that the mention of Cephisodotus occurs in the chapter on bronze statuary may tend to show that the Hermes of Cephisodotus was of bronze, but it is possible that Pliny has made a mistake here, as he appears to have done in other cases. The presumption is, however, that he has inserted the mention of Cephisodotus where it belongs, until something is found to show that he has not. Indeed, the Eirene and Plutus, generally supposed to be by Cephisodotus, looks to me rather like a copy of a bronze original,

though I would not base an argument upon that fact, as nothing is more difficult than to determine from a late copy the material of the original.

But granting for the moment that he refers to the Hermes of Olympia, how are we to tell whether Pliny or Pausanias is right? Miss Sellers thinks Pliny's statement is to be accepted for two reasons, both of which would seem to many, if not to most archaeologists, to possess great weight. In the first place, when a given work is assigned to two artists, one of whom is very famous, the other only fairly well known, the presumption is in favor of the less distinguished artist, because there is always a tendency to ascribe works of art to famous artists if possible. Modern galleries afford plenty of instances of this. The second reason is that Pausanias draws his information from inscriptions and local guides, while Pliny's compilation is based upon Greek writings of about the third century B.C. That the first point is well taken cannot be denied. We must, however, bear in mind that we know little or nothing of the possible rivalries between different collections and different writers in ancient times. Such rivalries might well lead a writer to attempt to belittle the possessions of this or that sanctuary or city by ascribing them to relatively unknown artists. Echoes of a strife between the critics Antigonus and Polemo have been detected in Pliny, and we should at any rate be on our guard against *a priori* assumptions. The second reason for preferring Pliny's authority rests upon two assumptions, neither of which is fully proved. That Pausanias actually visited the places he describes may be accepted as a fact. That he read the inscriptions and listened to the guides may be assumed as certain. That he derived *all* his information from these sources is highly improbable. Certainly his historical narratives are derived in great measure from books. The evident dependence of parts of the tenth book upon Herodotus is alone a sufficient proof of this. But if he derived his historical knowledge from books, he was a man to whom the use of books was familiar. He possessed, as Kalkmann has shown, not only written historical works, but also mythological handbooks or a mythological handbook.

Is it to be assumed that he carefully abstained from utilizing works on the history of art and artists, works with which he could hardly avoid being acquainted?

Pliny's work, on the other hand, is based for the most part on Varro, who, in turn, derived his wisdom largely from Xenocrates of Sicyon. But, interwoven with the Xenocratic work are, besides notes by Pliny himself, passages going back to Antigonus of Carystus, Duris of Samos, Polemo, the Roman Mucianus, and, as Kalkmann seems to have proved (*Die Quellen der Kunstgeschichte des Plinius*, Berlin, 1898), to an anonymous catalogue of artists. This last seems to be a work of late date, for the Pergamene artists are mentioned in it; probably even of Roman times (Kalkmann, p. 232). It is in a passage from this catalogue that the mention of the Hermes of Cephisodotus occurs. The ultimate sources of the catalogue are as yet unknown. They are probably earlier than the catalogue itself, but how much earlier or how trustworthy they are, I for one am unable to determine. We may fairly assume that when Pausanias tells us that a given work is by a given artist, with no qualification of his statement, the work passed as the work of that artist at the place where it was. When Pliny makes a statement, we must give it the weight commensurate with the excellence of the author from whom he derives it. If that author is unknown, our opinion must be held in suspense. And we should bear in mind that Pausanias was not an illiterate sightseer who accepted everything anybody told him without criticism, and that Pliny derives his information from sources of various degrees of trustworthiness, so that unless we can with some probability assign a statement by Pliny to some fairly trustworthy source, we cannot assume that he is a better authority than Pausanias.

So far as the Hermes is concerned, it seems to me that there is no reason to believe that Pliny refers to the Olympia statue, and even if there were, until it can be made probable that his remark is derived from a good source, we should still have no reason to prefer his statement to that of Pausanias.

The purpose of what I have said is not so much to criticise

the article by Miss Sellers or to prove that Praxiteles was the artist of the Hermes, as to utter a warning against arguing from insufficient premises and *a priori* assumptions. "But for the Pausanias passage, the statue at Olympia would have been unhesitatingly identified with the statue mentioned by Pliny," says Miss Sellers (p. 129). That is, I fear, only too true, and it is, among other things, against the unwarranted identification of extant statues with ill-described or casually mentioned works of ancient artists that a protest should be uttered.

IV. — *Was Attis at Rome under the Republic?*

BY DR. GRANT SHOWERMAN,

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APART from its general interest as poetry of a high order of merit, the sixty-third poem of Catullus has a special interest resulting from its containing the first allusion in the field of Roman literature, and the first definite allusion in any field of Roman evidence, to Attis, the Phrygian youth whose name is coupled with that of Cybele, the Great Mother of the Gods, as Endymion with Selene, and Adonis with Aphrodite; and who finally rose to such importance at Rome under the Empire as to be worshipped as at least a minor deity side by side with the Great Mother of the Gods herself. The absence of allusion to him in Roman literature up to the time of Catullus, together with the fact that no other Roman author up to the time of Ovid contains mention of him, forms one of several reasons for doubt not only as to the importance of Attis in the worship of the Great Mother at Rome under the Republic, but even as to his actual presence during that period. It will not be without interest to readers of Catullus if it can be determined whether the being whose name here first appears in Roman literature was present and worshipped at Rome when the poet wrote, or whether his worship had not yet been introduced.

The worship of the Great Mother was introduced at Rome by the State in 204 B.C. as a result of the Sibylline prophecy which declared that a foreign enemy could be driven from Italy if the Great Idaean Mother were brought from Pessinus to Rome.¹ The date of the event was the fourth of April, and the occasion was celebrated by the institution of the Megalesia.² On the tenth of April, 191 B.C., the goddess, who had thus far occupied the temple of Victory on the

¹ Livy XXIX. 10.

² *Ibid.* 14.

Palatine, was received into a temple of her own on the same hill.¹ Allusions to the cult under the Republic are comparatively rare. In 161 B.C. a law was passed which regulated the expenditure at the *mutitationes* or reciprocal banquets given by the patricians in honor and encouragement of the cult.² In 111 B.C. the temple was destroyed by fire, and rebuilt by Metellus.³ The worship was in charge of a Phrygian priest and a Phrygian priestess, who performed orgiastic rites and made house-to-house collections called the *stips*.⁴ Roman citizens were at first forbidden by law to enter the priesthood of the cult (which meant their becoming eunuchs) or to take part in the processions when the ceremonies were Phrygian;⁵ but the beginning of the second century of the cult's existence at Rome saw a Roman citizen voluntarily enter the service of the Mother, with no other punishment than the loss of civil rights.⁶ Cicero complained of the loss of the original purity of the cult, and said that the collection of the *stips* was a financial burden.⁷ A fragment of Varro seems to refer to the rites of the cult at Rome, and Catullus' *Attis*, Lucretius' interpretation of some of the ceremonies of the worship, and passages in Ovid and Livy describing the introduction of the Mother at Rome, reflect the increasing interest felt in her, without, however, giving a very clear idea as to the importance of her worship at that time.⁸ It is only after the time of Claudius that it becomes possible to have a comparatively complete knowledge of the importance of the cult and of the character and significance of its rites and practices. It is also only after the time of Claudius that the evidence of literature, art, and inscriptions is of such definiteness as to make it absolutely certain that Attis was admitted to a share in the ceremonial of the cult and received a share of its worship. Whether the lack of evidence is merely

¹ Livy XXXVI. 36, 3.² Aul. Gell. II. 24, 2.³ Val. Max. I. 8, 11; Ovid *Fast.* IV. 348.⁴ Dion. Hal. II. 19; Cic. *De Leg.* II. 9, 22.⁵ Dion. Hal. l.c.⁶ Val. Max. VII. 7, 6.⁷ *De Harusp. Resp.* 12, 24; *De Leg.* II. 16, 40.⁸ *Men. Sat.* ed. Buecheler 132, 149, 120, 121; Luc. II. 600 sqq.; Ovid *Fast.* IV. 178 sqq.; Livy XXIX. 14.

accidental and Attis had really been present as an object of worship with the Great Mother from the date of the introduction of the cult, or whether he was first introduced under the early Empire, is a question *adhuc sub iudice*. The view that he was present from the first is held by Marquardt in his *Staatsverwaltung* III². p. 368, and F. Cumont in De Ruggiero's *Dizionario Epigrafico*, s.v. *Attis*, while the opposite view is held by Rapp in *Roscher's Lexicon*, s.v. *Attis*, sp. 724. To demonstrate, by the examination of the arguments advanced in favor of both views, and by the presentation of further evidence, that Attis was not present as an object of worship under the Republic, but that he was first introduced in the time of the early Empire, is the object of this paper.

The belief that Attis was worshipped under the Republic is based upon: (1) a coin; (2) an emended fragment of Varro, which in its manuscript state is wholly unreadable; (3) the improbability that a pair so closely united in legend and worship as were the Great Mother and Attis in the East were separated on the migration of the cult to Rome. The further argument advanced by Cumont, that the cult at Rome was in the care of a Phrygian priest and a Phrygian priestess, and that the duality of the priesthood, by its correspondence to the duality of the divinities, indicates the presence of both these latter at Rome, is hardly of sufficient weight to call for discussion. The priesthood in Phrygia consisted of both male and female ministers,¹ and it was entirely natural to send a minister of either sex in charge of the cult when it was established at Rome. The existence there of a dual priesthood cannot be taken to prove more than that the Roman ministry was modelled on the Phrygian, and this would signify nothing as to Attis.

Let us examine in detail the main grounds for believing that Attis was present and worshipped during this period. First, the coin. This is a denarius, struck by one Cetegus. It bears on the obverse the head of *Dea Roma*, and on the reverse the representation of a stripling bestride a he-goat

¹ Dion. Trag. in Athen. 636; Nicand. *Alex.* 217-220; Polyæn. VIII. 53, 4.

galloping to the right. The youth is nude, wears a *galea* which resembles at its summit the Phrygian *pileus*, and holds a branch on his shoulder. Cavedoni, *Bulletino dell' Istituto* 1844 p. 22, identifies the Cetegus of the coin with Publius Cornelius Cethegus, an orator who flourished in the first half of the first century B.C. The figure he identifies with the Phrygian Attis on the basis of a legend in Pausanias VII. 17, which relates that Attis, having been exposed by his parents, was cared for by a he-goat.¹ The motive of the representation on the coin, according to Cavedoni, who is followed by Mommsen² and Babelon,³ is the commemoration of the introduction of the cult of the Great Mother and Attis in 204 B.C., under the consulship of Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, ancestor of the Cetegus of the coin. Supposing the coin to have been struck in 104 B.C., it would mark the hundredth anniversary of the cult at Rome. But there are difficulties in the way of accepting Cavedoni's view. The identity of the striker of the coin is not certain (for there were at least eight Cornelii who bore the name Cethegus), nor is its exact date known. It was struck about 104 B.C. Further, there is no proof that the legend which Pausanias says is local (*ἐπιχώριος*) among the Pessinuntians, dates back so far as to be well known at Rome in the second century B.C. Nor is it certain that the figure on the coin represents a Phrygian, for the headdress, the only means of identification, is described by Cavedoni as a *galea* which at its upper extremity resembles the Phrygian *pileus*, and by Mommsen as a Phrygian cap, or a helmet *which resembles* one. Another difficulty is the obscurity of the allusion. The representation of a nude stripling bestride a galloping he-goat has little in it to call to mind the legend of the infant Attis cared for by a he-goat. As an allusion to the introduction of the cult of the Great Mother, the ambiguous portrayal of one detail in a legend of her favorite would be far from felicitous. Less than a representation of the head of the deity herself, which actually does occur on the first coin which bears an absolutely clear allusion to her,⁴

¹ Cf. Arnob. V. 6, where Attis is merely nourished by goat's milk.

² *Münzwesen* n. 136.

³ I. 395 n. 18.

⁴ Bab. I. 526 n. 19.

or at least a representation of Attis with unmistakable attributes, could hardly be expected. The most that can be admitted is that if the figure does represent a Phrygian, which is doubtful, it is meant merely to suggest Phrygia, the original home of the Great Mother, and is a general, not a specific, allusion.¹

The second item of evidence advanced to prove that Attis was worshipped at Rome under the Republic consists in a conjecturally emended fragment of Varro, which in its manuscript state is unreadable. The mere statement is sufficient description of its value. The manuscript reading is : *qui dum esse na hora nam adlatam imponeret aedilis signo siae (sie W) et deam gallantes vario retinebant studio*. Lachmann's emendation, on which the argument of Attis' presence at Rome is based, reads as follows : *qui dum messem hornam adlatam imponunt Attidis signo, synodiam gallantes vario recinebant studio*. The reading of Riese, however, departs as little from the manuscript, and gives as good sense as that of Lachmann : *qui dum messem hornam adlatam imponeret aedilis signo Cybelae, deam gallantes vario recinebant strepitu*. The sense of this is excellent : the aedile places a grain-offering on the statue of Cybele, the great parent of the fruits of the earth, while her worshippers celebrate her noisy rites; but there is no mention of Attis. Finally, further to emphasize the fact that no importance is to be attached to evidence of this nature, Buecheler also emends the fragment, and makes it read as follows : *qui cum e scaena coronam adlatam imponeret aedilis signo, synodiam gallantes vario recinebant studio*.²

Finally, in order to estimate the value of the third ground for believing that Attis was worshipped at Rome under the Republic, viz., the improbability that a pair so closely united in legend and worship as were the Great Mother and Attis in the East were separated on the migration of the cult to Rome,

¹ Another interpretation is that *attagus*, the Phrygian word for *hircus* (Arnob. V. 6) is equivalent to *Cetegus*, and that the striker of the coin intended the goat as a play on his name. *Bulletino dell' Ist.* l.c.

² *Men. Sat.* 150 ed. Buecheler. For the readings of Riese and Lachmann, cf. Riese's edition.

it will be of service to review briefly the early career of the pair in the East.

The Great Mother of the Gods was in all probability neither of Indo-European nor Semitic origin, but existed among the primeval inhabitants of Asia Minor.¹ The origin of her worship consequently goes back far beyond the invasion of Asia Minor by the Phrygian tribes from across the Hellespont, the probable date of which was about 900 B.C. The spread of the worship to all parts of Asia Minor, however, cannot be said to date from this early time. Homer knew no Mother of the Gods, though he was well acquainted with districts which afterward became known as especial strongholds of her worship.² The first definite evidences of her existence are several sculptural monuments—the so-called Niobe of Mt. Sipylus, now identified as the Great Mother, and two other reliefs near the Tomb of Midas, all dating from about the middle of the sixth century B.C.³—and the fourteenth Homeric Hymn. By Herodotus' time she had long been established at Sardis (*ἐπιχωρίως θεοῦ Κυβήβης* ⁴), and was called *Δινδυμήνη* from the fame of her sanctuaries on Mt. Dindymon.⁵ In Sophocles she is the special protectress of the Pactolus, a Lydian stream near Mt. Tmolus.⁶ Phrygia finally became known as the centre of her religion, but not until after the third century B.C.⁷ She entered Thrace at an early time, no doubt through the intercourse of the Phrygian conquerors of Asia Minor with their Thracian kinsmen; she was known in Boeotia in Pindar's time,⁸ and was introduced into Attica at the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century B.C.

Of special interest is the fact that the earliest evidence regarding the Great Mother is unaccompanied by any sign that Attis existed with her. Neither do the earliest works of

¹ *Roscher's Lex.* II. 2, 2897.

² *Il.* III. 184-7; XVI. 719; XXIV. 615; VIII. 47; XIV. 283.

³ Ramsay *Jour. Hell. St.* III. 35-41; V. 244.

⁴ V. 102.

⁵ IV. 76.

⁶ *Phil.* 390.

⁷ Apollon. *Rhod. Arg.* I. 1126; Strabo 469, 567; Catullus 63.

⁸ *Frag.* 57 B, 57 C, Fennell.

art represent him, nor is there any allusion to him in inscriptions or literature before the fourth century B.C. The name *Ates* occurs on the Tomb of Midas, which dates from a very early period, but does not refer to the favorite of the Mother, and only proves the existence of the name at the time the monument was erected.¹ The name occurs first in literature in a fragment of Theopompus, about 390 B.C., but this gives no light as to the importance of Attis.² Hermesianax, about 340 B.C., was the first to give a legend of Attis, which is transmitted, together with the one local at Pessinus, by Pausanias VII. 17. In the time of Theocritus the Great Mother and Attis were well known, and were compared with Selene and Endymion and Aphrodite and Adonis.³ About the same time Neanthes of Cyzicus wrote something about Attis which Harpocration called *μυστικός λόγος*.⁴ Nicander, in the beginning of the second century B.C., mentions the *ὄργαστήριον* Ἄττειω in connection with the *θαλάμῃαι*, or underground chambers where the priests of the Mother consecrated themselves by self-emasculatation.⁵ Apollonius, however, in a passage concerning the founding of the cult at Cyzicus, says nothing about Attis,⁶ and the epigrams in the *Anthologia Palatina*, dating about 200 B.C., are equally silent concerning him, although they make frequent mention of the Galloi, the priests of the Mother.⁷

In view of the total absence of allusion to Attis in the East in the earliest period, and the extreme paucity of mention in Greek writers, — for the author of Homeric Hymn XIV., Herodotus, Pindar, Aristophanes, Sophocles, Euripides, and Apollonius, who all knew and made mention of the Great Mother, contain no allusion to her favorite, — the conclusion is inevitable that no such widespread worship of Attis could have existed in Asia Minor prior to the third century B.C. as is known to have existed at Rome and in the Provinces under the Empire. The legend of Hermesianax shows that at least

¹ Ramsay *J.H.S.* X. 149-156.

² Suidas p. 70.

³ Theoc. XX. 40.

⁴ Harpoc. s.v. *Attis*.

⁵ *Alex.* 8.

⁶ *Arg.* I. 1123-1152.

⁷ VI. 51, 94, 173, 217, 218, 219, 234.

one version of the origin of Attis was current in the fourth century B.C., but with the exception of a festival resembling the Adonia, held in his honor at Piraeus in the same century, where the cults of the Great Mother and Aphrodite were blended,¹ there is no evidence that Attis was worshipped or regarded as a deity up to the time of the Empire. Further, the fact that talkative Herodotus relates the story of Atys, the son of Croesus, king of Lydia, who being yet in the bloom of young manhood was accidentally slain by his friend during a wild boar hunt, while he nowhere so much as alludes to the Phrygian Attis, warrants doubt that even the legend of the favorite of the Great Mother was well known as early as the fifth century B.C.²

It is not necessary to enter here into the question of the origin of Attis—whether he coexisted with the Mother among the primeval people of Asia Minor,³ whether he came by way of the Syrians,⁴ or whether he was a result of the influence of the Semitic religion operating through the Lydians, a branch of the Semitic stock, who finally subdued Phrygia in 585 B.C. All that is relevant here is the conclusion that up to the time of the migration of the cult of the Great Mother to Rome in 204 B.C., Attis, as an object of worship, had not risen to prominence. It must be remembered in this connection that the conception of Attis as a great god and king, omnipotent and omniscient, a symbol of the sun, etc., was a product of syncretism in the fourth century A.D.,⁵ and that evidence that he was worshipped as a Zeus in Phrygia and Bithynia dates from the second century A.D. and later.⁶ He must not be invested in the early period with characteristics and importance which he acquired at a later time.

It is now less difficult to understand why it is not improbable that the Great Mother came to Rome without Attis. However closely united in legend the pair may have been in

¹ Comparetti *Annales* 1862 p. 23.

² I. 43.

³ Kretschmer *Einleitung in die Gesch. der griech. Sp.* pp. 195, 355.

⁴ Radet *Bibl. des écoles franç. d'Athènes et de Rome* 63 pp. 261–264.

⁵ Julian *Or. V.* 168 C; Kaibel *Epiq.* 824.

⁶ Arrian in Eustath. on *Il. V.* 408; Psellus *περὶ διομάρτων* p. 109.

204 B.C., there is no reason to believe that they were so closely united in worship as to render a separation impossible or improbable. It may be added that the presence of Attis in Greece in Pausanias' time is attested only at Dyme, Patrai, and Piraeus, all seaport towns.¹ The words of Pausanias, too, show how little known Attis was in the second century A.D., even to an intelligent traveller. Before giving the two legends of Attis, he says: "There is also a sanctuary (at Dyme) of Mother Dindymene and Attis. Who Attis was I could not discover, for it is a secret."² Further, it was entirely in accordance with Roman religious policy to import the cult without Attis. Dionysius Halicarnassus, speaking of the introduction of foreign cults at Rome, says: "But even in cases where religions have been introduced in obedience to oracles, the State itself provides for their worship after its own customs, doing away with all mythic nonsense, as in the case of the rites of the Idaean goddess."³ The Roman State, even if it did not throughout its history hold to the ideal *ne qui nisi Romani dii, neu quo alio more quam patrio colerentur*,⁴ at least always exercised strict control over foreign cults. The enactment forbidding citizens to enter the priesthood and the sumptuary law regulating the *mutitationes* are evidences that the cult of the Mother was no exception to the rule.

The results, then, of an examination of the grounds for believing that Attis was worshipped at Rome under the Republic are: (1) the improbability that the Great Mother and Attis were separated when the cult of the former was introduced at Rome is by no means strong; (2) the emended fragment of Varro is not valid evidence; and (3) the coin of Cetegus is not beyond doubt an allusion to Attis, first, because the figure represented upon it is not clearly Phrygian, and second, because, granted even that the figure were clearly Phrygian, it is not clearly Attis, and is better explained as a general allusion to the Phrygian character of the Mother than as an allusion to her favorite.

¹ Paus. VII. 17, 9; 20, 3; Comparetti l.c.

³ II. 19.

² Paus. VII. 17, 9 (Frazer).

⁴ Livy IV. 30, 11.

It remains to present the grounds for holding the belief that Attis was not worshipped at Rome until the time of the Empire. The most apparent reason for this view lies in the almost complete silence of Roman literature concerning him during the Republic and the early days of the Empire. Lucretius, giving an extended interpretation of the religion and rites of the Great Mother, does not hint at the existence of Attis; Livy, telling the story of the reception of the cult in 204 B.C., says nothing of him, and none of the accounts of the event, by writers even of the first centuries of the Empire, gives him a place in the famed ceremonies of that day.¹ Catullus and Ovid are the only authors before the time of Claudius who mention the name *Attis*, and Ovid does not give the impression that he knew Attis as a factor in the cult at Rome, but treats him as merely a character in legend.

As to the Attis of Catullus, it is apparent that he is not the divine companion of Cybele, her Adonis, but merely a Greek youth who devotes himself to her service by the act of consecration usual among the Galloi of the East. Ellis, in saying that "Catullus in his *Attis* has not followed any of the legends as they have been transmitted to us; he has taken the bare outline of the story and worked it up as his own imagination suggested," is, it seems to me, laboring under a misconception. Catullus did not set out to give a version of the legend of Attis, or to work up the story of Attis, the companion of the Great Mother. What he did mean to sing was the experience of a beautiful Greek youth who devoted himself to the service of the Great Mother by rushing to her sacred groves and despoiling himself of his manhood — the irresistible impulse he felt, his self-dedication while under its influence, his frenzied enthusiasm and complete exhaustion, the passing away of his enthusiasm as he slept, his horror and despair as he awoke in the clear morning to find himself forever cut off from the exquisite delights of his former life, and doomed to an effeminate and unnatural existence as the slave of the Mother on the lofty mountain

¹ Luc. II. 600; Livy XXIX. 14; Ovid *Fast.* IV. 247-347; Sil. Ital. XVII. 8-58.

ridges of Phrygia, the haunts of the wild beasts of the forest. The name *Attis* was generic, as well as specific. A priest of the Mother at Pessinus mentioned by Polybius was named *Attis*,¹ and letters from Eumenes II. and Attalus II. to the priest at Pessinus are addressed to *Attis*.² Strabo says that the official title of the high priest at Pessinus was *Attis*. The name was traditional also at Rome, as an inscription proves: *C. Camerius Crescens Archigallus Matris Deum Magnae Idacae et Attis Populi Romani*—*Attis* of the Roman people.³ The subject of Catullus' poem, then, is not *the* *Attis*, but *an* *Attis*—a Greek *Attis*—a type of the priesthood. The impulse to write the poem was the result primarily of the author's personal knowledge of the cult, however intimate may be its relation to the Alexandrian school. The spontaneity and fire of the whole poem, the vividness with which the enthusiasm, the passion, and the despair of *Attis* are pictured, the feeling of horror at his act which thrills through the lines, are all too great to have come from the pen of a mere translator or imitator, or of any one who had not acquired familiarity with the cult of the Great Mother in its most developed condition. The strength of the poem is most easily explained on the supposition that Catullus received the impulse to write it during his year's residence in Asia Minor.

Leaving the field of literature, an examination of the inscriptions, sculpture, and painting of the Republic yields the same result—there is no allusion to *Attis*.

But this is evidence which at best serves only to make it probable that the worship of *Attis* had not yet been introduced at Rome. Evidence of a more positive nature, however, is available. Dionysius, writing at some length on the character of the religion of the Romans, says: "And there is no festival of mourning among them on the occasion of which black garments are worn or there is lamentation of women

¹ XXI. 37.

² *Münchener Sitzungsberichte* 1860 p. 180 sqq. Cf. Mommsen *Hist. of Rome*, translated by W. P. Dickson, III. 276 n.

³ *C.I.L.* VI. 2183. Cf. Orelli 2353.

for gods who have disappeared, as there is among the Greeks to commemorate the rape of Persephone and the passion of Dionysus and other things of like nature. Nor will any one see among them, even though now the times have become corrupt, either inspirations, or Corybantic frenzy, or collections of money in the service of the gods.¹ . . . And what most of all has been a source of surprise, at least to me, is that, although, so to speak, myriads of nationalities have come to the city and have great need to worship their ancestral gods according to the usage of their native land, the city as a public body has not fallen into extravagant ways over any worship from abroad, but even in cases where religions have been introduced in obedience to oracles, it itself provides for their worship after its own customs, doing away with all mythic nonsense, as in the case of the rites of the Idaean goddess. . . . Thus circumspectly does the State proceed in its dealings with the gods of foreign nationalities."²

Now rites of the very same nature as those which Dionysius, who resided at Rome from 30 to 8 B.C., asserts were not to be seen among the Romans in his time—the festival of mourning, on the occasion of which black garments were worn, or there was lamentation of women for gods who had disappeared—are known to have been prominent features in the commemoration and worship of Attis under the Empire. On the 22d of March, called *arbor intrat*, the bearing of the sacred pine into the temple commemorated the disappearance of Attis after his self-mutilation.³ The 24th of March, the *dies sanguinis*, was marked by ceremonies commemorating the grief of the Mother at the loss of Attis. Besides fasting, the special ceremony of the day was that of mourning, in which the Archigallus and priests, in frenzied dance and song, beating their breasts, their locks flying loose, finally rose to the height of enthusiasm and lacerated their arms with knives.⁴ The ceremonies

¹ Cicero *De Leg.* II. 16, 40: *Stipem sustulimus nisi eam, quam ad paucos dies propriam Idaeae Matris excepimus.* Cf. 9, 22.

² II. 19.

³ *Fast. Phil.* Mar. 22; Lydus *De Mens.* IV. 41.

⁴ *Fast. Phil.* Mar. 24; Arnob. V. 7, 16; Apul. *Metam.* VII. 27.

of both *arbor intrat* and *dies sanguinis* had for their motive the death and disappearance of Attis. That the cycle of festivals in honor of the Mother and Attis to which these two days belong, extending over the period March 15–March 27, did not exist under the Republic is absolutely certain, for the *Fasti* of Ovid give the date of the annual festival as April 4th–10th, and describe it as consisting of one day followed by the Megalesia.¹ That special ceremonies like those of these two days were practised in Rome when Dionysius wrote does not seem possible, for they could not have remained unknown to him, and had they come to his notice he could not consistently have written the above passage.

The evidence thus far presented has been to show that no worship of Attis existed under the Republic. Evidence that he was worshipped under the Empire is of course abundant. To complete the argument, the presentation of evidence to fix the time of the introduction of his worship is necessary. Ioannes Lydus, a writer of the sixth century, gives this. In his treatise *Περὶ Μηνῶν*, which exists only in a fragmentary condition, after describing the ceremony of March 22d, he adds: *τὴν δὲ ἑορτὴν Κλαύδιος ὁ βασιλεὺς κατεστήσατο*, — the Emperor Claudius established this festival.² As has been stated, both the ceremony of this day, the bearing of the pine into the temple, and the mourning, fasting, and self-laceration of the *dies sanguinis* have their motive in the story of Attis. Lydus' note as to Claudius, therefore, can fairly be taken to refer to all the ceremonies of the cycle which had to do with Attis, which accords well with the fact that the first mention of these ceremonies is found in writers of the latter part of the first century A.D.,³ and that the last mention of the one-day festival followed by the Megalesia occurs in Ovid.

The weight of evidence, as well as of probability, is thus seen to favor the assumption that the introduction of Attis at Rome as an object of worship did not take place until after the Republic. Augustine charges Varro with having turned away, in his writings, from a discussion of the myth

¹ IV. 179–390.

² IV. 41.

³ Martial XI. 84, 3; Seneca *Agam.* 687.

of Attis because of his consciousness of the futility of attempting to give an acceptable interpretation of the myth;¹ but the more reasonable explanation of Varro's silence in a work like his *Antiquitates Rerum Divinarum* is that Attis had not become an object of interest at Rome. Lucretius did not write of him for the same reason — he was not there to be written about. That some form of the legend of the Great Mother and Attis was current at Rome from the first is altogether probable, but that Attis was worshipped from the date of the introduction of the cult of the Great Mother, even (as M. Cumont suggests) in an unofficial way, is contradicted by the evidence on the question.

¹ *De Civ. Dei* VII. 25.

V. — *The Cognomina of the Goddess "Fortuna."*

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No more drastic illustration of the paucity of our knowledge of early Roman religion can well be found than the fact that the origin of the great goddess "Fortuna" is a riddle, unsolved as yet—for the hypothesis of Otto Gilbert (*Geschichte und Topographie der Stadt Rom*, II. 390, 1.), *Fortuna = Nortia*, can scarcely be called a solution. In the absence of direct sources, indirect ones have been sought after, and where historical investigations were balked, Philology and Anthropology have stepped in, but their results, etymological and folk-loristic hypotheses, are alike unprofitable. Etymology, as applied to Roman religion, is apt to leave one in the lurch just when its assistance is most sorely needed. Even such an otherwise admirable book as Hermann Usener's *Götternamen* contains many examples of this. And I am inclined to think that any one who gives careful heed to the so-called "enrichment" of our knowledge, which comes from etymology, will agree with the following formulation: Given the knowledge of the nature of a god an attempt at an etymology is occasionally successful, but as a means of obtaining a knowledge of the god's nature its results are scarcely ever reliable. The anthropologists have accomplished decidedly more, but the results of comparative folklore are illustrative rather than demonstrative; they are, as a rule, interesting rather than profitable; and the danger of considering similarity of phenomena as sufficient ground for similarity of interpretation is very great.

Among the subordinate methods which in a quiet way have been producing good results in the field of both Greek and Roman religion, may be mentioned the method of Appellations. To Georg Wentzel belongs the credit of having formulated this particular branch of investigation and

given it a terminology. In a monograph published at Göttingen in 1890 and entitled *de Grammaticis Graecis Quaestiones Selectae* he distinguished ἐπίκλησις or *cognomen*, ἐπίθετον or *epithet*, and ἐπώνυμον or *eponym*. I venture to define these terms more closely as follows — ἐπίκλησις: the title of a god actually employed in his cult, and by means of which he was invoked; ἐπίθετον: an adjective or other descriptive or laudatory phrase which was occasionally applied to the god or had become stereotyped (*i.e.* *temporary* or *conventional* epithets); ἐπώνυμον: an adjective or phrase localizing or individualizing a god, *i.e.* connecting him with a place or a person.

Two years ago when I applied these distinctions to Roman religion¹ I found interesting results in the oldest stratum, the gods of the so-called 'Religion of Numa' with their curious double-names, *e.g.* *Janus Patulcius-Clusivius*, *Genita-Mana*, *Porrima-Postvorta*. There was also the possibility of showing *hypostasis* (or the separating off and becoming independent of a cult-title), *e.g.* *Iuppiter Liber* > *Iuppiter* and *Liber*; and *amalgamation* (Usener's *Sondergotttheits-theorie*), *e.g.* *Iuno* and *Cinxia* > *Iuno Cinxia*. Among the genuine Roman gods the chief interest attaches to *Iuppiter*, and among the Italic gods to *Fortuna*. I present here the results of a reinvestigation of the cult-names of *Fortuna*.

The sources for the cult-names of *Fortuna* are in general the same as those for other deities; namely, the literature and the inscriptions, whether on coins or on stones (and in the latter class, especially the *Fasti anni Iuliani*). Among the literary sources, however, there are two that are peculiar to *Fortuna*, two passages in Plutarch, the first in his *Quaestiones Romanae*, No. 74, the second in his treatise, *de Fortuna Romanorum*, especially in Chap. 10. In the former of these passages (*Q. R.* 74) Plutarch is discoursing on *Fortuna Brevis* (Τύχη Μικρά), and incidentally refers to a number of other

¹ Cf. my *de Deorum Romanorum Cognominibus Quaestiones Selectae*, Leipsic (Teubner), 1898. Inasmuch as the Appendix to this monograph contains the *loci* for all cognomina, including those of *Fortuna*, I have thought best to refer to it once for all, and not to burden this paper with long lists of sources.

cognomina: οὐ γὰρ μόνον Τύχης Εὐέλπιδος καὶ Ἀποτροπαίου καὶ Μειλιχίας καὶ Πρωτογενείας καὶ Ἄρρενος ἱερά κατεσκεύασεν, ἀλλ' ἔστιν Ἰδίας Τύχης ἱερόν, ἕτερον δ' Ἐπιστρεφομένης, ἄλλο Παρθένου, καὶ τί ἂν τις ἐπεξίλοι τὰς ἄλλας ἐπωνυμίας, ὅπου Τύχης Ἰξευτηρίας ἱερόν ἐστίν, ἣν Βισκάταν ὀνομάζουσι, etc. If now we arrange these cognomina in the order of mention, and then write opposite to them the known or probable Latin equivalent, we shall have the following:—

Εὐέλπις	<i>Felix ?</i>
Ἀποτρόπαιος	<i>Mala ?</i>
Μειλιχία	<i>Obsequens.</i>
Πρωτογενεία	<i>Primigenia.</i>
Ἄρρην	<i>Virilis.</i>
Ἰδία	<i>Privata.</i>
Ἐπιστρεφομένη	<i>Respicens.</i>
Παρθένος	<i>Virgo.</i>
Ἰξευτηρία	<i>Viscata.</i>

Inasmuch as *Felix* and *Mala* are reasonably certain translations (Hartung's Ἀποτρόπαιος = *Averrunca* is without real foundation), it will be seen that with the exception of *Virilis*, which ought to have stood at or near the end, this list is alphabetical. This one exception may be accounted for by observing that with *Virilis* Plutarch has ended a sentence, and that those illustrations which follow are really an after-thought. As additional evidence that *Virilis* stood at the bottom may be mentioned the fact that in Plutarch's other list (*de Fort. Rom.* Chap. 10), where approximately the same cognomina are cited, *Virilis* does actually stand at the end. Plutarch was thus evidently following an alphabetical list, but whether this list was made by Verrius Flaccus, or more probably went back to Varro himself, we cannot decide.

I have been able to collect in all forty-one cult-titles of *Fortuna*, of which twenty-two are found in inscriptions only, seven in the literature only, and twelve in the inscriptions and literature.¹

¹ In this count I have purposely omitted two: *Citerior* and *Mammosa*, as being epithets rather than cognomina. Of the former I shall have occasion to

IN INSCRIPTIONS ONLY.	IN BOTH INSCRIPTIONS AND LITERATURE.	IN LITERATURE ONLY.
ADIVTRIX	BALNEARIS	BARBATA
AETERNA	BONA	BREVIS
CASVALIS	FELIX	EQUESTRIS
CONSERVATRIX	HVIVSCE DIEI	MALA
DOMESTICA	MVLIEBRIS	PRIVATA
DVX	OBSEQVENS	VIRGO
FORTISSIMA	PRIMIGENIA	VISCATA
MAGNA	PVBLICA	
MEMOR	REDVX	
OPIFERA	REGINA	
PANTHEA	RESPICIENS	
PRAESENS	VIRILIS	
PRAETORIA		
RESTITVTRIX		
SALVTARIS		
SERVATRIX		
STABILIS		
STATATA		
SVPERA		
TVTATRIX		
TVTELA		
VICTRIX		

In general, cognomina found exclusively in inscriptions are comparatively young, many of them being not older than the empire. They are in the main less interesting and less instructive than the older cognomina because many of them are applied without distinction to nearly all the popular gods of the empire. One set of them is almost colorless, and except that they are found in votive inscriptions and therefore may possibly be *ἐπικλήσεις*, we are scarcely able to distinguish them from poetical epithets, pure and simple. Thus of our twenty-two, at least eight seem to be of this kind: AETERNA, CASVALIS, FORTISSIMA, MAGNA, MEMOR, STABILIS,

speak below. Of the latter I will say in passing that it was probably merely the popular name for a statue with many breasts, very likely a statue of the Ephesian Dianā, which stood somewhere in the XII Region (cf. *Curiosum* and *Notitia*).

SVPERA, VICTRIX. As a matter of fact four of these occur with other deities (*Aeterna* with four other deities, *Magna* with six others, *Memor* with one other, *Victrix* with eight others), and *Fortissima* and *Supera* have nothing very distinctive about them. *Casualis* and *Stabilis* alone seem to have a direct and exclusive relationship to *Fortuna*. Of the remaining fourteen, ten at least are variations on the idea of protection and rescue, especially restoration from sickness. These functions are attributed almost indiscriminately to the popular gods of the empire. The syncretistic manner of thought penetrating as it did even into the lowest strata of society brought this to pass. These ten, which express various nuances of the idea of rescue and restoration, are: ADIVTRIX, CONSERVATRIX, DVX, OPIFERA, PRAESENS, RESTITVTRIX, SALVTARIS, SERVATRIX, TVTATRIX, TVTELA. All but two (*Dux* and *Tutela*) are found in other connections, and the absence of these two seems to be merely an accident. Thus of all the twenty-two cognomina found in inscriptions only four are of any special interest: DOMESTICA, PANTHEA, PRAETORIA, STATA. *Fortuna Stata* is found in a Roman inscription (*C.I.L.* VI. 761) datable A.D. 12: STATAE FORTVNAE AVG(ustae) SACR(um) . . . MAG. VICI. It seems to be a latter-day variation on the old *Stata Mater*, a goddess worshipped, in conjunction with Vulcan, as a distinguisher of fires in the city (cf. *C.I.L.* VI. 762, 763, 764, 765, 766). *Fortuna Praetoria* occurs in an inscription from Tibur (*C.I.L.* XIV. 3540: FORTVN(ae) PRAETORIAE SACRVM). It is merely a localization of the *tutela* of *Fortuna*—her guardianship of the Praetorian Cohort. With it may be compared *C.I.L.* XIV. 3554: HERCVL(i) TIBVRT(ino) VICT(ori) ET CETERIS DIS PRAET(oriis) TIBVRT(inis), and IX. 2586: FORTVNA MVNICIPI (= Τύχη πόλεως). Akin to this localization of *Fortuna* is the individualization of her. The transition may perhaps be found in *Fortuna Domestica*, to whom we have an inscription from Ostia (*C.I.L.* XIV. 6), and three from the Danube provinces (*C.I.L.* III. 1009, Dacia; 1939, Dalmatia; 4398, Pannonia Superior). It is a very small step from this to such a form as we meet in *C.I.L.* III.

8169 (Moesia Superior): FORTVNAE AETERNAE DOMVS FVRIANAЕ: *the everlasting Fortuna of the house of Furius*. And so we are not surprised when we read of the *Fortunae* of individual houses and persons; e.g. FORTVNA CRASSIANA (C.I.L. VI. 186); FORTVNA FLAVIA (VI. 187); FORTVNA TORQVATIANA (VI. 204); FORTVNA TVLLIANA (VI. 8706). Such individualizing is found apart from *Fortuna* only in the case of *Hercules*, *Iuppiter*, and *Silvanus*, who are called *Domesticus* and given family eponyms, but *Domesticus* alone is found with *Lares* and *Mercurius*, and the names of individuals are coupled with *Bona Dea*, *Diana*, and *Liber*. Lastly, *Fortuna Panthea* is the expression of a tendency the very opposite of individualization. It is an externalization of that same syncretism which in the field of art made men add to the image of *Fortuna* the attributes of various other goddesses.

The group of such cognomina as are found both in inscriptions and in literature is of necessity a mixed one, containing both new and old. To the younger elements may be reckoned: BALNEARIS, BONA, FELIX, OBSEQVENS, REDVX, REGINA, RESPICIENS. They need no particular comment except perhaps the last. Though *Fortuna Respicens* is occasionally mentioned by writers from Cicero on, we know almost nothing about her except that she had a statue on the Palatine and possibly also on the Esquiline. One is tempted to suggest that this may be only another case of a popular nickname arising from some peculiarity of the statue, but the existence of four votive inscriptions (one from Rome, two from Italy outside of Rome, and one from the Rhine) to *Fortuna Respicens* precludes this idea. Of the remaining five: HVIVSCE DIEI, MVLIEBRIS, PRIMIGENIA, PVBLICA, VIRILIS, I shall treat below.

The cognomina which occur only in the literature are as a rule the oldest. The worshippers put up no inscriptions, or at best few, to their god, and at the time of the beginning of the empire the cult had grown so insignificant that it did not demand a place in the official calendars. In our list of seven, three are unfortunately little more than names to us:

BREVIS, PRIVATA, and VISCATA are not mentioned outside of Plutarch. *Mala Fortuna*, first mentioned in Plautus, had an altar on the Esquiline. For our knowledge of *Fortuna Barbata* we are indebted to Tertullian and Augustine, who in turn were the debtors of Varro. Whether the cognomen arose out of a popular epithet applied to a bearded statue of an effeminate god or hero (possibly Dionysius or Sardanapalus), which, by a mistake in the gender, was called '*Fortuna with a beard*,' we cannot decide. Certain it is that folk-lore connected this particular *Fortuna* with the growth of the beard. *Fortuna Virgo* seems to be another case of a genuine popular superstition. In the Cattle-market at Rome stood a statue fully draped. Some said it was a statue of Servius Tullius, others of Pudicitia; but the popular view was that it represented *Fortuna Virgo*, and maidens on the eve of marriage were wont to dedicate their virgin's garb to her.

There remain therefore six cognomina of which I wish to treat more fully: EQVESTRIS, HVIVSCE DIEI, MVLIEBRIS, PRIMIGENIA, PVBLICA, VIRILIS. Of the six, four are datable with considerable accuracy, while the other two though not datable are evidently old. These two are PVBLICA and VIRILIS. *Fortuna Virilis* was worshipped on April 1st, in conjunction with *Venus Verticordia*. The worship of *Venus Verticordia* can be traced back to about the time of the Second Punic War, and as it seems itself to have been of the nature of a corrective to the abuses of the cult of *Fortuna Virilis* the latter is of course older. It is not to be expected that we should know the date of the origin of *Fortuna Publica Populi Romani*, but it is reasonable to demand that she should not be confounded with the *Fortuna Primigenia* of Praeneste (concerning whom see below), with whom she has nothing to do. The origin of this confusion, which exists among practically all modern scholars, seems to have been as follows. In historic times *Fortuna Publica* possessed at least two temples in Rome, both situated on the Quirinal. The *dies natalicius* of one was April 5th, that of the other May 25th. It so happens that the calendars read at May 25th:—

FORTVNAE P(*ublicae*) P(*opuli*) R(*omani*) Q(*uiritium*) IN
 COLLE QVIRIN(*ali*). [Fasti Caeretani.]
 FORTVN(*ae*) PVBLIC(*ae*) P(*opuli*) R(*omani*) IN
 COLL(*e*). [Fasti Esquilini.]
 FORTVN(*ae*) PRIM(*igeniae*) IN COL(*le*). [Fasti Venusini.]

Mommsen has shown by comparison with Ovid *F. V.* 729, that PR is to be read P(*opuli*) R(*omani*), and not PR(*imigenia*). The combination *Publica Primigenia*, therefore, never occurs, as this was the only *locus* hitherto known, and the only possible ground for identifying the two goddesses would lie in the fact that their festivals fall upon the same day, and represent, therefore, presumably, the *dies natalicius* of the same temple. But this inference may, I believe, be shown to be false. *Fortuna Primigenia* had, to be sure, a temple *in colle*, but according to the very reliable calendar of the Arval brothers the birthday of the temple was November 13, a day especially appropriate, because it was the Ides, sacred to Iuppiter, whose daughter *Fortuna Primigenia* was always considered to be. It would seem, therefore, that the entry in the *Fasti Venusini* under May 25 is a mistake.¹ In partial confirmation of this view may be mentioned the following. According to Vitruvius (III. 2, 3), there was a place on the Quirinal known as *ad tres Fortunas*, because of the presence of three temples of *Fortuna* there. Now, if my suggestion be correct, there would be two temples of *Fortuna Publica* and one of *Fortuna Primigenia*, and that this was the case seems probable, because one of the temples of *Fortuna Publica* was known as *Publica Citerior*. This comparative form would scarcely have been used, if there had been *three* temples of *Fortuna Publica* there. The last four cognomina are historically datable. The oldest of them is probably MVLIEBRIS, certainly the oldest, if there be even a foundation of truth in the story that a temple to her was built in B.C. 486, after the women folk of Rome had saved the city from Coriolanus and the Volscians. The next in order chronologically,

¹ That the *Fasti* are not infallible may be shown by the very evident mistake of the *Fasti Vallenses* under September 25.

PRIMIGENIA, takes us into the seething sea of superstition that marks the period of the Second Punic War. The home of *Fortuna Primigenia* was the town of Praeneste. From there she was introduced into Rome, probably in B.C. 204, as the result of a vow made by P. Sempronius Tuditanus, at the battle of Crotona. Ten years later, in B.C. 194, the temple which he had vowed was dedicated. We have seen that this *Fortuna Primigenia* is not to be confounded with the *Fortuna Publica Populi Romani*. In B.C. 180 Q. Fulvius Flaccus won a victory over the Celtiberi through the prowess of the *Equites*, and in gratitude vowed a temple to *Fortuna Equestris*, the *Fortuna* of the Knights. The temple was dedicated seven years later (in B.C. 173). It was still in existence in B.C. 14, for it is mentioned by Vitruvius (III. 3, 2), but apparently was destroyed before A.D. 22 (cf. Tac. *Ann.* III. 71). If *Equestris* is an attempt to emphasize by limitation the interest of *Fortuna* in a particular class, the next cognomen HVIVSCE DIEI imposes a limit in respect to time. The cult of *Fortuna Huiusce Diei* seems to have originated in B.C. 168, when Paullus in his battle against Perseus at Pydna vowed a temple to her. This temple seems to have been situated on the Palatine.

Summing up, we may say that *functional* cognomina are practically lacking in the case of *Fortuna*, and that her cognomina are employed principally to limit and thus emphasize her protecting activity in point of time, place, or person.

VI. — *Traces of Epic Usage in Thucydides.*

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IN many of the speeches and in descriptive passages in great crises Thucydides displays his peculiar power, rising in style to suit the occasion, having a more majestic rhythm than ordinary, appropriating words and constructions from the poets, especially from Homer and the Drama, borrowing from the Ionic, coining new terms. We should feel his kinship with Aeschylus and Pindar even if the scholiast had never said *ἰστέον ὅτι εἰς τὸ κομψὸν τῆς φράσεως . . . Αἰσχύλου καὶ Πίνδαρον ἐμιμήσατο*. He is not struggling with the language, with a material not yet fully adapted to the purposes of prose narration. He is *master* of the language. He does as he pleases with his own, as a great creative genius always has the right to do. He consciously avoids at such times the language of daily life and creates for himself a great literary dialect. He uses rare terms and unusual forms of expression because ordinary words have traditional associations that may detract from the dignity of the subject at such a time. He uses poetical terms, because poetry alone can adequately express deep human passion and pathos, and because such words have been, in a measure, sacred to his readers from their earliest use of the great national text-book in poetry, or are associated in their minds with all that has so moved and thrilled and purified them in their own great drama. The effect was like borrowing great biblical words, which everybody knows and which are consecrated by association, to describe some event of unusual moment.

I have emphasized heretofore in several papers Thucydides' indebtedness to Greek tragedy and to the Ionic. As prose was in Thucydides' time still in process of development out of poetry and of that differentiation from it which became so marked in the orators of the next century, we should expect

the chief influence on Thucydides' style to come from that kind of poetry which had absorbed all previous forms and was then completely dominant at Athens, the Drama. Along with that goes, of course, for an historian, Herodotean influence. We should not expect epic influence to be as apparent in Thucydides as in Aeschylus, because he was writing history and not poetry. Partly because he was less a poet than Plato, partly, also, owing to his subject-matter, he borrows less from Homer than does Plato. Still, traces of epic as well as of dramatic influence are well worth seeking in Thucydides also. Greek writers knew Homer better and were more influenced by him than has been the case even with great English writers with respect to the Bible, and one may feel Homer in Thucydides when proof of epic reminiscence is not easily demonstrable. A few terms and idioms borrowed from poetry and traceable directly or indirectly to Homer may give some idea of what might be found if one knew classical Greek usage thoroughly well and were perfectly familiar with Homer. For convenience, two general classes of such terms and idioms may be made :

I. *From Homer or the Epic, apparently directly;*

II. *From Homer or the Epic, indirectly through Tragedy, or Herodotus, or Lyric.*

I.

From Homer or the Epic, apparently directly.

οἱ ἀποθανόντες, *the dead, the fallen* (Thuc. ii. 34. 2 ; iii. 109. 9 ; 113. 23), is practically a substantive and, as Classen says, a relic of Homeric usage. Cf. *Il.* xvi. 457 τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ θανόντων. Also *Il.* xvi. 675 ; xvii. 435 ; xxii. 389 ; xxiii. 9 ; *Od.* xxiv. 190, 296 ; *Aesch. Pers.* 842 ; *Ag.* 1339 ; *Ch.* 355 ; *Eum.* 318 ; frg. 230, 257 ; *Eur. Hel.* 1421 ; *Pind.* frg. 11. 96.

A similar euphemism for the dead, οἱ κεκηῶτες, *the wearied, the departed*, occurs in the famous speech of the Plataeans (iii. 59. 14) and comes down also from Homer (*e.g. Il.* iii. 278 οἱ ὑπέερθε καμόντας | ἀνθρώπους τίνισθον, or *Od.* xi. 476 εἶδωλα καμόντων), who uses the aor. for this idea, the pf. with him signifying the condition of weariness from which recuperation is possible (*e.g.*

Il. vi. 261; xvi. 44; xxiii. 232; *Od.* x. 31), though the tragedians, Plato, Aristophanes, and Theocritus, as well as Thucydides, have all borrowed the idiom, using, however, the pf., not the aor. On both idioms in Homer, see Classen, *Beobachtungen über den hom. Sprachgebrauch*, p. 57 ff.

ἀριστοι ἀπατᾶσθαι, *best to be deceived* (Thuc. iii. 38. 21). The Schol. rightly remarks that ἀριστοι is here = ἐπιτήδευοι; but it is ironical, and so means *adepts*. The construction is as old as Homer, e.g. *Il.* vi. 78 ἀριστοι | πᾶσαν ἐπ' ἰθὺν ἔστε μάχεσθαι τε φρονέειν τε. *Od.* iii. 180 ἀμείνων μαντεύεσθαι. *Od.* vii. 327 ἀρισται | νῆες ἐμαὶ καὶ κοῦροι ἀναρρίπτειν ἄλα πηδῶ. *Od.* viii. 123 θέειν ὄχ' ἀριστος. Cf. ἀγαθὸς μάχεσθαι Hes. *Op.* 763, 779, 813; Hdt. I. 136. 2. Soph. *O. R.* 440 ἀριστος εὐρίσκειν. Eur. *Androm.* 474 ἀμείνονες φέρειν ἄχθος. *I. A.* 1394 εἰς γ' ἀνὴρ κρείστων γυναικῶν μυρία δῶν φᾶος. Hdt. I. 193. 13 ἀρίστη . . . Δήμητρος κάρπον ἐκφέρειν, III. 80. 21 διαβολὰς ἀριστος ἐνδέκεσθαι. Cf. also Ar. *Nub.* 430; Xen. *Cyrop.* V. 4. 44; and Plato, *Prot.* 356 b ἀγαθὸς ἰστᾶναι, *good at weighing*.

ἀτερπέστερον, *less attractive* (Thuc. I. 22. 15), which Thuc. uses in characterizing his history—"for hearing perhaps that which is not fabulous will appear less attractive"—probably comes from Homer (*Il.* xviii. 354; *Od.* vii. 279; x. 124; xi. 94), though it occurs also in Aesch. (*Prom.* 31; *Suppl.* 685) and Eur. (*El.* 393). In general it may be remarked that τέρω, τέρωσι, τερπνός, which occur not infrequently in Thuc., belong rather to poetical than to prose usage.

αὐτοῦ sometimes emphasizes another adv. or adv. phrase, as in Thuc. vii. 16. 4 αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖ, iii. 81. 15 αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἱερῶ, iii. 98. 11 αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ τροπῇ, ii. 25. 18 αὐτόθεν ἐκ τῆς περιουκίδος, v. 83. 4 ἐκ τοῦ Ἄργους αὐτόθεν. In view of these examples, Krüger's remark on Thuc. vii. 16. 4 αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖ, "αὐτοῦ may be a gloss," and on Hdt. i. 189. 20 αὐτοῦ ταύτη, "for the Attic αὐτοῦ would suffice," needs some qualification. The general construction was already fixed in Homer (e.g. *Il.* ii. 237; vi. 431; xviii. 330; xix. 330; *Od.* ii. 317; iv. 639; x. 96; xvi. 74), and occurs in Sophocles (*O. C.* 78), as well as in Herodotus (i. 189. 20; 210. 3; 214. 12; iii. 77. 12; iv. 80. 19; 135. 5; v. 19. 7).

δάκρυσσι πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα πλῆσθέν (Thuc. vii. 75. 20) is a rare construction (*dat.* for *gen.*), but occurs in Aesch. *Pers.* 133 πίμπλαται δακρύμασι, and Eur. *Or.* 1363 δακρύουσιν . . . Ἑλλάδα . . .

ἔπλησε. Cf. also Aesch. *Sept.* 459 *μυκτηροκόμποις πνεύμασιν πληρούμενοι*, Eur. *Bacch.* 18 *μυγάτιν Ἑλλησι βαρβάροις θ' ὄμοῦ πλήρεις*, *H. F.* 369 *πέυκαισιν χέρας πληροῦντες*. The same phrase, only with the genitive, occurs several times in Homer: τῷ οἱ ὄσσε δακρυόφιν πλήσθεν, *Il.* xvii. 696; xxiii. 397; *Od.* iv. 705; x. 248; xix. 472. The simple verb occurs only here in Thuc., as in Hom., Aesch., and Eur., which increases the probability that the const. is a reminiscence from the poets.

ἀφνειός (Thuc. I. 13. 20), which Thuc. applies to Corinth, saying, "So olden poets [οἱ παλαιοὶ ποιηταί] have named the place," is probably due directly to Homer (*Il.* ii. 570 *ἀφνειὸν Κόρινθον*), though Pindar, in a fragment (ix. 1. 1), applies the same epithet to Corinth, which he calls also ὀλβία (*O.* xiii. 4), while Hdt. calls it εὐδαίμων (iii. 52. 14). The term is used by Homer twenty-five times, as also by Hes., Theogn., Aesch., Soph., Pind., and Theocr.

ἐγείρειν τὸν πόλεμον, *to rouse the war* (Thuc. i. 121. 1), is doubtless a conscious imitation both in Thuc. and Hdt. (viii. 142. 8) of the Homeric *πόλεμον ἀλίσστον ἐγειρεν* (*Il.* xx. 31), though the similar phrase *ἐγειρομεν ὄξυν Ἄρηα* (*Il.* ii. 440; iv. 352; viii. 531; xviii. 304; xix. 237) was doubtless also in mind. Similar idioms are *μάχην ἐγείραι* (*Il.* xiii. 798; xvii. 261), *ἐγείραι φύλοπιν αἰνὴν* (*Il.* v. 496), *πόνον ἐγείραι* (*Il.* v. 517; vi. 105), *ἐγείραι νεῖκος* (*Il.* xvii. 554).

ἐπήρχοντο (Thuc. iv. 120. 1), which has been variously explained, Classen is perhaps right in taking, with Herbst and Buttmann, as impf. of ἐπάρχομαι, Homer's common term for *offering a libation*, e.g. *ἐπαρξάμενοι δεπέεσσιν*, *Il.* i. 471; ix. 176; *Od.* iii. 340; vii. 183; xviii. 418; xxi. 263, 272.

ἐπισπέρχειν, *to urge on* (Thuc. iv. 12. 2), which is "foreign to good Attic prose" (Kr.), is Homeric (*Il.* xxiii. 429; *Od.* v. 304; xxii. 451) and Aeschylean (*Sept.* 676). Another rare compound *κατασπέρχειν* (iv. 126. 33) occurs in Ar. *Ach.* 1188. The simple verb *σπέρχειν* is Epic (Hom.) and Ionic (Hdt.). Cf. *περισπέρχειν* Hdt. vii. 207. 7.

ἐπίσχεσις, *delay*, lit. *holding on* (Thuc. II. 18. 15), occurs already in Homer (*Od.* xvii. 451), which passage may, of course, have been in Thuc.'s mind, though it is more likely that he coined the term afresh, after the analogy of the intr. ἐπέχω (*hold on*), in accordance with his fondness for verbals in -σις.

ἔρως, *passionate desire* (a stronger ἐπιθυμία), occurs only twice in Thuc., in very striking passages (III. 45. 20; vi. 24. 8). The epic form ἔρος (= ἐπιθυμία) occurs in many connections in Homer, especially of *food* and *drink*, but also of *war*, *song*, *dancing*, as well as γυναικός. It is frequently in this sense also in Aesch., Soph., Eur., and occurs in Pind., Hdt., and Plato. Some passages in the tragedians are strikingly like that in Thuc. VI. 24. 8 ἔρως τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ἐκπλεῦσαι (“desire seized all alike to sail forth”), e.g. Aesch. *Ag.* 353 ἔρως δὲ μὴ τις πρότερον ἐμπύπτῃ στρατῷ, and Soph. *frg.* 690, ἰ θανόντι κείνῳ συνθανεῖν ἔρως μ' ἔχει.

θάμβος, *astonishment*, which is a ἄπαξ εἶρ. in Thuc. (vi. 31. 44), occurs not seldom in Homer (*Il.* iii. 342; iv. 79; xxiii. 815; xxiv. 482; *Od.* iii. 372; xxiv. 394). Cf. Eur. *Hec.* 177; *Rhes.* 287; Pind. *N.* i. 55. Rare in Plato.

θάσος ἔλαβε, in the sentence τοὺς δ' Ἀθηναίους ἰδόντας ταῦτα γιγνόμενα θάσος ἔλαβε (Thuc. ii. 92. 2), was doubtless meant to recall the Homeric idiom. Cf. ἄλγος, ἄχος, πένθος, φόβος, θάμβος, τάφος, θαῦμα, ἕμερος, χόλος, κτέ. with ἔλαβε or ἔλε, so frequent in Homeric and later poetical usage. It is rare elsewhere in prose. Hdt. i. 165. 17; Plato, *Legg.* 699 c; Xen. *Cyrop.* V. 5. 6. (Cl.)

θροῦς, *murmuring* of a discontented crowd, though a rare word, occurs five times in Thuc. (iv. 66. 8; v. 7. 7; 29. 11; 30. 1; viii. 79. 2). The nearest parallel seems to be Homer's *noise* as of many voices (*Il.* iv. 437 οὐ γὰρ πάντων ἦεν ὁμὸς θρόος). Pindar, *N.* vii. 119, uses the word of musical sounds, πολύφατος θρόος ἕμνων. Cf. θρόος αὐλῶν, Poeta *ap.* Plut. ii. 654 f. Aesch. has the adjs. δύσθροος (*Pers.* 635, 940) and δημόθροους (*Ag.* 929); Aesch., Soph., and Eur. the verb θροέω, and Thuc. the comp. διαθροέω (vi. 46. 24; viii. 91. 1).

κατήφεια, *dejection* (Thuc. vii. 75. 24). Thuc. says of the Athenian host as they began their last fateful march, κατήφειά τέ τις ἄμα καὶ κατάμειψις σφῶν αὐτῶν πολλή ἦν — “there was much *dejection* and self-condemnation.” The word κατήφεια means literally λύπη κάτω βλέπειν ποιούσα (Plut. ii. 528 e), and comes apparently directly from Homer. Cf. *Il.* iii. 51, δυσμεεῖσιν μὲν χάρμα, κατηφείην δὲ σοὶ αὐτῷ, and xvi. 498; xvii. 556 κατηφείη καὶ ὄνειδος. The cognate words κατηφέω (cf. Eur. *Med.* 1008), κατηφής (cf. Eur. *Or.* 872; *Heracl.* 633), and κατηφών all occur in Homer.

λίπα ἀλείψασθαι, *to anoint with oil* (Thuc. i. 6. 17; iv. 68. 18), is clearly a reminiscence from Homer. The adv. occurs with ἀλείφειν or χρίειν ten times in Homer, nine of these with the generic term ἐλαίῳ added. It occurs in Hippocrates, but not in tragedy or lyric.

ξυναγωγή τοῦ πολέμου, *levying of war* (Thuc. ii. 18. 10), is one of the surest imitations or reminiscences from Homer. Classen says, "Reminiscence of the Homeric ξυνάγειν Ἄρηα, ἔριδα Ἄρηος, *Il.* ii. 381; v. 861; xiv. 149; cf. Isoc. iv. 84, οἶμαι καὶ τὸν πόλεμον θεῶν τινα συναγαγεῖν." To those might be added *Il.* xvi. 764, σύναγον κρατερὴν ὑσμίνην. For the personification, cf. ἐγείρειν τὸν πόλεμον Thuc. i. 121. 1.

παραβάλλεσθαι, *to risk, to place at hazard* (literally, on the table where dice are thrown), occurs *five* times in Thuc. (i. 133. 11; ii. 44. 16; iii. 14. 5; 65. 12; v. 113. 7), and is evidently a Homeric construction (cf. *Il.* ix. 322 αἰεὶ ἐμὴν ψυχὴν παραβαλλόμενος πολεμίζειν), though Hdt. has it also (vii. 10. θ 3, παραβάλλεσθαι τὰ τέκνα). It is about the same as the Homeric παρατίθεσθαι (*Od.* ii. 327; iii. 74; ix. 255; *h. Ap.* 455 σφᾶς οἱ ψυχὰς παρθέμενοι). Cf. Tyrnt. 12. 18. παραβαλεῖν, Thuc. iii. 32. 15, Cl., following Heilmann, is inclined to interpret *risk* = παρακινδυνεύσαι.

πείθεσθαι σφῶν (Thuc. vii. 73. 17), const. of gen. after the analogy of ἀκούειν, as in Hom. *Od.* i. 414 ἀγγελίης πείθομαι, and, if we follow a *v. l.*, also in *Il.* x. 57 κείνου γάρ κε μάλιστα πιθοῖατο. Cf. Eur. *I. A.* 726 πείθεσθαι γὰρ εἰθισμαι σέθεν, and Hdt. i. 59. 13; 126. 20; v. 29. 14; 33. 21; vi. 12. 21. Thuc. probably followed Hdt. See also Plato, *Rep.* 391 a, where it is possible, it is true, to construe the gen. as abs. Cf. *h. Cer.* 448 ἀπίθησε θεὰ Διὸς ἀγγελιάων, Xen. *Cyrop.* iv. 5. 19 καλοῦντος ἀπειθεῖν, Plato, *Legg.* 632 b εὐπειθῆς τῶν νόμων.

περισταδόν, *standing around* (Thuc. vii. 81. 24), occurs in the description of the way in which Demosthenes' division of Athenians was surrounded in an olive grove and pelted from all sides. Cf. Hom. *Il.* xiii. 551 Τρῶες δὲ περισταδὸν ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος οὔταζον σάκος εὐρὺ παναίολον, and Hdt. vii. 225. 17 οἱ δὲ περιελθόντες πάντοθεν περισταδόν, both of which passages, but especially the Herodotean (of the catastrophe at Thermopylae), may well have been in Thuc.'s mind. Cf. also Eur. *Androm.* 1125; Arr. *Anab.* V. 17. 3. A similar adv. ξυσταδόν, *at close quarters*, is found in the same sentence of Thuc. and not again till Herodian.

περικτίονες, *dwellers round about*, found in the chapter of Thuc. iii. (104. 15) which quotes from the hymn to the Delian Apollo, is poetical, and is doubtless borrowed from Homer (cf. *Il.* xvii. 220; xviii. 212; xix. 104, 109; *Od.* ii. 65), or from some ancient hymn (e.g. *h. Ap.* 274). It occurs also in Hes. (*ap. Plat. Men.* 320 d), Simon. (22), Pind. (*P.* 10. 8; *N.* 11. 24; *I.* 8. 136), and Hdt. (vii. 148. 15, in an oracle). *περίοικοι* is the prose word.

ποδώκης (Thuc. iii. 98. 12) is the especial Homeric epithet for Achilles, though applied also otherwise, occurring all together in Homer twenty-six times, as also in Hes., Aesch., Soph., Plato, and Xen. Pindar has only *ποδαρκής* (three times).

στορέσαι τὸ φρόνημα, *level the pride* (Thuc. vi. 18. 22), calls forth the Schol.'s remark τῶν παρὰ Θουκυδίδη τροπικῶν ὀνομάτων τὸ σκληρότατον τοῦτό ἐστι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ Ἀλκιβιάδην. The figure is taken, as Cl. says, from the calming of the stormy sea. Cf. *στορέσαι πόντον* Hom. *Od.* iii. 158; *h. Diosc.* 33. 15, and *ἐπαύσατο ὁ ἄνεμος καὶ τὸ κύμα ἔστρωτο* Hdt. vii. 193. 4. Cf. Theoc. vii. 57 *χάλκυνες στορεσεῦντι τὰ κύματα τάν τε θάλασσαν τόν τε νότον τόν τ' εἶρον*. A closer parallel to Thuc.'s use of the figure is Aesch. *Prom.* 190 *ἀτέραμνον στορέσας ὀργήν*, or Eur. *Heracl.* 702 *λῆμα μὲν οὐπω στόρνυσι χρόνος*. Cf. Lycophr. *Leocr.* 109; Plut. *Nic.* 9.

φειδώ, *sparing* (Thuc. vii. 81. 28), is found "elsewhere probably only in poets and late writers" (Kr.). Cf. Hom. *Od.* xiv. 92; xvi. 315; Eur. *Antiope* frg. 40. 3; frg. *Hipp.* 10. Cf. *φειδωλή* Hom. *Il.* xxiii. 244.

χάρις, *favor* as opp. to force (Thuc. i. 9. 21), occurring where Thuc. says of Agamemnon, that having become powerful beyond others he seemed to have collected the expedition not more by favor than by fear (οὐ χάριτι τὸ πλεῖον ἢ φόβῳ), is clearly a reference to *Od.* v. 307 *ἄλοντο χάριν Ἀτρεΐδῃσι φέροντες* (Seidler).

χέρνυψ, which Thuc. uses only once (iv. 97. 15 *πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ χέρνυβι χρῆσθαι*), occurs eight times in Homer, and in all three tragedians, especially frequently in Eur.; but, though not a prose term, it doubtless survived in the temple service, as *water of purification*, hence doubtless Thuc.'s use of it.

ὄς for οὐτως, which is found only once in Thuc. (iii. 37. 26), and is rare elsewhere in Attic prose (Plato, *Prot.* 338 a; *Rep.* 530 d), and even in the Attic poets (Aesch. *Ag.* 930; Soph. *O. C.* 1242;

El. 65, 1074; *Eur. Bacch.* 1068; *Hec.* 441, 888), occurs, of course, countless times in Homer, and is not infrequent in other poets. The simple ὤς (γάρ) occurs only once in Hdt. (IX. 18. 11), but ὤς δὲ καί is frequent. The phrases καὶ ὤς and οὐδ' (μηδ') ὤς, which are not infrequent in Thuc. (7 and 6 respectively), are common also in Homer.

II.

From Homer or the Epic, indirectly through Tragedy, or Herodotus, or Lyric.

- ἀγήρως, *ageless*, occurs only twice in Thuc. (ii. 43. 15; 44. 19), and seems to be very infrequent in prose (cf. Plato, *Phileb.* 15 d). It is common in Homer (*Il.* ii. 447; viii. 539; xii. 223; xvii. 444; *Od.* v. 136, 218; vii. 94, 257; xxiii. 336. Cf. *h. Ap.* 151; *h. Cer.* 242; *h. Ven.* 214.). Cf. Pind. *P.* 2. 96; frg. xi. 4. 1; Soph. *Ant.* 604; *Eur. Suppl.* 1178; frg. 143. 6.
- αἰγιαλός, *beach*, which occurs five times in Thuc. (i. 7. 3; iv. 42. 7; vi. 52. 6; vii. 37. 18; 74. 13), is not a common word, and is infrequent in Attic prose (cf. Xen. *An.* vi. 4. 4). It occurs in Homer (*Il.* ii. 210; iv. 422; xiv. 34; xvii. 575; *Od.* xxii. 385), in lyric passages of Eur. (*I. T.* 426; *I. A.* 210), and once in Ar. (*Vesp.* 120).
- αἰών, *life* (Thuc. i. 70. 28), "the common sense in the poets" (L. and S.). It is "rather rare in Attic prose" (Kr.), but frequent in Hdt. (cf. i. 32. 15, etc.) and the poets. Cf. Hom. *Il.* iv. 478; ix. 415; xvii. 302; *Od.* v. 152, 160; xviii. 204. Also Aesch. *Prom.* 862; *Ag.* 229; *Eum.* 315; *Sept.* 219; Soph. *Aj.* 645; Eur. frg. 798; Pind. *O.* 2. 10, 74; *P.* 3. 86; 4. 186; 5. 7; 8. 97; *N.* 3. 75; 9. 44; 10. 59; frg. 126, 131, 165; Xen. *Cyrop.* iii. 3. 52.
- ἀλκή, *strength*. See *Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc.* 1891, p. xvii, and Diener, *De Sermone Thuc.*, etc., p. 12.
- ἀμφί (Thuc. vii. 40. 7; viii. 65. 1), Marchant says, is "not used freely by any prose author but Xen. It is not found in inscriptions except in metre, and in Aristophanes only when he imitates tragedy." It is very frequent in Hom., Pind., Aesch., Soph., Eur., Theocr., and Hdt., and occurs in Plato, but not in the orators.
- ἀνά (Thuc. iii. 22. 6; iv. 72. 11) is common in Xen., but in no other

Attic prose writer; very frequent in Hom., and occurs in Soph., Eur., Pind., and Hdt. See *Proc.* 1891, p. xvii.

ἀηκουστῆν τῶν νόμων, *disobey* (Thuc. i. 84. 15), is "rare, poetical and dialectic" (Kr.). Cf. Hom. *Il.* xv. 236; xvi. 676; Aesch. *Prom.* 40; Hdt. vii. 17. 11. For the construction, cf. *πέιθεσθαι σφῶν*, vii. 73. 17.

ἄνθος, *flower* of troops (Thuc. iv. 133. 4), "not elsewhere in Greek prose in this figurative sense, like the Latin *flös*" (Cl.). Cf. Hom. *Il.* xiii. 484 *ἦβης ἔχει ἄνθος* (cf. *h. Herm.* 375; *Cer.* 107); Pind. *P.* 4. 158; *O.* 9. 48; Aesch. *Prom.* 420; *Pers.* 59, 252, 925; *Suppl.* 663; *Ag.* 197, 955; Eur. *Troad.* 807; *H. F.* 871.

ἀπαράσσω, *strike* or *sweep off* (Thuc. vii. 63. 4); *καταράσσω*, *strike down* (Thuc. vii. 6. 15). "*ἀράσσω* and its compounds are rather rare in Attic prose" (Kr.). Cf. *ἀπαράσσω*, *abrumpo*, Hom. *Il.* xiii. 497; xvi. 116; Hdt. viii. 90. 11; *καταράσσω* Hdt. ix. 69. 16; Dem. 675, 20. The simple verb *ἀράσσω*, which is poetical and does not occur in Thuc., is found eight times in Homer, and is used also by Aesch., Soph., Eur., and Pind. Cf., further, *ἔσαράσσω* Hdt. iv. 128. 13; v. 116. 6; *ξινιάρασσω* Hom. *Il.* xii. 384; *Od.* v. 426; ix. 498; Hdt. ii. 63. 16; vii. 170. 11.

ἀποφύχειν, *expire* = *ἀποπνέω* (Thuc. i. 134. 14). "In Attic prose, probably not elsewhere in this sense" (Kr.). Cf. Hom. *Od.* xxiv. 348 (*swoon*); Aesch. *frag.* 102; Soph. *Aj.* 1031; Bion *I.* 9; *Anth. P.* 12. 72.

ἀρωγός, *helpful* (Thuc. vii. 62. 1), is "rather poetical" (Kr.). In Homer it is used always substantively (*Il.* iv. 235; viii. 205; xviii. 502; *Od.* xviii. 232); in tragedy both adjectively and substantively (Aesch. *Prom.* 997; *Eum.* 289, 486; *Pers.* 1024; *Ch.* 376; *Suppl.* 726; Soph. *Aj.* 201, 357, 835; *O. R.* 127, 206; *O. C.* 1012, 1286; *Ph.* 1217; *El.* 453, 462, 859, 1381, 1392; Eur. *Rhes.* 634; *Hipp.* 673. Cf. Plato *Prot.* 334 b; Hippoc. *Aer.* 288).

δορί (Thuc. i. 128. 27; iv. 98. 27), "old and poetical form for *δόρατι*" (Cl.). The passage in Thuc. i. 128 is a letter from Pausanias to Xerxes; in iv. 98. 27 the expression *δορὶ κτήσασθαι* is not in a quotation, but it may have been, and doubtless was, a sort of formula. L. and S. say of *δόρατος κτέ.* rare in poets; Epic decl. *δούρατος* (also in Pind.), *κτέ.*, more commonly *δουρός*, *δουρί*; in Attic poets *δορός*, *δορί* or *δόρευ*. Pind. *δορί* (*I.* 4. 42; 7. 53); *δουρί* (*O.* 6. 17), *δούρατος* (*P.* 4. 38).

- ἐκάς, *procul* (Thuc. i. 69. 23; 80. 9; viii. 94. 14; 104. 17), "rare in Attic prose" (L. and S.), but very frequent in Hom., and not uncommon in Aesch. (*Ag.* 292, 1104, 1650), Soph. (*Ph.* 41; *O. C.* 1668), Eur. (*Phoen.* 921; *Heracl.* 673; *El.* 246; *H. F.* 197; frg. 148, 2), Pind. (*P.* 2. 54, 98; 8. 21), and Hdt. (iii. 41. 9; viii. 144. 26, etc.). The comparatives ἐκαστέρω and ἐκαστάτω occur in Hom., Eur., and Hdt.
- ἐπιβουόμενοι, *invoking aid* (Thuc. iii. 59. 11; 67. 9; vii. 69. 20; 75. 15; viii. 92. 50), seems to be Ionic (Hom. *Il.* x. 463; *Od.* i. 378; ii. 143; Hdt. i. 87. 4; ix. 23. 3) and poetical (Aesch. *Pers.* 1054; Eur. *Med.* 169). See *Proc.* 1891, p. xviii.
- ἔχειν, or ἔχειν γυναῖκα, *to have as a wife* (Thuc. ii. 29. 2, 10) seems to be rare in prose, though very frequent in Hom. (*Il.* iii. 53, 123, 282; vi. 398; ix. 336; xi. 740; xiii. 173, 697; xv. 336; xxi. 88; *Od.* vi. 281; vii. 313; iv. 569; xi. 270, 603), and Hdt. (i. 146. 13; iii. 31. 23; 68. 9; 88. 13; v. 92. 136; vii. 189. 5; viii. 136. 6). Cf. Eur. *Hel.* 1406. Cf. "to have and to hold," from the marriage service in *Book of Common Prayer*, and "Wilt thou have me?" Shaks. *Hen. V.*, v. 2. Thuc. has also ἔχειν, *to keep* as a mistress, vi. 54. 10. Cf. *Anth. P.* 5. 186.
- ἡπιώτερον (ἡπιώτερα) (Thuc. ii. 59. 13; vii. 77. 18; viii. 93. 16) "rather rare elsewhere in Attic prose" (Kr.), but frequent in the poets (cf. Hom. *Il.* iv. 218, etc.; Hes. *Th.* 407; *Op.* 785; Aesch. *Prom.* 482; Soph. *Phil.* 698, 737; Eur. *Med.* 133; *Troad.* 53; *Alc.* 321; *Bacch.* 849), and Hdt. (iii. 130. 9, etc.). Plato applies it to *heat* (*Phaedr.* 279 b; *Tim.* 85 a), and Hippoc. to a fever (1157 f, 1207 a). Cf. ἡπιωτέρως ἔχειν Dem. 1296, 8.
- κατ' ἄκρας, *penitus, παντελῶς* (Thuc. iv. 112. 9), "probably only here, *completely* (völlig); rare in general among the Attics, as Plato, *Legg.* 909 b" (Kr.). On κατ' ἄκρης Hdt. vi. 18. 4, Stein remarks, "Literally *down from above*; fig. mostly in such combinations as πόλιν αἰρέειν, *completely*, because with the capture of the citadel as a rule the whole city was lost. Thuc. iv. 112. 9." Cf. Hom. *Il.* xiii. 772; xv. 557; xxii. 411; xx. 52; xxiv. 728; *Od.* v. 313; Hdt. vi. 18. 4; 82. 14; Aesch. *Ch.* 691; Soph. *Ant.* 201; *O. C.* 1242; Eur. *I. A.* 778. Cf. also the Epic κατ' ἄκρηθεν (κατάκρηθεν), as Hom. *Il.* xvi. 548 Τρῶας δὲ κατάκρηθεν λάβε πένθος | ἄσχετον οὐδ' ἐπιεκτόν.
- κεῖμαι, *lie dead, iaceo* (Thuc. vii. 75. 10; cf. iv. 38. 8), is very frequent in Homer and the tragedians, and where it occurs (rarely) in

prose, it is doubtless an unconscious reminiscence from the poets. Cf. Hom. *Il.* xix. 32 (of Hector's body) ἦν περ γὰρ κῆταί γε τελεσφόρον εἰς ἐναυτόν, | αἰεὶ τῷδ' ἔσται χρώς ἔμπεδος, ἧ καὶ ἀρείων, and elsewhere very frequently. So often in Aesch., Soph., Eur., and Pind. Cf. Xen. *Anab.* i. 8. 27. In Hdt. viii. 25. 4 τοὺς κειμένους means *the fallen*. In Thuc. ii. 43. 16 κείμαι means *lie buried*, as in epitaphs, e.g. Simon 95 τῆδε κείμεθα (cf. Eng. "here lies").

κείρειν τὴν γῆν, *ravage the land* (Thuc. i. 64. 12), on which sense Kr. remarks (*ad Hdt.* viii. 65. 3), "In Hdt. frequently, in this sense rather poetical; usually τέμνειν." Cf. Hom. *Il.* xi. 560 κείρειν βαθὺ λήϊον. Similar is the sense elsewhere in Homer, *consume*: *Il.* xxi. 204; *Od.* i. 378; ii. 143, 212; xi. 578; xxii. 369; xxiv. 459. Cf. Pind. *P.* 9. 37; Aesch. *Pers.* 952; Soph. *Aj.* 53; *Tr.* 1196; Eur. *Troad.* 1163; Hdt. v. 63. 18; vi. 75. 20; 99. 8; vii. 131. 2; viii. 32. 13; 65. 3.

κῆδος, *affinitas* (Thuc. ii. 29. 16), "in Attic prose probably not elsewhere in this sense" (Kr.). So Hdt. vii. 189. 6, and cf. Hom. *Il.* xiii. 464 εἶπερ τί σε κῆδος ἰκάνει, Aesch. *Suppl.* 330 κῆδος ἐγγενές, Soph. *O. C.* 379 προσλαμβάνων κῆδός τε καινόν.

κλέος (good) *report* (Thuc. i. 10. 8; 25. 22), *talk, Gerede* (ii. 45. 10), "a rather poetical word, although occurring sporadically elsewhere in prose" (Kr.). In Homer it occurs all together some sixty-four times, in the hymns at least eight times, in Pindar eighteen times, and frequently in Aesch., Soph., and especially Eur. In prose, cf. Hdt. vii. 220. 9; ix. 78. 6; Xen. *Cyr.* i. 6; Plato, *Sympos.* 208 c; *Legg.* 663 a; Lys. 190, 40.

τὸ κράτος, *victory* (Thuc. ii. 87. 27; iii. 13. 36), is practically limited to poetry. It occurs some fifteen times in the *Iliad* and at least once in the *Odyssey*, in the hymns (*h. Ap.* 74; *h. Cer.* 150), Aesch. (*Ag.* 943; *Ch.* 490; *Eum.* 530; *Suppl.* 951, 1070), Soph. (*El.* 85, 476, 689; *Aj.* 768; *Phil.* 838; *O. C.* 392, 1332), Eur. (*Hec.* 554), and Pind. (*I.* 8. 7). Cf. Plato, *Legg.* 962 a κράτος τῶν πολεμίων, Dem. xix. 130 κράτος πολέμου καὶ νίκην.

μοχθεῖν, *to toil* (Thuc. i. 70. 28; ii. 39. 23). "In general, Attic prose has discarded this word" (Kr.). "μοχθέω, μόχθος are not common in prose, and this is one point of difference with πονέω, πόνος" (L. and S.). Cf. Hom. *Il.* x. 106 κῆδεσι μοχθήσειν. So Soph. *O. C.* 350; *Tr.* 1046; Eur. *Heracl.* 59 τί μοχθεῖς ταῦτα, and frequently. Cf. Xen. *Anab.* vi. 4. 31; *Mem.* ii. 1. 17;

Oec. 18. 2. The kindred adj. *μοχθηρός* (Thuc. viii. 73. 9) occurs also in Plato and the orators.

ξύν. For Thuc.'s use of *ξύν*, which is essentially a poetical construction, *μετά c. gen.* belonging to prose, see *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* XXV., pp. 63 ff.

ὄμιλος, *multitude, crowd* (of people) (Thuc. iii. 1. 6, *etc.*, in all, sixteen times), is clearly Ionic and poetical, occurring in both *Iliad* and *Odyssey* almost innumerable times, in Hdt. twelve times, in Pind. six, in Aesch. (*Sept.* 35; *Prom.* 417; *Pers.* 123, 1027), and Eur. (*Or.* 943; *Androm.* 19; *Cycl.* 100; *Hec.* 921; *I. A.* 427). See *Proc.* 1891, p. xix.

πίσυνος, *confiding in, depending on* (Thuc. ii. 89. 21; v. 14. 19; vi. 2. 38). "In Attic prose only in Thuc." (Cl.). Cf. Hom. *Il.* v. 205; viii. 226; ix. 238; xi. 9; xxiv. 295, 313; *Od.* xviii. 140; Theog. 69, 75, 284; Pind. *P.* 4. 232; Aesch. *Sept.* 212; *Pers.* 112; *Suppl.* 351; Eur. *Or.* 905; *Suppl.* 121; Ar. *Vesp.* 385; *Nub.* 949; *Pax* 84; Hdt. I. 66. 16; 73. 4; ii. 141. 15; v. 92. 6; vii. 10. 5; 153. 15; viii. 143. 10.

πιστοῦν, *bind by oath*, occurs once in Thuc. (iv. 88. 5), but a similar use of the mid. or pass. is found in Hom. (*Il.* vi. 233; xxi. 286; *Od.* xv. 436; xxi. 218; cf. *h. Merc.* 536), Soph. (*O. C.* 650, 1030), Eur. (*J. A.* 66; frg. 1058), and late authors.

ῥόμαι, *deliver from* (Thuc. v. 63. 11). "The word is rather poetical" (Pp.). L. and S. say, "Hom., Hes., and Att. poets, also in Hdt., but hardly to be found in Att. prose," though Thuc. v. 63. 11 is cited. The other numerous examples cited are all from Hom., Hes., Aesch., Soph., Eur., Ar., Pind., Hdt., and late Greek.

ποκέυς, *parent* (Thuc. ii. 44. 1), "rare in Attic prose" (Kr.). It is a poetical and Ionic term, occurring very frequently in Hom., in Hes., Pind. (six times), Aesch. (ten times), Soph., Eur., and often in Hdt. In Attic prose, cf. Lys. ii. 75; Xen. *Mem.* ii. 1. 33.

χρήσαι, *to give an oracle* (Thuc. i. 123. 8; 134. 19; ii. 102. 30; v. 16. 23; 32. 6; *χρησθῆναι* iii. 96. 3). Diener says (p. 42), "In usu *χρηῆν* vocabuli q. e. oraculum edere ut . . ., vaticinari, responsum dare, poetae epici tragici comici, Herodotus Thucydides frequentes sunt, ceteri autem scriptores Attici tam parci, ut post Thucydidem e cotidiano sermone videatur excidisse." See his (29) examples from Hdt., and cf. Hom. *Od.* viii. 79 ὧς γάρ οἱ *χρῆων* μυθήσατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων, and *h.* i. 132; ii. 75, 115, 215.

Pind. has both act. (1) and pass. (2), Aesch. act. (5), Soph. act. (1) and pass. (2), Eur. act. (9).

χρησθαι, *to inquire of an oracle* (Thuc. i. 126. 9), is rare in Attic (cf. Aeschin. iii. 124), but occurs in Hom. (*Od.* viii. 81; x. 492; xi. 165; xxiii. 323), also in the hymns (*h.* ii. 74, 114, 215), and is rather frequent in Hdt. (i. 46. 15; 47. 4; 53. 6; 85. 5; iii. 57. 11; iv. 150. 8; 151. 3; 157. 4; vii. 141. 6; 220. 11). For this Thuc. uses ἐπερωτᾶν in i. 25. 3; 118. 20, as Hdt. frequently. τρυχόμενοι, *worn out* (Thuc. i. 126. 24), is the subject of the following note by Classen: "In iv. 60. 13 and vii. 28. 23, we have the pf. ptc. from stem τρυχο-; in iii. 93. 9 and viii. 48. 11 the fut. and aor. from ἐκτρυχο-: these are the only forms in Thuc. of this verb, which often occurs in Homer, the Att. poets (Soph. *Aj.* 604; *O. R.* 666; *Tr.* 110; Eur. *Hipp.* 147; *Hel.* 521 [1285]; Ar. *Pax* 989; *Ach.* 68), and in later writers. It is not used by Hdt., and is rare in Att. prose (Xen. *Hell.* v. 2. 4 [Plato, *Legg.* 761 d])." For Hom. cf. *Od.* i. 248, 288; ii. 219; x. 177; xvi. 125; xvii. 387; xix. 133. Cf. Solon 3. 22; Theog. 750, 909.

VII. — *Notes on Homeric War.*

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THE Homeric poet is not composing an Art of War; his aim is rather to please than to teach. In a well-known passage of his *Republic*, Plato gibes those who regard Homer as the highest authority on military science, — saying that if he had really known what was to be done in war he would have been a soldier and general himself, and not a poet; he would have chosen to do brave deeds rather than to tell of them, to be the man to receive praise than the one to confer it. But the warriors of Plato's time were thought to draw inspiration and stimulus from the *Iliad*; Aristophanes declares that Homer taught better than all others the marshalling, brave deeds, and arming of men; and the great Napoleon, who solaced his weary exile on St. Helena by the perusal of the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid*, is quoted as saying that in reading the *Iliad* he felt each moment that Homer was a warrior himself, and had not (as some of his commentators asserted) spent the greater part of his life in the schools of Chios. An enthusiastic Frenchman has even suggested that the poet was aid-de-camp or military secretary to Agamemnon. Though Homer knew no strategy in the modern sense, nor any manual of arms, nor evolutions of a squad, a company, a regiment, or a brigade, — yet he was familiar with many notable deeds of brave men, and delighted in them.

In modern times and civilized countries, war is an exceptional occurrence, and few in a generation are called to take part in it. Americans have prided themselves on their citizen soldiery, who would leave the works of peace only at the stern call of duty, and who returned as soon as possible to their homes and ordinary employments, like Cincinnatus laying down their arms and military offices. But in the

Homeric Age, deeds of violence were common. Even in a time of supposed peace a hostile force might invade the land any day or night, with no formal declaration of war. Arms were man's natural accompaniment. "All Greece wore steel," as Thucydides tells us. "War is the proper work of man," Odysseus says to Agamemnon in the third day of battle.

The war before Troy was in the main a succession of single combats between champions. The common soldier is of little importance in the fight; he kills no hero. No "bow drawn at a venture" smites a king between the joints of his harness. The ordinary Homeric scene of conflict is not unlike what Shakspeare presents at the close of *Macbeth* and in *Henry Fourth*, part first. The absence of Achilles from the fray is more deplored than that of all his Myrmidons, and when his friend Patroclus enters the battle, accompanied by his followers, the Trojans appear to be dismayed not so much by the advance of the twenty-five hundred common soldiers as by the appearance of the brave son of Menoetius and his esquire in glittering armor. The poet nowhere tells his hearer how large was the force of men before Troy.

Agamemnon reviews his troops at the beginning of the first day of battle, and exhorts them to fight bravely, but gives no directions either then or later as to the position of the several tribes in the line. Each leader goes where he pleases, and fights with whom he will. The poet narrates no strategic movements of an army or part of an army, no manoeuvres, no flank movements, no concentration of forces at a special point in order to break through the enemy's line, no surprises. No body of men is stationed for the defence of an important post, or brought to the support of a hard-pressed division, or sent against a weak place in the enemy's line. Neither Telamonian Ajax from Salamis nor his namesake the Locrian, the son of Oileus, is ever accompanied by his own forces, but the two (though of different tribes) generally keep together, and move from one part of the field to another according to the apparent need or fancy of the moment. Ajax, the son of Oileus, indeed, could not be

attended by his countrymen, since they were archers, while he excelled in the use of the spear; he must be in the forefront of battle, while they must stand in the rear of the heavy-armed forces.

The use of chariots by many of the chieftains, of itself tended to separate them from their commands; like the Locrian Ajax they could go where their countrymen could not follow them. On the third day of battle when Idomeneus, the Cretan, and his lieutenant, Meriones, return to the field of battle after a short absence, they do not ask where their own men, the Cretans, are fighting, but where the Achaeans are hardest pressed. As they appear on the scene of conflict, all the Trojans advance against them, as if the strife were between one hundred men on a side, instead of one hundred thousand. The individual and his bodily strength are clearly far more important than in modern warfare. The victory is not that of the troops, nor of the leader and his troops, but of the leader alone. Perhaps we may compare the song of the Israelites: "Saul hath slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands." When Agamemnon is wounded, Diomed is downright discouraged, although all else is going well, yet Agamemnon is important only as a mighty man of valor, not as a commander-in-chief. No one receives instructions from him in all the course of the *Iliad*. Thus also Hector, though the chief Trojan leader, is not kept informed of the condition of the fight at other parts of the field than his own; no official reports are brought to him, and no directions are sought from him. When a leader is slain, his command devolves upon no other. Even the common soldier seems very much left to himself, although subject to harsh rebuke if he plays the coward. The movement of a body of men who follow their captain may be compared with that of a flock of sheep with their bell-wether (to use a Homeric figure), rather than to the regular advance of a modern military company.

So completely is the hearer's attention concentrated on an individual or on a single group of warriors that at times before a single combat two antagonists hold a long conversa-

tion as if they were alone on the field. Thus when Achilles and Aeneas meet, the first blow is preceded by one hundred verses of talk, — partly a reminder by Achilles to Aeneas of a similar occasion when he had fled from him, but mainly Aeneas's recital of his family tree ; and this was when Achilles was most vehement in his anger against all the Trojans.

This habit of the poet, to give prominence to the individual, may spring from his desire to concentrate his hearer's attention, affording but a dull background for the principal figures which are brought into high relief and have a strong light thrown on them. With this may be compared the practice of the Greek dramatic poets in presenting only two or three characters at once to their spectators in the theatre. Masses of men awaken less sympathy than individuals. The hearer's attention is drawn by the poet away from the accessories, and concentrated upon the chief actors.

Possibly, however, the poet's method of description of the war by a succession of single combats, is not to be explained entirely from his artistic principles ; it may have been influenced also by the fact that the earlier epic poets in their briefer lays, which furnished material and precedents for the Homeric poems and adventures, doubtless sang of much smaller armies, less elaborate expeditions, and of single exploits. At the opening of the third great day of battle, "the son of Atreus shouted aloud and bade the Argives gird themselves for the fray," — an action more appropriate to the commander of a military company than to one of an army of a hundred thousand men. Other and similar indications may be found of the poet's having in mind a smaller body of men than the Catalogue of Ships presents. For example, Nestor and Agamemnon find Diomed sleeping outside of his tent, "with his comrades about him." This does not look like a division of five or six thousand men, but rather like a single ship's company. When Hector is wounded, all the Trojan chieftains gather about him ; and when he sees Teucer's bowstring break, he shouts to "Trojans, Lycians, and Dardanians," as if the disabling of one Achaean bow meant triumph for the Trojans. The same Hector shouts to the Trojans and allies to stand

firm while he changes his armor; and he runs after the comrades who were taking to Troy the armor of Achilles which had been stripped from Patroclus. And when the commander-in-chief of the entire Achaean expedition returns to his home, his treacherous cousin Aegisthus lies in wait for him with men in ambush; a conflict ensues, and all the combatants on both sides are killed in the house of Aegisthus. But not a word is said about any conflict outside of the palace, and the number of men engaged cannot have been large. If Agamemnon led five or six thousand men, what did these do in their leader's behalf?

To the considerations already offered which suggest that the expedition at the basis of the Homeric story may have been much smaller than the Catalogue of Ships implies, may be added the somewhat obvious thought that an army of a hundred thousand men could not subsist on the enemy's country without more definite arrangements for supplies than Homer knows. Capricious expeditions for plunder to Lyrnessus or another small town of the Troad would not suffice. Neither army has a definite system for the supply of food. When the Trojans bivouac on the plain they send to their houses for their bread. The supply of water and the policing of so large a body of men would present other and serious problems which do not seem to have occurred to our poet.

The earliest form of the *Iliad* very possibly knew only of a small expedition, and one which remained only a short time before Troy. Only in two passages of the *Iliad* does the poet show knowledge of a ten-years' siege, although this period is definitely fixed in the *Odyssey*. The *Iliad* contains few allusions to the earlier battles of the war, even where we might expect these. Every reader has observed that a dozen battles as bloody as those of the *Iliad* would have left alive but few of Priam's fifty sons.

No indication is given by the Homeric poet of any organization of the forces nor of any division which might correspond to our regiments and companies, until immediately before the first battle of the *Iliad*, when Nestor suggests

that the men be divided into tribes and clans, that tribe may aid tribe and clan aid clan, and that they may know who of the leaders and which of the peoples is cowardly, and who is brave. Agamemnon accepts this advice at once with the remark that if he had ten such counsellors as Nestor, the city of Priam would soon lower its head. Clearly the suggestion was novel; the system which it contemplates cannot have been general or universal. On the Trojan side, swift Iris, messenger of the gods, in the guise of a son of Priam, gives to Hector advice very similar to that of Nestor, — that each chieftain of his allies should command his own countrymen.

Councils of the “elders” or chiefs of the Achaean army are held before the first battle of the *Iliad*, and at the close of the second day of fighting, and are referred to elsewhere; but so far as can be seen, these do not discuss particular plans of campaign or of battle; they consider a proposal to end the war, a truce for the burial of the dead, the placation of Achilles, the sending of a spy into the Trojan camp, the building of a wall about their ships and quarters. If we were to borrow the language of the football field, we should say that the Homeric warriors had no “team-play.” Yet the Achaeans did not despise the skill of a leader, as may be seen from the honors paid to Nestor and Odysseus. Early in the *Iliad*, Nestor calls Agamemnon and Achilles “first of the Achaeans in counsel and first in battle”; and Helen characterizes Agamemnon to old Priam as “both a good king and a brave warrior.” Doubtless this is in part equivalent to the familiar phrase with regard to George Washington, “First in war, first in peace,” but a nearer equivalent might be the simple contrast of *thought* and *action*.

The battles, as has been said, were decided by a succession of more or less formal single combats of heavy-armed men, although at times a group of two or three on one side would oppose a similar group on the other. No one of the Greeks interferes in the conflict between Achilles and Hector; — indeed, Achilles motions to the rest to stand aloof, that he may have all the glory of the victory; and the contest be-

tween Hector and Patroclus may fairly be called a single combat, although Euphorbus and Apollo interfere against Patroclus. A typical example of the champion is presented in Paris, as the two armies advance for battle on the first day of conflict: Alexander stood forth as champion for the Trojans, with a leopard skin upon his shoulders, and a bent bow and a sword, and brandishing two spears he challenged the bravest of the Argives to fight against him in dire conflict. As the battles on the plain of Troy may be compared to those of the forces of David and Saul with the Philistines, so no better illustration can be found for the proposition of Paris than the challenge of Goliath of Gath: "I defy the armies of Israel this day; give me a man that we may fight together." The similar challenge of Hector at the close of the same day of battle, since it aimed at nothing more than the determination of personal prowess, resembles more closely that of a knight of the age of chivalry, and his duel with Ajax has been compared to a modern duel, which is interrupted by the first flow of blood, and after which the combatants shake hands and separate.

The three main divisions of the Homeric army were those of later Greek times: spearmen, horsemen (on chariots), and light-armed troops, with bows and slings. Engineers, sappers and miners, and the like, were unknown. The archers and slingers, though they seem to have been far more numerous than the spearmen, were of little real importance in the battle. They stood behind the heavy-armed troops, and served only as reinforcements to them. By themselves they never advance nor withstand an attack. The sling, indeed, is mentioned but twice in the *Iliad*, and seldom does the poet allude to the effectiveness of a body of bowmen. The masses of the hostile armies generally keep at a safe distance from each other.

In addition to the forty shiploads of Locrians, the 350 companions of Philoctetes are designated as archers among the Achaean forces, and the Thracian Paeonians on the Trojan side. Only two of the Achaean chieftains use the bow in

the story of the *Iliad*, but in the *Odyssey* the Ithacan hero tells the Phaeacians of his skilful use of the bow on the plain of Troy, and employs this power at the close of the poem, with good effect, by killing Penelope's suitors, though in the *Iliad* he is a spearman. In the Trojan army, Paris, his brother Helenus, and Pandarus are archers, but they serve also as spearmen. The poet does not seem to regard the bowman as necessarily less brave than the spearman, nor does he think, like the Athenian dramatist, of the Asiatics as archers as contrasted with the Greek spearmen. Was not Apollo, the god of war, a bowman? and his sister Artemis, an archer? Did not Heracles vie with the gods themselves in the use of the bow? Was not the bow of Heracles in the hands of Philoctetes important in the final contests before the city?

The Homeric chariots were not the scythe-bearing chariots of some of the eastern nations, nor were they in any special way prepared for war. The same vehicle was used without change, in combat, for a race, and on a journey. In the Homeric battles, chariots were not used in ranks to form a company or squadron; each was at the special and independent service of some heavy-armed leader. At times a blow is struck or a spear is thrown from a chariot; a warrior may be killed on or from a chariot,—the latter especially in a rout where the chariot is in pursuit. Yet, as a rule, the chariots are used only for easy and rapid transport from one part of the field to another, where the warrior may be more needed,—for keen pursuit, and especially for speedy retreat in time of stress. The chariots serve only the chieftains,—never the ordinary warrior. The men who use chariots are the men who carry the heavy shields, of which the weight becomes a burden, and renders long-continued and rapid movements difficult or downright impossible. Archers have no chariots; they need none since they bear no heavy shields and since for the most part their place is in the rear, out of reach of immediate danger. On Corinthian vases, representations are found of the horseman who rides to the battle, but then dismounts and gives his horse into the care of his

esquire, that he may fight on foot like the Homeric chieftains. So Hera and Athena journey in their chariot from the home of the gods to the plain of Troy, but leave their horses near the river Scamander and enter the battle on foot. Thus also Aphrodite, when she is wounded by Diomed, goes to the left of the line of battle, and borrows the chariot of Ares for her return to Olympus,—having no chariot of her own in the conflict. Possibly in earlier ages or in other parts of Greece squadrons of chariots may have been used in war, as they were by the Egyptians and the early Celts, but the Homeric poems contain only slight traces of such a custom.

Cavalry were not used in the Homeric age. The heavy shield of the spearman could not have been conveniently carried on horseback.

The brunt of the battle was borne by the heavy-armed soldier, the later *hoplite*, in the Homeric time as well as in the historical period of Greece, although the ratio of these troops to the light-armed forces was much smaller in Homer's age than in Athens and Sparta in the time of the Peloponnesian War. In the hand-to-hand conflict the warrior was wont to hurl his spear against a foeman who stood a rod or two away from him, and then profit by the confusion which the spear had caused to rush forward and recover his weapon, which evidently must be regained or the warrior was nearly helpless, being without his most important arm. If he slew his antagonist, he endeavored to despoil him of his armor, or even to drag the corpse within the lines of his own friends, and to gain possession of his chariot. The fiercest conflicts arise over the bodies of fallen warriors, whose friends wish to give them honorable burial, and whose foes would treat them with despite and give them like the body of Jezebel to the dogs to devour. If the cast of the spear failed of its desired effect, the two warriors would rush together armed with their swords or even with stones. But often a speedy retreat was necessary if the cast of the spear was ineffectual, or if the enemy gathered in a group against a single man. For this series of operations much agility was required, and speed of foot was a prized quality. Hector calls the combat

a "dance in honor of Ares." One of the most frequent epithets of Achilles is "swift-footed," and his friend Antilochus is praised by his father Nestor as "exceeding swift in running, and a good fighter."

The battles on the plain are intended only to weaken the Trojans. The Achaeans make no attempt to take the city by storm, nor by a close siege; and indeed since the ancient city walls have been laid bare by the excavations of the last quarter of a century, we see plainly that without engines of war and projectiles more powerful than bows, an assaulting army would suffer much and accomplish little. Andromache reminds Hector, it is true, that thrice the two sons of Atreus and their companions had assailed the city "by the wild fig-tree"; but this passage was rejected by Aristarchus, and seems to be under the influence of the later story which made Aeacus an associate of Poseidon and Apollo in building the walls of Troy. The confidence of Polydamas is fully intelligible: that if Achilles shall desire to come from the camp and fight about the wall of the city, he will weary his horses, but will not sack the town.

The siege of Troy certainly was not close according to our standards. From the first the Trojans had accepted the defensive method of warfare, and Hector complains that the elders of the city had been blindly infatuated in their course, and he insists that now when the gods have granted to him to gain glory by the ships, the Trojans shall not return to the city to be cooped up within the walls. The Trojan allies also seem to have been quartered within the town; they have no camp on the plain corresponding to that of the Achaeans, and when they are driven in flight by Achilles they retire in confusion within the walls of the city. Yet at night the Achaeans withdraw to their camp, which we may think of as three or four miles from the city, and the people of Troy are free to open their gates for the entrance of supplies and of friends, and for the departure of those who prefer to go. The Trojans still have some flocks and herds pasturing on the mountains, and they visit the fields and forests to obtain

wood, although they are obliged to abandon the use of the stone washing-troughs by the sources of the Scamander, where "the wives of the Trojans and their fair daughters were wont to wash their gleaming raiment formerly, in time of peace, before the sons of the Achaeans came." But the wealth of the Trojan city is gradually exhausted by their own needs and by gifts to their allies, and they cannot long continue to maintain the defensive position; they must drive the enemy from the land, or yield. Hence though fewer in number they come forth to fight. Their families are safe for the present behind the city walls, but the pressure of humiliation and physical discomfort is too great to bear indefinitely.

VIII. — *The Sources of the Germania of Tacitus.*¹

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THE possible sources of information on the geography of Germany and the life and customs of its inhabitants which were accessible to an investigator at the close of the first century A.D. may be conveniently classified under two heads :

- I. *Information at first hand* acquired by the author himself in German territory through personal interviews and observation.
- II. *Information at second hand*, furnished :
 - (a) by friends or acquaintances who had been in Germany or on the frontier, either in a private capacity or in the army, and finally through the medium of traders.
 - (b) by literary records dealing incidentally, professedly, or exclusively with Germanic geography and ethnology.

But while these sources may be determined with satisfactory completeness, and while there can be no doubt that so painstaking an investigator, as Tacitus admittedly was, would not have failed to consult what was available for his

¹ Bibliography: L. Voelckel, *Index lectionum*, Marburg 1788-89 (not accessible to me); R. Koepke, *Zur Quellenkritik der Germania in Deutsche Forschungen* 1859 pp. 5-43, 222-226; A. Baumstark, *Urdeutsche Alterthümer* 1873 pp. 1-19, 27-58; M. Manitius, *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, vol. XXII (1882) pp. 417-422 (on Pomponius Mela); G. Schleussner, *Quae ratio inter Taciti Germaniam ac ceteros primi saeculi libros Latinos . . . intercedere videatur*, Gymn. Progr. Barmen 1886 (a worthless compilation); A. Lueckenbach, *De Germania quae vocatur Taciteae fontibus*, Dissert. Marburg 1891 pp. 69; K. Muelenhoff, *Deutsche Alterthumskunde*, vol. IV (1898) pp. 17-50, and the brief introductions to the editions of the *Germania*, e.g. by Kritz, Zernial, E. Wolff, Furneaux, and Gudeman (Allyn & Bacon 1900), which latter contains an abstract of the present paper.

purpose, the question as to the precise nature of his indebtedness to his predecessors is beset with considerable difficulties, owing to the complete loss of so many works of importance which might have definitely settled numerous problems now incapable of solution.

The hypothesis that Tacitus himself visited German lands, though seriously maintained by many scholars of repute and not altogether abandoned even now, may be briefly dismissed, for the *Germania* does not contain a single observation or statement which would be explicable only on the supposition of a personal visit, not to mention that such a journey of exploration on the part of a Roman would have been next to impossible even in regions to which Roman legions had at one time or another penetrated. But even if we admit the possibility of a personal acquaintance with the territory and the people described by Tacitus, there still remain numerous passages in the *Germania* which would necessarily have been expressed quite differently under the circumstances,¹ nor does Tacitus himself anywhere appeal to his own observations, even in matters where the explicit confirmation of an eye-witness would have been expedient, if not actually called for.² But if the *Germania*, as just pointed out, not only contains nothing which might imply a direct knowledge of things Germanic on the part of the author, but on the contrary furnishes numerous details fatal to such a hypothesis, it follows that *all* of his information was secured at *second* hand.

Now of the six hundred items³ accumulated in this treatise, it is to the highest degree probable that a considerably larger number than has generally been assumed, came to him through the medium of personal friends who had visited

¹ Cp. esp. Baumstark l.c. pp. 43-58; Lueckenbach l.c. pp. 55-69; Muellenhoff l.c. pp. 23-26. The salient passages subversive of the above hypothesis are found in ch. 3. 9. 23. 27. 30. 33. 35. 41. 43. 46. The contention of Kritz and others that Tacitus was also conversant with the German language no longer merits serious refutation.

² Cp. the statement in *Ann.* XI. 11, quod non iactantia refero sed ut in rebus varie traditis verbis meis fides habeatur.

³ Of these only about seventy are found in other extant sources.

Germany and served in military campaigns, for we know that Tacitus habitually availed himself of such authentic sources of information, in preparing his *Histories* and *Annals*,¹ so that there is no reason to believe that he would have failed to do so in collecting his material for the *Germania*.

But however extensively the author must be supposed to have drawn from this fountain, the great mass of the detailed knowledge concerning Germanic rites and customs displayed in his treatise cannot well have been due to other than *literary* sources which lay in profusion about him.

Unless there existed highly important contributions to our subject, of which no trace has survived (a very unlikely supposition), the sources accessible to Tacitus were the following :

Extant : Caesar's *de bello Gallico*, Strabo, Diodorus, Velleius Paterculus, Pomponius Mela, Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*.

Not extant : Pytheas, Posidonius of Rhodes, Sallust, Livy, Agrippa's map, Aufidius Bassus, Pliny's *Bella Germaniae*, Marinus of Tyre. With the exception of the Greek authors, all of them have been regarded as having been more or less extensively consulted by Tacitus. It is the object of this paper to ascertain in each case to what extent or with what justice this has been done, and I hope I may be able to show, even within the narrow limits to which I am confined, that the conclusions hitherto accepted almost without question rest on very unstable foundations and are in not a few instances wholly unwarranted.

Before proceeding it will, however, be expedient to draw attention to the general neglect of a methodological principle which seems chiefly responsible for the false inferences so constantly met with in investigation of this nature. It is usually held that mere similitude between two authors is sufficient to establish the fact of indebtedness of the younger to his predecessor. But quite apart from the observation that similarity of subject-matter, especially where concrete details are involved, necessarily leads to a

¹ Cp. Ph. Fabia, *Les Sources de Tacite*, pp. 220-222, 342-346, and esp. Plin. *Epist.* VI. 16, 1, *petis ut tibi avunculi mei exitum scribam quo verius tradere posteris possis.*

certain stylistic similarity in its presentation, such parallelisms in thought and diction may well be due to a third source, common to two or more authors. In any case, mere *similitude*, however striking, will never afford a certain or even adequately reliable clew to indebtedness, provided there exist side by side equally striking *divergences* or *contradictions*, unless, indeed, we are ready to believe that an author like Tacitus, after thoughtlessly extracting from several sources a number of items on the same topic, merely pieced them together into a varicolored mosaic.

CAESAR. The earliest Roman account of Germanic life and customs is contained in a few paragraphs of Caesar's *de bello Gallico*.¹ The prime importance of his description lies solely in the fact that it is the *earliest*, and that the information was to a considerable extent acquired on the spot by personal observation and enquiry. That Tacitus was acquainted with these famous Memoirs would go without saying, even if he had not cited their author in a highly complimentary manner.² But the demonstrable acquaintance on the part of Tacitus with this work does not in itself necessarily imply any extensive indebtedness to it, as scholars have been all too hasty to assume, for a careful comparison between the two authors, where they deal with the same or similar topics, reveals but a single passage in the *Germania* which can be justly regarded as a reminiscence rather than an accidental parallelism,³ for the few other verbal coincidences⁴ usually adduced refer to topics which would naturally be expressed in similar or identical language. The remaining items of information, touched

¹ Cp. IV. 1-4 (de Suebis), VI. 21-24, to which are attached three chapters on the Hercynian forest and its marvellous fauna. A few incidental references are also found in I. 31-54.

² ch. 28, *validiores olim Gallorum res fuisse summus auctorum divus Iulius tradit*. It is the one passage in the *Germania* in which an author is directly mentioned by name, and it is curious to note that the only other allusion to the *de bello Gallico* in Tacitus (*Agr.* 11) pertains to this identical statement.

³ viz. ch. 1, 1, *Germania omnis*, with its abrupt opening.

⁴ Cp. *B. G.* VI. 17, 1, *deum maxime Mercurium colunt* (said of the Gauls, be it observed) with *Germ.* 9, *deorum maxime Mercurium colunt*; *B. G.* IV. 1, 8, *multum sunt in venationibus*; VI. 21, 3 *vita omnis in venationibus* with *Germ.* 15, *multum venatibus . . . transigunt*.

upon by both Caesar and Tacitus, all exhibit noteworthy *divergences* or *amplifications* in the later writer of so significant a character as to preclude Caesar as the chief or even ultimate source on the subjects in question.¹ Caesar, it cannot but be admitted, had at best only a superficial acquaintance with Germanic tribes and, what is important to note, this acquaintance was made under most unfavorable conditions, for the most characteristic customs, usages, ceremonies and modes of Germanic life could be observed only in times of *peace*. Such information as he does furnish on these topics, was, therefore, necessarily secured at *second* or *third* hand, through Gallic traders or prisoners of war and hence not necessarily accurate or authentic. Nay, it can even be shown that Caesar himself occasionally consulted *literary* sources² which were, of course, equally accessible to Tacitus. Taking all this into consideration and remembering that the author of the *Germania*, writing as he did nearly 150 years after Caesar, was in every instance in possession of more detailed and more authentic information than was vouchsafed to Caesar, we cannot but reject the assumption of any extensive indebtedness. The *Commentaries*, though certainly documents of superior importance, cannot, in the eyes of Tacitus, have had anything more than an historical interest and value.

VELLEIUS PATERCULUS. Velleius Paterculus, though serving in the German campaigns of Tiberius and thus within reach of first-hand information, may be dismissed in a few words, for the extant work, albeit fragmentary, reveals no trace of any influence upon the *Germania* or any other writings of Tacitus, to whom, indeed, the fulsome eulogist of Tiberius may well have been utterly repugnant.

¹ Lueckenbach, pp. 13-32, takes refuge in the hypothesis that in all these instances Tacitus intentionally corrects Caesar. But Tacitus had no motive for so covert a polemic nor would such a procedure be compatible with his high regard for Caesar, as expressed in *summus auctorum*. In any case, it would merely confirm the fact that he was *not* indebted to Caesar for those statements in which they *disagree*.

² See *B. G.* VI. 24, 2, *Hercyniam silvam quam Eratostheni et quibusdam Graecis fama notam esse video*. That Posidonius was one of these seems all but certain. Cp. Muellenhoff, *D. A.* II. p. 182 and below.

POMPONIUS MELA. In the reign of Claudius, one Pomponius Mela compiled a compendious geography of the world in three books. The author deplors in his Preface that the subject unfortunately does not lend itself readily to a rhetorical treatment. Accordingly to relieve the weary monotony of geographical names with which he found himself confronted, recourse is had to stylistic embellishment of more or less relevant topics. Ethnological details, in particular, are distributed with reckless extravagance. In fact, there is perhaps no ancient treatise, professedly scientific or didactic, which so teems with grotesque information, culled from the rich storehouse of Hellenic fancy, myth, and anecdote. The strictly geographical items—the small book contains no fewer than 1500 names—seem to have been taken from fairly old and reliable sources,¹ now lost. This fact and the accident which made the *Chorographia* of Mela the earliest geographical treatise extant in Latin constitute its sole value for us moderns. In ancient times it is never cited except by that omnivorous reader, Pliny the Elder, who mentions Mela in the bibliographical indices to bks. IV. V. VI. of his *Natural History*.

Mela has devoted one small chapter (III. 3, 25–32), of less than fifty lines,² to Germany and this ludicrously inadequate account has hitherto, without a dissenting voice, been regarded as one of Tacitus' sources, while his stylistic indebtedness to this same rhetorician, presumably because of the extreme brevity of the paragraph on Germany, is made to extend over the entire compilation.³ It may well

¹ A geographical work of Cornelius Nepos, which is directly quoted, appears to have been his chief authority, and the celebrated map of Agrippa was probably also laid under contribution. Eudoxus, Hipparchus, and Hanno, though also cited, were doubtless known to this rhetorical compiler only at second or third hand.

² Fully one-half of these is, moreover, taken up with a bald enumeration of the forests, swamps, and rivers in Germany together with a description of the sinus Codanus in which Scandinavia is supposed to be located.

³ How deeply rooted this conviction is may be best illustrated by the fact that recent editors have without hesitation followed Heraeus in substituting *recedit* for *redit* (*Germ.* 35), simply because the former is found in Mela III. 1, 8, in *illam partem quae recessit ingens flexus aperitur* and yet *redit* is the wholly

be doubted whether there exists another universally accepted statement that is demonstrably so unwarranted by the facts.

Of coincidences in matters of detail between Mela and Tacitus a comparison reveals the following: Both speak of the huge frames of the Germans and their long-extended childhood. Both mention the *sagum* as an article of dress, that the Germans are given to robbery, and finally that they observe the rights of hospitality.¹ Few as these parallels are, it must be observed that the first two traits had already been noted by Caes. *B.G.* IV. 1; vi. 21; the propensity to plunder is but incidentally mentioned by Tacitus and in connection with the *comitatus*, the topic of Germanic clothing and hospitality being treated in special chapters as against *two phrases* in Mela. The assumption of Tacitean indebtedness would, therefore, be absurd, even if Mela's account, brief as it is, did not, moreover, exhibit palpable divergences with the Tacitean description. Thus the boundaries of Germany are given more accurately in Tacitus, and Mela's statement, "*corpora ad consuetudinem laborum maxime frigoris*" (sc. *exercent*), is flatly contradicted and in part modified in *Germ.* 4, *magna corpora tantum ad impetum valida: laboris atque operum non eadem patientia . . . frigora . . . adsueverunt* (sc. *tolerare*).

Under these circumstances, it were superfluous to discuss the alleged stylistic influence of Mela upon the *Germania*, but as this has never been disputed, it will be necessary to prove its falsity. In the first place, it may be remarked, that Mela's paragraph on Germany does not even exhibit so much as a single stylistic parallel with the *Germania*, unless it be a word like *sagum* or a phrase like *insitam feritatem*, for these

unobjectionable reading of all the Mss.; it is used in the same sense by Verg. *Georg.* III. 351, to whose phraseology Tacitus is under deep obligations, and what is specially significant in the present instance, it occurs *twice* in none other than Mela himself. Cp. I. 9, 56, *redeunte flexu*; III. 1, 1, *in se ipsum redit* (sc. *pelagus*).

¹ Cp. III. 3, 25, *inmanes sunt animis atque corporibus* (*Germ.* 4); 26, *longissima apud eos pueritia est* (*Germ.* 20, *sera iuvenum venus*); *viri sagis velantur* (*Germ.* 17, *tegumen omnibus sagum*); 28, *ne latrociniū quidem pudeat* (*Germ.* 14, *materia munificentiae per bella et raptus*): *tantum hospitibus boni* (*Germ.* 21).

also, incredible as it may seem, figure in the lists compiled by Manitius and Schleussner to prove Tacitean indebtedness and yet genuine traces of such influence, if they existed, ought to have been found in that chapter, if anywhere.

In the second place the verbal coincidences found in the other portions of Mela's treatise are either inevitable, belonging, as they do, to the common vocabulary of the language or else the alleged parallelism is extremely faint, if not wholly imaginary.¹ But even granting that these phraseological resemblances were more significant than an unprejudiced examination proves them to be, we should still be driven to an absurd conclusion, none other, in fact, than that one of the greatest stylistic artists in the world's literature was so completely captivated by a rhetorical treatise on geography, whose information on Germanic affairs was grotesquely inadequate and vaguely generalized, that he could not refrain from borrowing its commonplace phraseology.¹

THE ELDER PLINY. Tacitean indebtedness to the *Naturalis Historia* of the Elder Pliny has also been advocated with considerable zeal and accepted without question and yet this contention² is also demonstrably erroneous.

¹ To substantiate this charge, it will suffice to select at random some of the phrases common to both authors which have been seriously adduced in support of Tacitus' stylistic indebtedness to Mela: III. 24, Rhenus . . . certo alveo lapsus (*Germ.* 32, certum iam alveo Rhenum); 26, nudi agunt (*Germ.* 20, nudi . . . excrescunt); I. 28, lugere solemne sit sc. apud Aegyptos (*Germ.* 27, feminis lugere honestum est); I. 64, III. 57, celebratae carminibus (*Germ.* 2, celebrant carminibus); III. 24, sui similis (of a river bed) = *Germ.* 4, sui similem gentem; II. 51, nomen dedit urbs (*Germ.* 45, luxuria nostra dedit nomen); III. 18, manent vestigia feritatis (*Germ.* 37, famae lata vestigia manent); II. 2, expediam (= *Germ.* 27, expediam); I. 5, ambiunt; I. 50, late patentem; I. 8, inclutis amnibus; I. 42, interiores; I. 60, contermina; III. 8, adluit; III. 30, erumpat; III. 11, hactenus ad occidentem; III. 23, frons; I. 24, cingit Oceanus (*Germ.* I. 43. 41. 5. 36. 45. I. 35. 42. 45), etc., etc.

² The alleged parallelisms in style and substance are all collected and discussed in Lueckenbach, pp. 34-48, who endeavors to account for the numerous discrepancies, so far as he does not prefer to ignore them, on the ground that Pliny "res ipsas describere voluit." Tacitus on the other hand "quatenus ad situm gentium in universum significandum aut ad vitam moresque cognoscenda et illustranda pertinere videbantur." In still other instances, we are asked to believe that Tacitus deliberately corrected Pliny.

In the first place, it may be observed that even if Tacitus was acquainted with Pliny's encyclopedia, for which we lack all evidence, though it is not intrinsically improbable, it does not seem plausible that he would have deliberately searched all through so bulky a compilation for details to be utilized in his *Germania*, for, with the exception of a short chapter in Bk. IV., Pliny's references to Germany are few, incidental, and scattered over thirty-seven books, not to mention that, as the subject matter was presumably not arranged alphabetically, nor provided with an index, its consultation for a specific purpose would have been attended with no little difficulty.

No painstaking investigator, moreover, such as Tacitus is known to have been, would, in any case, have had recourse to a compilation such as Pliny's, any more than a modern scholar of repute would be likely to cull his information from some Lexicon or Cyclopedea.

This consideration, though hitherto invariably ignored, would be alone sufficient to render the assumption of Tacitean indebtedness to the *Naturalis Historia* somewhat hazardous at the very outset, even if an impartial examination of the few alleged parallelisms upon which the accepted theory is primarily based did not amply prove its untenability. The information furnished by Pliny, being, moreover, found in detached passages, attention must again be directed to the canon formulated above; for here, if anywhere, palpable divergences will go far to neutralize any inferences that might otherwise be drawn from resemblances, however striking they may seem, when considered by themselves.

In Plin. *N. H.* IV. 12, 24, 79, we have a detailed account of the *Ister*, and we are told among other things that in its upper course it is called *Danube*. In this entire description Tacitus (*Germ.* 1) agrees with Pliny only in mentioning Mons Abnoba as the source of the river and in speaking of six mouths. But these facts were unquestionably matters of common knowledge. They might even have been taken from a map, for such were in general use fully a century before Tacitus's

time.¹ On the other hand Tacitus ignores the term Ister altogether, though it is carefully differentiated from the Danube by Pliny. Again, in mentioning only six mouths, he takes occasion to say that the seventh mouth, assumed by many,² was lost in the marshes, a statement which he certainly did *not* find in Pliny, even supposing that all the remainder had been due to that author. Clearly such a passage as this cannot establish Tacitean indebtedness to Pliny.

A still greater discrepancy between the two writers is revealed in Plin. IV. 13, 28, 99 f., where we read the following: Germanorum genera quinque: Vandilii quorum pars Burgodiones, Varinnae, Charini, Gutones. Alterum genus Ingaevones quorum pars Cimbri Teutoni ac Chaucorum gentes. Proximi autem Rheno Istiaevones quorum pars Sugambri, Mediterranei Hermiones quorum Suebi, Hermunduri, Chatti, Cherusci. Quinta pars Peucini-Bastarnae. From Tacitus, on the other hand (ch. 2), we learn that: Manno tres filios adsignant, e quorum nominibus proximi Oceano Ingaevones, medii Herminones, ceteri Istaevones vocentur. Quidam, ut in licentia vetustatis, pluris deo ortos, plurisque gentis adpellationes, Marsos, Gambrivios Suebos Vandilios adfirmant eaque vera et antiqua nomina.

That Pliny cannot possibly have been the source of Tacitus for this passage will be apparent at a glance. Thus the former mentions *five* generic groups, the latter only *three*, and speaks of still another classification, on the authority of older sources, which enumerated the Vandilii and three other tribes. Of these the *Suebi* are given by Pliny as a subdivision of the Herminones, though clearly differentiated from them by Tacitus in the second part of the *Germania*; the

¹ Cp. e.g. Prop. IV (V), 3, 35 ff., et disco qua parte fluat vincendus Araxes . . . cogor et e tabula pictos ediscere mundos. As Strabo, Mela, Pliny, and Ptolemaeus seem to have extensively followed the famous map of Agrippa, Tacitus, because of irreconcilable divergences in the names of tribes, must have consulted some other map, probably that of *Marinus* of Tyre, a distinguished contemporary geographer. Cp. Muellenhoff, *D. A.* III. 91 ff. IV. 51 f.

² E.g. Strabo, the Roman poets generally and the authority followed by Mela, which latter fact is here merely cited in passing, in view of the prevalent belief that Mela constitutes one of Tacitus's sources. See above.

Gambrivii and *Marsi* again are omitted altogether by Pliny, whereas Tacitus completely ignores the *Teutoni*, *Burgodiones*, *Charini*, *Sugambri*, and mentions only one *gens Chaucorum*.

In IV. 17, 31, 106, Pliny closes his long enumeration of Gallic tribes with these words: *Rhenum autem accolentes Germaniae gentium in eadem provincia Nemetes, Triboci, Vangiones, in Ubis colonia Agrippinensis, Guberni Batavi et quos in insulis diximus Rheni.* This passage has been supposed to be the source of *Germ.* 28: *ipsam Rheni ripam haud dubie Germanorum populi colunt, Vangiones, Triboci, Nemetes, ne Ubii quidem . . . Agrippinenses . . . vocentur.* Here, it is true, we have the same tribes, but Tacitus doubtless changed the order with the fell purpose of covering up his palpable indebtedness to Pliny for so rare a piece of information! I have purposely chosen these alleged parallelisms from the *fourth* book, because it deals almost exclusively with geography and was, therefore, more likely to have been laid under contribution by Tacitus than incidental passages, if the *Naturalis Historia* was consulted at all. Of other items, only *two* call for special comment, the one because of an irreconcilable contradiction, the other because it has always been held to prove conclusively that the author of the *Germania* was directly indebted to Pliny's encyclopedia, for all the other passages adduced in support of this view pertain to well-known, concrete details which would be naturally mentioned by writers who had occasion to deal with the same subject, but even in these Tacitus furnishes information which is *not* found in the work under notice.

Pliny's discussion of *amber* is unusually exhaustive, taking up no fewer than sixteen paragraphs (XXXVII. 2, 11, 30-46), the very enumeration of the authors who had made some contribution concerning the origin and provenance of amber, proving, what is here worthy of notice, that a very extensive literature on this subject existed before Pliny's time, a literature that can hardly be supposed to have been wholly unknown to Tacitus.

Now in these paragraphs there are numerous parallelisms

both as regards expression and details, but they are one and all either unavoidably similar or else the identical statements were matters of common experience, observation, or knowledge, for even the one more specially noteworthy coincidence pertains to an item of information expressly cited by Pliny as known to *prisci nostri*.¹ On the other hand, Tacitus gives a number of details and suppositions which have nothing to correspond to in Pliny's apparently exhaustive exposition; all of these must, therefore, have been taken from some other source. But, what is far more important, we also find certain divergences between the two which would be inexplicable even on the supposition of an otherwise close dependence. Thus Tacitus conspicuously mentions the *Aestii* as engaged in the amber trade, and confines it to the Baltic Sea; Pliny says nothing of this tribe, and refers only to the shores of the North Sea as the region where the substance was procured.

But if any additional proof of Tacitus's independence of Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* were needed, it would be furnished by their widely discrepant and irreconcilable description of the *Chauci*.² Pliny pictures this tribe as living in sordid poverty and devoid of all culture or refinement, adding with bitter scorn: *et hae gentes si vincantur hodie a populo Romano servire se dicunt! Ita est profecto, multis fortuna parcit in poenam.* Tacitus, on the other hand, paints the *Chauci* in roseate colors, and styles them "populus inter Germanos nobilissimus," who, though brave soldiers and equal to all emergencies, have not acquired their reputation by

¹ Plin. 43 ff. *arboris sucum esse etiam prisci nostri credidere ob id succinum appellantes. Pinei autem generis arboris esse indicio est pineus in adritu odor et quod accensum taedae modo ac nidore flagrat . . . liquidum id primo destillare argumento sunt quaedam intus tralucetia ut formicae culicesque et lacertae quae adhaesisse musteo non est dubium et inclusa durescente eodem remansisse*—Tac. *Germ.* 45, *Sicum tamen arborum esse intellegas quia terrena quaedam atque etiam volucra animalia plerumque interlucent, quae implicata humore mox durescente materia cluduntur. . . . Si naturam sucini admoto igni temptes in modum taedae accenditur alitque flammam pinguem et olentem, mox ut in picem resinamve lentescit.*

² Cp. *Nat. Hist.* XVI. 1, 1, 4, and *Germ.* 35.

belligent provocation and unjust conduct toward inferiors. Strong as the author's tendency to idealize unquestionably was, it cannot in this instance satisfactorily account for the palpable divergences under notice, and that mainly for two reasons. In the first place, the Chauci were a tribe well known to the Romans who had often encountered them in battle, so that the *omne ignotum pro magnifico* would not be applicable to them. In the second place, Pliny's description, though possibly somewhat biassed and exaggerated, was that of an eye-witness.¹ If, therefore, the *Naturalis Historia* was as familiar to Tacitus, as we are constantly assured it was, it is difficult to believe that he would have deliberately cast aside information based upon direct observation, and that too in the case of a topic in which he might have been easily convicted of misrepresentation.

But if the encyclopedia of Pliny must, therefore, be eliminated from the list of probable sources for the *Germania*, it is to the highest degree probable, though not capable of proof, that the same writer's voluminous *Bella Germaniae*, which began where the *libri belli Germanici* of Aufidius Bassus² left off, constituted a rich storehouse of varied information for a treatise like the *Germania*. The work is cited by Tacitus himself,³ and it was admittedly one of the sources for his *Annales*. The extent of his indebtedness in the *Germania* cannot, however, be even approximately determined, not a vestige of Pliny's narrative having survived.⁴

SALLUST. There remain two other Latin historians who have not infrequently been classed among the possible sources of Tacitus; namely, Sallust and Livy. Both were held in high esteem by the author of the *Germania*.⁵ The former

¹ I. c. in septentrione visae nobis Chaucorum (sc. gentes).

² That this history was also known to Tacitus is evident from *Dial.* 23, but it too has wholly perished.

³ *Ann.* I. 69.

⁴ That topics in the *Naturalis Historia*, if also dealt with in the earlier work, were throughout identical in content, is an unwarranted inference.

⁵ *Agr.* 10, Livius veterum . . . eloquentissimi auctores; *Ann.* IV. 34, T. Livius, eloquentiae ac fidei praeclarus in primis; *Ann.* III. 30, C. Sallustius rerum Romanarum florentissimus auctor.

served as his stylistic model for historical composition,¹ and the latter's description of Britain is expressly cited. It is, therefore, highly improbable that he would have ignored or failed to read anything these writers may have contributed to Germanic geography or ethnology. But that Sallust had given an account of the tribes and customs of Germany in an excursus of his *Historiae*, usually cited by later grammarians under the separate title *de situ Pontico*, is an arbitrary assumption which is in no way confirmed by the incidental mention of the word *Germani* in two isolated fragments.²

LIVY. That Livy, on the other hand, did deal with the geography and customs of Germany is evident from the statement of the periocha of Bk. 104.³ But as his information could not well have been taken from other than two sources, namely, Posidonius⁴ and Caesar, it were hazardous to maintain, in the absence of all definite clues, that Tacitus was under any obligations to Livy's chapters, particularly as his style exhibits but few traces of any such influence.⁵

STRABO and DIODORUS. Of Greek authors who devoted some attention to Germanic tribes, if we except the writer to be discussed presently, only Strabo and Diodorus Siculus call for a passing comment. The former's Γεωγραφικά must be excluded, because Roman writers have, for some strange reason not hitherto explained, habitually ignored that valuable work, not to mention that the information furnished by Strabo, though based in large measure upon such authorities as Pytheas, Posidonius, and Caesar, exhibits too many dissimi-

¹ Cp. my *Introd. to Agr.* p. xxiv f., xxxvi.

² *Fragm.* III. 57 K. Germani intectum renonibus corpus tegunt, apparently a mere echo of *Caes. B. G.* VI, 21, 5, pellibus aut parvis renonum tegumentis utuntur, and *fragm.* 55, nomenque Danuvium habet (sc. Ister) ut ad Germanorum terras adstringet. Neither *Ister*, as already observed, nor *renones* occurs in the *Germania*. In view of the following discussion, it may be remarked that *Posidonius* was one of the authorities followed by Sallust for this very chapter, *de situ Pontico*. Cp. Muellenhoff, *D. A.* III. 75 ff.

³ Prima pars libri situm Germaniae moresque continet, followed by the narrative of Caesar's campaigns.

⁴ Muellenhoff, *D. A.* II. 125 ff.

⁵ Cp. *Introd. Agr.* p. xxxvi and notes to ch. 3, 1 f.; 33, 15 and *Germ.* 3 ext.

larities to warrant the assumption of direct indebtedness on the part of Tacitus. The same holds good of the few paragraphs in Diodorus, his account being, moreover, characterized by a lack of discrimination and a strong tendency toward the fabulous, grotesque, and improbable, thus contrasting very unfavorably with the sane judgment and careful sifting of the material at hand which is so conspicuous a feature of the *Germania*. Surely Tacitus could have found little or nothing in Diodorus, even supposing, what may safely be doubted, that the Βιβλιοθήκη was known to him.

But even if it be granted that the *Germania* was under considerably greater obligations to the authors enumerated above than the evidence will warrant us in assuming, and even if we make all due allowance for the probability that much information reached Tacitus through other than literary channels, there would still remain a large number of topics, and they include some of the most interesting and valuable in the entire treatise, which are not so much as alluded to in any of our extant sources. I refer to the subject of Germanic mythology, religious origins, festivals, and ritual. This information must, therefore, have been ultimately based, to a large extent, if not wholly, upon the investigations of some scholar who devoted special attention to topics of this kind.¹ Can his identity be discovered?

POSITONIUS. Numerous considerations point to the Stoic Posidonius of Apamea as one of the principal sources for the information in question, even though direct indebtedness cannot, of course, be demonstrated.

This consummate scholar, the last and, next to Aristotle, perhaps the most versatile, original, and encyclopedic investigator in antiquity, the friend and teacher of Cicero, has

¹ It seems to me highly significant, that Tacitus, though habitually reticent as to his authorities, should so frequently refer to older sources of information in these particular chapters. Cp. ch. 2, adsignant, adfirmant; ch. 3, memorant, quidam opinantur; ch. 4, eorum opinionibus accedo; ch. 9, parum comperi. The plural, according to a method of citation much in vogue in ancient writers, even in the greatest, does not necessarily imply more than one authority, it being often due to the fact that several writers were quoted in the source directly consulted.

only in recent times been restored to honor. His influence, especially upon Roman writers, has been most profound and lasting in the many fields of human knowledge to which he turned his attention.¹ His writings, distinguished by all the graces of style, abounded in elaborate discussions of a geographical, ethological, and ethnological nature, and he everywhere manifested a keen interest in religious origins, theological questions, and the historical development of human society generally.

Lucretius, in the famous fifth book of the *de rerum natura*, Livy, Caesar, Sallust, in his introductions to the *Catiline* and *Jugurtha*, Varro in his monumental work, entitled *Antiquitates rerum humanarum et divinarum* in 41 books, Strabo, Diodorus, Seneca, in many of his writings,² the poet Manilius, Sextus Empiricus, and even Ammianus Marcellinus, but above all, Cicero in his *Tusculan Disputations*, the *de fato*, *de deorum natura*, *de divinatione*, and the *de officiis* were all alike, to a greater or less degree, under obligations to this Stoic savant. With Tacitus he shared the strong tendency to idealize past times and barbarian communities. Thus, the strikingly similar reflections on the purity and rectitude of the Scythians, found e.g. in Verg. *Georg.* III. 376 ff.; Hor. *Carm.* III. 24. 9 ff. Justin. II. 2, are demonstrably Posidonian. The doctrine of the influence of climate upon character is expressly attributed to Posidonius by Galen.³ But if his philosophical and scientific works enjoyed a wide popularity, his *Ἱστορίαι*, in 52 books, were consulted and pillaged no less extensively, the exhaustive account of the Cimbri and Teutones, in particular, remaining

¹ Cp. A. Schmekel, *Die Philosophie der mittleren Stoa*, 1892, pp. 9 ff. 85-154, 238-290; Susemihl, *Gesch. der griech. Lit. in der Alexandrinerzeit* II. pp. 128 ff.

² Cp. the 90th letter, which gives us the Posidonian account of the development of civilization. The curious parallelisms between Lucretius and *Germ.* 46. 14. 17 (where see my notes) are best explained on the supposition that both were indebted to a common third source, viz. Posidonius.

³ Cp. Galen, *de plac. Hipp. et Plat.* 5, p. 290. It is distinctly recognized e.g. in Seneca and *Germ.* 29, and is clearly implied in Mela III. 3, 33, ut caeli asperioris, ita ingenii (of the Sarmatians). Though Posidonius cannot be considered the originator of the idea, the general familiarity with it found in later writers is undoubtedly due to him.

the standard narrative for all later writers.¹ It is to Posidonius also that we owe the first mention of the name *Germani*² and the first description of their country (Posidonius apud Plut. *Mar.* 26).

Under these circumstances it does not seem plausible that Tacitus would have failed to avail himself of the labors of so suggestive, so trustworthy, and so great an authority, whose very attitude of mind and historical perspective had so much in common with his own convictions and feelings. The precise nature and extent of his indebtedness I do not, of course, undertake to determine, but I venture to draw attention to at least one piece of concrete information in the *Germania* for which Posidonius seems reasonably certain to have been the ultimate, not to say the direct, source. I refer to the identification of Germanic deities with the gods of Greece or Rome. This parallelizing process, based on the alleged existence of attributes and ritual characteristics, more or less similar, was familiar to Caesar.³ Now, as he cannot well be considered the founder of what may be termed comparative mythology, there is no one, save Posidonius, to whom the general introduction, if not the invention, of this method⁴

¹ Muellenhoff, *D. A.* II, pp. 113 ff.

² Athen. IV. p. 153 e, *Γερμανοὶ δὲ ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῇ τριακοστῇ*. Muellenhoff, l.c. pp. 153 ff. intent upon proving, for some unaccountable reason, that Caesar was the first to distinguish the Celts from the Germans, is finally driven to the arbitrary hypothesis that the explicit citation in Athenaeus is either an interpolation or a deliberate correction for *Γαλαταὶ* or *Κελτοί*, and that Strabo, Valerius Maximus, Velleius, and Diodorus, presumably to deprive Caesar of the alleged distinction, repeatedly substituted *Germani* or *Γερμανοὶ* for the names which they found in their sources. The very manner, however, in which Caesar used the term can leave no doubt that he was familiar with it before he came into actual contact with German tribes. Again, as he regards the practically extinct *Cimbri* and *Teutones* as Germanic, this conviction can only have been based on earlier literary sources. But if so, nothing can be more plausible than that their great historian, Posidonius, had, previous to Caesar, clearly differentiated them from the Celts. Finally, the supposition that Caesar had observed the racial distinction between the Celts and the Germans implies a more intimate acquaintance with Germanic tribes than Caesar, as can still be shown, possessed.

³ Cp. *B. G.* VI, 17, 1 ff.; 21, 2, and my note to *Germ.* 9, 28.

⁴ The fact that Tacitus gives to it the name *interpretatio Romana* (*Germ.* 43) does not necessitate the assumption of an exclusively Roman origin, for that it was Greek is evident from the identification of *Donar* and the *Alci* with *Heracles*

can safely be attributed, for he is the only previous scholar, so far as known, who paid any attention to the mythology of Germanic and Celtic races, his conclusions having probably been given in his famous work, entitled *Περὶ θεῶν*.

Still other passages in the *Germania* which were in all likelihood ultimately, if not directly, based upon Posidonius are the statements concerning the origin of the name *Germani*,¹ their moral rectitude,² the motives assigned to the discontinuance of blood vengeance,³ the drink and food of the Germans,⁴ the story of the columns of Hercules⁵ in the Northern Ocean. Finally, the highly idealized picture which Tacitus draws of the life of the savage Fenni seems to have appropriated some of its colors from Posidonius.⁶

Summing up the preceding discussion, we may set down the following conclusions as reasonably established :

1. The entire material accumulated in the *Germania* was taken entirely at *second* or *third* hand, the contention that Tacitus had himself visited Germanic territory having nothing in its favor and weighty evidence against it.

and the *Dioscuri* (see my notes to *Germ.* 9, 27; 43, 25), these gods, or rather demigods, having never had a fixed or permanent place in the Roman pantheon. Probably shortly after Posidonius, some Roman antiquarian substituted *Jupiter* for *Heracles*, and this genuine *interpretatio Romana* was in the course of time universally accepted, as is clear from the French *Jeudi* (Iovis dies), by the side of German *Donnerstag* (Donar's day) and English *Thursday*. *Saturday* (Saturni dies) also points to a Roman origin. The Latin authority, I believe, was none other than Varro's *libri rerum divinarum*, published in 47 B.C. and dedicated to Caesar. It was, therefore, too late to be utilized in the *de bello Gallico*; on the other hand, Posidonius, as already remarked, was demonstrably one of the principal authorities followed by Varro. Tacitus may of course have consulted this work too, but in always mentioning Hercules, to the exclusion of Jupiter, as the equivalent of Donar, he certainly accepted the *interpretatio Graeca*.

¹ See my article in *Philologus* LVIII (1899) pp. 28 f.

² Cp. my note to *Germ.* 19, 22.

³ Note to *Germ.* 21, 12, where the parallel passage in Lucret. V. 1145 ff. suggests indebtedness to Posidonius.

⁴ Cp. 22 with my notes.

⁵ Note to Ch. 34, 22. Though *Pytheas* of Massilia was probably the earliest source for this statement, there is no reason to believe that Tacitus directly consulted the famous work of this ancient mariner.

⁶ Cp. Ch. 46, 23, with the passage from Justin. II. 2, 9 there cited, the latter or rather Pompeius Trogus being under great obligations to Posidonius.

2. It is to the highest degree probable that a very considerable mass of details, far more, in fact, than has generally been supposed, was furnished directly or indirectly through the medium of traders or personal friends whose presence in German territory or on the frontier had given them exceptional opportunities for observation and the acquisition of trustworthy information.

3 a. Of the *literary* sources, still *extant*, only Caesar was demonstrably familiar to Tacitus, but direct indebtedness to the *de bello Gallico*, if it existed at all, was at best confined within extremely narrow limits, and it must be rejected without hesitation in the case of Velleius Paterculus, Pomponius Mela, Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*, Strabo, and Diodorus.

b. Of writers dealing with things Germanic, either in separate chapters and monographs or incidentally, but *no longer preserved*, Pliny's exhaustive *Bella Germaniae* may with some confidence be classed among the authorities extensively utilized by Tacitus. There are also many significant indications, though the assumption is not susceptible of absolute proof, that Posidonius contributed his share, both in matters of concrete information and in suggestive reflections, to make the *Germania* what it is. The alleged influence of Sallust is unwarranted, so long as the very existence of any discussion on Germanic life and customs must be seriously called in question. But, on the other hand, Livy's treatment of the subject is firmly established and his account was undoubtedly known to Tacitus, but inasmuch as Livy's information was derived wholly from one or two sources, such as Posidonius and Caesar, which were equally accessible to the author of the *Germania*, any direct obligations to this historian cannot justly be claimed, particularly as the *Germania* exhibits no significant parallelisms with Livy's style.

c. Finally, it is fairly probable that Tacitus had consulted Varro, Aufidius Bassus, and above all, some geographical map, presumably that of his contemporary, Marinus of Tyre.

IX. — *Studies in Greek Agonistic Inscriptions.*

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IN connection with a study, undertaken some time ago, of the later history of the dramatic contests in Athens, I found it necessary to extend the range of my observations and collections to cover the records of the dramatic and musical exhibitions of the Greek world at large, and to direct my attention somewhat particularly to the individual performers who participated in them. These records are preserved largely in inscriptions, the texts of which are often difficult to decipher and mutilated. Some attention had to be paid to their restoration, often where only the name of an individual performer was involved. In this way I have come into the possession of some material of a more or less miscellaneous character, a part of which I shall attempt to put together in this paper in as compact a form as the varied nature of the several items will permit. Many of the facts or suggestions which will be presented may seem to be, in themselves, too trivial to record; but, after all, no apology is needed for the intrinsic unimportance of any contribution, however slight, to the history of the post-classical drama in Greece, or of the other public exhibitions which played so large a part in the intellectual, religious, and social life of the people.

Of the numerous agonistic inscriptions found in various parts of Greece, none will compare in importance, after those of Athens itself, either for intrinsic interest or for the light which they throw upon the conditions of dramatic and musical exhibitions in the third century B.C., with the series of ten catalogues of performers at the Apollonia and Dionysia at Delos, and the similar but much more extensive catalogues pertaining to the Soteria at Delphi. The larger questions arising out of these inscriptions have been very fully treated

by various scholars, and will therefore receive only incidental attention here. But a number of minor matters, relating both to the constitution of the text and to the identity and functions of individual performers, have not received sufficient consideration, especially in the case of the Delian inscriptions. Fortunately the dates of all the members of each series have been at last definitively settled, so that, with due caution, the names of the performers in them may be used to assist in establishing the period of activity of *τεχνίται* mentioned in literature and in undated inscriptions of a similar nature. We shall consider first the Delian catalogues.

The Choregic Inscriptions of Delos.

The French excavations at Delos brought to light in 1881 a number of inscriptions which are perhaps best classed as choregic. The first division in each contains the names of the choregi for the year, first for the chorus of girls at the Apollonia, then for the *χοροὶ παιδῶν, τραγῳδοί,* and *κωμῳδοί* at the Dionysia. Then follow, as a rule, the names of the performers (not the victors alone) in the lyric, dramatic, musical, and other exhibitions, all embraced under the general heading: *οἷδε ἐπέδειξαντο* (once *ἠγωνίσαντο*) *τῷ θεῷ*. A list of articles, belonging to the treasure of the god, which the archon of the year handed over to his successor, is sometimes added at the end, sometimes inserted before the catalogue of performers. The name of the archon in whose year the exhibition was given precedes the list of choregi, thus furnishing the date of each record by the assistance of the chronological table of Delian archons established mainly by Homolle. The first nine inscriptions were first published by Hauvette-Besnault in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, VII. (1883), p. 103 ff., the tenth by Paris, *ibid.* IX. (1885), p. 146 ff. The whole series has been republished and ably discussed by Brinck, "Inscriptiones Graecae ad choregiam pertinentes," *Diss. Halen.* VI. (1886), pp. 187 ff.¹ In the original publica-

¹ Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions Grecques*, Nos. 902-904, reproduces the complete records for the years 286, 284, and 270. I do not know on what grounds he gives the dates two years later in each case. That for the year 284 is found in

tions facsimiles were unfortunately not given, and the copies in majuscules which Hauvette-Besnault furnishes have been shown to contain a number of inaccuracies,¹ many of them doubtless due to the engravers. Paris gives only a transcription in small letters of the catalogue for the year 172 B.C., remarking that the letters A, E, and Θ, as often in Delian inscriptions, are engraved as Λ, Γ, and Ο—a fact that accounts for a number of the errors to which attention will be called.

The text of the portions of these inscriptions which contain the lists of the participants in the Delian exhibitions—with which alone we are at present concerned—follows. I give the readings of the first editors throughout, except where certain corrections have been made by others.

I. 286 B.C., τραγωιδοί· Θεόδωρος Μεγαρέυς, | Φιλοκλείδης Χαλκιδεύς. | κωμωιδοί· Τελέστης Ἀθηναῖος, | Ξαννίων δῖς, Δεξίλαος, | Διόδωρος Ἀθηναῖος, Διόδωρος Σινωπεύς. | αὐληταί· Καφίσιας Θηβαῖος. | κιθαρωιδοί· Μέμνων Ἀθηναῖος, | Ξενοκράτης Ἀμβρακιώτης, Φιλόδαμος. | [ψ]άλτης· Διομήδης Μηθυμαῖος. | καθαριστής· Ἐπικράτης Ἀργεῖος, Ἐλληνοκράτης. | ῥαψωιδοί· Ἀρχέλας Θετταλός, | Γλαῦκος Ἀθηναῖος.

II. 284 B.C., αὐλητής· | Ξενοφάντος Ἐη[β]αῖος. | κωμωιδοί· Φαῖδρος Ἀθηναῖος, Κηφίσιος Ἰστιαεῖς. | καθαριστής· Ἴηρις Καλληδόσιος. τραγωιδοί· | Θεόδωρος Μεγαρέυς, Θεμιστων² Πάριος, | Νικόστρατος Κασσανδρεύς.

III. 282 B.C., αὐληταί· | Τιμόστρατος Κυζικηνός, Διο
· | κωμωιδοί· Τέλεσις Πάριος, | Ἰερόνυμος, Πολυκλῆς, Μενεκλῆς, | Σιμίας Ἀθηναῖος, Διόδωρος Σινωπεύς. | τραγωιδοί· Θεμιστων . σα , | Διονύσιος, Ἀρίσταρχος, Ἡγήσιππος. | καθαριστής· Λύσανδρος, Δρ, | Αὐτόνομος ΞΟ . . ΑΙ - - - | Φιλήμων, Νικόστρατος, Ἀμεινίας.

IV. 280 B.C., τραγωιδοί· | Νικόλαος Ἡπειρώτης, Δράκων³ Ταραντίνος, | Ἀκίσιος Ῥόδιος, Κλεόδωρος. | κωμωιδοί. Τελέσων Μεγαρέυς, Σιμίας

the second edition of Dittenberger's *Sylloge*, No. 692. I have not had access to Von Schoeffer, *De Deli insulae rebus*.

¹ Besides those which will be noted in the lists of performers I may mention, in justification of textual corrections which I shall propose: ANTIΓENHPAIEC-KOCΣ for ANTIΓEN(HC)HP(A)ICCOCΣ, Ditt., p. 519, n. 5; II]AIΔΩN for KΩM] (Ω)IΔΩN and ΞENΩN for (IIAIΔ)ΩN, Brinck, pp. 200 and 203.

² So Wilhelm in Michel, *Recueil*, Add. et Corr. p. 949, for Hauvette-Besnault's reading Θε . . . τωνος Πάριος.

³ So Homolle, *B.C.H.* XIV. (1890), p. 502, n. 2, for H.-B.'s Ἀσαράκων. The correct form of the name appears in the accounts of the *λεροποιοί*.

Ἄθηναίος, | Κηφίσιος Ἔστιαίς, Ἀριστοφάνης Σολεύς. | αἰλητής · Τιμόστρατος Κυζικηνός. | κιθαρωιδός · Κλέων Σικωνίος, Ἀθήναιος, | Εὐάνθης Μηθυμναίος.

V. 270 B.C., κιθαρωιδοί · Αἰνησίδημος, Μηθισίθεος. αἰληταί · | Θεόδωρος, Νεοπτόλεμος. τραγω[ῖδοι] · | Θεόδωρος, Διονυσόδωρος, Εὐκλής, | Οἰκιάδης. κωμωιδοί · Ἐργόφιλος Ἴέρωνος, | Χόρηγ[ος],¹ Κ[ά]λλιπ(π)ος, Κλεόξενο[ς]. | θαυματοποιός ·² Κλευπάτρα.

VI. 265 B.C., αἰλητής · Ἀντιγενείδας. | κιθαρωιδοί · Μεγιστοκλής, Ἀνδρέας Τεγεατής. | κιθαριστής · Ἀντιφάνης. | κωμωιδοί · Ἐργόφιλος, Φανύλος, Παρίων, Ἐρέτιμος, | Φιλωνίδης, αρχος Ἀρκάς. | κωμωιδοποιός · Νικόμαχος Ἀθηναίος. | τραγωιδός · Θεόδωρος. | θαυματοποιός · Κλεοπάτρα.

VII. 261 B.C., [κ]ωμωιδοί · Πο[λύ]κριτος Κασσ[ανδρείς], Μενεκράτης | ος Σίφνιος, - - - | ης Κείος, ος Ἴεροκλέ | [ους] Ἀθηναίος, Πολυνε[ίκης] ου Χαλκιδεύ[ς]. τραγωιδοί · Σωτίων Ἀκαρν[άν], Ἥλις Παραμόνο[ν] |] δεύς. κιθαρωιδοί · Ἀριστόμαχος, | Εὐθύμαχος Εὐθυμάχου Κνίδιος. | αἰληταί · Ὀν[ή]σιππος - - - | [θα]υματοποιός · Σέρδων Ῥωμαῖος, Ἀρίστιον. | [κωμ]ωιδοποιός · Χρῦσιππος.

VIII. 203 B.C., κωμωιδός · Εὐδη | μος τρίς. κιθαριστής · Αἴνετος δῖς.

IX. 173 B.C., ΜΩΙΚΑΙΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ - - - - | Λ . . . ΘΛ . ΞΥΝ - - - - | ΑΠΛ . . . ΛΡΛΙ - - - - | . . . ΛΡΙΞ - - - - | ΝΑΤΙΑΗΞ . Π . . . Λ - - - - | ΙΞΤΗΞΑΝΤΙΠΑΤ⁴ - - - - .

X. 172 B.C., [αἰλ]ητής · Περιγένης | ἐνίκα μετὰ χοροῦ, Καλλιμέλ[ης] . . ο[δο]του, Νικάνδρος. | τραγωιδοί · Μενέδημος, Εὐκράτης, [Ἀντίλ]οχος, Εὐ | ων, Φίλων, Αὐτοκράτης, Ἀγησίστ[ρατος] · κιθαρισταί · | Κριτόξενος, Ἴεροκλής, μετὰ χοροῦ Σ[τρά]των, Ἐ[ρμ]ῶναξ. κιθαρωιδοί · Διονύσιος, Θράσων,⁵ Δημήτριος. κ[ω]μωιδοί · Θαρσύνων, Ἡρόστρατος, Π[ολύ]ξενος, Λυ . . | δος, Ἀθηναίων. θαυματοποιοί · . . . χ.ος, Ζώλιος | δῖς, Ἀρτεμῶ δῖς, [Ἀπο]λλων[νί]ας δῖς. ὄρχηστής · Σωσῶ δῖς. νευροσπα(σ)[ταί] · - - - - | σίων. Ῥωμαιστής · Ἀγαθόδωρος.

It is to be noted, first of all, that there seems to be no consistency in the use of the father's name and the ethnicon

¹ So Brinck, p. 197, for χορηγ . . , which H.-B. took for a caption.

² H.-B. read *θαυματοποιός*. Dragoumis, *B.C.H.* vii. (1885), p. 384 f., made the correction.

³ Brinck, p. 204, suggests [κω]μωι(δο)ί — rightly, as we shall see.

⁴ *Id.* [κιθαρ]ιστής Ἀντίπατ[ρος].

⁵ Wilhelm, *Jahresheft d. oesterreich. arch. Inst.* III. (1900), p. 49, for Paris' reading Θράκων. Below Paris reported Νεῦρος, Παρ - - - , . . . σίων, Ῥωμαιστής (a proper name); Wilhelm corrected as above.

in these lists. Of the total of about 130 names, 68 appear without the ethnicon, while, according to the editor, only one has the father's name alone and only six both the father's name and ethnicon. There is, however, a far greater degree of consistency in the individual lists than these figures would indicate; for example, we observe that in VIII and X the simple name alone is given, and in III (15 out of 19) and in VI (10 out of 13) the same rule is followed in the large majority of instances, while in II and in V the ethnicon is used in all but one case; the addition of the father's name to the ethnicon is confined to VII, the father's name without the ethnicon being recorded only once, in V. No one who is familiar with Greek inscriptions will demand entire uniformity in such matters, yet so striking a divergence in the practice of the same community in preparing official documents leads one to examine carefully the texts, in the first instance, and then to seek to discover some underlying principle of usage. Brinck (l.c. p. 200) has already noted the fact that in the choregic portions of these inscriptions the father's name is never omitted after the names of citizens, as opposed to metoeci, who served as choregi. Kirchner, in the Pauly-Wissowa *Encyclopädie*, seems to have assumed that the same rule holds good also of the performers without ethnica.¹ I myself once supposed that such persons were likely to be Athenians,² seeing that the use of the ethnicon in at least one instance (No. I, the *κωμφοδοί, Διδώωρος Ἀθηναῖος* and *Δ. Σιλωπέως*) was apparently to be explained by the necessity of distinguishing an Athenian from a homonym of another country. But this conclusion was rash, for in this very list only four out of the sixteen names are without the ethnicon.

An examination of the lists reveals two facts which render the assumption of Kirchner untenable. In the first place the same persons in different years have at one time the ethnicon and again not; e.g. the *τραγωδός, Θεμιστων Πάριος*

¹ See for example s.v. Aristarchus (10). He generally, however, designates such persons as "Delier" with a query, e.g. s.v. Ameinias, Athenaios, Antiphon, etc.

² *Am. Jour. Arch.* IV. (1900), p. 81.

in II, is simply *Θεμιστων* in III, unless indeed the letters .σα . . . which follow in Hauvette-Besnault's copy are the remains of the ethnicon. But they point rather to *Δ(ρ)άκων*, which Homolle restored in IV for H.-B.'s *'Ασαράκων*.¹ If then *Δράκων* is to be restored here as well as in IV, we have two undesignated persons who are neither Delians nor Athenians, for Homolle has shown that *Δράκων* is no other than the *τραγωδός*, *Δ. Ταραντίνος*, who figures in the accounts of the *ιεροποιοί*—evidently the *Δράκων Λύκωνος Ταραντίνος* who is found in the Soteric catalogue for 271 B.C. (Baunack, 2564, 50). Again the *τραγωδός*, *Θεόδωρος Μεγαρεύς*, of I and II is probably the same person who appears in V and VI as simply *Θεόδωρος*. See Brinck, p. 193. In the second place, some of the *τεχνῆται* who are found without ethnica here are found with ethnica in contemporary records of other festivals. To be sure, the identification of such persons is not so certain as in the case of those whose country is given,² but where there is agreement in three points, viz. name, occupation, and date, there can be no reasonable doubt that the country is also the same.

Thus the following persons can be supplied with their proper ethnica: The comic actor³ *Κ[ά]λλιπ(π)ος* in V is the *Κάλλιππος Καλλίου Σουνιεύς* who was victorious at the Lenaea at Athens in 306 B.C., *C.I.A.* II. 1289, credited with four Lenaeian victories in *C.I.A.* II. 977 uv; *Κλεόξενος*,

¹ *B.C.H.* XIV. (1890), p. 502, n. 2. A. Körte, who makes the identification with the Soteric performer, *N. Jahrb. f. d. klass. Alterth.* III. (1900), p. 86, reports him incorrectly as comic didascalus—a mistake that is often made in the Pauly-Wissowa *Encyclopädie* in referring to persons mentioned in the Soteric inscriptions.

² The identification by Reisch, *De mus. certam.* p. 96 ff., of two *τραγωδοί* of the Soteric inscriptions with *τραγωδοί* of the Delian, viz. *Τελέστης Θεοκλείδου Ἀθηναῖος* with *Τελέστης Ἀθηναῖος* in I and *Σωτῶν*, father of *'Αριστοκράτης Σωτῶνος Ἀκαρνάν* with *Σ. Ἀκαρνάν* in VII, contributed largely to the final establishment of the correct dating of the Soteric inscriptions, which had formerly been assigned to the second century.

³ I consider *κωμῳδός* and *τραγωδός* as entirely equivalent to *ὑποκριτῆς κωμικός* and *τραγικός*, in spite of the arguments to the contrary which Mr. Herbert Richards, *Classical Review*, xiv. (1900), p. 201 ff., has adduced. I hope to produce on another occasion the evidence in defence of the accepted view.

a *κωμῳδός* in V, is the *Κλεόξενος Ἀχαιοῦ Χαλκιδεύς*, comic actor in the Soteric list for 272 B.C.; *Φιλωνίδης*, a *κωμῳδός* in VI, is the *Φιλωνίδης Ἀριστομάχου Ζακύνθιος*, comic actor at Delphi in the same year, and priest of the guild of *τεχνῖται* for the four years, 272-269. He is credited with both Lenaeon and City victories at Athens in *C.I.A.* II. 977 uv and f'w. In VII, under the comic actors, Hauvette-Besnault gives *Μενεκράτης ος Σίφνιος*. Between the name and the ethnicon we must supply either a genitive or a nominative, and perhaps the context, which seems to give several instances of the tripartite name, would favor the former supposition. But when we find in the Soteric catalogue for 272 B.C. a comic didascalus *Μενεκράτης Ποτειδαίου Μεγαρέυς*, the presumption is all in favor of the simple name in the Delian list. (So Brinck.) The Menecrates of the Delian inscription might almost equally well be the father of *Σίμακος Μενεκράτου Ἀργεῖος*, a comic actor at Delphi in 271 B.C.

We shall find later on that several other persons of the Delos lists are to be identified with performers at the Soteria whose ethnica are given. But enough evidence has been offered to prove that the omission of the ethnicon in the Delian lists is of no significance as regards the country of the individual. No principle has been followed in this matter. We should not be far wrong if, on the contrary, we were to assume that none of these *τεχνῖται* were Delians, but that all were imported for the festivals. We know of no dramatic or musical artists who were Delians; at least I do not recall having come upon one either in literature or in the inscriptions. The important thing in this regard is that we should not forget the fundamental fact concerning all musical and dramatic exhibitions of this period, at least outside of Athens, namely, that the personnel at any particular festival bore no direct and necessary connection with the locality in which the festival was held, but that the choice of the performers rested entirely with the *κοινὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν* which had been commissioned by the locality to furnish forth the various kinds of entertainments specified in

the contract. In selecting the persons who should take part in an exhibition, the guild would be likely to send out those of its members who were citizens of the place in question. Thus it is that we find so many Boeotians in the Soteric lists, although the exhibition was in charge of the Athenian synodos at this time.¹ The large number of names common to the agonistic inscriptions of Delphi, Athens,² and Delos of the first half of the third century proves that the Athenian synodos had charge also of the Delian exhibitions under consideration.

I have already shown that one of the six instances of the use of both the father's name and ethnicon (Menecrates) is due to a false reading. One other is certainly to be set aside on the same ground. In VII, Hauvette-Besnault gives $\xi\Omega\tau\iota\omega\text{N}\alpha\text{K}\alpha\rho\text{N} \dots \lambda\iota\Xi\text{P}\alpha\rho\alpha\text{M}\omega\text{N}\omicron\text{C}[\dots\dots]\Delta\epsilon\Upsilon\Xi$, and reads $\Sigma\omega\tau\acute{\iota}\omega\text{N} \text{'}\text{A}\kappa\alpha\rho\upsilon[\acute{\alpha}\nu, \text{'}\text{H}\lambda\iota\varsigma \text{P}\alpha\rho\alpha\mu\omega\text{N}\omicron[\dots\dots]\delta\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$. Brinck follows the first editor's evident intention, and restores the genitive $\text{P}\alpha\rho\alpha\mu\acute{\omega}\nu\omicron[\upsilon]$. But, in the first place, $\text{'}\text{H}\lambda\iota\varsigma$ is an unheard-of name, found neither in the Pape-Benseler *Eigennamen* nor in the Fick-Bechtel *Personennamen*, though the latter cites $\text{'}\text{H}\lambda\iota\varsigma$, a Kosename from $\text{'}\text{H}\lambda\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma$ or the like, in one instance from the Euxine. In the second place, it is to be remarked that this reading gives only two $\text{P}\alpha\rho\alpha\mu\omega\text{N}\omicron\text{C}$ for the year, although in other respects the exhibition of 261 B.C. was above the average in the number of performers. The remedy is simple: read $\Sigma\omega\tau\acute{\iota}\omega\text{N} \text{'}\text{A}\kappa\alpha\rho\upsilon[\acute{\alpha}\nu] (\delta)\acute{\iota}\varsigma, \text{P}\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\mu\omega\text{N}\omicron[\varsigma \text{X}\alpha\lambda\kappa\iota]\delta\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$. In the list for the same year, instead of the editor's reading - - - $\omicron\varsigma, \text{'}\text{I}\epsilon\rho\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}[\omicron\upsilon\varsigma] \text{'}\text{A}\theta\eta\eta\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$, we might equally well restore - - - $\omicron\varsigma, \text{'}\text{I}\epsilon\rho\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}[\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma] \text{'}\text{A}\theta\eta\eta\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$, but the next name, $\text{P}\omega\lambda\upsilon\text{N}\epsilon[\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta\varsigma - - -]\omicron\upsilon$, and below, $\text{E}\acute{\upsilon}\theta\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma$ $\text{E}\acute{\upsilon}\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\chi\omicron\upsilon$, must stand, if the copy is correct. In V, however, $\text{'}\text{E}\rho\gamma\acute{\omicron}\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma, \text{'}\text{I}\epsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\nu(\upsilon\mu)\omicron\varsigma$ would be a plausible correction of $\text{'}\text{E}\rho\gamma\acute{\omicron}\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma \text{'}\text{I}\epsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ — a style of name that does not occur elsewhere in these inscriptions. The simple name $\text{'}\text{E}\rho\gamma\acute{\omicron}\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma$

¹ As shown by Sauppe, *Commentatio de collegio artificum scaenicorum atticorum*, p. 10 ff.

² As regards the comic actors, the only class of performers well represented in Athenian inscriptions, see my article in *Am. Jour. Arch.* III. (1900), pp. 82-3.

occurs in VI. Hieronymus appears as a comic actor also in III, and is well known as the victor at the Lenaea at Athens in the year 290¹ (*C.I.A.* II. 972), and is credited with a total of four Lenaeae victories in *C.I.A.* II. 977 uv.

The published text admits of a few other corrections and restorations. I would suggest in III ὄρ[χρηστής] for Δρ - - as the category under which Αὐτόνομος falls. An argument in favor of this is the fact that the singular κιθαριστής is given as the heading of the preceding category. It used to be thought that in the Soteric inscriptions the singular and plural were employed carelessly in the headings, but in every supposed instance an explanation is to be found.² The same is true of at least most of the errors of this kind that have been attributed to the engraver of the Delian inscriptions. Wilhelm has removed one in X by a clever and altogether convincing correction. In I and VII the plural is used before a single name, but in I there is room in the line for a second name, and in VII a vacant space is left for the missing name. There is ground for suspicion in I and IV that the text is either imperfect or imperfectly understood.³ It is certainly no objection to the restoration of ὄρχηστής in III that no other performance of this kind is found in these records before the year 172 B.C. Professional dancers

¹ That this is the correct date, and not 354 as reported in the Corpus, see *Am. Jour. Arch.* III. (1900), p. 74 ff.

² Baunack's text has removed one instance; the others are due either to the misplacement of the heading, as Lüders and Baunack have shown, or to omissions corrected at the end of the catalogues by the engraver himself. See p. 127 of this article.

³ I. κιθαριστής · Ἐπικράτης Ἀργεῖος, Ἑλληνοκράτης. The last word looks more like an epithet, especially appropriate to the musical artist. Compare Pindar, *Nem.* 10, 25, referring to Theaeus the wrestler: ἐκράτησε δὲ καὶ ποθ' Ἑλλανα στρατῶν (Fick). As a proper name it is rare, confined apparently to Thessalians; cf. Bechtel in Collitz' *Sammlung*, No. 345, 72, Ἑλληνοκράτης Ἀγαθούνειος, and Aristotle, *Politics*, V. 1311 b, 17, Ἑλ. ὁ Λαρισαῖος. These are the only instances that I have found. The spelling in our inscription is not Thessalian.

IV. κιθαριφῶδός · Κλέων Σικυώνιος, Ἀθηναῖος. The rule followed in the list for this year is to add the ethnicon for each person. I suspect that Ἀθηναῖος was intended — the ethnicon of a person whose name, along with the name of the category to which he and the next-mentioned person belonged, was omitted by the stone-cutter by mistake.

were popular at Athens in the fourth century (cf. Aristotle, *Poetics*, ch. I). An ὀρχηστής belonged to the corps of τεχνίται who formed the Dionysiac guild at Ptolemais in Egypt toward the middle of the third century (*B.C.H.* IX. p. 123 ff.). In these Delian lists the ψάλτης and the ῥαψωδοί appear only once.

Among the κιθαρῳδοί in X, Paris has Θράκων, for which Wilhelm proposes to read Θράσων, doubtless because the former is not a good Hellenic name. Wilhelm's conjecture is certainly right; in fact, this citharode is already known to us from an interesting inscription from Delphi copied by Colin and published by Homolle in *B.C.H.* XX. (1896), p. 295 (Baunack 2800). It is a proxeny decree, of which the preamble runs as follows: ἐπειδὴ Θράσων καὶ Σωκράτης Πάτρωνος Αἰγυρᾶται παραγερόμενοι ποθ' ἀμέ ἐπιδείξεισ ἐποίησαντο τῷ θεῷ, διὰ τῶν λυρικῶν συστημάτων προφερόμενοι τῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν, . . . δεδόχθαι κτέ. A lyre is engraved on the margin of the stone, "emblème de la profession des personnages honorés" (Colin). The text and the emblem make it sufficiently clear that the brothers Thrason and Socrates were citharodes. The date of the decree is given as ca. 165 B.C., which accords well with the date of the appearance of the citharode Thrason at Delos (172 B.C.). The further suggestion of Wilhelm that we read below λυ[ρωι]δός for Λυ . . . δος, which Paris regarded as a proper name, is open to the serious objections that λυρωδός is unexampled, I believe, in agonistic inscriptions as the title of a performer on the lyre, and that, if it were used, it would be equivalent to κιθαρῳδός, as the Delphian decree just quoted shows. The suggestion is undoubtedly in the right direction, however. Now the heading κιθαρῳδοί has already been given in our inscription; we should therefore read ἀν[λωι]δοί, which is epigraphically as easy as Wilhelm's suggestion in view of the fact, reported by Paris, that A is regularly written without the bar in this document. The aulode is not found before on these lists, but is not uncommon in other agonistic inscriptions. ῥωμαῖστής as the designation of a performer is certainly strange, but distinctly preferable to considering it as

a proper name, with the first editor. It is probable that the same word stood in the corresponding place of the very fragmentary record of the preceding year, where Brinck restored [κιθαρ]ιστής. The citharists were mentioned two lines above. We recognize in l. 9 the name of Θα[ρ]σύν[ων], who is one of the κωμφοδοί in X, thus confirming Brinck's conjecture of [κω]μοι(δο)ί for Hauvette-Besnault's -μωικαί. The portion of IX which had to do with the performers then probably stood somewhat as follows :

- | | | |
|-----|--|-------------------------------------|
| 7. | | [καὶ οἶδε ἠγωνίσαντο τῶι θεῶι· κω-] |
| 8. | μοι(δο)ί· Θεόδωρος, | [Ἡρόστρ] |
| 9. | α[τος], Θα[ρ]σύν[ων. τραγωιδοί·] | |
| 10. | ΛΠΛ . [κιθ]αρ(ω)ιδοί·] | |
| 11. | [κιθ]αρισ[ταί·] | |
| 12. | ΝΑΤΙΛΗΞ . Π Λ | [ῥωμα-] |
| 13. | ιστής· Ἀντίπατ[ρος]. | |

The comic actor Theodorus may be identical with Θεόδωρος κωμφοδός of the Iasus inscription of ca. 170 B.C. — Le Bas-Waddington, *Insc. d'Asie Mineure*, No. 256 (Brinck, p. 227). I have supplied Ἡρόστρατος provisionally, one of the comic actors associated with Tharsynon in X.

In the next to the last line of III, Hauvette-Besnault gives "Αὐτόνομος (espace vide), (nom effacé)." Of this "lost name" he records ΞΟ . . ΑΙ, followed by space for about eight letters. Brinck, p. 195, rightly asserts that we must assume here, not a proper name, but rather "novum artificum genus." The vacant space preceding would indicate this. He suggests κιθαρωιδοί or ῥαψωιδοί, although he admits that the letters which the editor reports would not favor either restoration. A clue to the correct reading is furnished by the three names, the performers in the class indicated. It chanced that these same names appear in close juxtaposition in the list of comic poets victorious at the Lenaea at Athens, *C.I.A.* II. 977 g. A rough calculation, based on the position of these names relative to the name of Menander, which precedes, gives the last decade of the third century as about the time of the first victories of Nicostratus

and Ameinias, *i.e.* some twenty years before the Delian festival at which these three persons appeared. Although the elder Philemon won his first Athenian victory in 327 B.C., he was active until ca. 262 B.C. So far, then, as the date is concerned, there is no reason why these comic poets should not have presented their plays at Delos in the year 284 B.C. Now, as has been said, Sauppe has shown that the exhibitions at Delphi in this period were in charge of the Athenian guild of Dionysiac artists. We have found many persons at Delos who participated also in the Delphic festival. The Athenian guild undoubtedly bore even a closer relation to the Delian festivals than to the Delphic. It can therefore hardly be a mere coincidence that three artists of a certain class at Athens should be found together in the same class at Delos, and that at about the same date. There is little room for doubt that the Delian artists were comic poets. Comic poets are found in the Delian lists for the years 265 and 261, designated as *κωμωδοποιοί*. This title should be restored here, or the equivalent (π)ο[ητ]αὶ [*κωμωιδιῶν*]. It must be acknowledged that the letters seen by the first editor do not favor the one nor the other, but the state of the stone is doubtless responsible for this. A reëxamination of the stone, I feel confident, would establish this and many of the restorations which seem to go against the palaeographical evidence.

In addition to those mentioned heretofore, it may be worth while to enumerate the other persons in the Delian lists who are also found in the Athenian and Delphic catalogues. The comic actor Cephisius in II and IV acted in a play of Diodorus, *C.I.A.* II. 972; Polycles and Meneclis, comic actors in III, are in the list of victorious actors, *C.I.A.* II. 977 uv and f'w. Polyxenus in X is probably the victor in the comic contest of ca. 170 *C.I.A.* II. 975 e (. *ενός ἐνί[κα]*). In the Delian lists for 286 and 270 we find the *κιθαρωδοί*, *Φιλόδαμος* and *Αἰνησιδῆμος*. The names recall the Delphic inscription in honor of *Φιλόδαμος Αἰνησιδάμου Σκαρφεύς* and his brother, which was added as a subscript to the famous Paean to Dionysus found in 1895 (Weil, *B.C.H.* XIX. (1895),

p. 410 ff.; Baunack, 2742). The brothers were in some way connected with the paean; probably executed it, as Weil conjectures. Baunack gives the date as 340-300, probably 325-300.¹ Since a citharode would most naturally be called upon to perform a paean and the Philodamus, son of Aenesidamus of Scarpheia, belonged to a family of musicians, it seems extremely probable that the Delian citharodes, Philodamus and Aenesidamus, belonged at least to the same family. Indeed, a date somewhat nearer 300 for the Delphic inscription would permit the identification of Philodamus, and Aenesidamus, citharode in 270, would be his son, bearing his grandfather's name. The aulete Διο - - in III may be the aulete Διόφ[αν]το[ς] Χίος in the Soteric list for 272 B.C. One is tempted to suspect that the name of the comic actor 'Ερέτιμος in V (270 B.C.) is a false reading for 'Επίτιμος. The former name, which does not occur elsewhere (Fick-Bechtel, p. 68), would have to be explained as = 'Ερίτιμος ('Ερι- for 'Αρι-), whereas in the Soteric catalogue for 272 is found a comic actor, 'Επίτιμος 'Αμβρακιώτης. Here again the stone alone will decide.

The Soteric Inscriptions of Delphi.

The four inscriptions pertaining to the dramatic and musical exhibitions at the Soteria at Delphi, first deciphered and published by Wescher and Foucart, *Inscriptions recueillies à Delphes*, Nos. 3-6, have recently been inspected and reëdited by Baunack in Collitz' *Sammlung d. gr. Dialekt-Inschriften*, II. 6, Nos. 2563-66. After the labors of Foucart,² Lüders,³ Reisch,⁴ Baunack, and other scholars, little remains to be done for the improvement of the text or in interpretation. In a few matters of detail, however, I hope to be able to offer

¹ The Delphic archon of the inscription, Etymondas, was a *ναοποιός* for some years before 325 and was certainly not archon until after that date — Baunack thinks soon after. So far as I can judge there is nothing against the supposition that he was archon nearer the lower limit set by Baunack.

² *De collegiis scenicorum artificum apud Graecos*, p. 61 ff.

³ *Die Dionysischen Künstler*, p. 112 ff.

⁴ *De musicis Graecorum certaminibus*, p. 87 ff.

a better restoration of the text, and there is one point in interpretation to which I desire to call attention.

The Soteric inscriptions, like the Delian, give the names of all guild-members who performed at the exhibitions, but the programme from year to year was more constant, the performers more numerous, and the lists prepared with greater care. The Athenian guild of *τεχνίται*, which provided the artists, did not depend upon the local community, as it seems to have done in the case of the Delian festival, to furnish the members of the choruses, the costumes, etc., but sent to Delphi three sets of choral performers and from one to three costumers. The date of each catalogue has at last been definitively established, viz. 272 to 269 B.C.¹ They are thus contemporary with the first seven Delian lists which we have discussed.

The Delian catalogues assist us in restoring two names in the Soteric inscriptions. In Baunack, 2563, 32, we find . . . *κιάδης Νικάνδρου Κασσανδ[ρε]ύς*, a tragic actor. The father's name naturally led Foucart to restore *Νε]κιάδης*, which subsequent editors have adopted. But in the Delian list for 270 B.C. one of the *τραγωδοί* is *Οικιάδης*. We should therefore read *[Οί]κιάδης*. In l. 31 of the same inscription the stone gives, as one of the *διδάσκαλοι αὐλητῶν*, . . . *ήσιππος [Δ]ιώνος Βοιώτιος*. Wescher and Foucart restored *[Ὀν]ήσιππος*. But Baunack rejects this on the ground that the lacuna calls for three, not two, letters, and proposes *[Αῖν]ήσιππος* or something similar. Now one of the *αὐληταί* at Delos in 261 B.C. was *Ὀνήσιππος*, confirming the restoration of the French editors. The extra space before this name to which Baunack calls attention was filled by the —, which is regularly employed in the Soteric inscriptions as a mark of punctuation to separate names written on the same line. These two cases may be regarded as certain. In a third passage

¹ These dates were reached by Pomtow, *Jahrbuch f. klass. Philologie*, XLIII. (1897), p. 819 ff. I had not yet seen this important article when I used these inscriptions in the article previously cited, in which I followed the approximate dating first established by Reisch, ca. 270–250. Until Reisch they were believed to belong to the second century.

the proposal of Wescher and Foucart can be set aside, though the true reading cannot be supplied with certainty. In 2563, 59 one of the comic actors is . . . κ[λ]ῆς Διοκλέους Ἀθηναῖος. The French editors suggested [Διο]κλήης, which does not quite fit the space.¹ No comic actor of this name is found elsewhere, but there are three other names, any one of which would suitably fill the space: Πολυκλήης and Μενεκλήης, both κωμωδοί at Delos in 282 B.C., and Φιλοκλήης, in the Athenian catalogue of victors, *C.I.A.* II. 977 uv and f'w. Since we know the country of none of these persons, we cannot decide on their respective claims.

Not a few names recur in the Soteric catalogues twice or oftener. In the large majority of instances of this kind the performer remains in the same class, *i.e.* the κωμωδός always recurs as κωμωδός, the αὐλητής as αὐλητής, etc. As in the classical period each branch of the dramatic or the musical profession was kept apart from the others by sharp lines of division,² even in the case of branches so closely allied as tragic and comic acting, so in the period which we have under consideration it would seem that these distinctions were still more sharply drawn and in some branches grades were established which had not formerly existed. Thus in the roll of members of the Dionysiac guild at Ptolemais (*B.C.H.* IX. (1885), p. 132), each kind of performance has its own distinct representatives, and there is also the special flute-player for tragedy and a second grade of tragic actors, συναγωνισταὶ τραγικοί. Aristotle's statement³ that the same persons might at one time constitute a tragic, at another time a comic, chorus is not really at variance with this rule, for, considered professionally, the work of the choreutes was essentially the same in both. Nor are we surprised to find an individual rising from a lower to a higher grade in a given branch, as, for example, when Θύρσος Κρίτωνος Ἐφέσιος, a

¹ It is besides the name of a tragic actor in 2566, 55—an objection which Lüders saw, *op. cit.* p. 141.

² Plato, *Resp.* 3, 395 a: οὐδὲ μὴν ῥαψωδοὶ γε καὶ ὑποκριταὶ ἅμα· οὐδέ τοι ὑποκριταὶ κωμωδοῖς τε καὶ τραγικοῖς οἱ αὐτοί. Lüders, *op. cit.* p. 141.

³ *Politics*, 3, 1276 b.

χορευτῆς κωμικός in 271 B.C. (2564, 78), appears two years later (2566, 64) as a comic διδάσκαλος. It is also quite in the natural order of things that Ὀνήσιππος, a διδάσκαλος αὐλητῶν at Delphi in 272 (2563, 31), is simply an αὐλητῆς at Delos ten years later. It is certainly somewhat surprising, however, to find Κηφισόδωρος Καλλίου Βοιώτιος, who was a comic διδάσκαλος in 272 and 271 (2563, 65; 2564, 56), only a χορευτῆς κωμικός in 269 (2566, 76), although we can conceive that there may have been some special reason for the change in duties.¹ There remains, however, in the Soteric inscriptions, one apparent departure from the principle, of so striking a character that our suspicions are aroused: Nicon, the costumer in 2564, 80, is a comic actor in 2565, 65. This seems to me distinctly incredible, and the following suggestion may be advanced by way of explanation. Among the ἱματιομίσθαι for 272 is a Νίκων Μενεκλέους Σολεύς. The comic actor is Νίκων Ἡρακλείτου Ἡπειρώτης. In the intervening year we may assume that, while the same Nicon of Soli served again as costumer, the person who prepared the list for the stone-cutter carelessly put down the father and country of the other Nicon, a member of the same guild. Other examples of this kind of error, traceable to the author of the lists and not of a palaeographical nature, are found in these inscriptions.²

Serious errors of omission and of false arrangement, committed by the engraver, have been pointed out by Lüders³ and Baunack. Thus in 2563 after l. 51 the διδάσκαλος, and in 2566 after ll. 67 and 70, both the διδάσκαλος and the

¹ A similar instance is possibly Διογείτων [] Βοιώτιος, comic διδάσκαλος in 2563, 66, and Δ. Εὐαρχίδου Βοιώτιος, χορευτῆς κωμικός in 2564, 74 and 2565, 75, if Baunack is right in identifying the two persons. But Diogeiton is a very common name in Boeotia. Compare also the χορευτῆς ἀνὴρ, Δεξιτικός [] Σικυνίσιος in 2564, 42 and the ποιητῆς προσοδίου, Δ. Παντοίου Σικυνίσιος. In both cases a strong presumption is raised against the identification by the difference in function.

² So should be explained Γνωτῆας Γλαύκου Τενέδιος in 2565, 34, but Γ. Γ. Κνίδιος in 2566, 29, and Ἐπικρατίνος Νικομήδου Ἀργεῖος in 2565, 24, but in 2566, 22, Ἐπικράτης Ν. Α. The omission of names or of fathers' names, a space being left on the stone, is a similar kind of error.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 114 f.

αὐλητῆς for a group of comic actors have been omitted. Sometimes the heading for a particular category has been put a line too high or too low, leaving too few performers under one head and too many under the next. In one case I think that the true explanation of an apparently similar confusion in the text has not yet been seen. In 2564 Baunack observes that we have only thirteen *παῖδες χορευταί*, instead of the usual fifteen. But three *αὐληταί* precede, instead of two, the necessary number for two choruses. Baunack proposes here the solution which elsewhere seems most satisfactory: that we should assume that the engraver placed the caption *χοροὶ παίδων* one line too low. This gives fourteen choreutae. Baunack finds the fifteenth in the eighth person in the list of *χορευταὶ κωμικὸί* at the end of the catalogue, since the other lists give only seven performers under this category. There are several serious objections to this explanation. In the first place, the comic choreutes, Thyrsus, whom he would place among the *παῖδες χορευταί*, is a comic *διδάσκαλος* two years later, as we have seen, and a trainer of choruses is not likely to have been among the boy dancers so recently.¹ In the second place, Andron, whom he would transfer from among the *αὐληταί* to a place among the *παῖδες χορευταί*, is clearly an *αὐλητῆς* two years later (2566, 15). Socrates, the first of the three *αὐληταί*, is known from other sources as a flute-player.² If then we are to reduce the three *αὐληταί* to two, it must be by removing the person between Socrates and Andron to the chorus of boys, viz., *Νικαίας Νικάδα Ἄρκας*, a person not known elsewhere. The error would have been as easy to commit as that which Baunack assumes, but its consequences were much more serious. The eye of the engraver passed from *Σωκράτης*, the first name under *αὐληταί*, to *Νικαίας*, the second name under another heading — *χοροὶ παίδων*. It then went back

¹ The larger number of comic choreutae here is not, I think, a sufficient reason for suspecting an error. There was no especial reason for holding to the number seven, as there was for having fifteen in the lyric chorus.

² *C.I.A.* II. 1295: *Σωκράτης Ῥόδιος ἤλει*, and a Miletus inscription, *Revue Archeolog.* XXVIII. (1874), p. 108: *αὐλητῆς, Σ. Ζωχάριος Ἀθηναῖος*. He had meantime obtained Athenian citizenship. Cf. Brinck, p. 215.

to Ἄνδρων, who now wrongly appears as the third aulete instead of second. At this point I believe that the engraver committed another error, due in part to the previous one; he omitted the heading διδάσκαλος and the single name with it and began on the χοροὶ παίδων. Reaching the name of Νικαίας again, he skipped it, naturally, and the next name after it. The matter is not so complicated as the description of the process might lead one to think. Anticipating the discussion that will make some parts of my explanation clearer, I give here first what may have been the copy in the hands of the stone-cutter and then the list as actually inscribed.

ORIGINAL LIST.

ΑΥΛΗΤΑΙΞΩΚΡΑΤΗΣΞΞΧΑΡΙΔΟΞΡΟΔΙΟΞ
 ΑΝΔΡΩΝΠΟΛΥΞΕΝΟΥΤΕΛΛΗΝΕΥΞ
 ΔΙΔΑΞΚΑΛΟΞΠΡΟΝΟΜΟΞΔΙΟΓΕΙΤΟΝΟΞΒΟΙΩΤΙΟΞ
 ΧΟΡΟΙΠΑΙΔΩΝΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΟΔΩΡΟΞΔΙΩΝΟΞΒΟΙΩΤΙΟΞ
 ΝΙΚΑΙΑΞΝΙΚΑΔΑΡΚΑΞ
 ΒΟΙΞΚΟΞΜΕΝΑΛΚΟΥ
 ΠΟΛΥΚΛΗΞΕΡΟΤΙΟΝΟΞΒΟΙΩΤΙΟΞ

LIST AS INSCRIBED.

15. ΑΥΛΗΤΑΙΞΩΚΡΑΤΗΣΞΞΧΑΡΙΔΟΞΡΟΔΙΟΞ
 ΝΙΚΑΙΑΞΝΙΚΑΔΑΡΚΑΞ
 ΑΝΔΡΩΝΠΟΛΥΞΕΝΟΥΤΕΛΛΗΝΕΥΞ
 ΧΟΡΟΙΠΑΙΔΩΝΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΟΔΩΡΟΞΔΙΩΝΟΞ
 ΒΟΙΩΤΙΟΞ — ΠΟΛΥΚΛΗΞΕΡΟΤΙΩΝΟΞΒΟΙ

The engraver discovered his omissions and added the missing names at the end of the list. This is the belief of Baunack as regards the omitted διδάσκαλος. I think it probably the case also as regards the fifteenth choreutes, inasmuch as Baunack's solution does not seem probable. The last two lines of the inscription, which contain the corrections, form a veritable crux for the interpreter as well as for the epigraphist. It is with great diffidence, therefore, that I venture to propose a new interpretation, which will perhaps seem to have its only justification in the fact that the passage is a desperate one

anyway. After the three *ἱματιομίσθαι* stand these lines, set well out in the margin like the category-headings :

. . . ΟΙΞΚΟ · ΜΕΝΑ · ΛΚ . . . ΦΙΤΡΟΞΑΥΛΗΣΑΙ
 διδάσκαλος · Πρόνομος Διογείτονος Βοιώτιος.

On the text of the broken line Baunack states that in the lacunae after ΜΕΝΑ and ΛΚ we need not necessarily suppose that letters were ever engraved, for the stone may have been originally broken there. He assures us that the next letter is F and not E. As regards the interpretation, he points out that, if two *διδάσκαλοι* were to be added, it is strange that the heading is in the singular and placed in the last line before the one name. We must therefore conclude that only one *διδάσκαλος αὐλητῶν* was employed this year, as in the next,¹ to train the two choruses. Granting this, we should look for the missing choreutes in the mutilated line. Here we are confronted by serious difficulties. The infinitive *προσαυλῆσαι* demands a finite verb on which to depend ; but there are no traces of such a verb nor room for it. Again, the letters FI are impossible as part of the preceding name, even if we should assume an error for EI. Baunack makes the suggestion, only to reject it, that *Μενάλκει* may be an epichoric nominative. Even if we could find a construction for it, the verb *προσαυλῆσαι* would make no conceivable sense here. It is clear that the stone-cutter made a mistake somewhere in the line, and that it is the presence of this undetected error in our text which has hitherto stood in the way of our understanding. We must attack the problem in a different way if we would solve it.

It is the infinitive *προσαυλῆσαι* which causes the greatest grammatical difficulty and is hardest to interpret. We may assume, provisionally, that the corruption lies here. Since

¹ There are three *ποιηταὶ προσοδίων*, then one name after the heading *αὐληταί*, then the two choruses, followed by *διδάσκαλος* and a single name. Baunack would get a second *αὐλητής* from the *ποιηταὶ προσοδίων*. At the end of the inscription a name is added with the heading *αὐλητής*. Baunack sees here a second *διδάσκαλος*. But the singular in the heading *διδάσκαλος* is against this. Besides, would one who had served in the higher capacity of *διδάσκαλος αὐλητῶν* be designated in an *addendum* simply as *αὐλητής*? There is really no reason why there should not have been three *ποιηταὶ προσοδίων*.

we have formerly assumed that F1 is wrong without finding a solution, let us now assume that it is right. If right, it can only be the numeral sign for 16. In the lacuna before it could then be restored the ending *ου*. This gives us *.]οὔσκο[ς]* *Μενάλκ[ου]* preceded by two letters and followed by two letters—the numeral—then, after the enigmatical *προσαυλησαι*, another name. Since no name suggests itself which will suitably fill the space, we may assume another numeral before *.]οὔσκο[ς]*. Now what meaning could numerals have in such a context—names which had been omitted from the preceding list? No conceivable meaning except as references to the lines of the list after which the added names were to be supplied. Now line 16 contains the name of Andron, the last of the *αὐληταί*. It was precisely after his name that we should have expected to find the omitted category of *διδάσκαλοι αὐλητῶν*.¹ In the next line, after the reference F1, we find the omitted heading and the name of a well-known *διδάσκαλος αὐλητῶν*, Pronomus.² The word *διδάσκαλος* without the addition of *αὐλητῶν*, which is given in 2566, 17, is somewhat vague, and might refer to the tragic or comic *διδάσκαλοι*. Ordinarily simply *διδάσκαλοι* is used in the captions; but it is clearly defined by its juxtaposition to the *αὐληταί* or to the choruses of men and boys. It was to remove all ambiguity, we may believe, that the scrupulous but careless engraver inserted between the numeral and the title the troublesome *προσαυλησαι*, in which we can see only *πρὸς αὐλη(τ)αῖ[ς]*. The numeral preceding the name of the choreutes would be E1, if my hypothesis is correct that the omitted name stood after *Νικαίας* on the original copy. The reconstructed passage would accordingly run as follows:

[εί· Β]οὔσκος Μενάλκ[ου]· εἰ· πρὸς αὐλη(τ)αῖ[ς],
 διδάσκαλος· Πρόνομος Διογείτωνος Βουώτιος.

I am not unaware that this hypothesis is open to grave objections. In the first place it imputes to the stone-cutter

¹ Found after the *αὐληταί* in 2563 and 2566. In 2564 the two categories are separated by the choruses.

² *C.I.A.* II. 1292: *Θέων Θηβαῖος ἤδλει | Πρόνομος Θηβαῖος ἐδίδασκε*. The identification is due to Reisch, *De mus. certam.* p. 97.

an altogether unique and modern method. By using another line he could have accomplished the same results by attaching to the names the full title of the class to which they belonged, as is done in the next catalogue. Again the correction of *αυλησαι* to *αυλη(τ)αι[ς]* is violent. On the other hand the use of numerals to mark successive paragraphs is familiar from the Locrian inscription, *I.G.A.* 321,¹ and the reversal of the usual order of the large and small digits is not uncommon,² and should occasion no surprise here. Is the passage as restored more strange than the original, which cannot be read at all, and is the correction as violent as the interpretations that have been proposed for the uncorrected passage? If the editors had found *πρὸς αὐληταῖς* on the stone, I fancy that this inscription would now be cited in the hand-books as furnishing an interesting example of the ancient use of the foot-note.

Before leaving the Soteric inscriptions I desire to call attention to a fact, the significance of which seems to have been overlooked in the many discussions on the subject of the chorus in the New Comedy to which these inscriptions have given rise. I refer to the absence of didascali after the lists of comic choreutae. The comic actors are arranged in groups of three, each group having its own flute-player and didascalus. Then follow the seven (in one case eight) comic choreutae, but without didascalus and flute-player. So in the Soteric catalogue of the second half of the second century (Baunack, 2569—four comic choreutae). The opinions of scholars have varied widely as to the function of these choruses. Wescher and Foucart³ concluded that plays from the Old Comedy were reproduced, but this view has found no acceptance in recent years. The current view to-day seems still to be that of Lüders, who says⁴ that these

¹ The *ς* is found *ibid.* l. 29.

² Reinach, *Traité d'Épigraphie Grecque*, p. 222; Larfeld in Müller's *Handbücher*, Vol. I., p. 547.

³ *Insc. de Delph.*, p. 11; Foucart, *De colleg. scen. artif.*, p. 75.

⁴ *Dionys. Kunst.*, p. 117 f., Berlin, 1873. See also Müller, *Bühnenalt.*, p. 341 ff. Reisch, in the Pauly-Wissowa *Encyc.*, s.v. "Chor," thinks that "die. Beziehung

choreutae "sind nicht dazu bestimmt gewesen, einen eigentlichen Chor zu bilden, sondern sind für Tänzer zu halten, die vielleicht in den Pausen durch pantomimische Tänze etwa mit musicalischer Begleitung das Publicum unterhielten oder auch Lücken in der Handlung auszufüllen bestimmt waren." In formulating this opinion Lüders was evidently proceeding upon the assumption that the regular chorus in comedy had practically disappeared early in the fourth century, and was desirous of interpreting the phenomenon of the third century (second, as he believed) in harmony with what passed as a well-grounded fact.

The belief is rapidly gaining ground, as it seems, that the disappearance of the chorus from comedy was not accomplished until the period of the New Comedy. I need not cite the evidence here,¹ but will show only how the Soteric lists, rightly interpreted, give indications that the connection of the chorus with the performance of the comic actors was organic. In the accounts of the Delian *ιεροποιοί* (*B.C.H.* XIV (1890), p. 396) is an item which Körte first placed in the right light: *χορῶ τῶ γενομένῳ τοῖς κωμῳδοῖς καὶ τῶ τραγῳδῶ Δράκοντι, τοῖς ἐπιδειξαμένοις τῶ θεῷ, δάδας κτέ.* This Dracon is one of the *τραγῳδοί* at Delos in 281 B.C. and also at Delphi in 271. He evidently was in charge of chorus as well as actors in the tragic contest. It is entirely in line with this bit of evidence that we always find the comic choreutae at Delphi just after the comic actors and without either flute-player or didascalus. Now a chorus, whether

dieser Choreuten zu den Schauspielerpersonen der einzeln Stücke kann nur sehr locker gewesen sein," though he gives no reason for this conclusion.

¹ See my article, "The Chorus in the later Greek Drama," *Am. Jour. Arch.*, Old Series X. (1895), p. 287 ff., Reisch in Dörpfeld-Reisch, *Das Griech. Theater*, p. 257 ff., and A. Körte, *N. Jahrb. f. d. klass. Alterthum* III. (1900), p. 6 ff. Körte's admirable discussion does not dispose of the statement of Schol. Arist. *Ran.* 404, which has caused most of the trouble: *καθάρπας περιέλε Κινησίας τὰς χορηγίας*. It seems unquestionably to be due to a misinterpretation of Strato's allusion to the miserable choral poet Cinesias as *χοροκτόνος*. See my article, p. 316 ff. A passage in Plutarch *Alex.* 29, which distinctly speaks of tragic choruses in Alexander's time, has been generally overlooked: *θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ πομπὰς ἐπέτελε (i.e. Alexander) καὶ χορῶν κυκλίων καὶ τραγικῶν ἀγῶνας οὐ μόνον ταῖς παρασκευαῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἀμίλλαις λαμπροῦς γενομένους.*

designed to fill up pauses in the action of a drama or for any other purpose, could not possibly dispense with the trainer and musician. These catalogues give all of the performers. The conclusion is irresistible that the chorus was under the direction of the didascalus who trained the actors and that its part in the comic performance was an essential part. It is interesting to see in the catalogue of 140-100 B.C. that the choreutae are no longer designated as *κωμικοί*, but as *χορευταὶ κωμφοῦ*, *i.e.* are considered as belonging to the single *κωμφοδός* who took part in this exhibition.

Miscellaneous.

I may add here a few comments of a miscellaneous character on some obscure persons met with in the agonistic literature.

Athenaeus, 14,620 d, says: 'Ἰάσων δ' ἐν τρίτῳ περὶ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἱερῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ φησὶν ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ θεάτρῳ ὑποκρίνασθαι Ἡγησίαν τὸν κωμφοδὸν τὰ Ἡσιόδου, Ἐρμόφαντον δὲ τὰ Ὀμήρου. We do not know to what occasion Jason refers, but it was probably some celebration in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. No comic actor by the name of Hegesias is known.¹ We are not informed whether the other actor, Hermophantus, was tragic or comic, but the context would perhaps rather favor the latter supposition. An actor Hermophantus, uncertain whether comic or tragic, is found on a choregic inscription shown by Brinck (*op. cit.* p. 207 ff.) to be from Samos (*C.I.G.* 3091). Boeckh judged by the forms of the letters that the stone was engraved "inter Alexandrum M. fere et primum ante Christum saeculum," but he suggests that an *ἀνλητής*, Σάτυρος, therein mentioned, is identical with the flute-player Σάτυρος Σάμιος, priest of the Teian guild of *τεχνίται* ca. 170 B.C. (*C.I.G.* 3068), and so inclines to place the former inscription in the same period. But since neither the father's name nor the ethnicon is given there, there is slight basis for this dating. But another Samian flute-player named Satyrus

¹ The son of an Hegesias was comic actor at Delphi in 272 B.C. (Baun. 2563, 68)—[] Ἡγησίου Ἀθηναῖος.

has now come to light in the exceptionally interesting Delphic inscription published by Couve in *B.C.H.* XVIII. p. 85: the usual honors are voted to Σάτυρος Εὐμένου Σάμιος because τούτῳ πρώτῳ συμβέβηκεν μόνῳ ἄνευ ἀνταγωνιστῶν αὐλῆσαι τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ ἀξιοθέντα ἐπιδιδόναι τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησι μετὰ τὸν γυμνικὸν τῇ θυσίᾳ ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ τῷ Πυθίῳ αἶσμα μετὰ χοροῦ Διόνυσον καὶ κιθάρισμα ἐκ Βακχῶν Εὐριπίδου. It is sufficiently clear that Satyrus¹ was an aulete (αὐλῆσαι), and since the inscription may go back into the third century the identification with the aulete in the Samian inscription is at least as possible as the other identification suggested by Boeckh. The actor Hermophantus, mentioned by Athenaeus, probably of the third century, may then be the actor in the Samian inscription. This result finds some support from the Athenian list of comic actors victorious at the Lenaea, *C.I.A.* II. 977 uv, col. II. l. 17, where stands the broken name Ἐρμ - - -. The position of this name relative to that of persons in the list whose period of activity is known would bring the first victory of Ἐρμ - - - to about 260-250 B.C. This person is doubtless the actor in Athenaeus, and the word κωμφοδοῖς can be restored in the Samian inscription, which would accordingly run as follows (adopting Brinck's arrangement): [ἐχορήχουν κωμφοδοῖς | Ἀριστόδημος . . . , | Διόφαντος Διομ . . . , | Βλήσιος Θ. . . | ἐνίκα Ἀριστόδημος, | ὑποκριτῆς Ἐρμόφαντος.

Theophrastus, in his treatise *περὶ γελοίου* (Athenaeus, 6, 348 a), relates that Stratonicus, the famous citharode and wit, parodied the proverb μέγας οὐδεὶς σαπρὸς ἰχθύς so that it applied to Σιμύκαν τὸν ὑποκριτήν. In his critical note to the passage in Athenaeus Kaibel refers for the name to Demosthenes *De Cor.* 262, where the orator speaks of Σιμύλος, the tragic actor. It is much more probable that the butt of Stratonicus' jest was the comic actor Σίμακος Μενεκράτου Ἀργεῖος, who performed at the Soteria twice (Baun. 2564, 68, and 2565, 70). A son of this Simacus was a tragic didascalus in 272 B.C. (Baun. 2563, 36). It is therefore probable that

¹The same person was granted a crown by the Delians, *B.C.H.* XIII. (:889), p. 370; as Couve points out.

Simacus was active in the early part of the century. Now Stratonicus was put to death by Nicocles, the Cyprian king (Ath. 6, 352 d), who died in the reign of the first Ptolemy. The proposed identification is consequently possible chronologically. The form Σιμάκας in Athenaeus is objectionable in itself. It does not occur again and is not in accordance with the rules of Greek name-formation. Σίμακος is found a number of times on inscriptions and is a correct Kosename from some compound of Σίμος. See Fick-Bechtel, p. 251.

The agonistic inscription from Samos, which Mr. Percy Gardner published from a squeeze (*Jour. Hel. Stud.* VII. (1886), 147 ff.; Michel, No. 901), should be inspected again. Gardner's αὐλῶν [σα]τ[ύ]ραν in l. 7, which Michel adopts, seems quite impossible. In l. 6 Gardner restores: [αὐλη]τῆς · Νειλεὺς Ἀμμωνίου, α[ὐλωιδ]ὸς Κιθαριστίων. But the name Κιθαριστίων is unheard of, and in an agonistic inscription it would be better to restore: Νειλεὺς Ἀμμωνίου Ἀ[θηναῖ]ος κιθαριστ(ῆς) · Ἴων, κτέ. An Athenian appears as a comic poet below. Since this correction satisfactorily disposes of the αὐλωιδὸς in l. 6, we may suggest in l. 7, for Gardner's αὐλῶν [σα]τ[ύ]ραν, αὐλωι[δός ·] Τ[ύ]ραν[νος - - -] Χησιεύς, the N which Gardner saw on the squeeze being probably the somewhat obscure remains of ΙΔ. Gardner interprets τοὺς ἀπὸ πρώτων in l. 4 [τῆ λα]μπάδι τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τοὺς ἀπὸ πρώτων · Λεωνίδης, as meaning "the victor in the first day's torch-race," supplying some word like λαμπαδιστῶν after πρώτων. But a much easier interpretation suggests itself when we compare e.g. *C.I.A.* II. 444, 71 παῖδας ἐκ πάντων, in connection with such phrases as τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας, τῆς δευτέρας, τρίτης, τοὺς ἐφήβους, etc. Δημήτριος Νικάρχ[ου], the ὑποκριτῆς παλαιᾶς τραγωδίας in l. 3, is presumably the same person as the actor in new tragedy, Δημήτριος Νικαίου Μιλήσιος, in l. 9. If this is so, the latter reading is the correct one. It would be easy to mistake the upper portions of ΙΟΥ for ΡΧ.

One would like to know at least the name of the tragic actor who won so many victories at various important festivals in Greece with plays of Euripides, Chaeremon, and Archestratus, and set up a stone recording his achievements

at Tegea, doubtless his native city. But unfortunately his name is no longer preserved on the stone, which has been published by Bérard in *B.C.H.* XVII. (1893), 15 ff., and Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, ed. 2, No. 700 (see also Vysoky in *Philologus*, LVIII. (1899), 498 ff.). Among the festivals mentioned is the Soteria at Delphi. This actor therefore lived after 276, the date of the first celebration of the Soteria, and the lettering of the inscription will not permit a date beyond the limits of the third century (Dittenberger).¹ Arcadia produced very few actors. Only two tragic actors from there are known, and one of these is of the next century. The other, Ἀπολλογένης Ὀρθαγόρα Ἀρκάς, who performed at Delphi in 271 B.C., may therefore possibly be the Tegeatan actor who set up this dedication.

CORRECTIONS AND RESTORATIONS PROPOSED.

Delian insc., <i>B.C.H.</i> VII. p. 107, l. 16 : Δύ[φαντος], p. 124.	Delphic insc., Baunack, no. 2563, l. 31 : [Ὀν]ήσιππος, p. 125.
Delian insc., <i>B.C.H.</i> VII. p. 107, l. 20 : [Δ](ρ)ά[κων], p. 117.	Delphic insc., Baunack, no. 2563, l. 32 : [Ο]κιάδης, p. 125.
Delian insc., <i>B.C.H.</i> VII. p. 107, l. 22 : (ό)ρ[χρηστής], p. 120.	Delphic insc., Baunack, no. 2564, l. 80 : Νίκων (Μενεκλέους Σολεύς), p. 127.
Delian insc., <i>B.C.H.</i> VII. p. 107, l. 23 : [κωμωιδοποιοί], p. 123.	Delphic insc., Baunack, no. 2564, l. 82 : [εἰ· Β]οῖσκος Μενάλκ[ου]. ρί· πρὸς ἀλλη(τ)αί[ς], p. 131.
Delian insc., <i>B.C.H.</i> VII. p. 108, l. 23 : < - - > before Ἀθηναῖος, p. 120, note.	Attic insc., <i>C.I.A.</i> II. 977 uv, col. ii, l. 17 : Ἐρμ[όφαντος], p. 135.
Delian insc., <i>B.C.H.</i> VII. p. 110, l. 32 : Ἰερών(υ)μος, p. 119.	Attic insc., <i>C.I.A.</i> II. 975 e : [Πολύ- ξ]ενος, p. 123.
Delian insc., <i>B.C.H.</i> VII. p. 114, l. 21 : Σωτίων Ἀκαρν[άν](δ)ίς, Παράμονο[ς] Χαλκι]δεύς, p. 119.	Samian insc., <i>C.I.G.</i> 3091, before l. 1 : [ἐχορήγουν κωμωιδοῖς], p. 135.
Delian insc., <i>B.C.H.</i> VII. p. 120, l. 9 : Θα[ρ]σύν[ων], p. 122.	Samian insc., <i>J.H.S.</i> VII. p. 148, l. 3 : Δημήτριος Νικα(λου), p. 136.
Delian insc., <i>B.C.H.</i> VII. p. 120, l. 10 : [κιθ]αρ(ω)δοί, p. 122.	Samian insc., <i>J.H.S.</i> VII. p. 148, l. 6 : Ἀ[θηναῖο]ς, καθαριστ(ής)· Ἴων, p. 136.
Delian insc., <i>B.C.H.</i> VII. p. 120, l. 11 : [κιθ]αρισ[ταί], p. 122.	Samian insc., <i>J.H.S.</i> VII. p. 148, l. 7 : αὐλω(ιδ)[ός]· Τ[ύ]ραν[νος], p. 136.
Delian insc., <i>B.C.H.</i> VII. p. 120, l. 13 : [βρωμα]ιστής, p. 122.	Athenaeus 6, 348 a : read Σίμακον for Σιμάκων, p. 135.
Delian insc., <i>B.C.H.</i> IX. p. 149, l. 20 : αὐ[λωι]δός, p. 121.	

¹ Vysoky, *l.c.* p. 500, says: Bedeutend jünger (*i.e.* than the middle of the third century) wird sie allenfalls nicht sein.

X. — *Is there Still a Latin Potential?*

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In the third paper in Vol. VI of the *Cornell Studies in Classical Philology*, 1898, Professor Elmer discusses "The Supposed Potential Use of the Subjunctive Mood." His aim, as he says on the opening page, is "to show that there is no use of the subjunctive mood in Latin which offers any justification for the use of the term 'Potential' and that this term ought to be dropped altogether from Latin grammars."

Now I myself, both in my teaching at Cornell and in certain writings,¹ have urged, or implied, that the application of the term should be narrowed to the natural limits suggested by its meaning, and that a different name should be given to the clearly different subjunctive in assertions that something *would in a certain event (certainly) happen*, etc. Mr. Elmer, in the *American Journal of Philology*, XV. 3 (October, 1894), has since said the same thing in

¹ So in the nomenclature and classification in my "Cum-Constructions," *Cornell University Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol I, 1888, p. 88 (German edition, p. 98) and pp. 106 and 107 (German edition, p. 120), followed by Mr. Elmer in his edition of the *Phormio*, 1895, in notes to 488, 597, 770, and 1030; similarly in the divisions in my (unpublished) Syllabus of the Constructions of the Latin Subjunctive, used by my students at Cornell, and later in Chicago. So again, quite explicitly, in my "'Extended' and 'Remote' Deliberatives in Greek," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, Vol. XXIV, 1893, p. 200, as follows: "To some of my readers, this division of the non-wishing optative into two classes will have no weight, and the argument founded upon it will have no justification. . . . The distinction, nevertheless, has long seemed to me not only a real, but an important one. There is a vital difference between 'I can' and 'in a certain event I surely should,' between 'he may perhaps' and 'he surely would.' If we should not tolerate a translation in which 'might' was used where the idea was 'would,' or *vice versa*, no more should we be indifferent to the same difference in the exposition of Greek or Latin syntax."

print independently, as follows: "The term 'potential' ought, it seems to me, to be limited to expressions of ability and possibility—to the 'can' and the 'may' ideas. I see nothing in the term 'potential' that makes it appropriate for designating any other construction."

For the use of the Subjunctive which had previously been inexactly classed in all books with the Potential, I proposed the name "Subjunctive of Ideal Certainty"¹; for the Subjunctive, in this use, asserts as fully, and with as strong a feeling of certainty, as the Indicative,—and yet does not assert a fact. Professor Bennett has devised a phrase which is meant to be an improvement upon this; namely, the "Subjunctive of Contingent Futurity." I will not stop to urge that the phrase Contingent Futurity applies as well to the Future or Future Perfect Indicative in a conclusion (and in many other cases) as to the Present or Perfect Subjunctive, and that a name that will apply equally well to two moods cannot have hit the essential nature of either. It is sufficient for my immediate purpose to have explained the meaning of one of the phrases to which I shall have presently to refer.

¹ "Cum-Constructions" and "Anticipatory Subjunctive," mentioned below.

For my Cornell Syllabus in its early form, I devised the phrase Predicative Subjunctive, and thought it good, inasmuch as the Subjunctive in this use *asserts* as completely as the Indicative does. This term, under the form "Predicating Subjunctive," was adopted by Mr. Elmer in the notes referred to above, and was attributed to me. It has the fault, however, of not excluding the true Potential, which likewise asserts. The two modal uses are very close to each other; but there is, at their extremes ("may" and "would"), an essential difference between them. The phrase Subjunctive of Ideal Certainty, as against the phrase Potential Subjunctive or Subjunctive of Possibility, is intended to bring out this difference on the one hand, and the difference from the side of the Indicative (the Mood of Actuality) on the other.

Schmalz, in the last edition of his *Latin Syntax* (Stolz und Schmalz, *Lat. Gramm.*³ 1900) cites the term, together with my general scheme of the classification of the uses of the Latin Subjunctive (published in my "Anticipatory Subjunctive in Greek and Latin," preprinted in 1894 from the *University of Chicago Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. I), along with Lattmann's scheme. Delbrück also cites it, in his treatment of the Potential Optative, *Vergleich. Syntax d. Indogerm. Sprachen*, IV, 371 (1897), to distinguish the use meant from the true Potential use of the Optative. This is a gain, though neither of the two writers as yet adopts the term as the regular designation of a category. Brugmann, *Griech. Gramm.*³ 1900, still uses the term Potential only.

Thus far Mr. Elmer and I were in substantial harmony, and I was glad to have company, even though my presence was not recognized. But when, on taking up the volume referred to, I found that Mr. Elmer was now setting out to rout the Potential utterly and drive it out of the Grammars, I was no longer with him. It was therefore with relief that I saw Professor Bennett come to the rescue in Vol. IX of the *Cornell Studies*. Mr. Bennett has, it seems to me, successfully shown the untenableness of Mr. Elmer's position.¹ But he has left several things unsaid; and these I propose to touch upon briefly in the present paper.

Mr. Elmer holds that examples of the *aliquis dixerit* type are all to be taken as Future Perfect Indicatives, since the equivalent expressions with *fortasse* in the unambiguous (Future) forms are in the Indicative, unless the meaning of the mood itself is that of Contingent Futurity ("perhaps would").² The conclusion, he thinks (p. 188), is strengthened by the case of examples of the *roget quis* or *aliquis dicat* type. These are, with one exception, to be taken as Volitive Conditions, the meaning being (*let some one*, i.e.) *suppose some one says to me so and so: my reply will be so and so*. The Latin habit, he thinks, suppresses the "my reply will be," and simply gives the reply itself. The one exception, *dicat fortassis aliquis*, from Pliny *N. H.*, 36, 2, 2, he takes as an expression of Contingent Futurity, and translates by "*to this remark some one would perhaps rejoin,*" warning his readers from supposing "that the presence here of *fortassis* can lend the slightest support to the theory that *dicat* means 'may say.'" The examples like *videas* and *videres*, commonly taken to mean *one may see* and *one might see*, really mean, he thinks, "*one would see if one should be present,*" "*one would have seen*

¹ Mr. Elmer thinks not. See his "Should the May-Potential use of the Subjunctive be recognized in Latin?", *Classical Review*, XIV, 4. Cf. also Professor Clement's "Two Notes on the Latin Subjunctive," *ibid.*

² "And as soon as one admits that we have the future-perfect indicative in these seven instances of the type *aliquis fortasse dixerit*, one must admit that we have that mood in all those of *aliquis dixerit*, without *fortasse*; for the expressions without *fortasse* clearly represent exactly the same modal use as those with *fortasse*" (Elmer, p. 187).

if one had been present," and thus are likewise expressions of Contingent Futurity. Hor. *Carm.* 2, 1, 15, does not mean "not every poet can describe," but, as Mr. Elmer translates, "for it is not every (any) chance poet *that would succeed* in describing," etc. Similarly, other examples of various kinds are reduced to recognized non-Potential categories. There are therefore no Potentials left in the language.

Mr. Bennett, in Vol. IX, discusses Mr. Elmer's individual examples, and makes it clear that the latter's interpretations of them as Volitive Conditions or expressions of Contingent Futurity are forced¹; rightly insists (apropos of the examples with *videas* and the like) that a "jussive" cannot be used in a Condition unless the jussive meaning is still clearly apparent; and defends the text *fors et* in Hor. *Carm.* 1, 28, 33. My treatment will cover additional ground, as follows:

1. Mr. Elmer denies the existence of a "can" or "could" Potential, and, in the very act of doing so, translates *describat* as "would succeed in describing." Now to say that a man

¹ At one point of his argument I differ from Mr. Bennett. Mr. Elmer had quoted Donatus and Eugraphius as understanding the Terence example *atque aliquis dicat* as an instance of a volitive. Mr. Bennett seeks to meet this as follows: "What evidence is there that either of them was competent to pass sober judgment upon such a point? If we assume that they were either or both competent and well-qualified judges of the matter in controversy, what shall we say of Priscian? His authority ought to carry at least as much weight as that of Donatus and Eugraphius. Yet he gives us the most fantastic interpretations of the modal force of various Latin subjunctives. Thus (Keil, iii, p. 252) he declares that Horace's *scripserit* in *Carm.* 1, 6, 14:—

Quis Martem tunica tectum adamantina
Digne scripserit?

is for *scribere potuerit*, a 'could' potential!" (The exclamation point is Mr. Bennett's.) Now it is perfectly true that the Roman grammarians need a good deal of watching. But it is also sure, to my mind, that Priscian's interpretation of this particular example is sound. Indeed, there could hardly be a better instance of the true "could"-potential. I should be glad to know how Mr. Bennett would interpret the passage, and such corresponding Greek examples as *Od.* 3, 113:—

τίς κεν ἐκεῖνα πάντα γε μυθήσαιο καταβνητῶν ἀνθρώπων;

where is the mortal man that could recount them all? (Palmer's Translation), or
who of mortal men could tell the tale? (Butcher and Lang's Translation).

would succeed in doing a thing (meaning, of course, if he tried), is to say that he is *capable* of doing it, — that he *can* do it, or *could* do it. Mr. Elmer has accordingly himself reinstated the “can” or “could” Potential.

But the construction, if it existed at all, would not stop here. A “can” or “could” Potential would be sure to beget a “may” or “might” Potential. *Hic aliquis dicat*, starting with the meaning “at this point some one could interpose an objection,” would soon acquire the meaning “at this point some one may interpose an objection.” So here, in spite of Mr. Elmer’s pitchfork, Nature herself comes back, and brings the Potential with her.¹

2. There is clear evidence that the Romans possessed, at any rate, the exact *kind* of construction which Mr. Elmer denies for the *aliquis dicat* type, and that they employed it in the same way. Whatever be the origin of the construction with *forsitan* (see below, p. 155, for a fuller discussion), the total effect of *forsitan* plus a Subjunctive is Potential. Mr. Elmer himself says, p. 179, footnote, “so with *forsitan quaeratis* the entire expression practically means ‘perhaps you may ask.’” Now *forsitan* and a Subjunctive are frequently used in exactly the same relation to the main sentence as that in which *roget quis*, *aliquis dicat*, etc., are used in Mr. Elmer’s seven examples. So it is, for instance, in this very case of *forsitan quaeratis*, Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 2, 5. The meaning “in case you do ask, my answer will be” is of course involved. So is the same meaning, *mutatis mutandis*, in Cic. *Off.* 3, 6, 29 (*forsitan quispiam dixerit*); Verg. *Aen.* 2, 506 (*forsitan*

¹ The one contention which, upon Mr. Elmer’s procedure, was open to him, was that, through the idea exemplified in “would describe, if he should try” (better yet through phrases like *vix* or *facile describat*), arose the idea “would succeed in describing, if he should try,” and, out of this, the “could describe” idea, which then gave rise to the “may” idea. In other words, taking the step that he does in his interpretation of *describat*, his legitimate procedure would then have been to develop a true Potential Subjunctive out of a Subjunctive of Ideal Certainty. He would thus have avoided denying at one point the existence of a force which at another he has practically asserted. I do not myself, however, think that this is the actual history of the relations of the Potential Subjunctive and the Subjunctive of Ideal Certainty.

requiras); Ov. *Ep. ex Pont.* 1, 2, 5 (*forsitan quaeras*); *Fast.* 3, 3 (*forsitan roges*); Iuv. 1, 150 (*dicas forsitan*); Liv. 31, 31, 19 (*forsitan dicatis*, upon which Weissenborn makes the comment "fast = *si forte dicatis*"); and many other places where the relation is the same, though the phraseology is not so exactly parallel to that of the *roget quis* or *aliquis dicat* type. Mr. Elmer accordingly is in the position of treating parallel phrases, employed in parallel relations, in entirely different ways. Yet see how sure he is (cf. footnote 2 on p. 140, above) that, on account of their parallelism, *aliquis dixerit* and *fortasse aliquis dixerit* must be exactly alike in modal force!¹

3. On page 195, in treating the examples with *aliquis dicat*, Mr. Elmer says, "No instance of such a subjunctive can be found where the apodosis is not distinctly felt. If the Latin subjunctive has the power of expressing the idea of 'may (possibly),' how does it happen that it has this power only when the speaker wishes to treat the possibility as a protasis which an apodosis is to follow?"

Mr. Elmer gets his collection of examples of this type from Roby. "There are," he says on p. 191, "eight such passages (and only eight, if we may trust Roby) in Latin literature." The condition "if we may trust Roby," ought to be kept in mind throughout Mr. Elmer's reasoning, and his final conclusions should have this reservation appended; for it is a rash thing to hazard all one's fortunes on the completeness of any collection that is in all probability incomplete. Mr. Elmer certainly ought not, after expressing himself in so reserved and dispassionate a manner on the page quoted, to work himself up, in only four pages, to a pitch of certainty at which he can say, p. 195, "no instance of such a Subjunctive *can be found* where the apodosis is not distinctly felt." He should confine himself to saying that none *has yet been found*.¹ At a later day, somebody may discover one. Indeed, there is, in my own chance collection, such a case (according to the text of the more recent editors), evidently not known to

¹ Mr. Roby's own statement, *Grammar*, II, p. ci, is quite calm, namely, "the only tolerably clear instances of *dicat* which I have found are," etc.

Mr. Elmer; namely, in Ovid, *Am.* 3, 15, 11. The passage runs as follows: "And some stranger, looking at the walls of wet Sulmo, which enclose few acres of ground, may say 'ye walls, that had the power to produce so great a poet, I call you great, however small your compass.'"¹ The phrase is *aliquis dicat*. But there is no reply of which to make an apodosis. The poet turns at once to an address to Cupid and Venus. The passage then, if the reading is right, destroys Mr. Elmer's contention. Unfortunately the Mss. P and R lack the passage. F, however, the best representative of the next best class, has it, and reads *dicat*, as do five other Mss. referred to without definite names by Ehwald. Doubtless Merkel's *dicet* is based upon a reading actually found by him; but the Mss. from which he took it must have been of a class inferior to F. The mediaeval correctors of the text of Ovid were especially fond of changing Subjunctives to Indicatives. As regards inherent probability, *dicat*, — which would here have to be a true Potential, — fits the context better than the Future Indicative. "Some one may say this of Sulmo" seems a more natural idea than "some will say it." If one were going to use the Future Indicative, some such word as *hospes* 'the stranger' (without *aliquis*), or *plurimus* 'many a man,'² would seem more natural than *aliquis hospes*. But, at any rate, Mr. Elmer is standing on not very comfortable ground in having F and the recent editors against him. I am inclined to think, too, that the example *aliquis dubitasset*, Cic. *Brut.* 50, 189, is a true Potential, and so another engine to dislodge him from his position. The passage runs as follows: "When would any of our ancestors, having it in his power to choose an advocate, have hesitated about taking

¹ Atque aliquis spectans hospes Sulmonis aquosi
 Moenia, quae campi iugera pauca tenent,
 'Quae tantum' dicat 'potuistis ferre poetam,
 Quantulacumque estis, vos ego magna voco.'
 Culte puer puerique parens Amathusia culti,
 Aurea de campo vellite signa meo!

² Cf. Horace's *plurimus* in Iunonis honorem aptum dicet equis Argos, *Carm.* 1, 7, 8.

either Antonius or Crassus? There were others in abundance; still, (while) one *might have hesitated* which of the two to take, there was no one who would not have taken one or the other of them." The meaning "some one *would have been* in doubt" seems to me unnatural here. But Mr. Elmer cannot resort to the device of taking *aliquis dubitasset* as a Volitive Condition, since nothing follows of which a Conclusion could be made. The only remaining solution is to regard the construction as Potential. And I have little doubt that other examples of like kind with these two are waiting for some one to note them.

4. Mr. Elmer has proceeded in the wrong order in making up his mind about the *aliquis dixerit* type, in which the form is ambiguous, and then proceeding to the *aliquis dicat* type, in which the form is clear. Probably in consequence of this wrong order, he has led himself into an untenable inference with regard to the former. Certainly the unmodified *aliquis dixerit* and the unmodified *aliquis dicat* or *dicet* stand a little nearer to each other in type than do the unmodified *aliquis dixerit* and the modified *fortasse aliquis dixerit*; and, if one is to venture upon any inference at all, it should be on the basis of the first pair rather than of the second pair. Now Mr. Elmer cites (from Roby) fifty examples of the Future Indicative with *aliquis* or an equivalent, as against eight examples of the Subjunctive type, seven of which, namely all that are not modified by any adverb, he regards as Volitive. The conclusion which he ought to draw, if any is drawn, is, not that all the examples with the ambiguous form *dixerit* are Future Perfect Indicatives, but that probably about 7/50 of them are Subjunctives, and the rest Indicatives; and that *a sure pronunciamiento is impossible in the case of any individual example*.

5. On the same page (195), Mr. Elmer says "if the Latin Subjunctive has the power of expressing the idea of 'may (possibly),' . . . why is it that this subjunctive is not occasionally used to indicate mere possibility (without such implications),—to express such ideas as, *e.g.*, 'it may perhaps happen,' 'it may be true,' 'he may perhaps be at home,'

'it may rain,' and hundreds of other similar ideas that are constantly meeting us in every period of the literature? Why in such cases do we invariably have *potest fieri, uerum esse potest, domi esse potest, pluere potest*, etc., etc., and not once *fiat, uerum sit, domi sit, pluat*, etc., etc.?" Mr. Elmer seems to regard it as impossible that a construction once freely used should become limited in its functions. Yet he will find that in Greek the Volitive Subjunctive is in free use in certain dependent constructions, while its independent use is restricted to a narrow field. Or, again, he will find that the Anticipatory Subjunctive is in free use in dependent constructions, while the independent use is already exceptional in Homeric Greek, and has wholly disappeared before the times of the Attic literature. To my mind, nothing is more natural than that a modal use once common should be largely superseded by exactly expressed periphrases like *potest fieri ut, potest esse*, etc., maintaining its ground, in independent sentences, only where there is a certain suggestiveness in an accompanying word, or in the person employed, as in the list of classical constructions of the Independent Latin Potential given at the end of this article.

6. The reference to Greek brings us to a point of larger bearing. The principle on which Mr. Elmer has been proceeding is enunciated by him on pp. 190 and 191, as follows: "No separate division should be made, or recognized, for a mood, unless there is at least one passage, somewhere in the literature, that cannot be satisfactorily explained in any other way. As applied to the case in hand, this principle may be stated as follows: If there is not at least one instance of the subjunctive mood that can be explained in no other way than by supposing it to have the force of 'may (possibly),' or at least an instance that can be better explained by supposing it to have such a force than by explaining it according to some one of the recognized and indisputable uses of that mood, then there is no justification, or excuse, for supposing it to have that force." A little later in the same paragraph the statement is made still stronger by being weakened in its conditions, so that it reads, "if every instance will make

equally good sense by treating it as belonging to one of the indisputable uses, then surely there should not be the slightest hesitation in assigning it to one of the latter classes. I do not [Mr. Elmer adds] see how there can be two opinions on this point."

Such a condition of things would, I think, hardly arise. Yet the canon, *qua* canon, has an innocent, and even admirable, look. None the less, it proceeds from a radically false conception of the proper method of approach in the study of syntactical problems. I do not mean merely that the adoption of such a principle strongly tempts workers, as it has successfully tempted Mr. Elmer (witness his translation of *describat*), to apply the method long ago devised, in another sphere of activity, by a Greek adapter and simplifier named Procrustes. I do not even mean merely that the adoption of such a principle makes workers blind to the significance of the actual facts found in dependent clauses. In *potest fieri ut pluat*, e.g., no origin except a potential one is possible for the dependent member. The construction cannot mean, or ever have meant, "it is possible to happen that it would surely rain." It must have come down from a paratactic stage in which the meaning was "it may rain : that can happen"; and it accordingly bears witness that once, at any rate, the Latin Subjunctive could be used independently to express Possibility. But if this is so, then to prove that "every instance will make equally good sense by treating it as belonging to one of the indisputable uses," is not to reach the conclusion that "there should not be the slightest hesitation in assigning it to one of the latter classes," but simply to reach the conclusion that the evidence *does not warrant the drawing of any conclusion*; that the examples in question may, or may not, be *relics of any earlier use* grown nearly obsolete. I do not mean either of these two things, though both are bad enough. The fault lies deeper still, and is, I am sorry to say, firmly rooted, as a matter of fact, in the ordinary procedure which has obtained in the investigation of the syntax of the Latin verb, and, to a very large extent, of the syntax of the Greek verb. Latinists, for example, have withdrawn into

their studies, and, having apparently removed all Greek and Sanskrit books, and the like, from the room, have speculated about Latin pure and simple; or, if they have be-thought them of a possible means of defending a tenet by a reference to Greek, they have been content, without independent reading, to turn to some book of reference, and thence cite an example as similar or not similar. Thus Mr. Elmer, in maintaining his theory that the Subjunctive of Obligation or Propriety is derived from the Subjunctive of Contingent Futurity, and not from the Volitive, cites from Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses* the Optative example, II. 2, 250: τῷ οὐκ ἂν βασιλῆας ἀνὰ στόμ' ἔχων ἀγορεύοις, "you should not speak having kings in your mouth"; while Mr. Bennett, in refuting Mr. Elmer, has nothing more to say on this point than that, "so far as he can find, Elmer is alone in his interpretation of this passage," and that "Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, § 237, to which Elmer refers, says that probably it has the force of a mild command." It would appear that these scholars do not read Greek literature for themselves in connection with their study of Latin Syntax; for any reader may easily find at least several interrogative examples in the Subjunctive, and a dozen examples, partly interroga-tive, but mostly declarative, in the Optative, expressing Obligation or Propriety; though Mr. Elmer's inference about the origin of the construction would still not follow. Thus, again, Mr. Bennett, in the Appendix to his *Latin Grammar*, says, §§ 325, 326, and 328, "Genitive with *Memini*, *Reminiscor*, *Obliviscor*. — With verbs of *remembering* the use of the Genitive apparently comes from associating the verb with *memor*. Thus *memini* was felt as *memor sum*. *Obliviscor* followed the analogy of its opposite, *memini*. Cf. English *differ with* after the analogy of *agree with*. — Genitive with *Admoneo*, etc. — Here the verb of *reminding* was probably felt as equivalent to *aliquem memorem reddere*, and was con-structed with the Genitive on this principle. — Genitive with *Pudet*, *Paenitet*, etc. The Genitive here is held to depend upon the noun notion implied in the verb. Thus *pu-det* suggests *pu-dor*; *paenitet*, *paenitentia*; *miseret*, *misericordia*, etc."

There is here (though Mr. Bennett's Appendix is addressed to teachers and advanced students) no hint that the construction after *memini*, *reminiscor*, *obliviscor*, *admoneo*, etc., is descended from the parent speech (it has come down not only in Latin, but in Greek, Sanskrit, Avestan, German, Lithuanian, and Servian). The form of Mr. Bennett's statement clearly implies that these constructions originated within the Latin language. The least that he should have done was to say that, in the parent speech, the use of the Genitive with verbs *corresponding to memini*, etc., came from associating these verbs with adjectives *corresponding to memor*, etc.¹ But it is hardly probable that, after a serious study of all the inherited constructions of the Genitive, in various languages, in dependence upon verbs, he would adopt solutions of this character, even for the constructions with *pudet*, etc. Neither Delbrück nor Brugmann takes such a course. Or, finally, let us see how Mr. Elmer and Mr. Bennett treat, in the light of comparative syntax, the construction with which we are now dealing. On p. 197 Mr. Elmer says, "Whether such a use of the optative does, or does not, exist in Greek would have to be determined by a careful investigation, but I strongly suspect that the Potential Optative in Greek rests upon the same footing as the Potential Subjunctive in Latin, so far as the ideas 'may' and 'can' are concerned. Even if there are indisputable instances of the Greek optative in the sense of 'may possibly' (which I doubt, if they are tested in the same manner as I have tested supposed similar instances in Latin), that could have little or no weight in determining the force of the Latin expressions we have been considering, under the condition of things that I have shown to exist in the latter language." Mr. Bennett, in his answer, makes no mention of Greek at all. Now Latin Syntax is, of course,

¹ This, however, would not, in my opinion, be true. On the contrary, I hope in an early paper to point out, in some detail, that the inherited genitives after verbs like *memini*, nouns like *memoria*, and adjectives like *memor*, stand on an equal footing with one another; and that the first, instead of being derived from an objective genitive use, is itself, in connection with the others, a large factor in the bringing about of that use.

in its main features, as much an inheritance from the parent speech as are Latin forms. Let us see how this procedure would sound, if carried over into the province of Formenlehre. Supposing the professor of Comparative Philology in any university were to express his opinion about the origin of a certain series of Latin forms, and were then to add that he had not considered the series of Greek forms generally regarded as of the same nature, but that he strongly suspected that they rested upon the same foundation as the Latin forms, and could be explained in the same manner, and that, even if they could not so be explained, they could have little or no weight in determining the origin of the Latin forms he had been considering, under the condition of things which he had shown to exist in the latter language; and supposing then that some other professor of Comparative Philology had in his answer paid no attention to this statement, and had himself reached an opinion without any consideration of the facts existing in Greek or any other language outside of Latin. We should all, unquestionably, think this a remarkable procedure, but should have no interest in results thus obtained. But it would be no more remarkable than the procedure narrated above, and there would be equal reason for confidence in its outcome.

Now, lest I be thought to be personal, I hasten to say that I have simply taken these instances of wrong method as easily accessible texts, and that my sermon—if in the brevity of human life I may be pardoned for saying without waste of time what I think—is of pretty general application, in all countries. To a certain extent, there has been consideration of other languages in the treatment of the syntax of the Cases in our school grammars, though sometimes, apparently, rather as afterthought and for grace of ornament than as a real help in the study of the problems. But I know of no Latin grammar in the world in which the treatment of the Moods is steadily based upon comparative study. Neither is there as yet any recognition, *in practice*, that the treatment *ought* to be based on such study. Consider the arrangement recently made for the editorship of the division on Syntax

in the great Historical Latin Grammar planned by our colleagues in Germany. Dittmar has been chosen to do the work. Now I can forgive Dittmar for having, as they say, overthrown my doctrine of the Cum-Constructions, "as Hale had overthrown that of Hoffman and Lübbert," especially as I hope sometime to show that the structure which I built still stands, *aere perennius*. But I cannot forgive him for the way in which he goes at his task. I do not refer to the use which he makes of this same Procrustes' bed, *i.e.*, to the miracle which he works in deriving, in the mental processes of the Roman, the idea of exhortation, of command, of wish, of an historical fact narrated in a cum-clause, and the like, from that of something so "absurd," "unbegreiflich," or "gegen seine Ehre," "das sich sein Inneres dagegen auflehnte." I refer now only to the way in which he makes his start upon the solution of his problem. The Latin Subjunctive he finds to be originally "polemical." But what *is* the Latin Subjunctive? It is of course a mixed set of forms, partly Subjunctive and partly Optative, inheriting the powers of both moods. It is, in short, of *two* origins. Very good. Did both these moods originally express the polemical idea? If so, why were there two moods to express one and the same idea? Did the Subjunctive express polemics and the Optative something else, or *vice versa*, and if so, *what was that something else?* These two simple questions are immediately fatal to Dittmar's whole system. And this mortal weakness is due simply to the fact that Dittmar either, having fairly conceived the idea of Comparative Syntax, has rejected it, — which is not credible, — or that he has never fairly conceived it, that, in effect, he opens only his Latin books when he is constructing Latin Syntax.¹ Yet,

¹ Near the conclusion, Dittmar has, to be sure, an "Ausblick" of two and a half pages upon the constructions of the Subjunctive in Oscan and Umbrian, and as many upon the constructions of the Subjunctive and Optative in Greek (to Latin, he has devoted three hundred and twenty-two pages). The conclusion of a book is a curious place in which to put evidence upon fundamental meanings which one has set out in the beginning to detect. The bringing in of Greek at this point, and in this quantity, has the air of being for ornament, rather than of arising from a conviction with regard to method. Had there been such a con-

in the very birthplace of Comparative Phonology, Comparative Formenlehre, and Comparative Syntax, he is chosen to write the Syntax for the great historical grammar! Have Delbrück and Brugmann, so far as this generation is concerned, lived so nearly in vain? There stands Delbrück's work on the Syntax of the Subjunctive and Optative in Greek and Sanskrit, now nearly thirty years old,—to say nothing of his later more general syntactical work, happily completed in the present year. There stands, in solitary distinction, Brugmann's Greek Grammar, now fifteen years old, and in a third edition, but founded from the beginning, in the Syntax as well as elsewhere, upon comparative study. Where, unless it be in the new Grammar just announced from England,¹ is there another Greek Grammar of the kind? Where is there a single Latin Grammar? These statements and questions do not condemn individuals, and must not be so interpreted. No man can be blamed for not seeing something which, though obvious, has not dawned upon his age. But the age, in the mass, is to be blamed, and to be wondered at. Wondered at, too, it will be. In a short time, the state of affairs that has so long existed will seem as strange to us as the old doctrine now seems that Latin was derived from Greek. In a short time, it will be recognized that Comparative Syntax is as much a part of Comparative Philology as is Comparative Phonology or Comparative Formenlehre. In

viction, the mere sight of the two names Subjunctive and Optative should have been enough to remind the writer that the parent language had these two moods, which Latin must have inherited; and he would thus have been kept from the false path at the end of which his whole system has been constructed.

¹ Even the more advanced books professedly dealing with Comparative Grammar have generally omitted Syntax without even a mention. King and Cookson's *Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*, 1890, forms an exception, and the work of the authors is based upon a sound general idea; but the briefly treated Syntax involves no searching study of either Greek or Latin. Miles's bold and somewhat whimsical *Comparative Syntax of Greek and Latin* has not yet advanced to the methodical treatment of the verb. Riemann and Goelzer's *Grammaire Comparée du Grec et du Latin*, on the other hand, treats all parts of the Syntax with fulness, and, though far from final, will undoubtedly do much to bring about a popular interest in Comparative Syntax, and a recognition of its necessity.

a short time, it will be felt that, for any language, a treatment of Syntax not founded upon comparative study morally belongs, whatever its chronology, to the days before the discovery of Sanskrit.

Let us see, now, what light comparative study may throw upon Mr. Elmer's contention.

Greek has an abundance of examples which plain people would classify as true Potentials, *e.g.*, *Il.* 2, 12, *ὦν γὰρ κεν ἔλοι*, "for now he might take the wide-streeted city of the Trojans"; *Od.* 12, 101, *καί κεν διοϊστεύσειας*, "the second cliff which you will see will be lower, Odysseus. They are close together; one might even shoot across."¹ But Mr. Elmer is proof against such examples, for he would translate them by "he would succeed in taking if he should try," "one would succeed in shooting across if one should try." We are brought, then, in the hope of convincing him, to the examples apparently corresponding to *aliquis dicat*. They take two forms in Greek, the Optative, as in *φαίη ἄν τις*, *Plat. Rep.* 416 c, or *τάχ' ἄν τις εἴποι*, *Aesch. Sept.* 913, and the Anticipatory Subjunctive *εἴπησι*, *Od.* 6, 275, and elsewhere.

Mr. Elmer cannot take the *εἴπησι* examples as Volitive Suppositions, since Greek does not use the Volitive in positive expressions in the second or third person, barring perhaps three, or possibly four, instances in the whole body of the literature and the inscriptions. He may, to be sure, partly unify his procedure by taking them as examples of Contingent Futurity, not of the "would" kind, but of another — namely, an Anticipatory — kind; or he may simply say — and this would be true — that they mean in effect "will say," and so correspond to *aliquis dicet* in Latin. But I should think he would lament the necessity, after having explained seven of his eight Latin examples as Volitive, and only one as an expression of Contingent Futurity, to be forced to reverse his procedure so completely in Greek, and flee to the interpretation of all

¹ Cf. *Od.* 3, 231, *ῥεῖα θεὸς γ' ἐθέλων καὶ τηλόθεν ἄνδρα σαώσαι* (translated "easily may" by Palmer, and "lightly might" by Butcher and Lang), with its antithesis in the same passage, *Od.* 3, 236, *ἀλλ' ἦ τοι θάνατον μὲν ὁμοῖον οὐδὲ θεοὶ περ καὶ φιλῶ ἄνδρι δύνανται ἀλαλκόμεν*.

the Homeric examples with the Subjunctive as expressions of something *not* Volitive. Still, escape is in this way possible for him. From the difficulty offered by the *φαίη ἄν τις* type, on the other hand, no refuge is afforded by any of the interpretations set up for the Latin examples in his paper. To avoid the Potential idea in the *dicat* of *dicat fortassis aliquis* he has put the entire Potential feeling into the *fortassis*, making the Subjunctive itself mean "would say." *τάχ' ἄν τις εἴποι* can be managed by him in the same way, the *ἄν εἴποι* being taken to mean "would say," while *τάχα*, getting a secondary force corresponding to that of *fortassis*, means "perhaps." But he cannot so dispose of examples without *τάχα*. By his own statement about *dicat fortassis aliquis*, *ἄν φαίη* cannot mean "may say," but must mean "would say." But such a meaning is out of place in the context. If any kind of certainty is to be expressed, it would be the kind expressed by the Future Indicative. Nothing is left, therefore, but to take *ἄν φαίη* as Volitive. But this is impossible, since it is not in the Subjunctive. Instead, then, of resting upon the same footing, as Mr. Elmer "strongly suspects" they do, as the Latin Potentials, as explained away by him, the Greek examples as a whole absolutely refuse to stand upon such a footing, and Mr. Elmer will accordingly be obliged to fall back upon the alternative part of his statement, namely that they can "have little or no weight in determining the force of the Latin expressions he has been considering." To my mind, however, they have much weight. It is of course not a certainty that a given Latin construction is identical with a Greek construction to which it seems exactly to correspond; but there is nevertheless a great probability that it is, and, unless rebutting evidence can be found, there is nothing to do but to classify it on the basis of that probability. There is of course the possibility, which I shall not now weigh, that the construction in *aliquis dicat* and the like is due to a fusion of an Anticipatory Subjunctive idiom corresponding to *εἴπησι* with a Potential Optative idiom corresponding to *ἄν φαίη* or *ἄν εἴποι*. But at any rate the construction was, to the Roman consciousness, Potential, and

was only one of a number of allied constructions. These independent Potentials are not infrequent, but they all (until after Cicero's time) fall within a few definite categories, which, in the printed syllabus used in my teaching, I have arranged (with one slight difference) as follows: —

1. Negative Statements, and Questions implying a negative.
2. Statements in the Second Person Singular Indefinite.
3. Statements with *quis* or *aliquis* for subject, occurring only in a few phrases, mostly with a verb of saying or asking.
4. Statements modified by *vix* or *facile*.
5. Statements modified by *forsitan*, and, rarely, statements modified by *fortasse*. The former of course were originally indirect Potential questions, but, when the words *fors sit an* became one adverbial mass, must themselves have come to be felt as independent.¹

¹ Mr. Elmer's explanation of these Subjunctives as indirect questions of the ordinary kind (see his footnote on pp. 178, 179) will not account for the present tenses when referring to the future, as in *forsitan requiras*, *Aen.* 2, 506; for in such indirect questions the future idea is expressed by a periphrastic form. If all references to the future after *forsitan* were expressed as in *Cic. Att.* 12, 18, 1 (*quae res forsitan sit refricatura vulnus meum*), this explanation would serve. But they are not.

Neither can I agree with Mr. Elmer's reasonings or statements (2) and (3) in the footnote beginning on p. 177. I reprint these in part, with comments.

"(2) If in *forsitan* the *an* was felt as introducing a question after a present tense (*sit*), we should then expect it to be followed only by the present and perfect tenses (for the rule for the sequence of tenses still seems to be in force, despite the assaults that have been made upon it). And this is exactly what we find. The use of any other tense with *forsitan* is as rare as it is with other forms of indirect questions after a primary tense. In fact, I can find none at all except in *Cic. De Or.* II, 45, 189 and *Verg. Georg.* IV, 116, and even here the imperfect refers to present time, forming apodoses contrary to fact in the present. . . ."

By the use of Merguet's Lexicons to Cicero's Orations and Philosophical Works, Mr. Elmer might have found two more cases of the imperfect Subjunctive with *forsitan* (*Rosc. Com.* 16, 47; *Verr.* 2, 65, 159); and one of the Pluperfect (*Off.* 1, 31, 112); and Sjöstrand's "*Quibus temporibus modisque quamvis, nescio an, forsitan, similes voces utantur*" (1891) would have yielded him forty-seven more examples of the one tense or the other, from Ovid, Livy, Quintilian, and later writers. In these examples it is true, as Mr. Elmer says it is in his two examples, that a conclusion contrary to fact is expressed, so that the Subjunctive would in

The general view which Mr. Elmer expresses about the ultimate passage of *forsitan* into an adverb, with a corresponding freedom in the mood of the verb, seems to me natural and sound; as does also the view that (where not necessary for inherent reasons) the Subjunctive with *fortasse*, as in *erraverim fortasse*, Plin. *Ep.* 1, 23, 2, is due to the influence of the Subjunctive with *forsitan*. But in his treatment of this last type, Mr. Elmer has again, without actually making sure of his ground, expressed himself in sweeping language that does not correspond to the facts. In the article already cited from the *Cl. R.*, p. 220, he says (the italics are mine), "if I am not mistaken, this *erraverim* has been responsible for much mischief. *I believe it to be the only instance of the kind in Latin literature* — the only one that apparently gives (and only apparently, I think) justification for the claim that the perfect subjunctive *fecerim* may mean 'I may (perhaps) have done.' *Certainly none other occurs before the period of*

any case have to be used. I have thus added to the material which he believes to make for his inference. But I do not feel the certainty of that inference. All but the five examples from Cicero are from later authors, who used the Indicative as freely as the Subjunctive, in any tense, after *forsitan*. In view of the fact that an Imperfect or Pluperfect Subjunctive with *forsitan* might easily be mistaken at first reading for a conclusion contrary to fact, it does not seem to me strange that these authors, where they wanted to express a past situation, preferred to use the perfectly safe Imperfect or Pluperfect Indicative, as they did in at least the seven Indicative cases cited by Sjöstrand. As for Cicero, he had *fortasse* (with the Indicative) at hand with which to avoid a similar confusion, and used it at least in *Div.* 1, 49, 112; *Rep.* 2, 34, 59; *Sest.* 57, 121 (but the text is doubtful); *Cluent.* 51, 141; *Phil.* 2, 42, 108.

"(3) Another indication that the interrogative force of the *an* in *forsitan* long continued to be distinctly felt is that, while *fortasse* was at all periods freely used to modify adjectives, adverbs, prepositional phrases, etc., *forsitan* was till late times used only with verbs. This strict use of *forsitan* is violated only once (Sall. *Jug.* 106, 3) before the time of Livy. . . ." To this, Mr. Elmer adds (*Cl. R.* XIV, 4, p. 222): "To the evidence there presented should be added the further fact that *forsitan* could, until comparatively late times, be used only *before* its verb, as would be expected if the *an* were still felt as governing the verb."

The first statement is inaccurate. Merguet, again, would have shown Mr. Elmer that Cicero used *forsitan* at least once with only very remote connection with a verb, namely, in *Phil.* 3, 11, 29, *multi . . . perpessi sumus, alii spe forsitan reciperaudae libertatis, alii vivendi nimia cupiditate*. A similar example is to be found in Varro, *L. L.* 9, 60. The second statement is likewise inaccurate. In *Verr.* 5, 2, 4, Cicero has *quod debeam forsitan obtinere*.

decline." In view of this and the several other instances of errors of fact which I have had occasion to point out, curiosity is awakened as to the way in which Mr. Elmer, in general, *gets* his facts or his beliefs. One ought not to "believe" an example to be "the only instance of the kind in Latin literature," unless one has oneself read the whole of Latin literature for the purpose of finding out, or can cite some trusty person who has done so. Neither should one feel certain that "none other occurs before the period of decline," unless one can cite similar evidence for this more limited range. As in the case of the *aliquis dicat* collection, non-existence of examples cannot be surely inferred from the fact that the grammars do not contain them. Mr. Elmer's excess of zeal is, moreover, entirely unnecessary in the present case, since the explanation which he gives for the example from Pliny would equally well account for any number of examples for any time after Cicero,—and, indeed, for any number in Cicero himself, provided a large number of Indicative examples also remained. As a matter of fact, the Pseud-Quintil. *Declamations*, which, whatever their date, come under the head of "Latin literature," alone afford *nine* examples of the Perfect Subjunctive with *fortasse*, given (since the publication of Mr. Elmer's study) by Mr. Clement in Cl. R. XIV, 4; namely (Ritter's text, p.), 183, 3; 69, 13; 159, 2; 171, 14; 182, 27; 184, 8; 328, 27; 344, 1; 379, 15. As for Latin literature "before the period of decline," Sjöstrand, in the monograph already cited, gives two sure examples from the *Institutes* of Quintilian, namely 1, *prooem.* 19, *qualis fortasse nemo adhuc fuerit*, and 10, 1, 107, *et fortasse epilogos illi mos civitatis abstulerit*. He also gives an example from Cicero which seems to me to be properly taken as Potential, namely, *Verr.* 2, 5, 15, *nam quod fortasse non nemo vestrum audierit*. . . . I am inclined, further, to accept some of his examples for the Present Subjunctive. In *Verr.* 5, 3, 7, *videatur in durum hoc fortasse videatur* would most naturally be taken as Potential. So, it seems to me, would it in *Fam.* 7, 2, 3, in *vix veri simile fortasse videatur*; while in *Brut.* 91, 313, and *Fam.* 1, 7, 2 it

might without forcing be taken as expressing "Contingent Futurity." In view of these facts, I am inclined to place the natural rise of the use of the Subjunctive with *fortasse* at an earlier date than Mr. Elmer does.¹

Whatever may be the date, however, there can be but one reasonable force to attach to the mood itself in examples like Pliny's *erraverim fortasse*, *Ep.* 1, 23, 2; *tu fortasse me putes indulisisse amori meo*, 1, 14, 10; *hebetentur fortasse et paulum retundantur*, 3, 15, 4; and *non vis in te ea laudari, nec fortasse laudanda sint*, *Pan.* 42. The mood itself, apart from the adverb, must mean something; and that something is pretty sure to be a conception colored by the presence of the *fortasse*, — in other words, the conception of a *Possibility* (the Subjunctive meaning "may," to match the adverb's force of "perhaps"). No other hypothesis could give a differentiation between *erraverim fortasse* and *erravi fortasse*. So, then, even if Mr. Elmer had succeeded in proving that no Potential existed in Latin in Cicero's time, we should be obliged to hold that a Potential had accidentally come into being a century or more later.

The reading *fors et maneant*, in *Hor. Carm.* 1, 28, 31, seems to me probably sound, and the example a sufficiently natural one for a poet. With regard to Pliny's *dicat fortassis aliquis*, *N.H.* 36, 2, 2, our ignorance of the origin of *fortassis* makes an exact opinion of the relation of *fortassis* and *dicat* impossible; but the latter is at any rate Potential. *Fuat* in *fors fuat an*, and *sit* in *forsitan* and in Horace's *forsit* (or *fors sit*) *honorem iure mihi invideat quivis*, *Sat.* 1, 6, 50, are of Potential origin. As to *invideat*, that might be in the Subjunctive of "Contingent Futurity" ("would perhaps envy me with good reason"); but it lies at least very close to the line of the Potential.

To the independent constructions now given should in strictness be added that of the Subjunctive with *utinam*, *ut*, or *qui*, expressing a wish or imprecation. This Subjunctive, like the corresponding Greek construction with $\pi\omega\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu$,

¹ In *Pseud.* 888, Ritschl and his successors rightly follow A in reading *credis* against the *credas* of the other Mss.

originally meant "how might?", and was a true Potential.¹ To the Roman consciousness, however, it probably seemed a mere Optative Subjunctive.

In dependent constructions the Potential has a few occasional uses, and one very frequent one, namely, the one numbered 6.

1. In early Latin, Indirect Questions of Possibility after *fors fuat an*. An example survives in Plaut. *Pseud.* 432 (*sint* A B. *sunt* rel.). To the same head belongs the Subjunctive after the phrase (*fors sit an*) out of which *forsitan* has grown, the Subjunctive after the rare *fortasse an*, and the Subjunctive (with no sure case in early Latin) after *forsan*.

2. Potential *quod*-Clauses of the Limits within Which, in expressions like *quod sine molestia tua fiat*, as in Cic. *Fam.* 13, 23, 2: *pergratum mihi feceris, si eum, quod sine molestia tua fiat, iuveris*, "you will oblige me much, if you will assist him, as far as may be possible without inconvenience to yourself." Compare the expression of the same idea by the use of *possum* in Att. 1, 6, 7: *quae tibi mandavi velim cures, quod sine molestia tua facere poteris*, "I should like you to carry out the commissions I have given you, so far as it shall be possible to do so without inconvenience to yourself."

3. Clauses of a Possibility Suggested in order to be Rejected, as in Cic. *Verr.* 5, 68, 175: *quod enim te liberatum iam existimationis metu cogites, mihi crede*, "for as to your possibly thinking that you are now freed from fear of popular opinion, believe me." . . . Similarly Ter. *Ad.* 163, *Andr.* 395, etc.

4. Result-Clauses of Possibility or Capacity with *ut* or *ut*

¹ This is a view which I have had in print since 1893, in the syllabus already referred to, and have taught from a much earlier time; but Goelzer, at least, has anticipated me in point of publication. See Riemann-Goelzer, *Grammaire Comparée du Grec et du Latin* (1897), § 335, Rem. 1. Riemann, in both editions of his *Syntaxe Latine*, 1886 and 1890, had rightly interpreted the construction as interrogative, and had translated by "comment pourrait-il bien arriver que . . . ?" But he had apparently thought of the mood as truly Optative. Lindsay, *A Short Historical Latin Grammar* (1895), p. 141, still explains *ut* as "the conjunction . . ., with suppression of the idea 'I wish' or 'do thou grant.'"

Neither Riemann nor Goelzer points out the correspondence of the Latin construction to the Greek one with $\pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma \delta\nu$, though Goelzer may well have had it in mind.

non, as in *Heaut.* 304: *mulier lacrimis opplet os totum sibi, ut facile scires desiderio id fieri*, "the woman's face was flooded with tears, so that one could easily see that the cause was her longing for you."

5. Potential Substantive Clauses after *fieri potest* and the like, as in *Cic. Tusc.* 1, 3, 6: *fieri autem potest ut recte quis sentiat, et id quod sentit polite eloqui non possit*, "but it may happen that a man may think properly, and yet be unable to express his thoughts in a finished manner."

6. Potential Characterizing Clauses (or Clauses of Capacity, Availability, etc.) after negative statements or indefinite positive statements expressing or implying existence (*est, sunt, habeo*, etc.), as in *Ter. Ad.* 121, *dis gratia, est unde haec fiant*, "thank Heaven, I have means with which it can all be done" (cf. *Caes. B. G.* 1, 28, 3, *domi nihil erant, quo famem tolerarent*); *Caes. B. G.* 1, 6, 1, *erant omnino itinera duo, quibus itineribus domo exire possent; unum per Sequanos, angustum et difficile, vix qua singuli carri ducerentur*, "there were in all but two ways, by which it was possible for them to leave their country: one through the territory of the Sequani, a narrow and difficult one, by which carts could with difficulty be taken in single file"; *Cic. Cat.* 1, 10, 26, *habes ubi ostentes tuam illam praeclaram patientiam*, "you have an opportunity for showing that famous endurance of yours" (cf. *Cic. Arch.* 6, 12, *suppeditat ubi reficiatur*; *Caes. B. G.* 4, 38, 2, *cum quo se recipere non haberent*).

In my "Cum-Constructions," pp. 106, 107 (120 of the German edition), I proposed, without argument, the recognition of this distinct type of characterizing Clauses, along with two others. My belief in the probable soundness of this classification has not changed, though Elmer, who for a time accepted it (as in his edition of the *Phormio*, note to 488, and in Bennett's Appendix), has abandoned it.¹ The considerations which influence me are as follows:—

(a) Given a free Potential use of the Optative, such as

¹ On p. 196 Mr. Elmer says: "In my treatment of Relative Clauses in the Appendix to Bennett's Latin Grammar, I have (§ 404, 2) classed the subordinate clause in *est unde fiat* as coming from an independent potential *fiat*, 'it may be

beyond doubt existed in the parent speech, a dependent clause of this kind would inevitably come into existence at whatever point hypotaxis arose. To an "it may be done" or "can be done," there would certainly in time be a corresponding "there are means by which it may be done" or "can be done." The construction is in extremely common use in Greek, as in the following: οὐδέ οἱ ἄλλοι εἶσ', οἳ κεν κατὰ δῆμον ἀλάλκοιεν κακότητα, "and others he has none, who, throughout the people, might ward off evil from him," *Od.* 4, 166. οὐ γάρ οἱ πάρα νῆες ἐπήρητοι καὶ ἑταῖροι, οἳ κέν μιν πέμποιεν ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης, "for he has no ships with oars, and no companions that might send him on his way over the broad back of the sea," *Od.* 17, 145. A similar interpretation gives a perfect account of Latin examples like those cited above.

(b) Latin examples of the type in question find frequent parallels in periphrases with *posset*, *possent*, etc. Thus in the example from Caesar above, *vix qua ducerentur* (Potential) corresponds in the sum total of its meaning to *quibus exire possent*, in which the idea of Potentiality (belonging, not to the mood, but to the inherent meaning of the verb *possum*) is forced upon us by the examples without a form of *possum*. In *ducerentur*, accordingly, the Potential idea lies in the mood itself. Compare also, with *est unde haec fiant* from Terence, the example *unde agger omnino comportari posset, nihil erat reliquum*, from Caes., *B. C.* 2, 15, 1.

One consideration, however, remains to be weighed. Alongside of the idiom illustrated above, Greek has also a use of the *Subjunctive* after a few general phrases of done.' Further consideration has led me to change my opinion regarding the nature of this clause. The *unde fiat* does not mean 'by means of which it *may possibly* be done,' but either 'by means of which it *may certainly* be done' (in which case the subjunctive is not potential at all, but volitive, in origin), or possibly, 'by means of which it would certainly be done.' At any rate, the expression leaves no room for a possible failure and 'may possibly' expresses an idea very remote from that in *fiat*."

I find myself unable to follow the thought in the second half of this statement. A "may certainly" Volitive is something both difficult and depressing. It looks as if Mr. Elmer were willing to adopt any explanation except a simple and natural one.

existence or non-existence, mainly the latter. In the article on “‘*Extended*’ and ‘*Remote*’ *Deliberatives in Greek*” already referred to, I have given the known examples. A single one will suffice here: ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐκέτ’ ἔστιν εἰς ὃ τι βλέπω πλὴν σοῦ, “for now I’ve none to whom to look, save you,” *Soph. Ai.* 514. It is morally certain that such constructions are derived from an original deliberative type, as in the combination “to whom save you shall I look? I have no one.”

It is perfectly possible, and perhaps probable, that Latin had a corresponding idiom. But the fact that Latin had but a single mood for the Subjunctive and the Optative would make this construction, if it existed, indistinguishable from the true Potential construction. In other words, there would be a *fusion* of two constructions, of different origin but similar feeling. This fused construction would nevertheless seem (if it existed) to have been, *to the Roman consciousness*, Potential in feeling, since, as said above, the examples so often find parallels in periphrases containing *posset, possent*, etc.

XI. — On Plato's *Euthyphro*.

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IN common with many other works attributed to Plato, the *Euthyphro* has had its genuineness called in question by certain modern scholars. Others, while regarding it as authentic, have disparaged it from the point of view of artistic composition and philosophical content. Schleiermacher was perhaps the first among the latter; of the former there are some who have entertained decided opinions, which, as I shall endeavor to show, are not firmly founded on fact. The pedagogical value also of this dialogue has been the subject of frequent controversy among scholars in Germany, where its use in the schools has always been considerable. In view of these circumstances it may be worth our while to subject this brief work to renewed criticism and examination. It is possible that in so doing we shall advance in some measure our understanding of the *Euthyphro* and contribute somewhat to the solution of these vexed questions.

I.

In the dialogue there appear only two characters, Socrates and Euthyphro. This fact of itself suffices to account for one alleged defect, the lack of dramatic byplay. When we contrast this situation with that, say, of the *Gorgias*, the *Protagoras*, or the *Symposium*, it becomes at once apparent that the occasions and opportunities for a diversion from the closely reasoned argument are almost wholly wanting. Nor is there an effort made, as in the *Phaedrus*, to find a sympathetic background in nature. It is, of course, possible to maintain that such dramatic poverty argues against Platonic authorship or against the literary worth of the dialogue; but

it is at least equally possible to maintain that there may be compensations of so essential a character as to offset the lack of these more external adjuncts. I shall return to this point later on.

Of Socrates there is no need to speak at length. He appears in his customary rôle of the seeker after truth who is eager to learn from others what he himself does not profess to know. He is about to be tried for impiety; and even as he appears at the court of the King Archon to take the preliminary steps of the trial he falls in with a man who is ultra-orthodox and notorious for his fanatical devotion to matters of religion. But Socrates himself is not an abstraction, simply to be defined as devotion to truth. He is a living character, with many idiosyncrasies quite beyond the comprehension of his fellow-townsmen. He has, among other such traits, the droll humor of the sage, who, without arrogating to himself the attainment of wisdom, appreciates the ignorant conceit of the multitude that makes ostentatious pretensions to knowledge. Hence, while seeking truth in all sincerity and singleness of heart, he takes an unmistakable delight in putting to confusion those who are overconfident of having attained it.

Those who were thus rebuked and those who witnessed their discomfiture naturally regarded Socrates as a man who trifled with the most sacred truth and ruthlessly laid the ax to the root of society, since they one and all assumed without question the validity of the traditional unphilosophical views. It was idle to speak to them of the benefits that would accrue to the state and to men individually from an effort to lay a rational foundation for their beliefs. Hence it was a foregone conclusion that the attempt, which Socrates made in the *Apology*, to show that he bore a commission from God and that his mission and his manner of fulfilling it were of the very essence of piety, should not only fail to effect his acquittal but should even fail of an intelligent hearing. Man can judge only by his own ideals, and the Athenians of that day had attained no standard but that of tradition. History makes and unmakes its own ideals, and it is better to appre-

hend the progressive development of moral standards than to inveigh against temporary judgments of men. Plato, in the *Euthyphro*, makes it clear that he had attained to this insight; for nothing is more evident than the purpose to set over against each other two ideals, one based upon tradition, the other upon reason. Euthyphro, the type of the former, is benevolent but utterly incapable of understanding Socrates. If the *Euthyphro* possessed no other value but that of enforcing this truth, its claims to perpetual interest would have sufficient foundation.

Of Euthyphro, who met Socrates at the porch of the King Archon and discoursed with him on the true nature of piety, we know ultimately only what may be learned from Plato. Apart from the dialogue of which we are now speaking, he is mentioned also in the *Cratylus*. Euthyphro is characterized there as a reckless etymologist, whose distinctions are often far-fetched and ridiculous. In our dialogue he is a *μάντις*, seer, devoted to matters of religion and orthodox to a fault. Indeed, it is in consequence of his extreme orthodoxy and his disposition to apply to human affairs analogies drawn from the mythical conduct of the gods, that he is led to bring against his father the strange and questionable action for manslaughter which affords occasion for our dialogue. Dramatically he is, of course, intended primarily to serve as a foil to set off the character and conduct of Socrates. We have here piety, old style and new, placed in immediate juxtaposition for the sake of contrast. The piety of Euthyphro, well-intentioned but unenlightened, may lead to conduct the reverse of pious, as judged by the standards of the new; and Socrates, just because he discards traditional ideals and sanctions, is certain to be adjudged a paragon of impiety. Socrates is, however, so punctilious in his observance of the forms of the religion of state, and Euthyphro has a heart so much wider than his creed that he is prepared, in spite of their differences, to see in Socrates the saving influence of the city.¹ To me there seems to be an exquisite fitness in the

¹ 3 A: ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ μοι δοκεῖ ἀφ' Ἑστίας ἀρχεσθαι κακουργεῖν τὴν πόλιν, ἐπιχειρῶν ἀδικεῖν σέ.

absence of non-essential dramatic detail which would only serve to distract the attention and divert the reader from the meeting of these two embodied ideals. And in the discussion of a theme such as this it would seem most proper that there should be no idle witnesses,¹ either to satisfy a questionable curiosity or to have old faiths shaken² without acquiring a new insight to take their place. Although, as we shall soon see, the argument does properly lead to such insight, it cannot be doubted that the suggested conclusion must have been missed if it had been listened to by a representative company of Athenian youths.

It is not necessary to say that Plato intended to put this striking contrast to apologetic uses. The same purpose appears also in the emphatic utterance Socrates gives to his surprise at Euthyphro's conduct toward his father. Socrates was often charged with inciting sons to disrespect and even violence to their parents. What more effective means of meeting this calumny than this could be devised by his friend? The apologetic nature of the *Euthyphro* becomes most evident, however, when one considers the argument as a whole. If Euthyphro, who is professedly and professionally devoted to religion, cannot produce, even after the most continuous suggestion, some valid criterion of piety and impiety, *a fortiori* it is hardly to be expected that a 'beachosen' panel of Athenian citizens will pronounce intelli-

¹ When Plato introduces numerous interlocutors he either has dramatic ends in view, which here would have no place, or introduces new points of view; but where there are only two ideals to be placed in contrast there is nothing to be gained by multiplying representatives. Compare the remarks made by Gomperz, *Griechische Denker*, vol. II. p. 293: "Hinter Euthyphron ist gewiss nicht umsonst die Gestalt des Meletos aufgetaucht. Der eine ist das Gegenbild des andern. Beide fassen auf den herkömmlichen Meinungen über die göttlichen Dinge, welches das sokratische Kreuzverhör als unklar und in sich widerspruchsvoll erweist."

² Cf. Plato, *Repub.* 378 A foll.: τὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Κρόνου ἔργα καὶ πάθη ὑπὸ τοῦ νέου, οὐδ' ἂν εἴ ἦν ἀληθῆ, ᾤμην δεῖν βραδίως οὕτω λέγεσθαι πρὸς ἀφρονάς τε καὶ νέους, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν σιγᾶσθαι, εἰ δὲ ἀνάγκη τις ἦν λέγειν, δι' ἀπορρήτων ἀκούειν ὡς ὀλιγίστους, θυσσαμένους οὐ χοῖρον, ἀλλὰ τι μέγα καὶ ἄπορον θῦμα, ὅπως ὃ τι ἐλαχίστοις συνέβη ἀκούσαι. . . οὐδὲ λεκτέον νέφ' ἀκούοντι, ὡς ἀδικῶν τὰ ἔσχατα οὐδὲν ἂν θαυμαστόν ποιοί, οὐδ' αὖ ἀδικοῦντα πατέρα κολάζων παντὶ τρόπῳ, ἀλλὰ δρῶν ἂν ὅπερ θεῶν οἱ πρῶτοί τε καὶ μέγιστοι.

gently upon a case the adjudication of which involves the employment of such a criterion.

II.

To facilitate the understanding of the dialogue we may next proceed to recapitulate its contents. Socrates and Euthyphro, each engaged in a suit involving matters of religion, meet before the court of the King Archon, who has jurisdiction in such cases. They state, each in turn, the causes that bring them into court. Socrates is arraigned on a charge of impiety; Euthyphro is the complainant in a suit which can be justified only on the supposition that he knows the essence and limits of piety. Therefore Socrates naturally appeals to him for instruction and guidance toward that wisdom of life which is born of insight, and does so the more confidently because Euthyphro professes to be an adept in occult religious lore. The latter then responds in a series of definitions of piety (5 D-15 C). He first declares that piety consists in doing as he is doing, and buttresses his assertion by citing divine precedents for such conduct. Socrates takes exception to such instances as in themselves perhaps not altogether authentic; but waives the point, only to insist that he requires not an example but a definition of piety (5 D-6 E).

Euthyphro now declares that what is agreeable to the gods is pious; what is not, is impious. This statement Socrates refutes by pointing out that dissensions among the gods arise chiefly if not exclusively when they differ in judgment, some pronouncing an act to be just, others unjust. Since, therefore, by hypothesis, the pious is agreeable to the gods and the impious is not, if we assume, as Euthyphro does, diversity of judgment among them, the same conduct, and therefore the pious and the impious, must be equally agreeable to the gods. But the impious was declared to be the reverse of the pious. Euthyphro objects that no god would contend that the guilty should not be punished. 'Neither would a man,' retorts Socrates; 'the question in every instance is

whether some one has been at fault, and who?' Hence the first point to be established is that *all* the gods are agreed in pronouncing Euthyphro's conduct just and his father's unjust. Plato here gives us a clear hint that if mythology and religion are to become available for moral support, polytheism must yield to a practical monotheism. But even if that point were established the definition would not be adequate; hence Socrates dispenses Euthyphro from that task. To test the definition fairly it is thus amended: piety is what all the gods love; impiety, *per contra*, what all the gods hate. Socrates then proceeds to show that even when thus interpreted this second definition presents not the essence (*οὐσία*) but a mere accidental attribute (*πάθος*) of piety (6 E-11 B).

There follows a brief interlude in which, after mutual recriminations because of the failure of the inquiry, Socrates prevails upon Euthyphro to resume the quest under his guidance (11 B-11 E).

After considerable preliminary instruction on the part of Socrates touching the relation of the species to the genus, Euthyphro ventures a third definition: piety is that form of right conduct which relates to the 'care' of the gods.¹ Socrates takes exception to the vagueness of the term *θεραπεία*, which I have translated 'care,' and *ὑπηρετική*, 'ministration,' is substituted as more adequately expressing the relation. But, supposing that piety is a ministration, it must be service to some end. What, then, is its *ἔργον*? But Euthyphro, like all those who accept the tenets of religion as merely a tradition of the fathers, has no precise and comprehensive answer to give. He therefore takes refuge in generalities (11 E-14 B). But Socrates does not acquiesce in this evasion, and tells Euthyphro that he turns aside just when he is hard by the truth. He then extracts a fourth definition from a rhetorical period in which Euthyphro endeavors to conceal his confusion. It runs thus: Piety is the art or the science of sacrifice and prayer. After exposing the conception of barter inherent in the rites of prayer and

¹ 12 E: τούτο τολύνη ἔμοργε δοκεῖ, ὦ Σώκράτης, τὸ μέρος τοῦ δικαίου εἶναι εὐσεβές τε καὶ ὀσιον, τὸ περὶ τῆν τῶν θεῶν θεραπείαν.

sacrifice, Socrates readily shows that this last statement is in effect nothing but the second definition refurbished, and that it therefore needs no further refutation (14 B-15 C).

Despite the protests of Socrates, Euthyphro now departs, alleging another engagement, and leaves the inquiry unfinished.

III.

Dramatically the position proper to the *Euthyphro* is between the *Theaetetus* and the *Apology*. At the close of the former Socrates says, *νῦν μὲν οὖν ἀπαντητέον μοι εἰς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως στοὰν ἐπὶ τὴν Μελήτου γραφὴν, ἣν με γέγραπται*. At the beginning of our dialogue we find him meeting the seer at the portico of the King Archon, whither he had in the *Theaetetus* declared his intention of going. His business there is to take the initial steps of the trial which is to call forth his *Apology*. It was evidently this fact which led Aristophanes of Byzantium¹ to place the *Euthyphro* between the *Theaetetus* and the *Apology* in his fourth trilogy, and Thrasyllus² so to arrange his first tetralogy as to make the *Euthyphro* precede the *Apology*, *Crito*, and *Phaedo*. Obviously, if one considers its dramatic setting and the argument which has been already sketched, our dialogue must be in some way closely related to the *Apology*; but scholars seem to have bestowed upon this question much less attention than it deserves.

The apologetic strain in the *Euthyphro* has been noted ever since the time of Schleiermacher, and of course its outward relation to the trial of Socrates is too evident to escape notice. But most scholars have thought that the *Euthyphro* was written at a time when the threat of bringing Socrates to trial was first made, before his friends fully realized the seriousness of his danger.³ This view finds its chief support in the difference in the emotional tone with which Plato refers to the death of Socrates in the *Euthyphro* as com-

¹ Laert. Diog. III. 62.

² *Ibid.* III. 58.

³ Cf. Zeller, *Phil. der Griechen*, II. i, p. 193, n. 1. Zeller himself defends this view.

pared, for example, with the *Gorgias*. But this fact may be accounted for equally well on another hypothesis. Grote, as it seems to me, has sufficiently refuted this view, but we shall soon see that it becomes wholly untenable when the real relation between the *Euthyphro* and the *Apology* is perceived. There are, however, other scholars who pretend to discover either no apologetic tone at all,¹ or only such as pervades all of Plato's dialogues.² But here again Grote has presented the case so clearly that one wonders whether Bonitz did not neglect his treatment of the question. To a considerable extent, indeed, the difference between scholars on this head seems to be due to their varying understanding of the term 'apologetic.' Some at once think of a defence addressed to the dicasts; others, as *e.g.* Grote, mean an appeal to the higher court of posterity.

Let us first recall to mind that in the indictment brought against him Socrates was charged chiefly with irreligion and impiety. All other counts specified were subordinated and reduced to this. When it was charged that he corrupted the young it was the meaning of his accusers that he did so by inculcating a spirit of irreverence. However faulty the plea of the *Apology* may be when considered from the legal point of view, Socrates unquestionably, in his defence, puts forth every effort to meet this charge. He does not confine his argument to a rebuttal of the evidence presented by the prosecution: he endeavors to establish directly and by positive proof that his mode of life is not only passively conformable to the laws and religious observances of the state, but that it is aggressively pious and has received the signal approval of heaven. He refers to the oracle given by the Delphian Apollo in response to the question of his devoted Chærephon, and is at especial pains to prove that he bears a commission to live and labor as he does, a commission expressly given by the god who reigned supreme in the hearts of the religious Greeks of that day. And it is this

¹ Cf. Yxem, *Ueber Platons Euthyphro*, p. 8. Contrast Gomperz as quoted in n. 1, p. 166.

² Cf. Bonitz, *Platonische Studien* (3d ed.), p. 239.

life of aggressive piety that he fondly calls 'his ministration to the god' (τὴν ἐμὴν τῷ θεῷ ὑπηρεσίαν, *Apol.* 30 A).

In the *Gorgias*, 527 B, Socrates is made to say ἀλλ' ἐν τοσοῦτοις λόγοις τῶν ἄλλων ἐλεγχομένων μόνος οὗτος ἡρεμεί ὁ λόγος, ὡς εὐλαβητέον ἐστὶν τὸ ἀδικεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ ἀδικεῖσθαι. Now, in recent years a principle governing the interpretation of the dialogues of Plato has obtained among scholars almost universal recognition. It may be thus stated: In determining the positive doctrine which Plato desired the reader to infer from the argument of any dialogue, we must take for our point of departure the positions taken and left finally unrefuted. It is not necessary that the argument in question should have been voiced by Socrates as the supposed representative of Plato, whose thought is reproduced by the whole dialogue, not by any single part of it. If now we turn to the *Euthyphro* we perceive that the third of the four definitions there offered was not refuted. On the contrary, Socrates called attention to it in the most dramatic way. Euthyphro had stated that piety was that form of right conduct relating to the service of the gods.¹ Whereupon Socrates inquired what the gods effected by the ministrations of men; but his respondent is unable to give a more specific answer than the vague generality, πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ. Again Socrates endeavors to win from him a more significant reply. In vain. Euthyphro is a rhapsode, not a philosopher. In a prolix outburst of rhetoric he attempts to cover his retreat as he returns to the point of view of the traditional worship. It is evident that Socrates is more than half serious when he rebukes him thus:² ἢ πολὺ μοι διὰ βραχυτέρων, ὦ Εὐθύφρων, εἰ ἐβούλου, εἶπες ἂν τὸ κεφάλαιον ὧν ἠρώτων. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ πρόθυμός με εἰ διδάξαι, δῆλος εἶ. καὶ γὰρ νῦν ἐπειδὴ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἦσθα, ἀπετράπου: ὁ εἰ ἀπεκρίνω, ἰκανῶς ἂν ἤδη παρὰ σοῦ τὴν ὁσιότητα ἐμεμαθήκη. All this conspires to prove that the third definition affords the key to the meaning of the dialogue.

If now one returns, with that definition in mind, to the *Apology*, one cannot but be struck by the phraseology in

¹ See above, note I, p. 168.

² 14 B.

which Socrates there voices most forcibly the conviction on which is based his claim to innocence and piety:¹ ταῦτα γὰρ κελεύει ὁ θεός, εὖ ἴστε, καὶ ἐγὼ οἶμαι οὐδέν πω ὑμῖν μείζον ἀγαθὸν γενέσθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει ἢ τῇν ἐμῇν τῷ θεῷ ὑπηρέσιαν. Socher,² one of the most clear-sighted of the earlier modern writers on Plato, perceived not only that the third definition of the *Euthyphro* afforded the key to its interpretation but also that it stood in some relation to this passage in the *Apology*. Had he enforced his views, as he might have done, the truth would certainly not have gone so long unacknowledged. I trust it is now clear that the *Euthyphro* was written with the *Apology* in view, and that the change from *θεραπεία* to *ὑπηρευτική* was made in part to mark the connection with Socrates' τῷ θεῷ ὑπηρέσιαν. This does not, indeed, formally complete the definition of the *ὄσιον* broached in the *Euthyphro*; but it does point unmistakably the direction in which we are to look for the matter with which to supplement it.

IV.

The upshot of the argument of the *Euthyphro* is, therefore, that piety is man's ministrations to God directed to the accomplishment of some end supremely great and fair. This statement is open, in the abstract, to two interpretations: one from the point of view of the author of the *Euthyphro*, the other on the basis of Socrates' own conceptions. For, as we have seen, the argument of the *Euthyphro* is clearly set into relation with that of the *Apology*. Now the *Apology* is, to use the expression of Grote, "in substance the real defence of Socrates, reported, and of course drest up, yet not intentionally transformed, by Plato." Xenophon,³ no less than Plato, makes it clear that obedience is one of the prime requisites of piety. As we turn to the *Apology* for some indication of

¹ *Apol.* 30 A.

² Jos. Socher, *Ueber Platons Schriften*, Munich, 1820, p. 62: "Gott dienen ist Religion: giebt es einen Zweck der Gottheit, ein erhabenes Werk, zu dessen Vollfuehrung sie die Menschen als Mitarbeiter aufruft? Welches ist dieses? Hier liegt der Schluessel! Cf. 13 E cum *Apol.* 30 A."

³ Xenophon, *Mem.* IV. iii, 16-18; vi, 4.

the glorious object which man by his obedient service assists God in realizing, we think naturally of the impressive words¹ to which we have already referred: ταῦτα γὰρ κελεύει ὁ θεός, εὖ ἴστε, καὶ ἐγὼ οἶομαι οὐδέν πω ὑμῖν μείζον ἀγαθὸν γενέσθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει ἢ τὴν ἐμὴν τῷ θεῷ ὑπηρεσίαν. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο πρᾶττων ἐγὼ περιέρχομαι ἢ πείθων ὑμῶν καὶ νεωτέρους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους μήτε σωμάτων ἐπιμελείσθαι μήτε χρημάτων πρότερον μηδὲ οὕτω σφόδρα ὡς τῆς ψυχῆς ὅπως ὡς ἀρίστη ἔσται. We all are familiar with Socrates' cure of souls: it is his mission to clarify men's passions and right their lives by ridding their minds of false conceptions and assisting the birth and growth of true insight. This is for him the Kingdom of God for which he was called to prepare the way. For Socrates, this is as far as we may safely pursue the matter.

But we are now concerned with Plato, as the author of the *Euthyphro*. It becomes us, therefore, to inquire whether his thought does not lead us beyond these suggestions of the *Apology*. The question as to the ἔργον accomplished by the ministrations of man, which is raised by Socrates in the *Euthyphro*, when considered in its ultimate bearings, points unmistakably to the systematic development of Plato's thought. The only answer to Socrates' question is, therefore, that the ἔργον to be effected by man's service of God is the realization of the Good, — not the realization of this or that particular good. What to Socrates could have meant no more than preparing the way for the Kingdom of God, to Plato, with his constructive and legislative mind, meant a positive and definite attempt to lay the foundations and establish the government of the City of God. For the Good, with Plato, is essentially the ideal of a life in a perfect social system, conducted on principles of true insight into the nature and meaning of things.

Now, according to Plato, philosophy is the endeavor, more or less successful in proportion to its truth, to realize the Good in all things. Philosophy and religion join in the

¹ *Apol.* 30 A.

demand that we flee from the unmeaning and the evil and take refuge with the Good. διὸ καὶ πειρᾶσθαι χρὴ ἐνθένδε ἐκείσε φεύγειν ὅτι τάχιστα. φυγὴ δὲ ὁμοίωσις θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν. ὁμοίωσις δὲ δίκαιον καὶ ὄσιον μετὰ φρονήσεως γενέσθαι.¹ This philosophic life we have learned from the *Republic* to call the life of justice, — the life of virtue in itself complete. In the *Euthyphro* piety is singled out as a special aspect of that philosophic and virtuous life: the ὄσιον is defined as μέρος δίκαιου τὸ περὶ τὴν τῶν θεῶν θεραπείαν. We may say, then, that the Good is a power or agency that operates to its own realization in the social world through the insight-guided efforts of mankind. That it is a man's true function to bear his part in this self-realization of the Good is, in a word, the ethical import of the *Republic*. The *Euthyphro* adds the conscious reference to Deity, the thought that this philosophic life is a service in a personal relation as a willed obedience. Taking due account of the formal peculiarities of the Greek terminology, the definition thus reached may be paraphrased somewhat as follows: 'Religion is the intelligent and conscientious endeavor of man to further the realization of the Good in human society, as under God.' The Good and God are not here expressly identified; but the line of distinction between these two conceptions was in Plato's thought almost if not quite effaced. If we take account of this circumstance and make explicit the implication of the argument, we may say that religion is the devoted service of the Ideal, consciously conceived as God. We thus reach a thought which, while undeniably lying in the direct path of Platonic philosophizing, has not been superseded by any pronouncement of modern philosophers of religion.

We thus observe that there are positive suggestions of doctrine made in the *Euthyphro* relative to the matter of religion. The negative criticism of popular ideas is therefore calculated to clear the way for a more adequate conception. This higher view was not, however, to be attained simply by clarifying the notions already entertained by the people.

¹ *Theaetetus*, 176 A B.

Had this been possible, Plato's contribution to the history of religious thought would not have been so original, although its value to his people would perhaps have been enhanced. When Socrates assumes the conduct of the discourse, at 11 E, he is made to direct it to a consideration of the relation between the concepts *ὅσιον* and *δίκαιον*, in which Euthyphro concedes that the former is to be subsumed under the latter. Gomperz,¹ as it seems to me, is quite right in maintaining against Bonitz that in the popular view these concepts were entirely coördinate; and indeed Plato in the *Protagoras* and the *Gorgias*, when speaking in the popular language, so regarded them. This fact, however, only serves to emphasize the originality of Plato's thought; for it is evidently to be placed in connection with the fourfold virtue comprehended in *δικαιοσύνη*, as elaborated in the scheme of the *Republic*. Speaking of the omission of *ὁσιότης* from that list Gomperz² justly remarks: "Nicht als ob er den göttlichen Dingen jemals gleichgültig gegenübergestanden wäre. Der Unterschied liegt bloss darin, das er einen besonderen, den Göttern, der Gottheit oder dem Göttlichen gegenüber geltenden Pflichtenkreis anzuerkennen aufgehört hat. Diese Wandlung schliesst nicht eine Minderung, sondern eine Steigerung der Ehrfurcht vor der mehr und mehr mit dem Prinzip des Guten selbst identificierten Gottheit in sich, eine immer vollständigere Abkehr von den anthropomorphischen Vorstellungen der Volksreligion."

This development was directly due to the fact that Plato's dominant interest was ethical, in the social sense. As we have previously had occasion to remark, the Good was to him primarily an ideal of social life and was applied by extension to the world of matter only in a secondary sense. In like manner *δικαιοσύνη* had indeed come to represent to the popular mind the essence of virtue, but only in the narrower sphere of social morality. When, therefore, Plato boldly carries it into the larger field and makes it govern even man's relations to God, he is, from a certain point of view, merely

¹ Gomperz, *Griechische Denker*, vol. II. p. 295.

² *Ibid.* p. 293.

displaying again his fundamental bias for social philosophy. This again has its parallels in the present-day discussions relative to the conception of God, according to which the idea of God is defined in terms of the social ideal.

There is, moreover, another contribution to religious philosophy contained in the criticism of the popular religion offered in the first, and chiefly negative, portion of the *Euthyphro*. In a discussion of excessive subtlety¹ Socrates leads up to the thought that the pious is pious not because it is agreeable to the gods, but, on the contrary, is agreeable to the gods because it is pious. Whatever may be our judgment upon the argument that conducts us to this conclusion, there can be no doubt of the significance of the conclusion itself. It plainly asserts the autonomy of the human spirit even in matters of religion. This is indeed only a further step in the direction taken by the suggestion, above noted, that, if religion is to support morality, polytheism with its capricious dissidence in ethical judgments must give place to a rational monotheism. Here, however, the human spirit is made to evolve its own ideal, which is also supposed to appeal to an approving Deity. The coincidence of man's ideal with the will of God thereby becomes the ultimate postulate of the moral life.

V.

We may now address ourselves briefly to the question as to the authenticity of the *Euthyphro*. The most serious doubts as to its Platonic origin are those which were suggested by Schleiermacher. They relate to the philosophical content and to the dialectical conduct of the argument. On the former head enough has already been said to warrant us in dismissing the objections as not well taken. In regard to the second point, fault has been found with Socrates for insisting with so much emphasis on the proper definition of *ἕσιον*, whereas the instructions for defining terms here given in the *Euthyphro* are neither so detailed nor so often

¹ *Euthyphro*, 9 E foll.

reiterated as in the *Meno*.¹ There is, moreover, a special justification for this procedure in the *Euthyphro*, which lends to the argument a fitness far greater than that which may be claimed for the larger dialogue. The unphilosophical mind is atomically constituted. Every idea or belief stands unrelated to any other: things are just so or are not so, and there is an end of argument. The Sophists had cleared the way for some elementary reflection on moral questions; but as yet, among the rank and file in Athenian life, there was no appreciable effect produced by the 'Aufklärung' upon religious beliefs. However much men in his day may have accustomed themselves to reflect upon the common virtues, *Euthyphro* certainly represents the typical Athenian when he declares that piety consists in doing as he is doing. And this is true, as all could testify, even in our own day. The illustration, therefore, which the *Euthyphro* gives of this deeply rooted characteristic of human nature must be conceded to possess an independent value of its own.

Another passage has been made the subject of much criticism. At 10 A foll., Socrates examines the relation between piety and the fact that the gods love piety. Here occurs the argument which we have already considered from a different point of view in the last section. Naturally such an inquiry would lead to some subtlety; critics are agreed in pronouncing it supersubtle. I think we must grant that the dialectic is rather bewildering; and even if we make this confession it is only fair to repeat that the Platonic Socrates not unfrequently evinces a mischievous delight in producing in his interlocutors the *σκοποδινία ἄλιγός τε* for which he seems to have been notorious. Yet in this particular case this effect is due in no small measure to the circumstance that in the discussion three somewhat parallel pairs of notions are not kept absolutely apart. These notions are, active: passive :: antecedent: consequent :: cause: effect. Now there are two considerations that may be urged in defence of this passage in the *Euthyphro*: first, it is by no means certain

¹ Cf. Fritzsche, *Prolegomena ad Menonem*, p. 21, n. 4.

that any one in Plato's day had clearly distinguished between these ideas, for in modern scientific thought, at any rate, 'cause and effect' did not appear in their present form much before the time of Galileo; second, modern psychological logic must regard the argument of the *Euthyphro* as possessed of great intrinsic and historical value. We must not expect to find Plato handling, with the glib dexterity of the modern popular scientist, so-called scientific notions which did not reach their stereotyped formulation until later and are in great part being dissipated by the most recent philosophy.

I shall not pause to review in detail the arguments against the authenticity of our dialogue which are based upon considerations of language¹ and the Platonic doctrine of Ideas.² Others have dealt with these questions in a manner calculated to satisfy all reasonable demands. After the foregoing discussion I think we may safely dismiss all the arguments intended to prove that the *Euthyphro* is not the authentic work of Plato, and turn to a brief consideration of the probable date of the dialogue.

VI.

In an earlier section of this paper we sought to define the precise relation subsisting between the *Euthyphro* and the *Apology*. We found it to be such as necessarily to presuppose the publication by Plato of the formal defence of Socrates before he wrote this further appeal to posterity. The dramatic setting and the evolution of the argument alike make this evident. Since, however, the date of the *Apology* cannot be definitely fixed, we thus gain only a relative *terminus post quem*. Schanz,³ indeed, has directed attention afresh to a fact that may lead to somewhat more definite

¹ Cf. Fritzsche, *l.c.*, and Bonitz, *Platonische Studien*, p. 240 foll.

² The right point of view was given by Shorey, *Dissertatio de Platonis Ideis*. Cf. also Bonitz, *op. cit.*, p. 240 foll., and Zeller, *Phil. der Griechen*, II, i, p. 525, n. 1. Most of the exceptions taken to the vocabulary rest upon false notions relative to the doctrine of Ideas or to the date of the dialogue.

³ Schanz, *Euthyphro*, Leipsic, 1887, *Einleitung*, p. 10 foll.

results. Euthyphro's indictment of his father is dramatically made contemporary with the trial of Socrates. Now the nature of this indictment was such that it must have been brought almost immediately after the commission of the manslaughter with which his father was charged. But, as Euthyphro's father was a cleruch on the island of Naxos, the alleged crime must have been committed at least four or five years earlier, since, with the loss of all Athens' colonies in 404 B.C., the cleruchs also would be dispossessed.¹ We have here, therefore, one of Plato's familiar anachronisms, admitted for dramatic effect. It is not difficult to perceive what the effect was calculated to be; but the anachronism remains and compels us to date the dialogue a considerable number of years after the trial of Socrates. Unless this is done, we destroy the artistic framework by emphasizing this untruth of detail.

The same general result is reached if we consider the tone in which Plato, in the *Euthyphro*, touches upon the death of Socrates. In this respect the difference between our dialogue and the *Gorgias* is marked. Indeed, Wilamowitz² has conjectured that Plato was led to write the *Euthyphro* in answer to criticisms evoked by the injunction of the *Gorgias* (480 D, 507 D) to prosecute one's kindred in case of guilt. This is probably nothing but an idle fancy; but various indications support the date to which we are thus referred. The treatment of the Ideas, as has been previously said, does not afford a certain clue; but the general agreement, in result, with the *Republic*, to which attention was directed above, and the reference of the *ὄσιον* to the *δίκαιον* and so to the later fourfold virtue, suggest that Plato had definitely advanced beyond the semi-popular enumeration of five virtues in the *Protagoras*.³ It seems impossible to assign

¹ Cf. Xen. *Mem.*, II. viii, 1.

² Wilamowitz, *Philol. Untersuchungen*, I. 219, note. This would make Euthyphro, who is the type of the unreflecting Athenian, represent the point of view taken by Socrates in the *Gorgias* (cf. *Euthyphro*, 5 D). Although Socrates in the *Gorgias* professes only to voice the convictions of ordinary men, he really does more. I regard the suggestion as quite without support.

³ *Protagoras*, 349 B.

the *Euthyphro* a place after the *Republic*; but certain critics¹ have pretended to find the text for the homily in our discourse in the famous discussion on the immoralities attributed to the gods, which is to be found in *Republic*, 378 A B. If the old puzzle of the composition of Plato's masterpiece could be solved, there might be some hope of reaching a conclusion also in regard to the *Euthyphro*; for, if it should be shown that there is an earlier and a later portion of the *Republic*, our dialogue would naturally fall into line as a companion-piece to the part first conceived, to which Book II. would certainly belong.

VII.

Having thus completed our survey, we may end with a word touching the pedagogical value of the work we have been considering. There can be no doubt that Plato intended the *Euthyphro* to serve as an introduction to the group comprising the *Apology*, the *Crito*, and the *Phaedo*. This is made evident by the dramatic setting of the dialogue no less than by its contents. In a previous section of this paper I have endeavored to show that the true meaning of the *Euthyphro* cannot be grasped except as it is interpreted by the *Apology*. It need hardly be said that this statement may be equally well reversed. Why, we may ask, should Plato have recurred to this theme in after years if he was not convinced that the plea of Socrates before the dicasts could be placed in a truer light by considerations he should offer?

But there are certain arguments for the use of the *Euthyphro* in our schools, which derive their weight chiefly from our educational practice. All students who pursue the subject of Greek are expected to read the *Apology* and the *Crito*, and there is a noble fitness in this arrangement. The pedagogical problem arises from the fact that the beginner approaches the *Apology* without having read any of the dialogues of Plato. While it is true that this work, considered purely as so much Greek, is less difficult than the *Euthyphro*, it must

¹ Cf. Ast, *Platons Leben und Schriften*, p. 472; Schaarschmidt, *Die Sammlung der Platonischen Schriften*, p. 395.

at once occur to the teacher that there are other and greater difficulties to counterbalance this advantage. The boy's notions regarding Socrates are very vague, and no amount of talk by the teacher would avail to make plain to him just why the Athenians should think him obnoxious and desire to put him to death. A concrete portrayal of the living Socrates, as he went about interrogating every man he met as to the grounds of his beliefs, would prepare the student much more effectively to grasp the real meaning of that fateful trial.

In casting about for such a means, one might be tempted to try the *Memorabilia*; but Xenophon was apparently too conscious of the need of an apology for the life of Socrates. Hence he gives us a rather distorted picture, calculated to lead us to think of the master as a preacher. Certain of the lesser Platonic dialogues might also receive some consideration, but they are not so well adapted for the purpose as is the *Euthyphro*. The discussions of temperance, courage, and friendship, in *Charmides*, *Laches*, and *Lysis*, do not touch the quick, as does the discourse on piety. For here we have a most vital question; and the logical subtleties, which render the dialogue difficult to the student, are well calculated to impress him with the baffling sense of confusion and distrust with which the colloquies of Socrates filled the unschooled minds of his Athenian auditors. In view of these considerations it would seem that it is a just matter for regret that the *Euthyphro* is so little read in American schools.

XII. — *The Salian Hymn to Janus.*¹

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Two years ago, when seeking the source of the runes, I discovered the origin of the Latin letters *G* and *Z*. In studying the various Latin texts said to contain the letter *z*, I succeeded in showing that the *z* reputed to stand in the line of the Salian Hymn beginning *cozeulodorieso* was only a medieval spelling for *c*, and that the *coceulod orieso* of the Basel manuscript was the correct reading. I had accomplished my purpose and, because of lack of time, resisted the temptation to study further this most interesting bit of early Latin. When, however, Professor Kittredge of Harvard University expressed an interest in my interpretation of these two words but wished to know how they could be explained as a portion of a hymn to Janus, I felt impelled to extend my study to the context. This paper may, therefore, be regarded as a humble offering made to Latin scholars by an Anglicist at the suggestion of a fellow Anglicist.

In attempting to decipher an archaic Latin inscription our chief difficulty consists in the meagreness of our knowledge of preclassical Latin. In dealing with a piece of classical Latin that has come down to us in medieval manuscripts, we have to reckon with the possibility that the medieval scribe has made errors in the transmission of the text. But in confronting a piece of literature like the Salian Hymn, we have to contend with both these disadvantages. Indeed, the fact that the original text was archaic Latin, and thus largely unintelligible to the medieval copyist, much increased the danger of his altering it in copying, whether unintention-

¹ Read at the Special Meeting held at Philadelphia, December, 1900.

For the literature of the subject see Maurenbrecher, *Carminum Saliarium Reliquiae* (1894); Birt, *Rheinisches Museum*, Vol. LII (1897), Ergänz. p. 193; Spengel's edition of Varro (1885), p. 127, etc.

ally or with the aim of putting it into what he supposed would be a more correct form. (The same phenomena appear in the Old-English manuscript runic alphabets, which were copied by scribes who were of an antiquarian turn of mind but ignorant of the real character of what they were copying.) Moreover, we have also to deal with abbreviations and their resolution. And these again may be ancient or medieval. We have early evidence that there were abbreviations in the ancient received text of the Salian Hymn (Festus 244 (205), cf. below), and it is clear that others, for example $\tilde{u}o = uero$, were introduced later, when the *d* of the ancient *uerod* was no longer recognized as a part of the word. The various manuscripts differ from one another in the abbreviations they present and in the resolutions they offer of abbreviations in the texts from which they were copied. Hence, we have to consider the preclassical forms of Latin, early Latin abbreviations, the misinterpretation and alteration of these by medieval copyists, medieval abbreviations, and the shifting value of some of these, for example, $-s = -us$, later $-m$, or $-que$. Nevertheless, the vicissitudes that these three lines have suffered (except at the hands of commentators) are not many, and hence the number of corrections that have to be made is really small.

The text, as might be expected, is best preserved in the three best manuscripts, namely *F*, *V*, and *p* (cf. Spengel, p. 127 f.) and may be given as:—

coceulodorieso · om̃ia ũo adpatula coemisse ·
 ian cusianes duonus ceruses ·
 dunus ianus ueniet p̃o melios eum recum ·

coceulod orieso. As shown in the paper alluded to above (*The Origin of the Latin Letters G and Z*, Transactions of the American Philological Association, 30, p. 39, etc., to which I refer the reader for a full presentation of the matter), the *s* for *c* in *F* (and in the inferior *a* and *M*) is due to the fact that in the Middle Ages *c* before *e* was pronounced *ts*, for which sound-group *s* and *c* were equivalent spellings, as they still are in German. The *r* for *c* in the inferior manu-

scripts *G*, *H*, and *b*, is due to the fact that in the eleventh century, and for some time after, the letters *r* and *c* were very similar in form (Wattenbach, *Anleitung*, p. 46).

om̃ia, *omnia*, needs no explanation.

ũo. As stated above, the *d* of *uerod* was not understood and was supposed to be the remnant of an original *ad*, which was therefore written and attached to the following *patula*; hence the reading *ũo adaptula*, in which *ũo* is one of the usual abbreviations for *vero* (Wattenbach, p. 82). In the same way, the *s* of *meliosum* below prevented the medieval scribe from recognizing in this spelling the familiar *meliorum*; and so, not understanding the *-um*, he separated it and made *eum* of it. Compare also the attempt of the writer of manuscript *M* to make good Latin of the error *arcs* (for *arx*) by writing *ea res* (Spengel, p. xiii). *uero* in the form *ũ* (Wattenbach, p. 82) was also taken for *ñ* = *nñn*, and so we find *non* written out in *b*. Such a *ũ* or *ñ* was also taken for *·n·* = *enim*, and so we find *·n·* in *G*, and the full *enim* in the related *H*.

coemisse appears to be a misinterpretation (on the basis of *ēē* = *esse*, Wattenbach, p. 82) of *coem̃iē* or *coemiseē*, which was meant for *coemis̃es* with final *s* written over the preceding vowel (Wattenbach, p. 60). This could easily happen, especially in the mechanical copying of a text that was not understood (Wattenbach, p. 84–85); but an early copyist may have regarded the *-o* of *orieso* as marking a first singular of some verb or other, and *coemisse* as an infinitive depending on it. A spelling like *coemis̃ē* is reflected in the *cerusc̃* in *M*, which is evidently a copy of an older *cerus̃ē* or *cerus̃ē* for *cerus̃es*; cf. below.

ian is for *iānus* (or, if the abbreviation is old, for *iānos*) and may have been written *iañ* in the original text (Wattenbach, p. 70), or without sign of abbreviation. The abbreviation *ian* or *iañ* was also misread and appears as *iam* in *M* and *B*, and this *iamcusianes* was then copied *lamcusianes* in *H*.

cusianes for *cusiatios* doubtless arose by false interpretation of *cusiat̃* or *cusiat̃o*, for there was a striking similarity

between τ and n , while it is often almost impossible to distinguish between final $-ô$ and final $-ê$.

The spellings *duonus*, *cerus*, *dunus*, and *ianus* are due to the early substitution of the classical *-us* for the archaic *-os*. That this was done early in the transmission of the text is shown by the fact that it evidently antedates the splitting up of *meliosum* into *melios eum*, which appears in all the manuscripts. The *-us* is frequently abbreviated. Thus, while we find *dunus* in *V* (misdivided *dunnus* in *p*), we find *dun* in *H*, *dun*; in *F*, *dunz* in *a*, and in *M* *dumque*, a mistaken resolution of *dunz* on the model of *atz* = *atque* (Wattenbach, p. 71).

dunus for *duonus* (or *dunos* for *duonos*) is an example of a very common error. As I shall show in a forthcoming treatise on miswriting, the recurrence of a letter may lead to its omission in one of the two places or to the omission of an adjoining letter, as well as to other changes that cannot be considered here. I need but refer to a few of the many instances of this process that were so sadly misinterpreted by Birt in his *Sprach man avrum oder aurum?*, Rheinisches Museum, 52, Ergänz.; for example, *a(u)rum* 56, *Cla(u)dus* 89, *fa(u)nus* 90, *nunq(u)am* C.I.L. ix. 1524; *na(u)tae* 91, *fa(u)nam* 90, *ca(u)sa* 87, *qu(i)bus*, *s(ci)urus*, *turp(i)us* 180; *pingu(i)um* 180, *ca(u)l(i)culi* 93. (This is also the true explanation of the frequent confusion of *au* with *a* and *u* in Gothic (Braune, § 105, A 2) and of *ei* with *e* and *i* (Braune, § 7, A 2-4), as I shall sometime show in detail.)

The *ueniet* preserved in *V* appears elsewhere as *ue uet*. This corruption is easily explained. There is no mistake more common than the confusion of *u* and *n*. Thus *ueniet* became *ueuet*, and this became *ueuet*, exactly as *duonus* became *dunus*, as shown above. The *ianusue* that thus arose was changed in *M* to *ianusque*.

The $p\delta$ of *V* and p is incorrectly expanded in *F* to *pom* and joined to *melios* (thus producing *pommelios*), in *a* and *M* to *pos*, and in *G* and *H* to *post*, the proper abbreviation of which was p' (Wattenbach, p. 76). That the $p\delta$ of *V* and p is the original, we learn from Festus, who tells us, page

244 (205), that “*pa pro parte et po pro potissimum positum est in Saliari carmine.*” There is no reason to doubt that this applies to our passage, but the context demands the nominative. The error is easily understood when we remember that the old sign for *-us*, namely *3*, was later used for final *-m* (Wattenbach, p. 71, 54). But it is also possible that the mistake is due to the fact that the word is immediately followed by *positum*, so that *potissimum positum* was written for *potissimus positum*. Of numerous similar miswritings that have recently come under my observation, I may mention:—

<i>writes slowing, thinking</i>	for	<i>writes slowly, thinking,</i>
<i>connected indicated</i>	“	<i>connection indicated,</i>
<i>all morely or less closely</i>	“	<i>all more or less closely,</i>
<i>Yestern western</i>	“	<i>Yes, western.</i>

meliosum not being clear to the medieval copyist, he regarded *-os* as an ending and divided the word into *melios* and *um*, which was then doctored up into the Latin form *eum*. Compare *adpatula* above. That the final *-os* is not changed to *-us*, shows that *meliosum* had not yet been broken up into *melios eum* at the time when the true final *-os* of *duonos* etc. was changed to *-us*; cf. above.

recum is simply the earlier spelling for *rēgum*.

It thus appears that, with the following simple corrections¹—

<i>uero adpatula</i>	—	<i>uerod patula,</i>
<i>coemisse</i>	—	<i>coemis es,</i>
<i>cusianes</i>	—	<i>cusiatios,</i>
<i>dunus</i>	—	<i>duonos,</i>
<i>melios eum</i>	—	<i>meliosum, meliosom,</i>

we obtain the original text, which would perhaps be most naturally stressed:—

¹ It may not be out of place to quote here the latest restoration that has come to my notice, that of Birt:—

Conzéviós hordésios	óptimos máximos Iános
Patulcós geminós seiánes	cúsianés, duonus cérus es,
Duonus Iános réxque óptimus	méliosúm récum.

cocēulōd oriēsō · ómnia uērōd pátula cóemis ·
 es iānos cūsiātios · duónos céros es [or és] ·
 duónos iānos uéniet · potíssimos meliōsom rēcom ·

or quantitatively scanned, with **potimos* for *potissimos* and with the *uo* of *duonos* counting as two vowels —

co|ceulōd | oriē|so · omnia | uērōd | patula | coemis ·
 es | iānos | cūsi|ātios | · duonos | ceros es ·
 du|onos iā|nos ueni|et · poti|mos meli|ōsom | rēcom ·

cocēulōd corresponds regularly to classical *cuculō*.

oriēsō may be rendered as a future, being the exact equivalent of the later *oriēre* 'thou shalt come forth'; for the change of *-so* to *-re* see Transactions of the American Philological Association, 30, p. 39, etc. But it is probably more correct to suppose that this form still had the value of the old subjunctive of will (Delbrück, *Syntax*, II. § 125, p. 384; with *ē*-thematic stem, Lindsay, *The Latin Language*, § 55, p. 512 f., Brugmann, II. § 910, etc.), 'come forth!'

coemis is the early form of *cōmis* 'bring together, bring about, make, arrange,' and must not be confounded with the later compound *co-emis* 'buy up.'

Cūsiātios, later *cūriātius*, appears to be for **quōisiātios*, related to *quirīnus*, earlier *quisīnos*, as *cūnīre* is to *in-quināre* (Brugmann² I. § 208, Stolz, *Historische Grammatik*, § 248). The worship of Janus in Rome was associated chiefly with the so-called temple of *Jānus Quirīnus* in the Forum and the altar of *Jānus Cūriātius* at the Tigillum Sororium. The story of the struggle between the Horatians and the Curiatians, and of the murder of a sister, early attached itself to this spot and served to explain the names, whose true origin was buried in antiquity (Roscher, *Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, II. col. 15 etc.).

duonos is the older form of *bonos*, *bonus*.

ceros is the masculine of *Ceres* and signifies 'creator.'

ueniet may be rendered 'will come' or, with future force, 'is coming' or 'is going to come.'

With *potissimos meliōsom rēcom* compare the *dīvom deō* 'god of gods' in another fragment of the Salian Hymn.

The whole may be rendered into English : —

Come forth with the cuckoo ! Truly all things dost thou make open.
Thou art Janus Curiatius, the good creator art thou.
Good Janus is coming, the chief of the superior rulers.

It thus appears that we have three lines — not necessarily consecutive — of the hymn that the Salian priests sang to Janus, when, armed and bearing the ancilia, they marched with songs and dances about the city and its sacred places during the month of March. This is just the time when the cuckoo passes over the Mediterranean from Africa to Europe and is universally hailed as the first harbinger of spring. So the ancient Italian deity Janus,¹ who opens up all things, who causes the spring to flow and the seed to germinate, Cerus, the benign creator, is invited to come with the cuckoo and usher in the spring.

¹ See Preller, *Römische Mythologie*, p. 166 etc.

XIII. — *Sun Myths in Lithuanian Folksongs.*¹

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THE subject of Baltic mythology, and still more of Slavic mythology in general, is an unexplored jungle, — nay, it is a buried forest, and so deeply and hopelessly buried in the forgotten past that no Roentgen ray of comparative investigation is likely ever to penetrate to its hidden depths.

The most that has been written on the subject of Lithuanian mythology by the Germans as well as by the Poles is so permeated in branch and fibre by that which is fictitious and spurious as to be well-nigh worthless. I refer particularly to such works as Veckenstedt,² *Mythen, Sagen, und Legenden der Žamaiten*, and Narbutt,³ *Lithuanian Mythology*, about which a group of satellites are ranged, men who have endeavored to enhance the glory of their own neglected race at the expense of accuracy, or have unscrupulously sought a short cut to fame by their inventive shrewdness. Impartial investigators had hoped for new light from the publication of the vast body of popular songs that have long been current among the people, and for this hope there was some encouragement.

The first collection of Lithuanian folksongs, or *dáinos*, ever published to the world, if we except three short songs which appeared in 1745, was made in 1825 by Rhesa. It contained 85 songs with a German translation. There were in this collection some five or six songs of mythological content, all referring to the sun, moon, or heavenly bodies. Rhesa's

¹ Read at the special meeting held at Philadelphia, December, 1900.

² Heidelberg, 1888, in two parts. The book has been widely circulated, but is apparently an invention from beginning to end. Compare the full criticism of it by A. Brückner, *Archiv f. slav. Phil.* IX, p. 14 ff.

³ *Mitologia litewska*. Wilna, 1835. It forms vol. I of his *Dzieje starożytnie narodu Litewskiego*.

collection proved the incentive to other collections. In 1853 Professor Nesselmann, of Königsberg, gathered into a single volume, with German metrical translation, all of the songs that were available to him from every source. They numbered 410. Since 1853 collections have been made by numerous scholars, foremost among whom we may mention Leskien and Brugmann,¹ Bezzenberger,² Kurschat,³ Kolberg,⁴ Bassanowicz,⁵ and the brothers Juskiewicz. By far the greatest numbers were collected by the last named, who published during the years 1880–83 four large volumes of *dáinos*.⁶ From all these collections the number of folksongs now known is between 5000 and 6000, and yet in all this enormous mass of material, so far as I know, there is, outside of the few sun myths contained in the early collection of Rhesa, barely a reference here and there to the old mythology. Even in these, I am told by Professor Leskien, who has gathered many *dáinos* from the lips of the Lithuanian peasantry, the mythological references are wholly unintelligible to the common people. Professor Kurschat, who was a native Lithuanian and who has probably published more in the Lithuanian language than any other person, if we include the weekly paper *Keleřwis*, of which he was sole editor from 1849–1880 (*i.e.* during its whole existence), tells us⁷ that, of all the *dáinos* which he had heard among the people, not one contained a reference to the old mythology, or to things or conceptions connected with the Christian religion. The point of this last statement will appear later.

But even the few mythological songs which we possess do not admit of full treatment at the present time. I wish

¹ A. Leskien u. K. Brugman, *Litauische Volkslieder u. Märchen*. Strassburg, 1882. Also by Leskien a small collection in vol. IV, *Archiv f. slav. Phil.*

² *Litauische Forschungen*. Göttingen, 1882.

³ In the appendix to his *Litauische Grammatik*, Halle, 1876, pp. 451–464.

⁴ *Pieśni ludu litewskiego*. Cracow, 1879.

⁵ *Oskabaliun dainos surinktos ir išdūtos per Jonan Basanavitium*. Tilsit, 1884.

⁶ *Liėtėviškos Dáijos*. 3 vols. Kazan, 1880–1882. *Liėtėviškos Svotėinės Dáijos*. St. Petersburg, 1883. The actual collections were made by Anton Juskiewicz. He died in 1880, after which the task of publishing fell to his brother John.

⁷ *Litauische Grammatik*, p. 446.

simply to call attention to two or three points, especially along the line of the development of traditional literature, which, so far as I know, have not yet been properly dwelt upon.

Perhaps no Lithuanian folksong is more widely known among scholars than the one¹ which celebrates the marriage of the moon and the sun and their subsequent conjugal infelicity. I have attempted to make an English metrical translation of this and other *dáinos* without doing too much violence to the spirit of the original; happy if I do not do violence to the poetic sense of my readers. The song runs as follows:—

The moon did wed the blushing sun,—
 In early springtime fell the day;
 The lovely sun arose betimes,
 The moon arose and slunk away;
 He wandered by himself afar,
 He flirted with the morning star.

The thunder god was greatly wroth,
 He cleft him with his sword in twain:
 “Why did you thus desert the sun,
 And wander in the night afar?
 Why flirted with the morning star?”
 His heart was filled with grief and pain.

The explanation of the mythology of this song is not far to seek. *Perkúnas*, the thunder god, the deus *κατ' ἐξοχήν* of the old mythology, is still the mightiest and most terrible divinity of the heavens. In Schleicher's and Kurschat's time *Perkúnas* meant simply *thunder*, although reminiscences of his divinity still remained in such expressions for thundering as, *Perkúnas grjáuja*,² the thunder (or *Perkúns*) smites, *dēvs bāria*,³ the god scolds. The wedding in the early spring is the time of the new moon when sun and moon set and rise together. The separation in the morning is caused by the

¹ Rhesa, No. 27. Nesselmann, No. 2. Schleicher, No. 1.

² Nesselmann, *Lit. Wörterbuch*, under *Perkúnas*.

³ Schleicher, *Sitzungsberichte der philos.-histor. Classe der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, IX, Oct. 1852, p. 549.

sun's rising earlier and earlier each day, while the moon lingers behind as he approaches the full. The vengeance of Perkúnas comes with his waning in the third quarter.

In the year following the appearance of this song with Rhesa's German translation, Heine published his "Sonnenuntergang," in the *Nordsee* collection, which, if not suggested directly by the Lithuanian song, bears at least a close resemblance to it. Heine follows the Latin genders and makes the moon the bride. Compare the following lines:—

Einst am Himmel glänzten,
Ehlich vereint,
Luna, die Göttin, und Sol, der Gott,
Und es wimmelten um sie her die Sterne,
Die kleinen, unschuldigen Kinder.
Doch böse Zungen zischelten Zwiespalt,
Und es trennte sich feindlich
Das hohe, leuchtende Ehepaar.

In other dainos of Rhesa's collection it is easy to understand that the stars are represented as the children of the sun.¹ Of course the idea is not exclusively Lithuanian. Mannhardt² quotes a folksong from Little Russian which says,

The bright sun, she is the mistress,
The bright moon, he is the master,
The bright stars, they are the children.

In the next song which I have to offer we meet the sun in the familiar character of the seeker after that which is lost, the ἥλιος πανόπτης of Aeschylus³ and Homer,

ὄς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις.⁴

¹ In Rhesa, No. 78, Nesselmann, No. 1, the orphans which the sun guards beyond the sea and the mountains are very likely the stars, and this agrees well with Heine's "Verwaisten Sternenkindern."

² *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, VII, 1875, p. 303.

³ Aeschylus, *Prom. Vinc.* 91,

τὸν πανόπτην κύκλον ἡλίου καλῶ.

⁴ Hom. *Il.* iii, 277.

Her attendants are the morning and the evening star who are busied in her service. The song runs as follows: ¹—

Oh, at the yester even tide I lost my little lamb.

Oh, who will help me go and seek my only little lamb?

I went and asked the morning star, the morning star replied,
“I have to build the dear sun’s fire at morrow’s morning tide.”

I went and asked the evening star, the evening star replied,
“I have to make the dear sun’s bed at every even tide.”

I went and asked the waning moon, the waning moon replied,
“I have been smitten with a sword, my sorry face I hide.”

I went and asked the lovely sun, the dear sun gave reply,
“Nine days I’ll seek and on the tenth I’ll not set in the sky.”

The last line affords at least two difficulties: what is meant by the sun’s seeking nine days, and what is meant by its not setting? We may be sure that nine is not to be taken exactly. As in the Icelandic Eddas so in Lithuanian folk-literature it occurs over and over again as the indefinite number. We say in English that a cat has nine lives; in Lithuanian a person in a very meditative mood says, “I have nine riddles like a Tom cat.”² To an idly talkative person a Lithuanian says, “You can talk like nine dumb men.”³ One riddle describes a cabbage as a little old woman with nine skins,⁴ another as a one-legged man with a hundred fine garments.⁵ A liar is called *devynlėžuvis*,⁶ nine tongued, and an apple a nine hearted one.⁷ Schleicher relates the story

¹ Rhesa, No. 81. Nesselmann, No. 3. Schleicher, p. 4.

² *Asz tūru devynės misles kãp kãtins.* Bezenberger, *Litauische Forschungen*, p. 50.

³ *Tu gali kalbėt kãp devyni nẽbile.* *Ibid.*

⁴ *Mãža mãteriszkèle su divynès kaflines.* Kãpũsts. Bezenberger, *Lit. Forsch.* p. 44. Compare the Lettish riddle for an onion, which he cites, p. 48, note: *Sa’rkans vėrsĩts, devĩtas ádas; kas tõ dirãja tas gãu/chi rãudaja.* A red warp beam, nine skins; he who flays it weeps bitterly.

⁵ Schleicher, *Lit. Lesebuch*, p. 60. *Vėnkojėlis žmogũs szimtà szũbu tur.*

⁶ Nesselmann, *Lit. Wörterbuch.*

⁷ Schleicher, *Lesebuch*, p. 62. *Suėdjau devynszirdj. Óbũls.*

of the nine brothers,¹ which partly because of its mythological contents he holds to be old, and in which the witch asks, "Are here nine windows, are here nine tables, are here nine jars, are here nine dishes, are here nine spoons?" In a recent collection of folktales by Jurkschat² is the story of nine brothers who were changed by a curse into nine ravens, but resumed their human form every ninth day. Their sister freed them from the curse by weaving nine shirts of nettles for nine years. Jurkschat thinks that this tale refers to the nine traditional tribes of the Lithuanians! Similar examples of the use of the number nine could be added indefinitely, but I think enough has been said to convince any one that the expression "*nine* days I'll seek" need have no astronomical significance. It is equivalent to saying "I will seek for days and days."

Nesselmann, conceiving the sense and metre of this line to be bad, emended it by changing "the tenth I will not set," to read "the tenth I will not desist."³ More recent editors have kept Rhesa's text,⁴ and I feel quite sure that they are right. I understand the line to refer to the summer solstice when the sun rises higher and higher in the heavens, and finally seems hardly to go out of sight at all. I have been much confirmed in this view by coming upon a corresponding idea for the winter solstice. In two songs in Leskien's collection⁵ the young girl who learns that her sweetheart is dead calls upon the god to know who will help her mourn. The bright sun replies, —

" I will help you mourn your lover ;
 Nine mornings I will rise in mist,
 The tenth I will not rise at all."

¹ *Lesebuch*, p. 144, and *Lituanica*, p. 36.

² *Litauische Märchen und Erzählungen im Galbraster Dialekt*. Heidelberg, 1898.

³ Rhesa, O deszimtą ney nusileisiu. Nesselmann, O deszimtą ne leisiūs.

⁴ Schleicher, *Lesebuch*, p. 4. Wiedemann, *Handbuch der lit. Sprache*, p. 252.

⁵ *Litauische Volkslieder u. Märchen*, Part I, Nos. 49 and 101. The same theme recurs also in Bezenberger, *Lit. Forsch.*, p. 10, No. 14, but there the original figure is so far lost that the sun promises to shine brightly on the tenth day.

One needs only to have lived till Christmas among the hills and lakes of Central New York to appreciate the full force of this description of the winter solstice. It is equalled only by that other figure of the sun rising higher and higher over the earth to scan the wide horizon and find the missing lamb.

The next dáina celebrates the dawn. The gray clouds that line the east before the rising sun are likened to an oak tree which Perkúns shatters, so that its bright blood flecks the sky to its very summit. The scattered clouds besprinkled with the rising red of dawn are the scattered leaves of the oak, and in the same picture the fleecy clouds are the dress of the dawn which has to be washed and dried in the sky, which is now compared to a lake and now to a garden. The song runs as follows¹: —

The morning star held nuptial feast ;
Perkúns rode through the portalled east,
And smote the green oak down.

The oak tree's life blood spurted out,
It spattered all my clothes about,
And all my leafy crown.

The daughter of the sun in tears
Collected for three weary years
Her chaplet's withered leaves.

“Oh tell me where, my mother dear,
Shall I wash from my clothes the smear,
Shall wash the blood that cleaves.”

“My daughter dear, thy clothing take
To where thou'lt find the little lake
To which nine rivers flow.”

“Oh mother dear, where shall I find
A place to dry them in the wind, —
To dry my dripping clothes?”

¹ Rhesa, No. 62. Nesselmann, No. 4. Schleicher, p. 4.

“My daughter dear, thy garments clean
Thou’lt dry in yonder garden green
In which nine roses grow.”

“Oh mother dear, pray tell me where -
My lovely white robes I shall wear,
And where shall put them on.”

“My daughter dear, thy garments white
Thou’lt wear upon that morning bright
On which nine suns shall shine.”

The interpretation of this song is greatly helped by several close parallels in Lettish, which have been compared and discussed by Mannhardt in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*.¹ In Lettish the oak is a golden oak.² In another Lithuanian *dáina*³ the sun plants a rose bush beyond the mountains by the sea, and like Jack on his beanstalk climbs upon its branches to the heavens. The conversation in the Lithuanian version is carried on apparently between the sun and her daughter, the dawn. In Lettish it is in one place⁴ the Virgin Mary whose woollen canopy is bespattered and who holds the dialogue with Perkúnas, in another place⁵ it is a youth who converses with the Virgin Mary about his brown coat. The lake *to* which nine rivers flow is in Lettish the lake *from* which nine rivers flow,⁶ or the brook with nine mouths.⁷ The clouds are to be washed in the heavens whence the rains pour. After the rain the sky is like a garden of roses, or, as the Lettish has it, an apple tree with nine branches.⁸ In Lettish the sky is further called a rolling board⁹ over which nine rollers pass, a chest with nine golden keys.¹⁰ On the bright sunny day the clouds will be fleecy white, having been washed, dried, and rolled in the laundry

¹ Vol. VII (1875), *Die lettischen Sonnenmythen*, pp. 73, 209, and 281.

² Mannhardt, p. 83, No. 75.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 83, No. 75.

⁸ Nesselmann, No. 7.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 82, No. 72.

⁴ Mannhardt, p. 82, No. 72.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 82, No. 72.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 83, No. 75.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 82, No. 72.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 83, No. 75.

of the heavens, — a homely figure taken directly from the daily life of the Baltic people.

We catch a glimpse of these sun myths in the act of disappearing from the Lithuanian and Lettish folksongs. Seventy-five years ago barely half a dozen were preserved in Lithuanian; fifty years ago hardly a single one was still alive among the people. But they were not simply forgotten and dropped; they were metamorphosed into a new guise. As upon the stage a lake and mountain become a drawing-room before our very eyes, so the folksongs have changed with the changing life and thought of the Lithuanian people. To understand how this is possible we must bear in mind how the folksongs originate and are transmitted. Of course they are never written down; in fact, they are never even recited, but always sung. Wherever a company of young people is gathered, there the national love of song is given voice. Every Lithuanian carries in his head a greater or less mass of lyric material in more or less fixed form. The variability of this material has often been remarked by those who have made collections. "It frequently happens" (I am quoting Professor Leskien¹) "that one hears the same material from the same persons in different form on different days; now with different introductions, now with more, now with fewer stanzas, now with individual words changed. Far greater variations are of course found in different persons and different localities. I do not believe there is a single *daina* of which the text is fixed. There are various reasons for this variability. In the first place the singer cares nothing for the literal faithfulness of the tradition, in the second place in such lyric popular poetry there is a mass of verses and stanzas of so little individual character that, everywhere floating in the air, they are everywhere applicable, suit any subject, or may be omitted from any. Further, there is a tendency to fuse several songs into one."

We can also observe other tendencies in the folksongs. In the earlier ones both Nesselmann² and Kurschat³ remark

¹ *Litauische Volkslieder*, p. 4. ² *Lit. Volkslieder*, p. xiii. ³ *Lit. Gram.* § 1655.

the absence of all reference to forms of the Christian church; in Leskien's collection we frequently meet with church services and ceremonies.¹ The old songs are true to the national life and customs, and avoid new words and new ideas; the late collections are full of the new-fangled German innovations, — Kutscher,² and Schuster,³ and Schneider,⁴ and Edelmänn,⁵ and Berlin,⁶ and what not. The vast majority of songs are erotic. The same characters and the same phrases recur over and over again. The bridegroom booted and spurred rides up on his stately steed. The bride awaits with a ring of gold on her finger and a wreath of rue on her head.

But perhaps the most remarkable feature is the way in which common objects are idealized. When the common word for horse, *arkl̄ys*, is never used, but always the older inherited *žirgas*, the *ſi'rgs* of Lettish, we can understand it as a reminiscence of antiquity. But the horse, which is always a bay, has hoofs and bridle of gold; golden are his rider's spurs, silken the saddle. Or if he comes in a boat, the sails and ropes are of silk, and this among a people living in the meanest hovels, in the greatest simplicity and poverty. It is to be noted that the frequently recurring use of gold, silver, silk, and diamond in the *dáinos* is really restricted to certain stock phrases, and is rare in objects usually made of these materials. If we turn to the songs of sun myths, especially the Lettish, we shall see that these same phrases are used, and here with more propriety.⁷ The daughters of the sun wear golden rings. The sons of the god ride on the steeds of heaven appointed with gold and silver and silk, where the gold and silver sunlight tinges their hoofs and

¹ See Nos. 3, 10, 24, 40, 77, 80, 82, 87, 107, 108, 133.

² Leskien, No. 62.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 65.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Nos. 65, 83.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 23.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Nos. 15, 70, 106, 140.

⁷ The following are a few sample phrases taken from Mannhardt's collection: a hundred *bay* horses of the sun, No. 44; the *spurs* and *ring* of the son of the god, No. 36; the *golden bridle* of the sun's horses, No. 20; the *golden* horses of the sun, Nos. 18, 19; the sun dances in *silver* shoes, No. 22; the sun's *silk* dress, No. 16; the sun gives *gold rings* to the willow, No. 13, and to the birch for her tender white fingers, No. 15; the *ring* of the daughter of the sun, Nos. 59, 60.

trappings, while their bay color reflects the hues of the bright or twilight sky. Gold is the color of the sun, and hence properly the steeds of the sun are shod and caparisoned with gold, and their divine riders wear golden spurs.

Thus from the mythological songs these common phrases arose. Then as the old mythology faded from the minds of the people the songs gradually changed their complexion while the phrases stayed. The son of the god with golden spurs, riding through the heavens on his bay steed with golden shoes, became the Lithuanian lover riding to visit his sweetheart. The gods were brought down to earth with a vengeance, and so recklessly that they did not consider the impropriety of golden spurs and hoofs among the poverty-stricken hovels along the banks of the Niemen.

My space will hardly permit me to do more than hint at the point I would like to prove. The evidence lies very much on the surface. To illustrate the metamorphosis of the sun myth into a love song, let me cite, in closing, one *daina*¹ in which the change is not yet fully carried out, and in which we can see the stage setting still moving. The song is in two distinct parts. The first part contains plainly mythological references, the second is in a different metre and is purely erotic. There is a variant to the opening stanza, which adds still more mythology to the commonly published version. The original mythological basis of the song may be made out with only a mild use of the imagination. The outline of it is something as follows: The sons and daughters of the god—that is, the stars and planets—are dancing under the sacred maple by the sacred spring—that is, the liquid depths of heaven. The daughters of the god bathe their faces in the crystal waters and in so doing lose their golden rings, which the sons of the god come and fish up for them with silken nets. The sons of the god come riding up on bay steeds with golden shoes. This I conceive was the subject of the original mythological song. See how it has been moulded over in modern hands.

¹ Rhesa, No. 48. Nesselmann, No. 5. Schleicher, p. 12.

Under the maple the fountain,
 There the sons of the god
 Come to dance in the moonlight
 With the dear daughters of god.

Variant.

Under the maple the fountain
 Flowing with waters pure,
 Where come the god's dear daughters
 Early to bathe their face.

Down to the fount of the maple
 Went I to bathe my face ;
 While I was washing my face white
 Fell from my finger my ring.

Will the dear sons of the god come
 Bringing their nets of silk?
 Will they fish up my ringlet
 Out of the waters deep?

Soon a young swain came riding
 Proud on a prancing bay ;
 Oh, but the bay steed was wearing
 Shoes of the purest gold.

“Come hither, my maid, come hither,” he said,
 “We will chat for a while,
 We will dream a fond dream, where deepest the stream,
 Where fondest love's smile.”

“I cannot, my lad, though I would be glad ;
 My mother is old,
 And I should be late ; if I dared to wait,
 My mother would scold.”

“Then tell her, my maid, then tell her,” he said,
“That you had to wait;
For two ducks on the wing came and troubled the spring,
And so you were late.”

“’Tis not true, my maid,” the old mother said,
“By the maple boughs green
With a lad you did smile, and chatted the while
Love’s nonsense, I ween.”

XIV. — *The Use of the Simple for the Compound Verb in Juvenal.*¹

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THE use of the simple for the compound verb has received scant attention at the hands of grammarians, and this is the more striking when we consider the important bearing of the subject on interpretation and the study of style. Not one of the Latin grammars published in England or in America even hints at the existence of such a phenomenon, and neither Reisig (with the additions), Kuehner nor Deecke makes the slightest reference to the matter. Gysar² (*Theorie des lat. Stiles*², 1843, pp. 18, 255) casually mentions the use of the simple verb for the compound, which must be characterized as "dichterische Lizenz," and Draeger (*Hist. Synt.*, § 85) gives in one short section a few illustrations of this substitution, which he regards as a feature of poetic style due in large measure to the exigencies of metre. The most intelligent remarks on the subject are those of Schmalz (*Latein. Stilistik*³, § 36), but apparently even he has made no investigation and merely records his own impressions. After explaining that the compound verb differs from the simple in the closer definition afforded by the preposition, he goes on to say that when the simple is used for the compound, it is left to the imagination of the reader to discover what the prefix would have expressed. Hence this use of the simple

¹ An abstract of this paper was read at the special meeting in Philadelphia, December 27-29, 1900. The present treatment is merely preliminary; it is my intention, if circumstances permit, to extend the investigation over a wider field for the purpose of setting in clearer light the nature and scope of this phenomenon and arriving at surer conclusions than are at present possible.

² For this reference to Gysar's *Theorie*, a work not as well known to the younger generation of scholars as it should be, I am indebted to Professor Gildersleeve, who with characteristic kindness read these pages in the proof, pointed out some Greek parallels, and offered other valuable suggestions.

verb is characteristic of poetry and of the later prose which shows poetic influence. In the language of the best period, he adds, it rarely occurs, and apparently only when the simple verb has established itself in some formulaic expression. In addition to these exceedingly meagre accounts, the question is taken up in only a few treatises on the style of individual authors, notably those of Kleinschmidt for Lucilius, of Kuehnast and Riemann for Livy, of Draeger, Gantrelle, and Constans for Tacitus, and of Bonnet for Gregory of Tours, but without any complete collection of material and without thorough discussion.

This is not, however, a question of grammar only, but one of interpretation. If an author sometimes says *vertere* for *evertere*, *regere* for *erigere*, *ponere* for *disponere* or *deponere*, it is obvious that there are innumerable opportunities for misinterpretation, so that the importance of discovering the sphere and possibilities of this feature of style can scarcely be overestimated.

One of the chief difficulties which confronts the student of this question lies in the fact that not only is the simple verb often used for the compound, but the compound is also often used for the simple, especially in the post-classical period. In many cases the waning force of the preposition gradually reduced the compound to the level of the simple verb; both are then used in prose without distinction, in poetry according to metrical convenience. Thus we find *aequare* and *exaequare*, *agere* and *exigere*, *parare* and *comparare*, *linquere* and *relinquere*, *sorbere* and *exsorbere*, employed without perceptible difference. But apart from such cases, which often cause uncertainty, there remain very many instances in which authors, especially the poets and the historians, have employed this device. In some of these it is merely a question of the more definite and accurate expression of the thought which the compound verb would afford; in others the sense of the compound is demanded by the context.

Historically the simple verb must have existed before the compound. When it became necessary to distinguish dif-

ferent modes of the same action by adding the idea of direction or some like modification, the compound forms came into the language and remained in regular use in the literature of the best period. The employment of the simple form with the sense commonly assigned to the compound, if it be not a survival from the early time, must be regarded, at least in the first instance, as a conscious setting aside of the usual literary word and the choice of a form which naturally would convey less than the author really intended. A consideration of the material gathered from the satires of Juvenal may lead to a better understanding of the widespread use of the simple verb in this way, and of the effect which a writer desired to produce by the substitution.¹

I. The preservation of the simple verb from the archaic period, particularly in religious and legal formulae, sometimes accounts for its use in the sense usually conveyed by the compound. The well-known words by which special powers were given to the consuls, "videant consules, ne quid detrimenti res publica capiat," present cases of this sort, for the thought could be expressed more accurately by *provideant* and *accipiat*. In the same manner such expressions as 'reges pellere' and 'condiciones ferre' held their place in the language, though 'reges expellere' and 'condiciones offerre' would give more modern expression to the ideas.

Capere for *accipere*. In 1, 55 f. cum leno accipiat moechi bona, si capiendi ius nullum uxori, *capere* means 'to receive,' probably in the specialized sense 'to inherit,' which we find also in 9, 88 legatum omne capis, in Cicero, Quintilian, and commonly in the jurists. Again, *capere* is 'to receive' (a recompense) in 5, 13 mercedem solidam veterum capis officiorum, and not rarely in the literature of all periods, e.g. in Plautus, Terence, and Ovid, in Cicero, Caesar, Livy, and Suetonius; but cf. 1, 42 accipiat sane mercedem.

Dare for *edere*. The legal formula 'testem dare' occurs twice in Juvenal (3, 137; 16, 29), who elsewhere has 'testem producere' (16, 32). Cicero (v. Merguet) and Livy (3, 71, 3)

¹ Unless definite statement is made to the contrary, all succeeding references are to the satires of Juvenal, edition of Jahn-Buecheler, Berlin, 1893.

sometimes say 'testes edere,' but as a rule employ the regular formula 'testes (testem) dare,' which was sanctioned by usage and generally passed current in the literature. Similar in character is the use of *dare* in 8, 68, ergo ut miremur te, non tua, privum aliquid da. For poetic use, see p. 212.

Ducere for *deducere*. 5, 125 f. duceris planta velut ictus ab Hercule Cacus et ponere foris. This juristic use of *ducere* is seen in the Laws of the Twelve Tables, in Plautus, *Capt.* 721 ducite, ubi ponderosas crassas capiat compedes, in Novius, com. fr. 115 (p. 330 Ribbeck³) Quanti addictust? — Mille nummum. — Nihil addo: ducas licet, frequently in Seneca, e.g., *Dial.* 3. 18, 4; 4. 33, 3; *Epist.* 4, 9; *Apoc.* 6, etc., and in Curtius 8. 7, 15 (cf. Mützell's note). See also p. 213.

II. In the *sermo cotidianus*, and especially in the *sermo vulgaris*, the simple frequently took the place of the compound verb, somewhat as in English we often say 'move' for 'remove' and 'tend' for 'attend.' The Roman soldier doubtless said 'exercitum scribere' (Sall. *Cat.* 32, 1; Cic. *Fam.* 3. 3, 1; Liv. 8. 8, 14; *Bell. Alex.* 53, 5), 'milites legere' (Pompeius in Cic. *Att.* 8. 12 A, 3), and 'aciem struere' (Liv. 9. 31, 9; Tac. *Hist.* 4, 24), but Cicero and Caesar regularly have 'exercitum conscribere,' 'milites deligere,' and 'aciem instruere.' To what extent carelessness and ignorance operated in causing the omission of the prefix, it is impossible now to determine, but it seems likely that the chief factor was the desire for brief and striking forms of expression, which is characteristic of colloquial speech in general. Every one knows that in post-Augustan times the language of daily life entered largely into the higher literature, so that it is not surprising to find in Juvenal the conversational use of the simple for the compound verb. At the same time, in view of our comparatively meagre knowledge of the Roman *sermo cotidianus*, it cannot be positively asserted that all of the following examples are taken from the sphere of popular speech; indeed, in some cases, nothing more than the probability of that origin may be claimed.

Agere for *peragere*. In 10, 155 Hannibal 'actum' inquit 'nihil est, nisi Poeno milite portas frangimus et media vexil-

lum pono Subura,' where the thought would be more fully expressed by *peragere*, which is elsewhere used twelve times in Juvenal. But the colloquial character of the phrase 'nihil agere' is evident from its use in Plautus, Terence, Matius (in Cic. *Fam.* 11. 28, 4), Horace (*Sat.* 1. 9, 15), Seneca (*Epist.* 24, 7 and often), and Petronius (137); among the poets it is found also in Ovid (*Met.* 6, 685) and Statius (*Theb.* 12, 442). On the colloquial and juristic character of 'nihil agere' and 'actum est' see Landgraf, *de Ciceronis elocutione*, p. 22; Hauschild, *Diss. Phil. Halenses*, 6, 274; Otto, *Sprichwörter*, s.v. *agere* 2) and note.

Cedere for *excedere*. 11, 50 f. *cedere namque foro iam non est deterius quam Esquilias a ferventi migrare Subura.* 'Cedere foro,' 'to be bankrupt,' is a phrase from the language of commerce, which is found also in Seneca (*Ben.* 4. 39, 2) and in the *Digest.* (16. 3, 7, § 2). For poetic use, see p. 211.

Mittere for *dimittere*. 4, 144 f. *et misso proceres exire iubentur consilio*, with which compare 1, 125 *citius (nos) dimitte*, and 6, 127 *lenone suas iam dimittente puellas*. This use of *mittere* is seen also in Caes. *Bell. Civ.* 1. 3, 1 *misso ad vesperum senatu*, *Bell. Afr.* 54, 5, Liv. 26. 14, 4 *misso convivio*, Suet. *Iul.* 69 and elsewhere.

Mittere for *omittere*. 2, 169 *mittentur braciae cultelli frena flagellum*. 9, 70 *ut mittas cetera*. Parallels are Lucil. fr. 748 (Baehrens) *hoc missum facies*, quoted by Nonius as an instance of *mittere* for *omittere*, Ter. *Hec.* 780 *missam iram faciet*, Hor. *Epist.* 1. 5, 8, and Cic. *Fam.* 15. 4, 12.

Ponere for *apponere*. 1, 140 f. *quanta est gula quae sibi totos ponit apros*. 5, 51 *non eadem vobis poni modo vina querebar?* 5, 85 *ponitur exigua feralis cena patella*. 5, 135 *pone ad Trebium*. 5, 146 *fungi ponentur amicis*. 14, 82 f. *hinc praeda cubili (i.e. the nestlings) ponitur*. Precisely the same are Horace, *Sat.* 2. 2, 23 *posito pavone* (Heindorf's note), Petronius 34. 40. 69, Persius, 1. 53 *calidum scis ponere sumen*, and Martial, 8. 22, 1 *ponis mihi, Gallice, porcum*. Cf. the use of *ponieren* among German students. See also p. 216.

Ponere for *deponere*. 9, 140 f. *viginti milia faenus pigneribus positis*. 14, 260 *ad vigilem ponendi Castora nummi*. In

the sense 'to deposit' *deponere* is quite regular and *depositum* is used by Juvenal four times with reference to money (13, 16. 60. 178. 201). *Ponere*, however, was probably common in commercial life; cf. Cic. *Verr.* 3. 70, 165 cum posita esset pecunia apud eas societates. Hor. *A. P.* 421 dives positus in faenore nummis; see also p. 216.

Rumpere for *dirumpere*. 7, 117 rumpe miser tensum iecur; cf. Cic. *Fam.* 7. 1, 4 dirupi me paene (of vehement oratory in both cases). 6, 12 rupto robore nati. 14, 85 rupto — ovo. This use of *rumpere* is frequent in comedy, e.g. Plaut. *Capt.* prol. 14 ego me tua causa, ne erres, non rupturus sum, is seen in Horace, *Sat.* 2. 3, 319 'non, si te ruperis' inquit, 'par eris,' in Ovid, *Rem. Am.* 389, in Liv. 22. 10, 5 in an archaic setting, and in Seneca, *Dial.* 6. 22, 5. Other examples are given by Otto, *Sprichwörter*, p. 303.

Scribere for *inscribere*. 6, 205 scripto radiat Germanicus auro; cf. Petron. 29 in pariete . . . quadrata litera scriptum 'cave canem.' Mart. 11. 4, 3 scriptus et aeterno nunc primum Iuppiter auro. Ovid, *Trist.* 3. 10, 74 in quo (*i.e.* pomo) scriberet hic dominae verba legenda suae. Curt. 10. 1, 14 columnam . . . scriptam. Cf. Varro, *Sat. Men.* 143 (Buecheler) in ianuam 'cave canem' inscribi iubeo.

Secare for *exsecare*. 6, 514 mollia qui rapta secuit genitalia testa. Similarly Ovid, *Fast.* 4. 221 'unde venit' dixi 'sua membra secandi impetus,' id. *Ibis* 271. 451, Mart. 5. 41, 3 sectus . . . Gallus, id. 9. 6, 4 puer . . . sectus. The usual word in this sense is *exsecare*, e.g. Cic. *N. D.* 2. 24, 63 exsecutum Caelum a filio Saturno.

Spectare for *expectare*. In 7, 22 the editors have had some difficulty, which vanishes at once if we assign to the simple verb the force of the compound. The reading of P is si qua aliunde putas rerum spectanda tuarum praesidia; Jahn (1851), following the inferior manuscripts, emended to *expectanda*, and Housman (*Class. Rev.* III. 201) proposed *speranda*, which Duff accepts in his recent edition (1898). But 'looking towards' naturally precedes and suggests 'looking for'; so Buecheler retains *spectanda*, which in connection with *aliunde* must be interpreted as *expectanda*. With this we

should perhaps compare Petron. 39 in sagittario strabones (sc. nascuntur), qui holera spectant, lardum tollunt. Good parallels are found in Claudian, *Cons. Stil.* 3, 86 et spectant (expectant ω) aquilae decreta senatus, id. *Rapt. Pros.* 1, 287 f. (equi) fremebant crastina venturae spectantes gaudia praedae (cf. Birt's note), in Cyprian, *Epist.* 26, 11 (p. 539 Hartel) quae res cum omnium nostrum consilium et sententiam spectet, praeiudicare . . . non audeo (cf. index p. 453), and in Ennodius, p. 479, 17 (Hartel) esset plectenda negligentia et spectaret de illis poenam iudicibus, though in most cases some manuscripts give *expectet* (-aret). Similarly in 11, 165 P reads *expectant* for *spectant*. Further illustration of this confusion is given by L. Müller, *De Re Metrica*², p. 351.

Spernari for *aspersnari*. 4, 4 viduas tantum spernatur adulter. The only other occurrence of this deponent seems to be in Fronto, *de elog.* (p. 144, 4 Naber), si placebis tibi pio aliquo cultu parentis, pietatem spernabere?

Stare for *prostare*. 10, 239 quod steterat multis in carcere fornicis annis, to which the scholiast remarks "quoniam diu ex eo prostiterit." 11, 172 nudum olido stans fornice mancipium. Friedländer comments (on 10, 239) "Stare im Sinne von prostare scheint eine Art technischer Ausdruck gewesen zu sein"; it is by no means rare in the literature, e.g. Cic. *Verr.* 2. 63, 154 in quo (fornice) nudus filius stat, Hor. *Sat.* 1. 2, 30 olenti in fornice stantem (Heindorf's note), Ov. *Trist.* 2. 310, Sen. *Contr.* 1. 2, 5, Suet. *Calig.* 41, Iustin. 21. 3, 4. Cf. the similar use of $\sigma\tau\alpha\theta\eta\eta\nu\alpha\iota$ in Greek.

Tendere for *contendere*. 10, 154 iam tenet Italiam, tamen ultra pergere tendit. Caesar regularly has *contendere* with or without an infinitive, e.g. ire contendit (*B. G.* 1, 23), but also magno impetu tetendit ad Domitium (*B. C.* 3. 36, 2). Similarly Cic. *Att.* 16. 5, 3 dubito an Venusiam tendam, Sall. *Iug.* 91, 4 cursu tendere ad Capsam, Verg. *Aen.* 5, 155 locum tendunt superare priorem, and Hor. *Sat.* 1. 5, 71 tendimus hinc recta Beneventum. Cf. recta (recto) contendere in Caes. *B. C.* 1. 69, 4 and Apul. *Met.* 8, 13.

Tenere for *retinere*. 5, 58 ne te teneam. This verb with the sense 'detain,' 'restrain' is very common, especially in

the *sermo cotidianus*, e.g. Cic. *Fam.* 16, 19 si id te non tenet, advola, id. *Verr.* 1. 13, 34 ne diutius teneam, id. *Att.* 15. 14, 2 teneri non potui, quin . . . declararem, Liv. 24. 20, 7 Marcellum . . . valetudo adversa Nolae tenuit, Petron. 49 non potui me tenere.

Turbare for *conturbare*. 14, 94 totam hanc turbavit filius amens; here *turbare* is 'bring finances into disorder,' like the common (rationem) *conturbare* used in 7, 129. Caelius has a similar expression in a letter to Cicero (*Fam.* 8. 8, 2), omnibus in rebus turbarat, where Tyrrell translates 'had run a-muck'; cf. F. Burg, *de M. Caeli Rufi genere dicendi*, Leipzig, 1888, p. 55.

Vertere for *convertere*. 11, 49 qui vertere solum, Baias et ad ostrea currunt. 'Solum vertere' seems to have been a kind of slang expression equivalent to our 'change base,' or 'skip out'; cf. Petron. 81 conturbavit et libidinis suae solum vertit. Cicero explains its meaning in *pro Caec.* 100 qui volunt poenam aliquam subterfugere aut calamitatem, eo solum vertunt, hoc est sedem ac locum mutant. Here then *vertere* has the force of *convertere* as used by Caesar *B. C.* 1. 81, 3 castraque castris convertunt.

III. According to O. Keller (*gram. Aufsätze*, p. 63) a motive which led to the employment of the simple verb with the force of the compound was the love of alliteration. As an example he cites Lucan, 4, 768 aera nube sua textit traxitque tenebras, where *traxit* means *contraxit*, and calls attention to such common phrases as Cicero's 'fraudem ferre,' Plautus' 'fallaciam ferre' for which Terence uses 'fallaciam afferre,' and 'fructum ferre,' 'fruges ferre,' in which *proferre* would be more natural. In Juvenal there are only eleven passages in which fondness for alliteration can be supposed to have exerted an influence: 10, 287 ceciditque Cethegus; 10, 120 cervix caesa; 6, 4 communi clauderet; 3, 56 ponendaque praemia; 9, 141 pigneribus positis; 11, 76 posuere pericula; 14, 99 praepudia ponunt; 6, 12 rupto robore; 6, 383 f. hoc se | solatur; 5, 58 te teneam; and 14, 302 tempestate tuetur.

IV. Most of the instances, however, belong to what may

be called the sphere of poetic usage. In many cases, of course, the simple verb is chosen merely because it happens to be metrically more convenient, but this explanation, which has at different times been advanced as the chief cause of almost every peculiarity of poetic diction, and under whose shelter ignorance has often taken refuge, by no means accounts for the extent and boldness of Juvenal's use of this artifice. Moreover, a considerable number of verbs employed in this pregnant sense may be found in Livy, Seneca, Tacitus, and Suetonius, in whose minds other influences than the requirements of metre must have been at work. Sometimes the simple verb arouses interest by leaving the exact modification of the verbal idea to be inferred from the context; sometimes it restores the literal color in a figure whose vividness and force had faded out in the compound; sometimes it infuses new life and vigor into expressions which had become hackneyed, and raises them above the dead level of the uniform and commonplace. And this is practically the same result as that reached by the spoken language, which, as we have already pointed out (p. 205), naturally seeks for striking forms of expression, though by different processes and from a different point of view. Examples may be found now and then in Lucilius and Lucretius, more frequently in Vergil and Horace, while in the Silver Age, when all the passion of the literary world was "non vulgare loqui," as Statius says (*Silv.* 5. 3, 214), this method of rejuvenating the trite and outworn was adopted in ever increasing degree and with growing boldness.

Cadere for *decidere*. 7, 70 caderent omnes a crinibus hydri; cf. 6, 431 f. tamquam alta in dolia longus deciderit serpens. 10, 265 f. omnia vidit eversa et flammis Asiam ferroque cadentem; cf. Hor. *C.* 2. 10, 11 celsae graviore casu decidunt tures. 13, 226 iratus cadat in terras et iudicet ignis; Vagellius, frag. 1 (Baehrens) e caelo cecidisse velim: cf. Ovid, *Met.* 14, 846 f. sidus ab aethere lapsum decidit in terras. Other examples are given by Otto, *Sprichwörter*, s.v. altus; for the similar use of 'de caelo missus (demissus)' see Otto. l. l. s.v. caelum 8, p. 62. It should be observed that *cadere* is almost

exclusively a poetic word; in prose, the compounds are regularly employed.

Cadere for *excidere*. 3, 270 f. et curta fenestris vasa cadant. 14, 295 f. infelix hac forsitan ipsa nocte cadet fractis trabibus (*i.e.* nave); cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6, 339 (Palinurus) exciderat puppi. 7, 123 inde cadunt partes ex foedere pragmaticorum; cf. Plaut. *Bacch.* 668 nummi exciderunt, ere, tibi. 6, 440 verborum tanta cadit vis; cf. Cic. *Sull.* 26, 72 verbum ecquod umquam ex ore huius excidit? Verg. *Aen.* 6, 686 vox excidit ore.

Cadere for *occidere*. 10, 287 f. ceciditque Cethegus integer. This is exceedingly common in all periods, especially in the poets and, through their influence, in the historians.

Caedere for *abscidere*. 10, 120 ingenio manus est et cervix caesa. Examples of the common phrase 'cervicem' abscidere' are given in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, col. 148; cf. also Hirt. *Bell. Gall.* 8, 44 omnibus, qui arma tulerant, manus praecidit.

Caedere for *incidere*. 2, 12 f. sed podice levi caeduntur tumidae medico ridente mariscae. The technical term used by Pliny, Celsus, Tacitus, and others is *incidere*; *e.g.* Tac. *Ann.* 16, 19 incisas venas.

Caedere for *occidere*. 8, 216 f. (Orestes) ultor patris erat caesi media inter pocula. So Verg. *Aen.* 10, 497 f. una sub nocte iugali caesa manus iuvenum, and frequently even in prose; *e.g.* Cic. *Mil.* 5, 14 dies quo Ti. Gracchus est caesus, Seneca, *Dial.* 3, 15, 3 caederem te, nisi irascerer, *ib.* 3, 12, 1 si caedi patrem suum viderit. But the legal phrase for murder was 'hominem occidere'; cf. Landgraf on Cic. *Rosc. Am.* p. 282.

Cedere for *excedere*. 3, 29 cedamus patria. 6, 57 et agello cedo paterno. This use of *cedere* is common in poetry from the time of Plautus; in prose, the construction is usually *ex* with the ablative, but cf. Cic. *Mil.* 14, 36 urbe cessi.

Claudere (*cludere*) for *includere*. 3, 19 f. viridi si margine cluderet undas herba. 3, 131 f. divitis hic servo cludit latus ingenuorum filius. 6, 4 (spelunca) et pecus et dominos communi clauderet umbra. 6, 153 f. mense quidem brumae,

quo iam mercator Iaso clausus. 7, 26 clude et positos tinea pertunde libellos. 10, 16 f. Senecae praedivitis hortos clausit . . . tota cohors. 10, 170 ut Gyari clausus scopulis. 13, 155 f. cum quo clauditur adversis innoxia simia fatis. 14, 322 exemplis videor te cludere. 15, 139 terra clauditur infans. Many parallels might be given especially from poetry and later prose: *e.g.* Verg. *Ecl.* 7, 15 domi quae clauderet agnos, id. *Georg.* 3, 352 clausa tenent stabulis armenta, id. *Aen.* 3, 642 lanigeras claudit pecudes, Liv. 21. 54, 1 rivus praealtis utrimque clausus ripis. *Concludere* also is used in this way.

Colere for *incolere*. 3, 193 nos urbem colimus tenui tibicine fultam. 15, 76 qui vicina colunt umbrosae Tentyra palmae. This use of the simple verb occurs in the poetry of the earlier period, but is found much more frequently after the reign of Augustus: *e.g.* Plaut. *Bacch.* 198 regiones colere mavellem Acherunticas, Catull. 63, 70 Idae nive amicta loca colam, Verg. *Aen.* 3, 212 (insulas) harpyiaequae colunt aliae, Tac. *Agr.* 11, 1 Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint : . . . parum compertum.

Dare for *dedere*. 10, 119 (utrumque) exundans leto dedit ingenii fons. 12, 119 (siqua est) Iphigenia domi, dabit hanc altaribus; so Verg. *Aen.* 5, 806 milia multa daret leto. With these compare Verg. *Georg.* 4, 90 (eum) dede neci, and Ovid, *Fast.* 4, 840 audentem talia dede neci. This use of *dare* is probably due to Greek influence: cf. *Odyss.* τ 167 ἢ μὲν μὲν ἀχέεσσιν γε δώσεις, Plat. *Rep.* 8, 566 C θανάτῳ δίδονται, and Gildersleeve's note to Pind. *Ol.* 2, 90.

Dare for *edere*. 3, 108 si trulla inverso crepitem dedit aurea fundo; but cf. 7, 195 f. primos incipientem edere vagitus, and 10, 261 primos edere planctus. Similar instances are numerous in poetry, *e.g.* Ennius, *Ann.* fr. 320 (Baehrens) sonitum dare, Verg. *Aen.* 5, 139 clara dedit sonitum tuba, Ovid, *Met.* 7, 630 (sonum) alta dedit quercus, and Stat. *Theb.* 5, 564 dat sonitum tellus. For archaic use, see p. 204.

Dare for *prodere*. 10, 49 (summos) viros et magna exempla daturus; similarly Ovid, *Pont.* 2. 3, 32 nec petere exemplum, sed dare dignus eras. For the use of the compound verb see Cic. *Flac.* 11, 25 ne quod perniciosum exemplum prodatur,

Liv. 1. 11, 7 prodendi exempli causa, and Vell. 2. 119, 4 clarum exemplum . . . prodidit. In the same connection *edere* is sometimes used, e.g. Cic. *Q. F.* 1. 2, 2, 5 *edere exemplum severitatis*.

Ducere for *adducere*. 10, 351 f. magnaue cupidine ducti coniugium petimus; so Plin. *Epist.* 2. 4, 2 ego ductus ad finitatis officio, and Claudian, *Epist. ad Seren.* 24 iusto vatis ducta favore.

Ducere for *deducere*. 7, 48 f. in pulvere sulcos ducimus, with which compare 1, 157 media sulcum deducis harena. 12, 64 f. Parcae meliora benigna pensa manu ducunt is similar to Ovid, *Met.* 4, 34 ducunt lanas. The compound form, which seems to have been the technical term, occurs in Catull. 64, 312 deducens fila, Ovid, *Met.* 4, 36 deducens pollice filum, and tropically in Juvenal, 7, 54 qui nil expositum soleat deducere.

Ducere for *educere*. 13, 10 (casus) e medio fortunae ductus acervo. 6, 583 sortes ducet; in his comment on this the Probus of Valla says "educunt sortes." The technical word was doubtless *educere*; cf. Cic. *Verr.* 2. 17, 42 educit ex urna tris (sortes), and ib. 2. 51, 127 tres sortes conici, unam educi. This use of the simple verb, however, is not without parallel in poetry, e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 6, 22 ductis sortibus, and even in prose, e.g. Cic. *Div.* 2. 33, 70 restant et sortes eae, quae ducuntur.

Ducere for *inducere*. 14, 188 ad scelus atque nefas, quaecumque est, purpura ducit; similarly Ovid, *Met.* 8, 161 ducit in errorem, and *ad Herenn.* 4. 16, 23 mulieres ad omnia maleficia cupiditas una ducit. An example of the regular prose form may be seen in Cic. *Off.* 3. 13, 55 in errorem alterum inducere.

Ducere for *obducere*. 13, 216 (ruga) cogitur in frontem velut acri ducta Falerno. Ovid, *Met.* 2, 774 vultumque ima ad suspiria duxit. id. *Pont.* 4. 8, 13 f. lectis vultum tu versibus istis ducis. Mart. 1. 40, 1*qui ducis vultus. With these cf. such expressions as 9, 2 fronte obducta, Hor. *Epod.* 13, 5 obducta . . . fronte, and Sen. *Dial.* 6. 1, 5 (vultum) obduxit, but Lucil. fr. 364 (Baehrens) rugas conducere. See also p. 221, s.v. *trahere*.

Ducere for *subducere*. 13, 152 qui bratteolam de Castore ducat; cf. 11, 142 f. nec frustum capreae subducere nec latus Afrae novit avis noster.

Ferre for *aufferre*. 13, 170 (Pygmaeus) a saeva fertur grue. 8, 119 inde ferēs tam dirae praemia culpaē. 9, 39 illa dedi, mox plura tulisti. 13, 105 ille crucem sceleris pretium tulit, hic diadema. 8, 46 f. vivas et originis huius gaudia longa feras. On the other hand, the compound is used in 4, 151 (claras) abstulit urbi inlustresque animas, 4, 19 praecipuam in tabulis ceram senis abstulit orbi, and 8, 242 (gloriam) abstulit. As parallel instances of the simple verb compare Verg. *Aen.* 2, 374 f. alii rapiunt incensa feruntque Pergama (*i.e.* the spoils), Apul. *Met.* 5. 14, 346 venti ferentis (Hildebrand's note), Claudian, *Rapt. Pros.* 2, 260 f. quascumque tulere raptōres, and *Carmina Epigraphica* 1409, 8 (Buecheler) invida Domitium fata tulere sibi.

Ferre for *efferre*. 7, 64 f. (of the poet's inspiration) dominis Cirrhae Nysaeque feruntur pectora. The same trope is employed in Lucil. fr. 129, 6 (Baehrens) eferor ira, in Verg. *Aen.* 4, 376 heu furiis incensa feror, and *ib.* 9, 354 sensit enim nimia caede atque cupidine ferri. The corresponding use of the compound may be seen from Caes. *Bell. Civ.* 1. 45, 2 milites elati studio, and Cic. *Div.* 1. 24, 49 elatumque cupiditate respexisse.

Ferre for *referre*. 6, 132 lupanaris tulit ad pulvinar odorem; so Liv. 3. 14, 4 ut nemo unus inde praecipuum quicquam gloriae domum invidiaeque ferret.

Fidere for *confidere*. 7, 139 fidimus eloquio; so Verg. *Aen.* 9, 378 fidere nocti. It should be observed that the finite use of *fidere* is almost exclusively poetic; the regular prose equivalent is *confidere* (Cic. *Phil.* 5. 1, 1), which is found in Juvenal 10, 10 f. viribus ille confisus, and 12. 58 confisus ligno (*i.e.* a ship).

Figere for *configere*. 1, 22 f. Mevia Tuscum figat aprum. 1, 156 fixo pectore. 4, 99 f. ursos figebat (venator). 9, 139 (metaphorically) quando ego figam aliquid. *Figere* so used is by no means rare; *e.g.* Verg. *Aen.* 10, 382 (hunc) intorto figit telo, and Stat. *Theb.* 9, 830 superest tibi figere dammas.

Besides *configere*, which Juvenal himself uses in 6, 173 ipsam configite matrem, *transfigere* also is found with the same sense, e.g. Caes. *B. G.* 7. 62, 4 transfixi telis, and Verg. *Aen.* 1, 44 transfixo pectore. Cf. the parallel use of *fodere*, *confodere*, and *transfodere*.

Frangere for *refringere*. 10, 155 f. Poeno milite portas frangimus. Similarly Ovid, *Am.* 1. 9, 20 hic portas frangit, Petron. 124 v. 291 non frangis portas, and Stat. *Theb.* 11, 388 fractis . . . portis. Cf. Caes. *B. G.* 2. 33, 6 refractis portis, and Ov. *Met.* 6, 597 portasque refringit.

Haerere for *inhaerere*. 3. 248 in digito clavus mihi militis haeret. Verg. *Aen.* 11, 864 haesitque in corpore ferrum. Liv. 1. 14, 11 haerens in tergo Romanus. With these compare Cic. *Tusc.* 4. 11, 24 inhaeret in visceribus illud malum, and Liv. 27. 42, 6 equites enim tergo inhaerebant.

Ire for *exire*. 9, 106 e medio fac eant omnes. Verg. *Aen.* 5, 75 e concilio multis cum milibus ibat. In its natural use *ire* is generally followed by a word or phrase to express the limit of motion.

Ire for *prodire*. 12, 110 (of the elephant) euntem in proelia turrem. Verg. *Aen.* 12, 73 in duri certamina Martis euntem; also in prose, Caes. *B. G.* 7. 67, 2 (equitatum) contra hostem ire iubet. Cf. Caes. *B. C.* 3. 86, 2 quo firmiore animo in proelium prodeatis, and Cic. *Fam.* 6. 1, 5 prodeunt in aciem.

Mirari for *admirari*. The line between *mirari* 'wonder at' and *admirari* 'admire' is difficult to draw, for these meanings are sometimes exactly reversed, and in the poetry of the Silver Age the two words are practically interchangeable. Assuming, however, the above definitions as the basis of distinction, we find the simple verb used for the compound in 3, 90; 8, 68. 264; 10, 127. 161; 11, 100; 12, 78; 14, 120. 195, and the compound in 7, 31 and 10, 11. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1, 709 mirantur dona Aeneae, mirantur Iulum.

Pendere for *impendere*. 3, 196 securos pendente iubet dormire ruina. 6. 650 clivoque latus pendente recedit. Verg. *Aen.* 1, 166 scopulis pendentibus antrum. Stat. *Sil.* 2. 2, 16 scopulis pendentibus. Cf. Plaut. *Epid.* 83 tantae in te inpen-

dent ruinae and Cic. *N. D.* 2. 39, 98 inpendentium montium altitudines.

Piare for *expiare*. 13, 54 grande nefas et morte piandum. Verg. *Aen.* 2, 184 nefas quae triste piaret. Stat. *Th.* 9. 602 nefas merso ter crine piavit. Cic. *Dom.* 51, 132 si quid tibi aut piandum aut instituendum fuisset religione domestica. Tac. *Ann.* 1, 42 (scelus) sanguine pietur. On the other hand cf. 6, 521 totum semel expiet annum.

Plorare for *deplorare*. 13, 134 ploratur lacrimis amissa pecunia veris. 14, 150 quam multi talia plorent. 15, 134 plorare ergo iubet causam. So also Hor. *C.* 3. 27, 38 f. ploro turpe commissum, Ovid, *Am.* 3. 9, 1 mater ploravit Achillem, and Stat. *Silv.* 5. 3, 245 sua funera plorant. In 1, 50, however, Juvenal uses *plorare* in its usual sense, tu victrix provincia ploras.

Ponere for *apponere*. 1, 90 posita sed luditur arca, but 9. 98 candelam adponere valvis. 4, 77 positus modo vilicus urbi. Ovid, *A. A.* 3. 243 (ei) custodem in limine ponat. This use of *ponere* occurs also in prose, e.g. Caes. *B. G.* 1. 20, 6 Dumnorigi custodes ponit, but *apponere* is regular in this connection. Sometimes, too, *imponere* is found, e.g. Cic. *Planc.* 25, 62 quem vilicum imponeremus. For the colloquial use see p. 206.

Ponere for *deponere*. The simple form of this verb in the sense 'lay aside' is very frequent in poetry and occurs not rarely in prose; e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 1, 291 positis mitescent saecula bellis, Ovid, *Fast.* 1, 207 iura dabat populis posito modo praetor aratro, Caes. *B. G.* 4. 37, 1 arma ponere, and Seneca (who furnishes many examples) *Epist.* 4, 2 praetexta posita . . . cum puerilem animum deposueris. This use of *ponere* may have been also colloquial; cf. the expression of Caelius to Cicero (*Fam.* 8. 6, 1) posuisse inimicitias videaris with Cicero's reply (*Fam.* 2. 13, 2) simultatem deposuimus. The instances in Juvenal are 2, 74; 3, 56; 5, 73; 6, 172. 264. 320; 7, 26; 10, 267; 11, 69. 76. 191. 192; 13, 11. 39. 149; 14, 99; 16, 45; but *deponere* 1, 133. 142; 11, 126. Cf. also p. 206.

Ponere for *disponere*. 7, 47 posita est orchestra cathedris.

8. 238 f. galeatum ponit ubique praesidium, in which *ubique* supplies the place of the prefix. 15. 42 positus ad templa et compita mensis. In Ovid, *Met.* 8, 189 ponit in ordine pennas, the phrase suggests the force of the prefix. For the use of the compound cf. Verg. *Aen.* 3, 237 per herbam disponunt enses, Stat. *Theb.* 1, 519 disponere mensas, and, in Juvenal, 6, 163. 490; 7. 44; 14, 305.

Ponere for *imponere*. (a) Literally: 2, 85 posuere monilia collo. 7. 114 parte alia solum russati pone Lacertae. 11, 79 focus brevibus ponebat holuscula. 11, 108 ponebant . . . farrata catino. Val. Fl. 4. 378 saxo posuit latus. Cf. 3, 251 f. res inpositas capiti, 12. 84 farra inponite cultris, and 12, 117 f. frontibus ancillarum inponet vittas. (b) Metaphorically: 6, 359 posuitque modum. 8. 88 f. pone irae frena modumque, pone et avaritiae. So Verg. *Aen.* 7. 129 exiliis positura modum, and Hor. *C.* 1. 16, 2 f. modum pones iambis, but cf. 6. 444 inponit finem, and 7. 229 inponite leges. 13. 30 nomen et a nullo posuit natura metallo is like Verg. *Aen.* 7, 63 ab ea nomen posuisse colonis; with these cf. Cic. *Verr.* 3. 85, 197 (huic) nomen imponis, and Liv. 35. 47, 5 filiis . . . et filiae . . . nomina inposuerat.

Quatere for *concutere*. To express the physical agitation caused by laughter, fear, and the like, *concutere* is the verb regularly employed, e.g. Lucr. 2, 973 risu tremulo concussa cachinnant, Ovid, *Her.* 3, 82 concutit ossa metus, and Cicero defines *terror* as 'metus concutiens' (*Tusc.* 4, 8, 19). Juvenal himself says maiore cachinno concutitur (3, 101) and se concussere ambae (10, 328). In 13, 171, however, he returns to the simple verb, risu quatiare, following the example of Horace, *Epist.* 2. 2, 84 et risu populum quatit, Vergil, *Aen.* 3, 30 frigidus horror membra quatit, Ovid, *Hal.* 50 (animalia) vani quatiunt . . . timores, and Statius, *Theb.* 4, 726 interior sed vis quatit.

Regere for *erigere*. If we assume the use of the simple verb for the compound in 6, 401 and 10, 189, we arrive at a perfectly transparent interpretation of two passages on which the editors are far from agreed. The verses in question, with the context in each case, are as follows:—

face and pallid cheek you pray.' The contrast between *recto vultu* and *pallidus* which commentators from the scholiast to Mr. Duff have found, seems purely imaginary. In two other places Juvenal uses *rectus* with the force of *erectus*, 3, 26 dum prima et recta senectus, and 3, 252 (tot res) recto vertice portat servulus, but these are less striking.

In support of the view here presented I may cite some instances in which the same idea is expressed by *erigere*: Ovid, *Met.* 1, 85 f. (of the creation of man) caelumque videre iussit et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus; Optatus Milevitanus 2, 20 (p. 57 Ziwsa) pharisaeus tumidus, superbus . . . non inclinata cervice sed erecta facie; Tertull. *De Oratione* 17 (of a modest and humble attitude in prayer) ne vultu quidem in audaciam erecto; Stat. *Theb.* 1, 186 erecta . . . fronte; ib. 5, 95 erecta genas; Ovid, *Met.* 14, 106 at illa diu vultum tellure moratum erexit; Petron. 60 convivae mirantes erexere vultus; Iuv. 8, 205 f. ad spectacula vultum erigit. Moreover, Juvenal is not alone in using *rectus* for *erectus*; Statius, describing an attack on Thebes, says that the men of Argos are heedless of the storm of missiles coming from the walls, and keep their faces upturned towards the battlements, *rectosque tenent in moenia vultus* (*Theb.* 10, 542), and Claudian writes in *Tert. Cons. Hon.* praef. 6 et recto flammas imperat ore pati. *Rectus* applied to human stature is frequent, and many examples of the expression 'rectis oculis intueri' are collected in Bentley's note to Horace, *C.* 1. 3, 18.

Ructare for *eructare*. 4, 31 (partem cenae) ructarit scurra Palati. 6, 10 glandem ructante marito. The transitive use of *ructare* seems to be poetic, and belongs chiefly to the later period; e.g. Mart. 9. 48, 8 ructat adhuc aprum, and Sil. 2, 686 gutture ructatus large cruor. On the other hand, the ordinary use of the word is exemplified in 3, 107 si bene ructavit. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 3, 632 sanie eructans et frusta.

Solari for *consolari*. 6, 383 f. hoc se solatur. Verg. *Aen.* 5, 708 Aenean solatus. This verb is common in poetry and occurs also in prose, e.g. Plin. *Epist.* 8, 11, 3 and Tac. *Hist.* 2, 48.

Spargere for *respergere*. 7, 180 spargatque luto iumenta

recenti. 12, 8 (vitulus) spargendusque mero. In 6, 528 and 9, 84, however, *spargere* appears as in the best prose. This use of the simple verb is seen as early as Ennius, *Thyest.* fr. XI (p. 68 Ribbeck³) saxa spargens tabo, sanie et sanguine, and not rarely in the poets and later prose, e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 6, 230 (socios) spargens rore, and Petron. 138 (hoc) spargit subinde umore.

Stare for *circumstare*. The present participle of the compound in the sense 'bystanders' is exceedingly common; the use of *stantes* in the same sense is so rare as to be very striking. In 7, 10 f. we read et vendas potius, commissa quod auctio vendit stantibus; so Ovid, *Met.* 13, 1 vulgi stante corona, though here the last word suggests the force of the prefix. For a different view, cf. Jessen, *Philol.* 1900, p. 515.

Stare for *exstare*. 1, 76 stantem extra pocula caprum; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 12, 235 f. signis extantibus asper antiquus crater. 8, 3 stantis in curribus Aemilianos; cf. 10, 36 f. praetorem curribus altis extantem. Parallels to this use of the simple verb are Ovid, *Pont.* 3. 4, 35 ducis facies in curru stantis, and Stat. *Theb.* 2, 35 stat sublimis apex.

Stillare for *instillare*. The classical word for 'pour in by drops' is *instillare*, which we find, e.g., in Cicero, *Cat. M.* 11, 36 lumini oleum instilles, Hor. *Sat.* 2. 2, 62, Plin. *N. H.* 20, 83, and metaphorically in Cic. *Att.* 9. 7, 1 and Hor. *Epist.* 1. 8, 16 praeceptum auriculis hoc instillare. On the other hand *stillare* is regularly intransitive and is so used by Juvenal in two places, 5, 79 multo stillaret paenula nimbo, and 6, 109 malum semper stillantis ocelli. In one instance, however, he says nam cum facilem stillavit in aurem exiguum de naturae patriaeque veneno (3, 122 f.), for which no parallel is cited.

Tenere for *retinere*. 7, 50 f. nam si discedas, laqueo tenet ambitiosi consuetudo mali. Verg. *Aen.* 4, 380 neque te teneo neque dicta refello. Ovid, *Trist.* 5. 9, 28 (canem) luctantem frustra copula dura tenet. Cf. p. 208, *s.v. tenere*.

Torquere for *contorquere*. 5, 26 f. pocula torques saucius. 5, 155 iaculum torquere. 15, 64 (saxa) incipiunt torquere. 6, 449 f. curvum sermone rotato torqueat enthymema; cf. Cic.

Tusc. 3, 26, 63 quae verba contorquet. The use of *torquere* in the sense 'to hurl' (missiles) is found in poetry from the time of Vergil, e.g. *Aen.* 10, 585, Ovid, *Met.* 12, 323, Stat. *Theb.* 10, 619, and occurs in a highly metaphorical passage in Cicero, *De Orat.* 1, 57, 242 amentatas hastas . . . oratoris lacertis viribusque torquebit. The compound, on the other hand, is employed by Lucr. 1, 965 (telum) contortum viribus ire, Verg. *Aen.* 2, 50 f. hastam in latus . . . contorsit, Curt. 8, 14, 36, and frequently in a transferred sense by Cicero.

Trahere for *contrahere*. (a) 14, 325 rugam trahit. Ovid. *Am.* 2, 2, 33 traxit vultum rugasque coegit. id. *Pont.* 4, 1, 5 trahis vultus. Sen. *Ben.* 6, 7, 1 conligit rugas et trahit frontem. Cf. Cic. *Cluent.* 26, 72 contrahit frontem. (b) 15, 151 dispersos trahere in populum. Stat. *Theb.* 4, 638 f. trahit fatalis alumnos Gradivus, Luc. 4, 768 (quoted on p. 209), but Verg. *Aen.* 3, 8 contrahimusque viros.

Venire for *pervenire*. 3, 243 ante tamen veniet. Verg. *Aen.* 2, 742 f. sedemque sacratam venimus. Cic. *Att.* 5, 12, 1 sexto die Delum Athenis venimus. Liv. 5, 34, 5 in Tricastinos venit; cf. Caes. *B. G.* 4, 6, 4.

Volvere for *evolvere*. 6, 452 volvitque Palaemonis artem. 10, 126 (Philippica) voveris a prima quae proxima. Lucr. 6, 377 volventem carmina. Verg. *Aen.* 1, 262 volvens fatorum arcana. Cic. *Brut.* 87, 298 volvendi enim sunt libri. Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 1, 11, 24 evolve diligenter eius eum librum, and for *revolvere*, which is used later in the same sense, Plin. *Epist.* 5, 5, 5 (librum) ad extremum revolvisse.

Among the changing phenomena presented by the Latin language in its natural development and decline, none is more interesting than the use of the simple for the compound verb, which appears now and then in the literature of the Republic, becomes more prominent in the poetry of the Augustan age, and is carried to an extreme in the later period. Opinions may differ as to the effect of this substitution in individual cases; but if we grant that it is an artifice, to a large extent consciously employed for a definite purpose, its prime importance in the study of style must at once be acknowledged.

NOTE. — *Ponere* for *proponere*. I, 155 pone Tigellinum. This technical use of *ponere*, 'paint,' was accidentally omitted from its proper place and, though not regarded as absolutely certain, may be added here. Other examples are Horace, *C.* 4. 8, 8 sollers nunc hominem ponere, nunc deum, Prop. 2. 3, 42 hic dominam exemplo ponat in arte meam, Ovid, *A. A.* 3, 401 si Venerem Cous nusquam posuisset Apelles, and Pers. 1, 70 nec ponere lucum artifices. Naturally, no evidence for the use of the compound verb in this sense is available.

XV. — *The Stipulative Subjunctive in Latin.*¹

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I WISH to invite the attention of Latinists to a dependent use of the Latin Subjunctive which, so far as I can discover, has received practically no consideration from grammarians, and whose manifestations, so far as observed and commented upon by editors, have been, in my judgment, quite generally misinterpreted. As a typical example of the construction referred to, I cite Plaut. *Bacch.* 873 f. :—

Vis tibi ducentos nummos iam promittier
 Ut ne clamorem hic facias neu convicium?
 . . . Atque ut tibi mala multa ingeram?

‘Will you agree to take two hundred nummi on the understanding that you are to make no outcry or disturbance . . . and that I am to abuse you roundly?’

To this idiom I have earlier (*Cornell Studies in Classical Philology*, vol. ix, p. 21) given the name ‘Stipulative,’ and further examination of its manifestations at various periods of the language has seemed to me to justify the propriety of this designation. I define the Stipulative as a subordinate subjunctive clause designating primarily some agreement, compact, or understanding under which the main act takes place. As I shall hope to show, the idiom is sharply differentiated both logically and formally from clauses of proviso, and also from conditional clauses, with which latter construction at least one eminent grammarian (Schmalz, *Lat. Synt.*³ § 325) seems to confound it.

As the views here advanced are new, I shall present all the material I have gathered that seems to me to illustrate the usage under discussion. This material, however, is probably not absolutely complete except for Plautus. The examples

¹ Read at the special meeting held at Philadelphia, December, 1900.

cited from other authors have been collected in the course of reading undertaken for other purposes, and represent, therefore, no systematic search.

More commonly the stipulative clause has the simple force of 'on the understanding that, that not'; 'with the agreement that, that not.' Yet, as a perfectly natural outgrowth of this value, we find it developing, under the influence of the context, into a variety of other values. Thus it may mean 'under the restriction that, that not'; 'with the reservation that, that not'; 'on pain of'; 'on the condition that, that not'; in the affirmative form it may also have the force of 'by' with a verbal noun; while with negatives (regularly *ne* or *ut ne*, — always so in the earlier period) it frequently has the force of 'without' followed by a verbal noun ('without saying,' 'without doing,' etc.).

I proceed to the classification of my material: —

a) *Stipulative clauses with the force of 'on the understanding that, that not'; 'under the agreement that, that not.'*

Plaut. *Trin.* 141: quod meae concreditumst taciturnitati clam fide et fiducia, ne enuntiarem quoiquam neu facerem palam.

ibid. 518: arcano tibi ego hoc dico, ne ille ex te sciat, neve alius quisquam.

id. Pseud. 55: ea caussa miles hic reliquit sumbolum . . . ut qui adferret eius similem sumbolum cum eo simul me mitteret.

Ut mitteret cannot be an appositional purpose clause explanatory of *caussa*; *ea caussa* clearly refers to the existence of the debt of five minae mentioned in verse 54.

Ter. *And.* 148: ita tum discedo ab illo, ut qui se filiam neget daturum.

The meaning of the passage obviously forbids us to take the *ut*-clause as one of result; *ita* merely anticipates the stipulative clause.

Cic. *de lege agr.* i. 3. 9: etiam illud, quod homines sancti non facient, ut pecuniam accipiant, ne vendant ('receive money on the understanding that they are not to sell'), tamen id eis ipsum per legem licebit.

Caes. *B. G.* i. 9. 4: *obsidesque uti inter sese dent perficit*: Sequani (*sc.* *obsides dant*), *ne itinere Helvetios prohibeant*, Helvetii, *ut sine maleficio transeant*.

Greenough, *ad loc.*, says that *ne prohibeant* and *ut transeant* are "object clauses of purpose depending upon the idea of agreement implied in *obsides dent*"; but this seems illogical. The Helvetii would have had no need to give hostages in order not to interfere with the march of the Helvetii; nor would the Helvetii have had occasion to give hostages in order to go through the territory of the Sequani without doing damage. To represent either tribe as giving hostages to achieve these ends is unreasonable.

Doberenz-Dinter⁸, *ad loc.*, observe, "beides von dem Begriffe *obsides dare* abhängig, drückt das aus wofür sie sich verbürgten, Gewähr leisteten"; so far I should give full adherence to their note; but they add, "also *obsides . . . dent = obsidibus datis caveant*; *cf.* vii. 2. 2"; this explanation, I shall hope to show, is entirely gratuitous.

Cic. *de Off.* iii. 26. 99: *missus est (sc. Regulus) ad senatum ut, nisi redditi essent Poenis captivi nobiles quidam, rediret ipse Carthaginem*.

id. pro Quinct. 27. 85: *ita possideto, ut tecum simul possideat*; *ita possideto, ut Quinctio vis ne afferatur*.

Here again *ita* is merely anticipatory of the following stipulative clauses.

id. de Off. i. 10. 33: *cum utrisque locutum, ne cupide quid agerent, atque ut regredi quam progredi mallent*.

Hor. *Sat.* i. 8. 12:—

Mille pedes in fronte, trecentos cippus in agrum,
Hic dabat, heredes monumentum ne sequeretur.

Livy, i. 3. 5: *pax ita convenerat, ut Etruscis Latinisque fluvius Albula . . . finis esset*.

Greenough, *ad loc.*, observes, "often a clause which seems like a result clause, as defining a correlative, is really a purpose clause expressing something which is originally a com-

mand or the like; cf. A. & G. 317. a," where *hoc consilio ut montium tegeantur altitudine* and similar appositional purpose clauses are cited; but the Nepos passage seems to me radically different, and again I find it irrational to recognize in the Livy passage any purpose idea in the *ut*-clause; that the Albula should be the Etrusco-Latin boundary could hardly have been the purpose (in the grammatical sense) of making the treaty.

id. ix. 11. 7: *pacem nobiscum pepigistis ut legiones vobis captas restitueremus.*

Front. *de Aquis*, i. 14: *ut ita demum Claudiam aquam adiuveret Augusta, si eam ductus Marciae non caperet.*

ibid. ii. 127: (censuere) *placere utraque ex parte quinos denos pedes vacuos relinqui ita ut neque monumentum in is locis neque aedificium post hoc tempus ponere neque conserere arbores liceret.* (A decree of 11 B.C.)

ibid. ii. 128: *eum agrum vendiderunt ut in suis finibus proprium ius res publica privatique haberent.*

Plaut. *Bacch.* 224: *veniat quando volt atque ita ne mihi sit morae.*

Cic. *Phil.* xii. 10. 24: *nuper in suburbium, ut eodem die reverterer, ire non sum ausus.*

Plaut. *As.* 229: *dic quid me aequom censes pro illa tibi dare, annum hunc ne cum quiquam alio sit.*

The *ne*-clause in this last example might possibly lend itself to interpretation as a purpose clause; but substantially the same clause recurs in the contract of the same play (v. 751):—

Diabolus Glauci filius Clearetae lenae dedit dono argenti viginti minas, Philaenium ut secum esset noctes et dies hunc annum totum.

Here the stipulative force is made clear by the context. This consideration impels me to put here the two following instances also:—

Plaut. *As.* 634: *quas hodie adulescens Diabolus daturus dixit, ut hanc ne quoquam mitteret nisi ad se hunc annum totum.*

ibid. 915: *ut viginti minas ei det, in partem hac amanti ut liceat ei potirier.*

id. *Epid.* 470: *atque ita profecto, ut eam ex hoc exoneres agro.*

Note the language of the verse immediately following:
estne empta mihi istis legibus?

id. Men. 53: sed ita ut det unde curari id possit sibi.

id. Mil. 979: vin tu illam actutum amovere, a te ut abeat per gratiam?

The *ut*-clause here clearly cannot be one of purpose, yet the editors, so far as I can find, make no comment upon its real nature.

ibid. 1148: omnia dat dono, a se ut abeat. Both the sense and the passage just cited lead me to take the *ut*-clause here as stipulative.

id. Capt. 948: gratiis a me ut sit liber ducito.

The stipulative force seems to me so clear here that I am disposed to recognize it in the two following examples also:—

id. Rud. 929: pauxillatim pollicitabor pro capite argentum, ut siem liber.

ibid. 1409: pro illa altera, libera ut sit, dimidium tibi sume, dimidium huc cedo.

Hor. *ad Pis.* 11:—

Scimus et hanc veniam petimusque damusque vicissim
 Sed non ut placidis coeant immitia, non ut
 Serpentes avibus gementur tigribus agni.

C.I.L. xi. 1331. a: ex voto suscepto . . . ubi vellet poneret . . . posuit Iovi, Iunoni, etc., i.e., 'he erected the monument in accordance with a vow taken on the understanding that he was to locate it where he wished.'

Plaut. *Persa*, 523: eam te volo curare ut istic veneat, ac suo periculo is emat qui eam mercabitur.

In these last two examples it will be noted that there is no introductory *ut*; the absence of the particle here and in some other examples to be cited later is of importance in determining the origin of the stipulative clause, a point that will be discussed below. In the *Persa* passage, Götz and Schöll put a strong mark of punctuation after *veneat* and apparently take *emat* as independent; this, while possible, seems to me less natural and quite unnecessary.

b) *Stipulative clauses with the force of 'with the restriction that, that not.'*

This type of the stipulative clause is not found before Cicero, and is not frequent at any period of the language; *ita* is usually — perhaps invariably — present in the main clause; it is presumably this circumstance that has led Dräger (*Hist. Synt.*¹ ii. p. 630) to classify such clauses as consecutive in character; but the presence of *ita* in an antecedent clause does not necessarily involve the consecutive character of the following *ut*-clause; the *ita* may be purely anticipatory, having the value of 'on this understanding,' a meaning which has been repeatedly noted in the examples already cited under my first head. Moreover, the negative *ne* (or *ut ne*) occurs repeatedly in these restrictive clauses, and *ne, ut ne*, I believe, are never found in truly consecutive clauses. The contrary view, I am aware, is somewhat widely held, particularly by European scholars, but it is in my judgment untenable; *ne* is primarily the negative of the volitive and optative subjunctives; it never appears in the potential, to which the consecutive clause must be assigned for its origin. Under these circumstances we can hardly evade the duty of at least making an honest endeavor to explain all subordinate clauses introduced by *ne* or *ut ne* as of volitive or optative origin. Such an explanation I have thought to find easy and natural in all clauses introduced by *ne* and *ut ne*; many of these are cited by Brix in a well-known note on the *Miles* (v. 149) as consecutive in character, e.g. *Capt.* 738: *atque hunc me velle dicite ita curarier, ne qui deterius huic sit quam quò — pessumest*; but here the simple and natural interpretation is: 'I wish him cared for with this in view, viz. that he fare no worse,' etc. So also I am persuaded that the *ne*-clause with *facere* is a perfectly natural jussive extension. The usage of Plautus makes it tolerably clear that the original type of substantive clause with *facio* was *fac abeas, fac ne abeas*, where the jussive character of the dependent subjunctive is sufficiently manifest. Here *fac* was originally a verb of 'seeing to it' or 'striving,' but the notion of causation easily developed, and thus paved the way for

such syntactical extensions as *faciam ne credas*, in which, while the primitive mechanism of expression is retained, a new logical value has developed. Logically, to be sure, one might interpret such clauses as clauses of result, but any such explanation ignores utterly their origin and development, and fails to account for the negative employed. With *efficere* the *ne* (or *ut ne*) clause is to be explained as following the analogy of *facere ne (ut ne)*, precisely as *exoro* and *impetro* (the one formally, the other logically) have taken on the construction of *oro*; though with all three of these verbs many scholars are wont to recognize the *ne*-clause as consecutive. For a fuller refutation of the view under consideration, see Durham, "The Subjunctive Substantive Clauses in Plautus" (*Cornell Studies in Classical Philology*, vol. xiii), p. 12 *et passim*.

Illustrations of these restrictive stipulative clauses follow :

Cic. *pro Scauro*, 4. 5 : qui tamen ipsi mortem ita laudant, ut fugere vitam vetent.

Here the original stipulative force 'on the understanding that' easily develops under the influence of the context into the meaning 'with the restriction that,' 'with the reservation that.'

id. Tusc. Disp. i. 45. 109 : quantum autem consuetudini fama^{que} dandum sit, id curent vivi, sed ita ut intellegant nihil id ad mortuos pertinere.

id. pro Sex. Rosc. 20. 55 : verum tamen hoc ita est utile, ut ne plane illudamur ab accusatoribus.

Livy, xxii. 61. 5 : ita admissos esse (*sc. in urbem*) ne tamen eis senatus daretur.

Here Greenough and Peck, *ad loc.*, while recognizing the restrictive character of the *ne*-clause, explain it as consecutive; but it is difficult to believe that the words of Livy ever conveyed any such idea to the Roman mind, nor does it seem natural that a truly consecutive clause should develop the restrictive force. The obstacle to a consecutive interpretation created by the presence of *ne* has been considered above.

C. I. L. vi. 10682 : Musicus et Helenus filii fecerunt et sibi et suis libertis libertabusque posterisque eorum ita ne liceat hunc munimentum vendere.

Front. *de Aquis*, ii. 123 : idoneum structuræ tempus est a Calendis Aprilibus in Calendas Novembres ita ut optimum sit intermittere eam partem ætatis, quæ, *etc.*

Dräger (*l.c.*) gives some further illustrations of clauses of this type, including unfortunately some that are not restrictive, but belong under our first head (see above, p. 224). Clauses of the type *ita . . . ut non* (instead of *ne*) present a special difficulty and will be considered below (p. 248).

c) Stipulative clauses with the force of 'on pain of' 'under penalty of.'

I have noted only the following : —

Plaut. *Men.* 216 : ego hercle vero te et servabo et te sequar, neque hodie, ut te perdam, meream deorum divitias mihi ; originally 'on the understanding that I'm to lose you' ; *i.e.* 'on pain of losing.'

id. Stich. 24 : neque ille sibi mereat Persarum montis, qui esse aurei perhibentur, ut istuc faciat.

Publ. Syr. 577 : rex esse nolim ut esse crudelis velim.

Cic. *Laelius*, 15. 52 : nam quis est . . . qui velit, ut neque diligat quemquam nec ipse ab ullo diligatur, circumfluere omnibus copiis atque in omnium rerum abundantia vivere?

Porphyrio, on Hor. *Car.* ii. 12. 23 : sensus est : num tu velis accipere Parthicas aut Phrygiæ divitias, ut Lycymniæ fructum amittas.

d) Stipulative clauses with the force of 'on condition that.'

Plaut. *Aul.* 458 : lege agito mecum, molestus ne sis, 'go to law ('on the understanding that,' and so) on condition that you only let me alone.'

id. Curc. 660 : tu ut hodie adveniens cenam des sororiam, hic nuptialem cras dabit : promittimus.

id. As. 455 : sic potius, ut Demaeneto tibi ero præsentem reddam.

id. Poen. 1365 : ut sis apud me lignea in custodia.

id. Rud. 1127 : concredam tibi, ac si istorum nil sit, ut mihi reddas.

Sonnenschein, *ad loc.*, correctly recognizes the force of the *ut*-clause here.

Cic. *de Fin.* v. 12. 36 : in sensibus est sua cuiusque virtus, ut ne quid impediatur, quo minus suo sensus quisque munere fungatur.

id. in Vat. 12. 30 : ita enim illud epulum est funebre, ut munus sit funeris.

Hor. *Epp.* i. 18. 107 : sit mihi quod nunc est, etiam minus, ut mihi vivam, quod superest aevi.

Some scholars would possibly be inclined to recognize in the above examples clauses of proviso, but the term 'proviso' is at present usually applied chiefly to *dum*-clauses. I believe it is best confined to them,¹ as they have a special connotation not possessed by any of the examples just cited. The *dum*-clause implies that the protasis is realized on the fulfilment of what is contained in the clause of proviso, and on no other; the stipulative clauses above cited, like ordinary protases with *si*, do not carry this implication.

e) *Stipulative clauses with the force of 'by' with a verbal noun.*

Instances of this type, so far as I have noted, are confined to Plautus :—

Plaut. *Stich.* 121 : qui potest mulier vitare vitiis? # Ut cotidie pridie caveat, ne faciat quod pigeat postridie ; originally 'on the understanding that she avoid,' and so 'by avoiding.'

id. Pers. 35 : facere amicum tibi me potis es sempiternum. # Quem ad modum? # Ut mihi des nummos sescentos.

id. Mil. 186 : quem ad modum? # Ut eum qui se hic vidit verbis vincat ne is se viderit. Siquidem centiens hic visa sit, tamen infitias eat.

Tyrrell, *ad loc.*, correctly recognizes the force of the *ut*-clause here, but gives no explanation of its origin.

id. Capt. 423 : nunc adest occasio benefacta cumulare, ut erga hunc rem geras fideliter.

Hallidie correctly interprets *ut geras*, but gives no explanation of how its force develops.

id. Truc. 919 : hoc modo, ut ne molestus sis.

¹ A clause of proviso introduced by *ut modo* occurs in Plaut. *As.* 274; and in later Latin a few instances of clauses of proviso with *ut* are found, e.g. Cic. *de Sex. Rosc.* 20. 55; Sen. *de Ben.* ii. 15. 1; Tac. *Ann.* iv. 38. 1.

Here also I should put : —

id. Pseud. 236 : quonam pacto possim vincere animum? # In rem quod sit praevortaris quam in re advorsa animo auscultes.

Bacch. 477 : itane oportet rem mandatam gerere amici sedulo, ut ipsus osculantem in gremio mulierem teneat sedens? =

f) (Negative) *Stipulative clauses with the force of 'without' with a verbal noun.*

Plautus is again the chief representative of the type.

Plaut. *Amph.* 388 : obsecro ut per pacem liceat te alloqui, ut ne vapulem, 'on the understanding that I'm not to be beaten,' and so, 'without being beaten.'

id. As. 718 : licet laudem Fortunam, tamen ut ne Salutem culpem.

Gray, *ad loc.*, takes *ut ne culpem* here as a clause of result.

id. Merc. 145 : dic mihi an boni quid usquamst, quod quisquam uti possiet, sine malo omni aut ne laborem capias, quom illo uti voles?

Here the collocation of the *sine*-phrase with the *ne*-clause is particularly worthy of note.

id. As. 319 : habeo opinor familiarem tergum ne quaeram foris.

id. Aul. 358 : sunt igitur ligna, ne quaeras foris.

id. Miles, 638 : ut apud te exemplum experiundi habeas, ne quaeras foris.

The first five letters of *quaeras* are the practically certain conjecture of Luchs.

The next two examples show *ni* instead of *ne*.

id. Cist. 204 : hanc ego de me coniecturam domi facio, ni foris quaeram.

id. Merc. 693 : parumne est malai rei quod amat Demipho, ni sumptuosus insuper etiam siet?

id. Miles, 1207 : nam si possem ullo modo impetrare ut abiret ne te abduceret, operam dedi.

Salmasius here conjectured *nec* for *ne*, and has been followed by most recent editors, Ritschl, Fleckeisen, Brix, Tyrrell, Götz and Schöll, among others. But *nec* is not only unnecessary; it is positively detrimental to the sense of the

passage. I believe we should adhere to the Mss. in this passage, as does Leo.

id. Most. 412 : —

Verum id videndumst, id viri doctist opus,
Quae dissignata sint et facta nequiter,
Tranquilla cuncta et ut proveniant sine malo,
Niquid potiatur, quam ob rem pigeat vivere.

Note again the collocation (here asyndetic) of a *sine*-phrase and an equivalent stipulative clause.

id. Vid. 83 : argenti minam adferam ad te, faenus mihi nullum duis.

Götz and Schöll have a strong mark of punctuation after *te* ; but the subjunctive here is quite parallel with the following example, where the same editors place only a comma.

id. Capt. 331 : eum si reddis mihi, praeterea unum nummum ne duis, et te et hunc amittam.

id. Poen. 177 : locum sibi velle liberum praeberier ubi nequam faciat clam, nequis sit arbiter.

ibid. 662 : at enim hic clam furtim esse volt nequis sciat neve arbiter sit.

id. Bacch. 343 : censebam me effugisse a vita marituma ne navigarem tandem hoc aetatis senex.

id. Pseud. 321 : quid nunc vis? # Ut opperiare hos sex dies aliquos modo, ne illam vendas neu me perdas hominem amantem.

Morris, *ad loc.*, expresses the opinion that the *ne*-clause is loosely attached as though dependent on *volo* ; neither *ut opperiare* nor *ne vendas*, in his opinion, has advanced far beyond the paratactic stage ; but in view of the numerous similar examples already cited I am convinced that *ne vendas* is truly subordinate.

Lorenz's interpretation of *ne vendas* as final, may, I hope, be properly dismissed without discussion.

id. Trin. 663 : tute pone te latebis facile, ne inveniat te honor.

Cic. *de Fato*, 13. 29 : licet etiam inmutare, ut fati nomen ne adiungas et eandem tamen teneas sententiam.

id. de Fin. ii. 20. 64 : (utebatur) vino et ad voluptatem, et ne noceret.

id. in Verr. ii. 2. 30. 74: qui sciret se ita in provincia rem augere oportere ut ne quid de libertate deperderet.

id. pro Quinct. 11. 38: qui usque eo fervet ferturque avaritia, ut de suis commodis aliquam partem velit committere, ne quam partem huic propinquo suo ullius ornamentum relinquat.

The influence of this type of stipulative clause seems noticeable also in the elliptical *ne magno sumptu* of Plaut. *Mil.* 750.

The foregoing instances have all fallen into fairly definite logical categories, each of which is an obvious and natural development of the original stipulative force. The following few examples, while, I believe, clearly stipulative, stand by themselves:—

Plaut. *Stich.* 193: haec verba subigunt med . . . ut faciam praecoris compendium itaque auctionem praedicem, ipse ut venditem, 'compel me to dispense with a crier and advertise the sale on the understanding that I'm to act as auctioneer myself'; *ita* again is purely anticipatory of the stipulative clause.

id. Aul. 591: sin dormitet, ita dormitet, servom se esse ut cogitet; almost equivalent to 'remembering that he is a slave.'

Cic. *Par.* 22: nihil demi (potest) ut virtutis nomen relinquatur.

Tac. *Ann.* iv. 8. 8: ita nati estis ut bona malaque vestra ad rem publicam pertineant.

Substantive Stipulative Clauses.

Nearly all of the classes of stipulative clauses above recognized pass readily into substantive clauses. Such substantive clauses occur with considerable frequency at all periods in connection with verbs of 'bargaining,' 'contracting,' and the like; also in apposition with nouns like *condicio*, *leges* ('terms'), *foedus*, etc.

Cic. *de Off.* iii. 24. 92: siquis pepigerit ne illo (*sc.* medicamento) umquam postea uteretur.

Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 14: sane pepigerat Pallas, ne cuius facti in praeteritum interrogaretur paresque rationes cum re publica haberet.

Plaut. *Merc.* 536^a: inter nos coniuuravimus . . . neuter stupri causa caput limaret.

Pliny, *Epp.* iii. 12. 1 : paciscor sit expedita.

Plaut. *Capt.* 378 : nunc ita convenit inter me atque hunc, Tyn-dare, ut te aestumatum in Alidem mittam ad patrem ; si non rebitas, huic ut viginti minas dem.

ibid. 395 : dicito patri quo pacto mihi cum hoc convenerit de huius filio . . . ut eum redimat et remittat.

Amph. 225 : convenit urbem, agrum, aras, focos, seque dederent.

id. *Aul.* 257 : memineris convenisse, ut nequid dotis mea ad te afferret filia.

Cic. *pro. Q. Rosc.* 18. 56 : qui restipularetur a Fannio diligenter, ut, quod is exegisset a Flavio, dimidiam partem sibi dissolveret ; *cf. ibid.* 38 hac condicione ut, *etc.*

Plaut. *Epid.* 314 : mane me iussit senex conducere aliquam fidi-cinam sibi huc domum, dum rem divinam faceret, cantaret sibi.

The above text is the reading of all Mss. that have pre-served this part of the play (*A* fails here), except that *B*¹ has *dinam*. This variant led Bücheler to propose *quae* (before *dum*), while Götz and Schöll, comparing *Epid.* 500, insert *ut*. But I am disposed to defend the reading *divinam*. In conformity with its jussive origin (a point upon which I shall presently touch), the stipulative clause not infrequently lacks the introductory particle. A number of instances where it is absent have been cited in the material already submitted, *e.g.* *C.I.L.* xi. 1331. *a* ; Plaut. *Persa*, 524 ; *Pseud.* 237 ; Pliny, *Epp.* iii. 12. 1. Additional instances will be cited below. I there-fore see no difficulty in assuming the possibility of the stipu-lative clause in a sentence like *te conduco mihi cantes* 'I hire you on the agreement that you are to play for me.' Such a clause while primarily adverbial would, like those previously considered, easily take on a substantive character, and, when projected into past time, would give us precisely such a sen-tence as read by our Mss. in the passage under discussion.

id. *Epid.* 500 : conducta veni ut fidibus cantarem seni.

Ut is here present, but this may signify nothing more than that both forms of expression were recognized in the mechan-ism of the language, just as *impero abeas* and *impero ut abeas*, and scores of similar doublets exist side by side.

id. Truc. 688 : rabonem habeto ut mecum hanc noctem sies.

id. Rud. 1030 : ecquid condicionis audes ferre? # Iam dudum fero, ut abeas, rudentem amittas, mihi molestus ne sies.

Bacch. 1041 : duae condiciones sunt, vel aut aurum perdas, vel ut amator perierit.

Cic. pro Q. Rosc. 13. 38 : hac condicione, ut, si quid ille exegisset a Flavio, eius partem dimidiam Roscio dissolveret; *cf. ibid.* 56 restipularetur, *etc.*

id. in Verr. ii. 5. 22. 58 : ea condicione vixerunt, ut populo Romano nihil darent, Verri nihil negarent.

id. in Cat. iv. 1 : si haec condicio consulatus data est, ut omnis acerbitates, . . . perferrem.

id. pro Arch. 10. 25 : iubere ei praemium tribui, sed ea condicione ne quid postea scriberet.

Nepos, *Thras.* 3. 1 : fecit pacem his condicionibus, ne qui praeter XXX tyrannos et decem . . . afficerentur exsilio.

Livy, xxiii. 7. 1 : pacem condicionibus his fecerunt, ne quis imperator magistratusve Poenorum ius ullum in civem Campanum faceret, *etc.*

Suet. *Tib.* 13 : revocatus est, verum sub condicione ne quam partem curamve rei publicae attingeret; so also *ibid.* 26.

Plaut. *As.* 234 : in leges meas dabo . . . perpetuom annum hunc mihi uti serviat nec quemquam interea alium admittat.

Ter. *And.* 199 : te in pistrinum, Dave, dedam usque ad necem, ea lege atque omine, ut si te inde exemerim, ego pro te molam.

Plaut. *Most.* 359 : ego dabo talentum . . . sed ea lege ut offigantur bis pedes.

Persa, 69 : in ea lege adscribier : ubi quadruplator quempiam iniexit manum, tantidem ille illi rursus iniciat manum.

id. As. 735 : has tibi nos pactis legibus dare iussit. # Quid id est, quaeso? # Noctem huius et cenam sibi ut dares.

id. Aul. 155 : his legibus ducam (*sc. uxorem*), quae cras veniat, perendie foras feratur.

The text of this passage is somewhat uncertain, and *quae* is certainly peculiar, yet the character of the subjunctives is, I think, perfectly clear; it will be noted that the introductory particle is lacking.

Bacch. 328 : signumst cum Theotimo, qui eum illi adferet, ei aurum ut reddat.

id. de Fin. i. 20. 70 : sunt autem qui dicant foedus esse quoddam sapientium, ut ne minus amicos quam se ipsos diligant.

Plaut. *Cas.* 512 : ut alio pacto condiam † quod id quod paratumst, ut paratum ne siet sitque ei paratum quod paratum non erat.

Amph. 1023 : quo modo? # Eo modo ut profecto vivas miser.

Truc. 918 : quo modo? # Hoc modo ut molestus ne sis.

Bacch. 1178 : At scin quo pacto me abducas? # Mecum ut sis.

Aul. 434 : me haud paenitet tua ne expetam, *i.e.* 'I'm satisfied on the understanding that I'm not to see what is yours,' 'the agreement not to seek satisfies me.'

id. Poen. 853 : quo modo? # Ut, enim, ubi mihi vapulandum sit, tu corium sufferas.

Curc. 663 : quid dotis? # Egone? ut semper me alat. The point here is the intentional misapplication of the word *dos*, — 'the marriage portion that I give, is — that he's to give me my daily portion as long as he lives.'

The two following examples are certainly unique, but I believe they belong in this category.

Plaut. *Men.* 966 : spectamen bono servo id est . . . ut absente ero rem eri diligenter tutetur.

Pliny, *Epp.* ii. 14. 6 : tanti constat ut sis disertissimus.

Before proceeding to discuss a few special types of the stipulative clause which remain to be considered, it will be well to determine, if possible, its origin, *i.e.* from what independent use of the subjunctive it has developed. We have already noted that in the affirmative form of the construction we repeatedly find the subjunctive without *ut*, while in its negative form we uniformly find *ne, ut ne*. These facts are of the highest significance, and point definitely to either a jussive or optative origin of the construction. That the origin is in the jussive and not in the optative will, I believe, be apparent to all. This is clear from examples like the following, which may be assumed to represent the original type of the construction as it emerged from the paratactic stage.

Plaut. *Epid.* 470 : atque ita profecto, ut eam ex hoc exoneris agro, 'and on these terms, you just pack her out of the country.'

Ut, in all these clauses, must, I think, originally have been an indefinite adverb, presumably with the force of 'just' or 'only'; cf. my *Appendix to Bennett's Latin Grammar*, § 368; Durham, *Subjunctive Substantive Clauses in Plautus*, p. 6.

Pliny, *Epp.* iii. 12. 1: *paciscor sit expedita*, 'I bargain, let it be simple.'

Plaut. *Pseud.* 321: *opperiare hos sex dies, ne illam vendas*, originally 'wait six days, don't sell her.'

id. Merc. 992: *modo pacem faciatis oro, ut ne mihi iratus siet*, 'make peace, only let him not be angry with me.'

Miles, 1098, although not containing a stipulative, exhibits an independent jussive in an admirable state of preparation for taking on stipulative value: *dixi equidem tibi quo pacto id fieri possit clementissime. Aurum atque vestem muliebrem omnem habeat sibi, sumat*, etc.

The theory of jussive origin is supported too by the occasional occurrence of an imperative in stipulative function, e.g. Plaut. *As.* 229: *dic quid me aequom censes pro illa tibi dare, annum hunc ne cum quiquam alio sit?* The answer is *Tune? viginti minas; atque ea lege, si alius ad me prius attulerit, tu vale!*

Note, too, the frequent occurrence of words like *pango*, *paciscor*, *restipulor*, *convenit*, *foedus*, *leges*, *condiciones*, in the clause upon which the stipulative depends.

Originating within limits such as I have above indicated, the stipulative clause, like every other hypotactic construction known to Latin, naturally soon passed beyond its original boundaries. A sentence like *atque ita profecto ut eam ex hoc agro exoneres* is easily understood as having developed from the jussive, and (typically at least) as having once (in prehistoric times) been at the hypotactic stage. But no such explanation is conceivable for a sentence like Cic. *in Verr.* ii. 2. 30. 70: *qui sciret ita se in provincia rem augere oportere ut ne quid de libertate perderet*. Sentences like this last (and there are many such) can only be explained as natural extensions of an idiom that had its origin under conditions where the subjunctive was truly jussive. Just so soon as the stipu-

lative was established as a fairly definite logical category in the Roman consciousness, its extension beyond the narrow limits of its origin was a foregone conclusion. Precisely the same thing happened here as happened in the clause of purpose. The clause of purpose must have had its origin in the jussive (at least partially), and one may assume *tibi pecuniam do, ut panem emas*, originally 'I give you money; just buy bread' as representing the primitive type. But *pecuniam mutatur, ut panem emat* cannot by any ingenuity be conceived of as ever having been at the paratactic stage. It remains only to explain clauses like this last as extensions of the purpose category, when once established in the Roman consciousness, beyond the limits of its origin. So with the stipulative.

I pass to a discussion of some other types of the stipulative clause:—

With da pignus; iudicem ferre (habere); sponsionem facere.

I first give the material.

a) *da pignus.*

Plaut. *Poen.* 1242: *da pignus, ni nunc perieres.*

id. Truc. 275: *pignus da, ni lignae hae sint quas habes Victorias.*

sint is the reading of *A*; the Palatine Mss. have *sunt*, which is read by Götze and Schöll.

id. Epid. 699: *da pignus ni ea sit filia.*

This is the Mss. reading, but Götze and Schöll, following Oskar Brugmann, read *est*, which is the accepted text in the similar passage in v. 700 of the same play.

The foregoing are the only examples of *da pignus ni* with the subjunctive, and one of these rests on the preference of the reading of *A* as against *P*. Harper's *Dictionary* cites Gell. v. 4. 2 *in quodvis pignus vocabat ni . . . delictum esset* as another instance, but *ni* has no Mss. authority, and is no longer read to-day. On the other hand, Plautus has several clear instances of *ni* with the indicative combined with *da pignus*, e.g. *Cas.* 75; *id ni fit, pignus dato in urnam mulsi*; cf. also *Pers.* 187; *Epid.* 700; see below.

b) *iudicem ferre, habere; arbitrum adigere.*

Livy, iii. 57. 5 : iudicem ferre, ni vindicias dederit.

id. iii. 24. 5 : ni ita esset, multi privatim ferebant Volscio iudicem.

Plautus, *Rud.* 1380 : cedo quicum habeam iudicem, ni dolo malo instipulatus sis nive etiamdum siem quinque et viginti annos natus.

nive is the reading of the Mss. Priscian in citing the passage gives *sive*, which is accepted by Götz and Schöll, Oskar Brugmann, Sonnenschein, and others, along with Priscian's *annos natus* for the impossible *natus annos* of the Mss.

Cic. (?) *pro Scauro*, 22. 45 (B. and K.) : quid igitur, si te Scaurus arbitrum adegisset, ni multo maiores sumptus, multo maiores offensiones, pro censu tuo in columnis fecisses, quam ipse utrum tandem sponsione vinci necesse fuisset.

c) *sponsionem facere.*

Cato, in Gellius, xiv. 2. 26 : nunc si sponsionem fecissent Gellius cum Turio ni vir melior esset.

Cic. *in Verr.* ii. 3. 57. 132 : cum palam Syracusis te audiente maximo conventu L. Rubrius Q. Apronium sponsione lacessivit, ni Apronium dictitaret te sibi in decumis esse socium.

id. in Verr. ii. 3. 59. 135 : sponsio est, ni te Apronium socium in decumis esse dicat.

id. in Verr. ii. 3. 60. 137 : sponsio facta est cum cognitore tuo Apronio de fortunis tuis omnibus, ni socium te sibi in decumis dictitaret.

id. in Verr. ii. 5. 54. 141 : cogere eum coepit sponsionem facere cum lictore suo, ni furtis quaestum faceret.

id. in Pis. 23. 55 : quom ego Caelimontana porta introisse dixissem, sponsione me ni Esquilina introisset, homo promptissimus lacessivit.

id. pro Cacc. 16. 45 : cum optime sponsionem facere possent, ni adversus edictum praetoris vis facta esset.

id. de Off. iii. 19. 77 : cum is sponsionem fecisset ni vir bonus esset.

Val. Max. ii. 8. 2 : Valerius sponsione Lutatium provocavit, ni suo ductu Punica classis esset oppressa.

Concerning the character of the *ni*-clause in the foregoing passages, there has been much debate; see especially the minute discussion of Oskar Brugmann (*Ueber den Gebrauch*

des conditionalen NI in der älteren Latinität, pp. 8–17), to whom I am indebted for some of my examples and for references to the earlier literature, part of which was inaccessible to me. The questions involved are two: 1) What is the nature of *ni*? Is it a negative adverb (= *ne*), or is it a conjunction (= *nisi*)? 2) What is the nature of the subjunctive? These two questions, however, while logically distinct, are practically identical. Let us restrict our consideration first to expressions of the type *da pignus ni*.¹ So far as I can find, the traditional explanation makes *ni* here (as in fact in all expressions of the type under discussion) equivalent to *nisi*, and explains the subjunctive as due to indirect discourse; but this explanation of the mood is perilously near a *Machtspruch*; it fails to explain. No indirect discourse is obvious in an expression like Plaut. *Poen.* 1242: *da pignus, ni nunc perieres*; or in *Epid.* 699: *da pignus, ni ea sit filia*. Nor is it clear how a clause introduced by ‘unless’ should develop into the obvious meaning demanded in these passages. Mommsen in his excursus to Cic. *in Verr.* ii. 5. 54. 141 (cited by Brugmann as incorporated in Halm⁸) cuts the Gordian knot by boldly assuming that *ni* (= *nisi*) is used for *si* (‘give me a pledge, in case she be my daughter’), and adds in explanation of this view, “aber mit den Negationen macht der Usus in allen Sprachen wunderliche Confusion.” But we are dealing with a technical legal formula whose diction is presumably scrupulously exact, and unless some adequate explanation can be advanced for the surprising use maintained by Mommsen, I believe we must reject his view. O. Keller, as I learn from Brugmann (p. 10), has advanced the theory that *ni* in the passages under consideration is equivalent to ‘ob nicht.’ In support of this, Keller cites *Truc.* 736: *discant, dum mihi commentari liceat, ni oblitus siem*; but *ni* is here unquestionably equivalent to *ne* (as repeatedly in Plautus and other writers) and the clause is one of fearing, — ‘for fear I have forgotten.’ Brugmann aptly cites *Aul.* 39: *credo aurum inspicere volt, ne subruptum siet*. This usage is fairly common in Plautus; cf. *Persa*, 79: *ne quis obreptaverit*; *Aul.* 647:

¹ I include also one instance of *iudicem habere* (*Rud.* 1380).

ne inter tunicas habeas. Keller's interpretation of *ni* as 'ob nicht,' therefore, would compel us to adopt a special meaning of *ni*, not elsewhere exhibited, for the explanation of the construction under discussion, and this, as Mommsen justly observes, is hardly legitimate.

Another explanation of the subjunctive in these passages regards it as potential, but Brugmann properly rejects this on the basis of an exhaustive examination of early usage, as well as on the basis of the signification of the *ni*-clause itself. The same scholar, accordingly, would write the indicative in all the Plautine passages above cited, except *Rud.* 1380. This attitude involves a departure from the Mss. in *Epid.* 699 and *Poen.* 1242, and the preference of the reading of *P* as against *A* in *Truc.* 275. This seems to me a very radical procedure; it would be quite as justifiable in my judgment to conjecture away the indicatives handed down in our Mss. and substitute subjunctives for them in the four passages where the indicative alone is read. Thus it would be easy to conjecture *sit* for *fit* in *Cas.* 75; *Persa*, 186 might be made to read: *da hercle pignus ni omnia meminerim et sciam*; so *Epid.* 700: *ni ergo matris filia sit.* (*Rudens*, 713, I should leave out of account, as the text is incomplete; *ergo dato*, given by Brugmann, is purely conjectural.) But this, too, would be radical. The only methodical course, it seems to me, is to follow our Mss. and read the subjunctive in *Epid.* 699; *Poen.* 1242; *Rud.* 1380. In *Truc.* 275, too, I should give the decided preference to the subjunctive *sint* (*A*) as being the *lectio difficilior*. In *Rud.* 1381, I should (with Leo) follow the Mss. and read *nive*, accepting Priscian's *annos natus* (for the impossible *natus annos* of the Mss.), but rejecting his reading *sive*.

The subjunctives in these passages, I believe, are stipulative in character. *Ni* is a negative whose use as the equivalent of *ne* is sufficiently well attested. The regular use of *ni* in the *sponsio* I should explain as a perfectly natural retention of an archaic word in legal formulas, such as we are unquestionably dealing with. *Epid.* 699, I accordingly interpret as meaning originally 'bet me, on the understanding

that she's not my daughter,' *i.e.* 'bet me she's not'; *Poen.* 1242: 'bet me you're not fibbing'; *Rud.* 1380: 'bet me you didn't act crookedly'; *Truc.* 275: 'bet me the coins aren't counterfeit.' This gives us a perfectly simple explanation of the subjunctive, and the only adequate one that has been advanced, so far as I can find. With expressions of this kind, too, the stipulative clause is precisely what might be expected. If any word lends itself easily to combination with a stipulative subjunctive, that word certainly is *pignus*. In retaining *nive* (Mss.) in *Rud.* 1381, I am influenced primarily by the impossibility of accounting for the mood of *siem* except upon the theory that it is stipulative. The explanation becomes perfectly natural when we interpret the *nive siem* as a stipulative emanating from the point of view of Labrax, just as *ni instipulatus sies* emanates from the point of view of Gripus, *i.e.* Labrax proposes they make a wager, Gripus to the effect that he has not acted crookedly, Labrax to the effect that he is not yet twenty-five years old.

The indicatives with *ni* remain. Here *ni* is obviously used in the sense of *nisi*, a use which, I believe, grew up after the analogy of *si* with the indicative, a construction also employed after *da pignus*, etc.; *cf. Persa*, 186; *da hercle pignus, ni omnia meminī et scio, et quidem si scis tute quot hodie habeas digitos in manu; Pseud.* 1070: *roga me viginti minas . . . sive eam tuo gnato hodie, ut promisit, dabit.* But the recognition of the existence of two practically equivalent constructions of different origin with one verb need give us no more surprise in the case of *da pignus* than, for example, with *cave*, which may be followed either by *ne* with the subjunctive or by the subjunctive alone.¹

The above conclusions concerning the nature of the subjunctive in the *ni*-clauses following *da pignus* lead me to suggest reading *ni* for Mss. *si* in Plaut. *Pseud.* 1071. The

¹ In *cave abeas* we have either an analogical extension of *fac abeas* (*cf. Morris, Am. Jour. Phil.* xviii. p. 298; Delbrück, *Grundriss d. Vergl. Synt.* 3, p. 420) or a jussive protasis that has developed into an object clause (see my *Latin Grammar*, § 305. 2); in *cave ne abeas* we probably have an object clause that has developed directly from the prohibitive.

subjunctive *sit potitus* can hardly be satisfactorily explained on any other basis. Brugmann, *l.c.* p. 13 f., has pointed out with great fulness the objections to the present reading and, besides enumerating the conjectures of other scholars, has himself proposed to reconstitute the verse as follows: *si illic hodie illac erit potitus muliere*. It is much simpler and much more methodical, I believe, to change *si* to *ni* and to explain *sit potitus* as stipulative. *Roga me viginti minas in 1070* is logically equivalent to *pignus dabo in viginti minas*; if so, *ni potitus sit* (used aoristically in the sense of *potiatur*) becomes perfectly simple.

In view of the foregoing discussion, I hope that the application of the stipulative interpretation to expressions of the type *iudicem ferre, sponsionem facere, sponsione laccessere*, will not require further defence. Many of the passages are obviously extensions of the original type, — always so where we have an imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive; yet Cic. *in Verr.* ii. 3. 135: *sponsio est, ni te Apronius socium in decumis esse dicat*, gives an instance of the original form. The imperfect and pluperfect subjunctives might, so far as the mood is concerned, be accounted for on the theory of *oratio obliqua*, but the employment of *ni* (instead of *si*) would in that case still await explanation.

Tanti, non tanti, ut; ne.

This idiom, so far as I can find, appears first in Cicero, and from his day on is fairly common in both prose and poetry; I have noted it as late as Claudian. Yet despite the frequency of the idiom, the character of the subjunctive occurring in it has, in my opinion, been almost universally misinterpreted. I first present my material (probably not entirely complete):

Cic. *pro Q. Rosc.* 8. 22: *certe tanti non fuissent, ut socium fraudaretis.*

id. pro Caec. 7. 18: *non putavit esse tanti hereditatem ut de civitate in dubium veniret.*

Cael. in Cic. *ad Fam.* viii. 14. 1: *tanti non fuit Arsacem capere, ut earum rerum quae hic gestae sunt spectaculo careres.*

id. de Off. iii. 20. 82 : est ergo ulla res tanti aut commodum ullum tam expetendum ut viri boni splendorem et nomen amittas?

id. ad Att. xi. 16. 2 : ego non adducor quemquam bonum ullam salutem putare mihi tanti fuisse, ut eam peterem ab illo.

Prop. iv. 11. 3. [M] : —

Tantine ulla fuit spoliati gloria Parthi
Ne faceres Galla multa rogante tua?

id. iii. 8. 55. [M] : —

Ne tibi sit tanti Sidonia vestis
Ut timeas quotiens nubilus auster erit.

Ovid, *Am.* i. 10. 49 : —

Non fuit armillas tanti pepigisse Sabinas
Ut premerent sacrae virginis arma caput.

id. Am. ii. 5. 1 : nullus amor tanti est . . . ut mihi sint to maxima vota mori.

Petron. *Sat.* 62 : ut mentiar nullius patrimonium tanti facio.

Lucan, *Phars.* iii. 51 : nec vincere tanti, ut bellum differret, erat.

Sen. *de Ben.* iii. 23 : tanti iudicaverunt, ne domina occideretur, videri dominam occidisse.

ibid. vi. 22 : est tanti, ut tu coarguaris, ista concidere?

ibid. vi. 34 : qui optat amico aliquam necessitatem, quam adiutorio suo fideque discutiatur, quod est ingrati, se illi praefert et tanti aestimat illum miserum esse, ut ipse gratus sit, ob hoc ipsum ingratus.

Tac. *Dial.* 40. 7 : sed nec tanti rei publicae Gracchorum eloquentia, ut pateretur et leges.

Pliny, *Epp.* viii. 9. 2 : nulla enim studia tanti sunt ut amicitiae officium deseratur.

Juv. iii. 54 : —

Tanti tibi non sit opaci
Omnis harena Tagi quodque in mare volvitur aurum,
Ut somno careas ponendaque praemia sumas
Tristis et a magno semper timearis amico.

id. x. 98 : —

Sed quae praeclara et prospera tanti
Ut rebus laetis par sit mensura malorum?

Claud. *in Ruf.* ii. 249 : non est victoria tanti ut videar vicisse mihi.

Juvenal x. 98 (just cited) is a typical example of the idiom to be considered. On this, Mayor offers the following labored explanation: "What glory or success is of so great value that the measure of misfortunes should [*i.e.* that one should be content that it should] equal the prosperity?" This is certainly taking great liberties, and, as I think I shall show, entirely gratuitous liberties, with the Latin. Mayor, like practically all others who have given attention to this type of expression since Madvig's day, takes the *ut*-clause as one of result, and to meet the evident necessities of the meaning of the passage, foists upon the result clause a meaning which clauses of result do not elsewhere have. If *ut sit* in the Juvenal passage can mean 'that it should be,' then *tam vehementer currit ut cadat* ought to be capable of meaning 'he runs so hard that he should fall.' That this is inadmissible would, I think, be the verdict of most Latinists. In fact, the special meaning attached to the subjunctive by those who take the clause as consecutive in expressions of this type is one adopted solely to support the consecutive interpretation and, so far as I am aware, never elsewhere applied.

An examination of the very numerous examples of the idiom I have gathered points clearly to another origin of the *ut*-clause occurring in it. In the negative type of the clause after *tanti*, we never have *ut non*, but *ne*, *e.g.*:—

Propertius, iv. 12. 8:—

Tantine ulla fuit spoliati gloria Parthi
Ne faceres Galla multa rogante tua.

Sen. *de Ben.* iii. 23: Tanti iudicaverunt, ne domina occideretur, videri dominam occidisse.

The evidence, then, again points to a jussive origin for the subjunctive after *tanti*, *non tanti*, and the examples of the construction without exception all lend themselves most easily and naturally to this interpretation. Thus the last one, from Seneca, plainly means 'they deemed it worth while (*tanti*) to seem to have murdered their mistress, on the understanding that she wasn't really to be murdered.' So

the Juvenal passage: 'What glory or prosperity is worth while, on the condition that it is to be equalled by misfortune?'

Cf. also the following:—

Cic. *pro Caec.* 7. 18: non putavit esse tanti hereditatem ut de civitate in dubium veniret, 'he did not deem the inheritance worth while, on condition of hazarding the loss of his citizenship.'

Cic. *de Off.* iii. 20. 82: Est ergo ulla res tanti aut commodum ullum tam expetendum, ut viri boni splendorem et nomen amittas, 'is any thing worth while, if it is on pain of forfeiting the glory and name of an honest man?'

Ovid. *Amor.* i. 10. 49:—

Non fuit armillas tanti pepigisse Sabinas
Ut premerent sacrae virginis arma caput.

Pliny, *Epp.* viii. 9. 2: nulla enim studia tanti sunt, ut amicitiae officium deseratur, 'no studies are worth the while, if they entail abandonment of friendship.'

Ut, then, in expressions of this kind is not correlative with *tanti* in the sense of 'of so much importance that,' but *tanti* is used absolutely in the sense of 'worth the while'; *cf.* Cic. *ad Att.* ii. 13. 2: *Iuratus tibi possum dicere, nihil esse tanti*; v. 8. 3: *Nihil nobis fuerat tanti*; xiii. 42. 1: *Nunc nihil mihi tanti est. Faciam quod volunt*; v. 20. 6: *Quid quaeris? fuit tanti*; and very frequently elsewhere.

This view of the *ut* and *ne*-clauses after *tanti*, *non tanti*, receives the strongest confirmation from the closely related *dum*-clauses¹ used after the same words, *e.g.*:—

id. in Cat. i. 9. 22: Sed est mihi tanti, dum modo ista privata sit calamitas et a rei publicae periculis seiungatur.

id. in Cat. ii. 7. 15: est mihi tanti, Quirites, huius invidiae tempestatem subire, dum modo a vobis huius belli periculum depellatur.

In the following passage we have both an *ut*-clause and a *dum*-clause after *tanti*.

¹ For the difference between the clause of proviso and the stipulative clause, see above, p. 231.

Ovid, *Rem. Am.* 750 :—

Non tamen hoc tanti est, pauper ut esse velis.
At tibi sit tanti non indulgere theatris,
Dum bene de vacuo pectore cēdat amor.

For much of the material on *tanti ut*, I am indebted to Madvig (*Opusc. Acad.* 1842, vol. ii. pp. 187–195). Madvig discusses the idiom at length and rightly interprets its logical value, but in explaining the *ut*-clause as consecutive he, in common with subsequent scholars, is, I believe, in error.

Stipulative Clauses Introduced by ut non.

Lastly, I wish to call attention to the following clauses introduced by *ut non*: the material, I believe, is fairly complete for Cicero, the author to whom it is mainly confined.¹

Cic. *pro Q. Rosc.* 56 : quem ad modum suam partem Roscius suo nomine condonare potuit Flavio, ut eam tu non peteres?

id. Div. in Caec. 13. 44 : cuius ego ingenium ita laudo ut non pertimescam.

id. pro Balbo, 20. 46 : potest igitur, iudices, L. Cornelius condemnari ut non C. Mari factum condemnetur?

id. in Pis. 24. 56 : neque enim quisquam potest exercitum cupere aperteque petere ut non praetexat cupiditatem triumphi.

id. de imp. Cn. Pomp. 7. 19 : non enim possunt una in civitate multi rem ac fortunas amittere, ut non plures secum in eandem trahant calamitatem.

ibid. ruere illa non possunt, ut haec non eodem labefacta motu concidant.

id. Phil. viii. 1. 2 : potest enim esse bellum ut tumultus non sit, tumultus esse sine bello non potest.

id. Phil. xi. 5. 12 : quidvis patiendum fuit, ut hoc taeterrimum bellum non haberemus.

id. Phil. xiv. 11 : cui viginti his annis supplicatio decreta est, ut non imperator appellaretur?

id. de Fin. ii. 22. 71 : malet existimari bonus vir ut non sit quam esse ut non putetur.

¹ Cf. Dräger, *Hist. Synt.*¹ ii. p. 631. Dräger recognizes the idiom, treating the subjunctive as consecutive.

id. Tusc. Disp. i. 11. 23: quare si, ut ista non disserantur, liberari mortis metu possumus, id agamus.

id. Lael. 20. 76: ut neque rectum neque honestum sit nec fieri possit ut non statim alienatio disiunctioque facienda sit.

Hor. *Epp.* i. 18. 16, *scilicet ut non sit*, etc., is sometimes classed with the foregoing material, but the word order is against this interpretation: *sit* and *elatrem* are probably deliberatives.

It was with some hesitation at first that I classed the above clauses introduced by *ut non* as stipulative, yet the use of *non*, *neque* where we should expect *ne*, *neve* is so common, that the use of *non* here need cause no surprise. Thus from the earliest period we find *non*, *neque* used with the optative subjunctive, e.g. Plaut. *Cist.* 555; Cic. *ad Att.* xi. 9. 3; Plaut. *Curc.* 27; *Pseud.* 271 f.; Cic. *pro Cael.* 6. 14. So with the prohibitive, e.g. Plaut. *Stich.* 149; *Rud.* 1028; *Bacch.* 476; *Capt.* 605. Also in adversative ("concessive") clauses introduced by *ut*, e.g. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* i. 18. 16; *ad Att.* ii. 15. 2; *Phil.* xii. 3. 8. Cf. also the late use of *dum modo non* in Juv. vii. 222. In the stipulative itself, in conformity with its jussive origin, the negative is regularly *ne*,—invariably so in the early period; yet *nec* occurs in Plaut. *As.* 236, and in Cic. *Laelius*, 15. 52. Under these circumstances I believe we have sufficient warrant for admitting the possibility of *ut non* in a truly stipulative construction. So far as meaning is concerned, it seems impossible to explain the above clauses with *ut non* as consecutive, though all scholars who have expressed an opinion upon the subject adopt this view. On the other hand, they all are perfect examples of the stipulative, illustrating familiar types discussed in the earlier part of this investigation, particularly types (*a*) and (*f*).

As stated at the outset of this paper, the grammarians give in effect no recognition to the idiom I have been discussing. Schmalz, in the third edition of his *Syntax*, § 325, observes "Das aus dem konsekutiven *ut* ohne weiteres sich ergebende kondizionale *ut* gehört der ganzen Latinität an." He then cites a solitary example, Publ. Syrus, 577: *rex esse nolim; ut esse crudelis velim*. But this example represents

but one phase, and a relatively infrequent phase, of our idiom, while its consecutive character, as maintained by Schmalz, has been, I think, fully disproved. I question, too, whether the term "condizionales," which Schmalz applies to the *ut*-clause in the example from Publius Syrus, at all accurately designates the force of the clause here. Certainly it would be entirely inadequate to cover the great bulk of the examples I have quoted.

Riemann, *Syntaxe Latine*³, p. 333, § 197, Rem. II, recognizes our restrictive type¹ of the stipulative, but only by the scantiest reference, and, like Schmalz, takes it as consecutive in character, even when introduced by *ne* (§ 199). Beyond recognition of the restrictive stipulative, he does not go. The origin of the stipulative clause, its fundamental force, and its other important logical developments, he ignores. Apart from Schmalz and Riemann, I have found no recognition of the construction in any quarter where one might naturally look for it. The dictionaries likewise ignore it.

¹ Allen and Greenough (*Lat. Gram.* § 319. *b*) also recognize the restrictive use, but despite the negative employed in it (*ne, ut ne*) class the clause as one of result.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

THIRTY-SECOND ANNUAL SESSION

OF THE

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

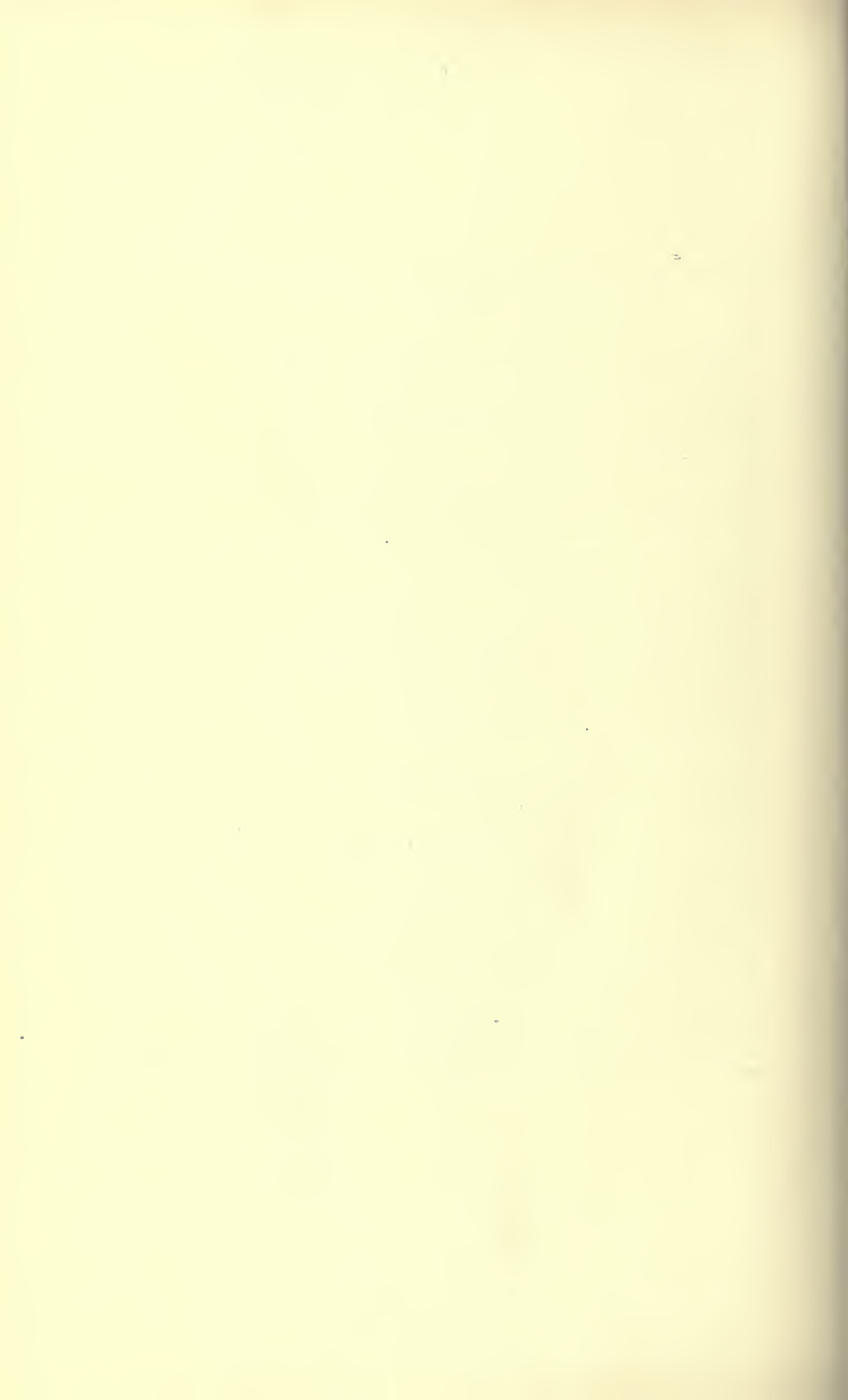
HELD AT MADISON, WISCONSIN,

JULY, 1900.

MEMBERS IN ATTENDANCE AT THE THIRTY-SECOND
ANNUAL SESSION (MADISON, WIS.).

R. Arrowsmith, New York, N. Y.
William N. Bates, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
Edward A. Bechtel, Chicago, Ill.
Demarchus C. Brown, Butler College, Irvington, Ind.
Carl D. Buck, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Isaac B. Burgess, Morgan Park, Ill.
Theodore C. Burgess, Peoria, Ill.
Edward Capps, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Jesse Benedict Carter, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
Mary Emily Case, Wells College, Aurora, N. Y.
A. C. Chapin, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.
Willard K. Clement, Chicago, Ill.
H. B. Foster, Baltimore, Md.
Harold N. Fowler, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
William Gardner Hale, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
George Hempl, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Frank G. Hubbard, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
A. G. Laird, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
Abby Leach, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
O. F. Long, Evanston, Ill.
H. Z. McLain, Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Ill.
William A. Merrill, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
Charles B. Newcomer, Columbia, Mo.
Edward T. Owen, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
Leon J. Richardson, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
John Adams Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
E. G. Sihler, New York University, New York, N. Y.
M. S. Slaughter, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
Charles Forster Smith, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
W. O. Sproull, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O.
R. B. Steele, University of Illinois, Bloomington, Ill.
F. B. Tarbell, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Arthur T. Walker, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan.
William E. Waters, Wells College, Aurora, N. Y.
Alexander M. Wilcox, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan.

[Total, 35.]



AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

MADISON, WISCONSIN, July 3, 1900.

The Thirty-second Annual Session was called to order at 3.50 P.M. in Room 16, University Hall, of the University of Wisconsin, by the President, Professor Abby Leach, of Vassar College.

The Acting Secretary of the Association, Professor Harold N. Fowler, of Western Reserve University presented the following report:—

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

Dr. Edward A. Bechtel, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Dr. H. B. Burchard, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y.
Dr. Theodore C. Burgess, Bradley Polytechnic Institute, Peoria, Ill.
Dr. C. C. Bushnell, Union College, Schenectady, N. Y.
Prof. Benjamin P. Bourland, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Dr. George Davis Chase, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
Rev. Orishatukeh Faduma, Troy, N. C.
Dr. George Converse Fiske, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Dr. H. B. Foster, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
Dr. Louis H. Gray, 53 Second Avenue, Newark, N. J.
Prof. W. A. Heidel, Iowa College, Grinnell, Ia.
Prof. F. Hellems, Boulder, Col.
Mr. N. Wilbur Helm, Pennington, N. J.
Prof. O. F. Long, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
Dr. Charles B. Newcomer, Columbia, Mo.
Prof. George Norlin, Boulder, Col.
Mr. Charles James O'Connor, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
Miss Annie N. Scribner, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
Mr. Edmund F. Schreiner, 486 N. Clark St., Chicago, Ill.
Prof. Charles H. Shannon, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.
Dr. F. W. Shipley, Lewis Institute, Chicago, Ill.
Dr. Grant Showerman, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
Mr. M. C. Smart, Claremont, N. H.
Prof. Frederic Earle Whitaker, Kenyon College, Gambier, O.

And by affiliation of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast:

Prof. W. H. Alexander, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
Mr. W. F. Belfrage, Visalia, Cal.

- Mr. G. Berg, Marysville, Cal.
Prof. C. B. Bradley, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
Miss H. S. Brewer, Redlands, Cal.
Rev. William H. Brewer, San Mateo, Cal.
Miss Josephine Bristol, High School, Redwood City, Cal.
Mr. Valentine Buehner, High School, San Jose, Cal.
Mr. Elvyn F. Burrill, Oakland, Cal.
Mr. Martin Centner, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
Prof. Samuel Chambers, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
Mr. James G. Coffin, Stanford University, Cal.
Mrs. Emily Cressey, Modesto, Cal.
Mr. J. A. De Cou, Red Bluff, Cal.
Mr. Jefferson Elmore, Stanford University, Cal.
Prof. G. E. Faucheux, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
Prof. P. J. Frein, Stanford University, Cal.
Prof. John Fryer, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
Dr. John Gamble, Haywards, Cal.
Mr. Charles Bertie Gleason, High School, San Jose, Cal.
Prof. J. Goebel, Stanford University, Cal.
Mr. C. W. Goodchild, San Luis Obispo, Cal.
Mr. Walter H. Graves, Oakland, Cal.
Miss Rebecca T. Greene, Salinas, Cal.
Rev. Henry H. Haynes, San Mateo, Cal.
Mr. Edward Hohfeld, Visalia High School, Visalia, Cal.
Miss Lily Hohfeld, Siskiyou Co. High School, Yreka, Cal.
Miss Rose Hohfeld, Stanford University, Cal.
Mr. Wesley Hohfeld, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
Miss Grace L. Horsley, High School, Red Bluff, Cal.
Prof. C. S. Howard, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
Mr. M. C. James, High School, Berkeley, Cal.
Prof. O. M. Johnston, Stanford University, Cal.
Prof. S. F. Lange, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
Rev. James O. Lincoln, San Mateo, Cal.
Miss Alice Marchebout, Girls' High School, San Francisco, Cal.
Prof. Max L. Margolis, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
Mr. H. S. Martin, Marysville, Cal.
Prof. John E. Matzke, Stanford University, Cal.
Miss G. E. McVenn, High School, Redwood City, Cal.
Prof. Walter Miller, Stanford University, Cal.
Dr. George F. G. Morgan, San Francisco, Cal.
Principal Francis O. Mower, Napa High School, Napa, Cal.
Mr. Harold Muckelston, Stanford University, Cal.
Mr. E. J. Murphy, San Mateo, Cal.
Mr. Carl H. Nielsen, Vacaville, Cal.
Prof. H. C. Nutting, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
Dr. Andrew Oliver, San Mateo, Cal.
Prof. F. V. Paget, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
Mr. E. Piliter, High School, Alameda, Cal.

- Mr. S. B. Randall, California College, Oakland, Cal.
- Miss Cecilia Raymond, Dixon, Cal.
- Mr. J. J. Schmit, Lowell High School, San Francisco, Cal.
- Prof. Henry Senger, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
- Mr. L. R. Smith, High School, Santa Clara, Cal.
- Mrs. G. H. Stokes, Marysville, Cal.
- Mr. C. M. Walker, Lowell High School, San Francisco, Cal.
- Mrs. C. E. Wilson, Girls' High School, San Francisco, Cal.
- Mr. P. S. Woolsey, High School, Visalia, Cal.

2. The TRANSACTIONS and PROCEEDINGS for 1899 (Vol. XXX) were issued in March. 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, 1899, showed a record of books, pamphlets, and articles by about sixty-five members.

Professor Fowler, the Acting Treasurer, then presented his report for the year 1899-1900:—

RECEIPTS.

Balance from 1898-99		\$1029.15
Membership dues	\$900.00	
Arrears	120.00	
Initiation fees	145.00	
Sales of Transactions	213.10	
Dividends Central New England and Western R. R.	6.00	
Offprints	7.00	
Interest	23.69	
Exchange	0.52	
Total receipts for the year		<u>1415.31</u>
		\$2444.46

EXPENDITURES.

Transactions and Proceedings (Vol. XXX)	\$848.33	
Index to Vols. XXI-XXX	60.00	
Committee of Twelve	31.27	
Salary of Secretary	250.00	
Postage	41.90	
Stationery and Job Printing	34.93	
Treasurer's Book	1.50	
Expressage	4.64	
Incidental	1.10	
Total expenditures for the year		<u>\$1273.67</u>
Balance, July 2, 1900		<u>1170.79</u>
		\$2444.46

The President appointed Professor Brown and President Waters a committee to audit the Acting Treasurer's report.

The President appointed Professors Fowler, Smith, and Sproull a committee on the time and place of the next Annual Meeting.

The President appointed Professors Tarbell, Slaughter, and Gudeman a committee on Officers for the ensuing year.

The Acting Secretary announced that the Joint Congress of the Philological Association with the American Oriental Society, the Spelling Reform Association, the Archaeological Institute of America, the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, the Modern Language Association (including its Central Division), and the American Dialect Society (cf. PROCEEDINGS for 1898, p. lvii), was to be held at the University of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia, December 27, 28, and 29, 1900, and that Professor B. L. Gildersleeve, of Johns Hopkins University, had consented to deliver an address.

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

1. The Purpose of the *Germania* of Tacitus, by Professor Alfred Gudeman, of the University of Pennsylvania.

This paper will be found printed in full in the author's edition of the *Germania*, Introd., pp. xxxix-xlvi, published September, 1900.

2. The Danaid Myth, by Dr. Campbell Bonner, of Harvard University.

This paper is printed in full in the TRANSACTIONS.

3. Notes on Homeric War, by Professor Thomas Day Seymour, of Yale University (read in the absence of the author by Professor Fowler).

This paper is printed in full in the TRANSACTIONS.

4. Emendations to the Tenth Book of Pausanias, by Dr. William N. Bates, of the University of Pennsylvania.

This paper was devoted to a discussion of several troublesome passages in the tenth book of Pausanias. The writer first gave an account of the manuscripts of Pausanias, pointing out the general character of the corruptions which occur in them, and then proposed the following emendations:—

1. X. 12, 10. The manuscripts have τῆς μὲν δὴ πυθέσθαι τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ ἐπιλέξασθαι τοὺς χροσμούς. This is manifestly incomplete. A lacuna at the end

of the sentence is indicated in La. Read τῆς μὲν δὴ πυθέσθαι τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ ἐπιλέξασθαι τοὺς χρῆσμοὺς (οἶόν τ' ἐστίν).

2. X. 13, 10. τέχνη μὲν τὰ ἀναθήματα Ὀνάτα τοῦ Αἰγινήτου καὶ Καλύνθου τε ἐστικῶσι ἔργου κ.τ.λ. The corruption was discussed at length, and the passage restored as τέχνη μὲν τὰ ἀναθήματα Ὀνάτα τοῦ Αἰγινήτου καὶ Καλύνθου τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ συννεργῶ κ.τ.λ. Evidence was brought forward to establish the probability of the restoration.

3. X. 15, 1. Read Φρόνης δὲ εἰκόνα ἐπίχρυσον Πραξιτέλης μὲν εἰργάσατο ἔραστῆς ὦν καὶ οὗτος. The omission of the ὦν may, however, be due to Pausanias.

4. X. 15, 2. στρατηγοὶ δὲ οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος, τὸ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς, δύο τε Ἀπόλλωνος ἀγάλματ' ἐστὶν Αἰτωλῶν. The sentence is not properly balanced. Read καὶ (τὸ μὲν) Ἀρτέμιδος, τὸ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς κ.τ.λ.

5. X. 17, 5. τετάρτη δὲ μοῖρα Ἰολάου Θεσπιέων τε καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς στρατιὰ κατῆρ' ἐς Σαρδῶ. Read Θεσπιέων τε καὶ (τῶν) ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς κ.τ.λ.

6. X. 25, 2. Pausanias sets out to describe the paintings of the Lesché of the Cnidians with the words Μενελάω δὲ τὰ ἐς τὴν ἀναγωγὴν εὐτρεπίζουσι. The indefinite use of the third plural at the beginning of a description is not Greek. Read therefore Μενελάω δέ (τινες) τὰ ἐς τὴν ἀναγωγὴν εὐτρεπίζουσι.

7. X. 25, 2. καὶ τέως ὁμοῦ Νέστορι ὁ Μενελαὸς πλέων, τότε κατὰ αἰτία ἀπελείφθη ταύτην ἵνα μνήματος καί, ὅσα ἐπὶ νεκροῖς ἄλλα, ἀξιώσει τὸν Φρόντιν. Pausanias is paraphrasing *Odyssey* III. 285

ὄφρ' ἔταρον θάπτοι καὶ ἐπὶ κτέρεα κτερίσειεν.

The difficulty lies with the μνήματος. The sense is not *think him worthy of a tomb*, which would be the meaning with the genitive, but *honor him with a tomb*. ἀξιώω in this latter sense requires the dative. Read therefore μνήματι in place of μνήματος.

8. X. 19, 11. καὶ ἵππον τὸ ὄνομα ἴστω τις μάρκαν ὄντα ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν. This passage has given much trouble but does not require emendation. Punctuate καὶ ἵππον, τὸ ὄνομα, ἴστω τις μάρκαν ὄντα ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν and there is no difficulty. Translate, "and horse, that is the noun horse, let anybody know is *marka* among (or more literally, at the hands of) the Celts." For the use of ὑπό cf. X. 5, 9 δεύτερα δὲ λέγουσιν οἱ Δελφοὶ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ μελισσῶν τὸν ναόν.; also X. 17, 1 ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῇ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὅτι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐγένετο οὐκ οἶδα.; and X. 26, 8 ἔργον δυσμενὲς ὑπὸ Ἀγαμέμνονος καὶ Μενελάου γενέσθαι.

Adjourned at 5.30 P.M.

EVENING SESSION.

The Association assembled at eight o'clock in room 16, to listen to the address of the President, Professor Abby Leach, of Vassar College. The speaker was introduced by Professor Edward A. Birge, Dean of the College of Letters and Sciences, who extended a welcome to the Association on behalf of the University of Wisconsin.

5. The Athenian Democracy in the Light of Greek Literature, by Professor Abby Leach, of Vassar College, the President of the Association.

Athens was a typical democracy, a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, and because the population was so small that the people took part directly in affairs of state and not through representatives, and because life was less complex than now, in this miniature democracy the tendencies and workings of a democracy can clearly be seen.

The Funeral Speech of Pericles gives the ideal view of democracy, namely, equal rights and equal opportunities for all. Aristotle says: "It is equality determined not by merit but arithmetically, that is, by merely counting heads, and where this is the case, it necessarily follows that the masses are supreme." "A charming form of government" are Plato's sarcastic words. "Full of variety and disorder, and dispensing a sort of equality to equals and unequals alike!" And he thinks the dominant characteristic of a democracy is an insatiate thirst for freedom that does away with all reverence and real respect for authority. Aristotle, often quoted as the champion of the majority, says, "As the multitude collectively may be compared to an individual with many feet, hands, and senses, so the same is true of their character and intelligence," but he goes on to state that this does not apply in all cases, whatever the character of the people or masses may be. The majority he approves is a select majority, for he rules out of citizenship all husbandmen and artisans and laborers in general, on the claim that they have not the requisite leisure for the cultivation of virtue.

The history of Athens shows a steady gain in the power of the people, and Aristotle asserts that statesmen more and more played into their hands to win power and place for themselves; that Pericles, able statesman and true patriot as he was, saw that the pathway to power lay through popular favor and, therefore, made presents to the people out of their own property by instituting pay for the members of the law-courts. This policy led to the rise of demagogues and "the popular leadership was occupied successively by the men who chose to talk the biggest and pander to the tastes of the majority with their eyes fixed only on the interest of the moment" and "in struggling to be first themselves, they were ready to sacrifice the whole conduct of affairs to the whims of the people."

There is plentiful testimony, too, against the orators for employing their skill merely to please the people and leading the people astray with artful speech. And not merely the tricks of pleasing speech thrived apace at Athens, but there were more tangible ways of securing the allegiance of the people, and bribery became open and unblushing. The Athenians, though in general humane, became cruel and vindictive, according to Thucydides, when they had gained an empire, and imperialism made this liberty-loving people tyrannical.

The mass of people are shown to be susceptible to that which stirs their feelings, and hence are unstable and inconsistent in their actions and policy. When they see the evil consequences of their folly in a given case, they are ready to wreak vengeance upon those who led them astray, but have no blame for themselves, as if their votes had not determined the measure. The evils of the democracy and its dangers were seen by statesmen and philosophers, and they each had remedies to propose, firmer adherence to the laws and greater severity against

any infraction of them in the one case, better training in virtue and appointment of disinterested rulers in the other case. They agree with Matthew Arnold: "The great danger to any democracy is the danger that comes from the multitude being in power with no adequate ideal to elevate or guide the multitude." Athens teaches that the Many are easily flattered and cajoled, that "they pursue the pleasures they like and the means thereto, and shun the contrary pains, but they have no thought of, as they have no taste for, what is right and truly sweet"; that there is always the gravest danger that unscrupulous men will rise to power by cunning manipulation of the people, by pandering to their baser natures instead of trying to influence them for their own good and the good of the state; that the Many with their emotionalism, their lack of ideals, their narrow vision, must have wise and noble leaders, and the problem is how to train these leaders upon whom Nature herself has set the stamp of greatness, into noble living and thinking, and how to make the people desire and accept such leadership.

This paper will be printed in full in the *American Journal of Philology*, XXI. No. 84.

MORNING SESSION.

MADISON, July 4, 1900.

The Association assembled at 9.30 A.M.

The Acting Secretary announced that the Local Committee, assisted by the University and by citizens of Madison, had arranged for a trip in a steamer on Lake Mendota, with supper at Red Gable Cottage, the steamer to leave the boat-house landing at 5.30 P.M.

The Acting Secretary read a communication from Professor J. H. Thayer on the American School in Palestine.

6. Traces of Epic Usage in Thucydides, by Professor Charles Forster Smith, of the University of Wisconsin.

This paper is printed in full in the TRANSACTIONS.

7. The Cognomina of the Goddess Fortuna, by Professor Jesse Benedict Carter, of Princeton University.

This paper appears in full in the TRANSACTIONS.

8. A Revision of Pronouns with Especial Attention to Relatives and Relative Clauses, by Professor Edward T. Owen, of the University of Wisconsin.

The writer merely outlined a theory of the relatives, which is to be defended in the ensuing volume of the Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters.

The fact that some languages have no relative pronouns was used as provisional justification of the typical sentence: "I have a book will please you." This was

found to express two thought-members, or say two thoughts, otherwise expressible by (1) "I have a book" and (2) "book will please you." In the union of these two, as above, in a single sentence, thought-structure was shown by the diagram: ("I have a [book] will please you"), it being claimed that the idea named by "book" is simultaneous factor of both thoughts—that such idea is once conceived and only once. So, too, in "red wine from France," it was held that "wine" is not thought of once as "red" and again as "from France." It was further emphasized that the singleness of conception in the case of "book," that is, the simultaneity of one idea in two thoughts, is that exactly which makes of two thoughts one—that, in other words, which gives the well-known connecting power commonly ascribed to the relative.

It was further noted as a linguistic convenience, to mark the sentence subject and object, by a special sign. In the given example "book" is object of "have" and subject of "will please." That a desire to use the subject and object signs persists, when the sentential function of a word is thus double, was shown by the following examples, given essentially as they occur in Bulwer's *Rienzi*.

- I. (Defence against [whosoever] aspires),
- II. (Defence against [whomsoever] aspires),

in which the author seems to feel the need of inflecting a simultaneous factor for each of its two sentential functions.

In preliminary illustration of relative procedure, this need was met by imaginary methods, use being made of inflection at either word-end (as in some Greek tense-forms) and of isolated inflection (*e.g.* the "to" of the English infinitive = the *re* of *amare*). With such helps the sentence "The Bible teaches (whosoever wishes to learn, or say) the man wishes to learn" was rendered into imaginary Latin as follows: The idea named by "man" being conceived but once, its symbol "hom," is used but once. The symbol "nem," the sign of object function in what might be called the front clause (The Bible teaches the man), is put where it seems to be the most effective, at the front end of the simultaneous factor "hom," developing "Biblia docent nem-hom." The symbol "o," the sign of subject function in the back clause, is put at the back end of the simultaneous factor, developing in full

("Biblia docent nem-[hom]-o vult" . . .)

But the inadmissibility of either double or front inflection requires the change to the form "Biblia docent hominem o vult"; and conventionality further requires the displacement of "o" by "qui." It was, however, claimed that the values of "hom," "nem," and "o" remain as before, and that the value of "o" is exactly maintained by "qui"; that the idea of "man" is thought but once; that, while it is thought under the influence of "hom," it is not thought under any influence of "qui"; that "qui" is not the sign of a thought-factor, but merely the sign of what is to be done with a thought-factor; that "qui" must rank, accordingly, not as structural, or say constructional, but as instructional, being, if strictly taken, a merely isolated inflection.

It was stipulated that this view of relative value should not be taken as implying that such value was, historically, always the same. It was noted that the

exclusive consideration of the relative as a case-sign was without prejudice to the value which, like other case-signs, it has, as also a sign of number, gender, etc. Special attention was called to the indeclinable relative "that," in which the exhibition of second function shrinks to the announcement that second function is to occur (as in "I have a book that will please you"), what is usually a special guide becoming only a general warning.

Comparison was made with the German ("Er hat erreicht den [Himmel] der erwartete ihn"), in which it was argued that both the so-called article "den" and the so-called relative "der" are merely isolated case-signs; and objective illustration was offered as follows: Conceive a wedding ceremony and a funeral service to occur simultaneously, in the same church, and so near together that a woman present may be regarded as forming part of the group attending each. Thus situated she may cherish the laudable wish to conform her dress to each of her two environments. She is somewhat in the predicament of a simultaneous sentence-factor, which also might advantageously suit itself to each of two verbal companies. A harlequin costume, partly festal and partly funereal, is forbidden by usage. Could the woman, however, duplicate herself in form, while remaining personally one; could she, in short, make use of a dummy, or could she, in theosophic parlance, project alongside of herself an astral or fictitious self, this illusory second self she might harmonize, in dress, with one environment, while her actual primary self conformed to the other. That is, without repeating her actual self, her individual significance, or, say, her meaning, she might be in formal accord with her two surroundings. So, too, of the relative pronoun, it may, very figuratively, be said, that it is the verbal dummy, on which we hang the drapery of inflections suitable to a second verbal environment.

The relative was compared with true pronouns, as follows: In "I just met Brown. He is ill," by the word "Brown" a particular idea is established in your mind. But, at the end of the sentence in which it appears, this idea so far lapses from your mind that you will not think of it again, unless invited to do so — that is, so far as you merely try to understand what is told you. But such an invitation is furnished by "He." This word, it is true, cannot, unaided, establish in your mind the idea named by "Brown." But when that idea once has been established by "Brown," even though it be disestablished, it can be reestablished by "He" — that is, if the intervening time be not too great. The words of this order may be known as reestablishers or *reinstatives*.

On the other hand, in "Brown has bought him a horse," it is plain that Brown continues fully in your mind till, even, you have utilized the symbol "horse." Figuratively speaking, the "him" is not designed to brighten a mind-picture which has faded. This "him" provides you rather with a copy of that picture, to hang in your mental gallery alongside of the still fresh original. In other words, the idea of Brown shall twice appear in a single thought. The linguistic promoter of the second appearance may be known as a *coinstative*.

On the background formed by these examples let there be projected now the following: "I know a servant who will suit you." The idea named by "servant" does not lapse from the attention which you give it with "I know," and come back to the attention which you give it with "will suit you." It cannot, therefore, be said that "who" reinstates "servant." Again, the idea first introduced by "servant" is not supplied with any copy to be used with it as its thought co-

member. That is, "servant" is not coinstated. It is simply held or continued; and, so far as any order is given for such continuation, it is given by "who," which, therefore, may be called a *continuative*.

The order given by the reinstative is to recall. That of the coinstative is to repeat. That of the continuative is to retain. It reminds one of the word twice printed, once at the foot of a page, and again at the top of the page succeeding, — or of the musical sign which directs the player to hold a given note for an increased length of time. But at its best it does more than either; it not only warns you that an idea used already in given surroundings is to stand its ground while new surroundings gather about it; it also tells you that in these new surroundings the idea is to have a particular rank. For the second stage of a mental journey it serves you doubly, being, in a way, both an alarm and an itinerary.

Remarks were made on this paper by Professors Hubbard and Sproull, and in reply by Professor Owen.

9. Some Lucretian Emendations,¹ by Professor W. A. Merrill, of the University of California.

- V. 989 nec nimio tum plus quam nunc mortalia saecla
dulcia linquebant lamentis lumina vitae.
Read clamantis. Cf. I. 808; II. 577; I. 188 ff.; I. 56; VI. 214, 185, 757;
I. 351; II. 995; IV. 1014, 1016.
- I. 469 namque aliud terris, aliud regionibus ipsis
eventum dici poterit quodcunque erit actum.
Read (1) colentibus. Cf. V. 1441, 1369.
(2) cluentibus. Cf. I. 449, 480; IV. 52. Pl. *Men.* 575.
- VI. 29 quidve mali foret in rebus mortalibu' passim.
Read quidque. Cf. III. 34; V. 71, 184, 185, 776; I. 57; II. 1031, 64;
VI. 533; IV. 634.
Seneca, *Epist.* 95, 11; Lucr. IV. 48; Virg. *A. V.* 283; Sall. *Jug.* 30; Virg.
A. X. 150. Lucr. V. 184, 5.
- V. 703 qui faciunt solem certa desurgere parte.
Read de surgere. Cf. IV. 1133; VI. 819; VI. 1101, 467, 1133, 477; IV.
344; VI. 99, 522. Hor. *S. 2*, 2, 77.
- III. 962 aequo animoque agendum magnis concede necessesit.
Read (1) aequo animoque age: iam dormis: concede: necessesit. Cf. 956,
959.
(2) aequo animoque age: numne gemis? concede: necessesit. Cf.
934; V. 1348; III. 297, 952, 973.
- IV. 418 nubila despiciere et caelum ut videre videre
corpora mirande sub terras abdita caelo.
Read nubila despiciere et caeli ut videre videre
caerula mirande sub terras abdita caelo.
Cf. I. 1090; En. *Ann.* 50; IV. 462.

¹ Printed in full in the *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. XXI. 183 ff.

III. 453 claudicat ingenium delirat lingua mens.

Read (1) meat mens. Meare occurs over 15 times in Lucretius.

(2) migrat mens. Cf. V. 831; Plaut. *Trin.* 639; III. 463, 593.

Curtius, III. 5, 9.

I. 555 conceptum summum aetatis pervadere finis.

Read floris. Cf. III. 770; V. 847; I. 564; IV. 1105; I. 557-8. Seneca

De Benef. IV. 6, 6.

III. 387 qui nimia levitate cadunt plerumque gravatim.

Read gradatim. Caes. *B. C.* III. 92, 2.

Remarks were made on this paper by Professor Sihler.

10. Is there still a Latin Potential? by Professor William Gardner Hale, of the University of Chicago. This paper appears in full in the TRANSACTIONS.

Remarks were made on the paper by Professor W. A. Merrill.

11. On a Certain Matter in the Earlier Literary History of Aristophanes, by Professor E. G. Sihler, of New York University.

The Alexandrine librarians, who drew up literary tables and *καθόνες*, had no less need of Aristotle's *Διδασκαλῆαι* than we have. That work clearly limited itself to the official records of actual public production. Hence the scholion, *Clouds*, 549, is naïve: οὐ φέρονται αἱ διδασκαλῆαι τῶν δευτέρων Νεφέλων. Whether this collection differed from the *Νίκαι Διονυσιακαί* in the list preserved by Diogenes Laertius (V. 1, 26) of Aristotle's writings or not, either is quoted as being not longer than a single *κύλινδρος*; there was, then, no room for discursive treatment or for controversy. Passing over the work of the Peripatetic students of literary history such as Theophrastos, Lynkeus, Dikaiarchos, Chamaileon, and of the Atthis-compiler, Philochoros (*περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησιν ἀγώνων*), the Alexandrines were favored by the fact that they had the Peripatetic collections entire, and the Mss. of the Comedy-writers entire. It may be doubted whether the vastly greater bulk of their productions in this field (Lykophron wrote nine books *περὶ κωμῶδίας*, Eratosthenes, twelve) contained an equally greater amount of data of literary biography compared with Aristotle's concise registrations. And thus we must content ourselves with Aristophanes's own text in considering the curious iteration and variation of young Aristophanes in his references to his first three plays — *Banqueters*, *Babylonians*, *Acharnians*; the first one produced διὰ Φιλωνίδου, the other two διὰ Καλλιστράτου. In the Parabasis of the *Knights*, 513 ff., he deals with the problem why he had not all along asked for a chorus by himself; many had worried him (*βασανίζειν*) into answering this. (It was *not the writing of plays*, but the production, rehearsing, training of chorus, and all the recitation, singing, dancing, gesturing, and declaiming involved in *κωμῶδοδιδασκαλία* which made him pause.) There was no such thing as permanent popularity, his townspeople were like birds of passage (*ἐπετελεύς*, 518). The careers of Magnes, Kratinos, Krates had, on the whole, had a deterrent influence on his resolution.

So he always put it off (*διέτριβεν ἀέλ*). Then he speaks of the gradation in the work, as in navigation that of the rower, the outlook at the prow, and the pilot. (Cf. Pollux, who names *κυβερνήτης, πρωράτης, ναύτης* in this order, I. 95.) The last part of this simile may, I think, be pressed (*κυβερνᾶν αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ*): the pilot who navigates for himself, is both skipper and merchant, corresponds to the *κωμωδοδιδάσκαλος*, who *has acquired experience* and receives the profit of his own labor and venture from the archon. It was a question of choice of a *profession*. There was no question of publicity or no publicity; Kallistratos had been no screen to him; Aristophanes himself underwent the prosecution for *ξενία*. In the "Second" *Clouds*, our *Clouds* (a rearrangement of the first, but never brought upon the stage), he returns to the theme (529 ff.), but in an entirely different manner of presentation: "I was a *παρθένος*," he says (let us say a *virgo* like the one in Plautus's *Aulularia* who had a child when she had not yet a husband). Aristophanes's *Banqueters*, then, like a foundling, were entrusted to another young woman (*παῖς ἑτέρα*), who assumed the outward functions of maternity. It may not be safe to interpret in detail the symbolism of this phrase. Clearly though the *ἐκτρέφειν καὶ παιδεύειν* on the part of the Attic public (v. 532) is not in need of interpretation. The *παρθένος* would seem to symbolize the *shyness* and *caution* of young Aristophanes; and the *vita*, too, summarizes: *εὐλαβῆς δὲ σφῶδρα γενόμενος τὴν ἀρχήν . . . τὰ μὲν πρῶτα διὰ Καλλιστράτου καὶ Φιλωνίδου καθλεῖ δράματα* (what the association of *εὐφύης* with *εὐλαβῆς* is meant to signify I do not understand). Cf. the scholiast on 530.

The Parabasis of *Wasps*, like that of "Second" *Clouds*, equally exhibits the *soreness* of young Aristophanes (v. 1018), *τὰ μὲν οὐ φανερώς* (first three). Again he puts forward another symbolism for the same matter: this time *he* is the *δαίμων* who (according to the popular belief) really spoke in the interior of the ventriloquist, the speaker's lips furnishing merely the mechanism; this latter was the function of Kallistratos. The scholion, one of very unequal value, concludes thus: *ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰπεῖν ὅτι πρότερον ἄλλοις ἐδίδου τὰς κωμῶδας*.

Professor Kaibel, the author of the article on *Aristophanes* in the new *Pauly-Wissowa*, explains *Knights* (542 ff.) thus: "Gemeint sind die mannigfachen *Vorstudien* (sic) die Aristophanes für notwendig hielt." This is really what the Germans would call "eine schablonenhafte Idee," due to the critic's professional and national environment. The data in the Suidas article on Eupolis run counter to such an idea. While Kaibel warns us against any pedantic "Einzelausdeutung" of the simile in the Parabasis of the *Knights* he himself goes further in this respect than sober caution would suggest: "vielleicht versuchte er sich als Choreut oder als Schauspieler, *sicher aber* (whence this certainty?) als Mitarbeiter an Stücken älterer Dichter." A case, I think, for the practice of the *ars nesciendi*.

12. On the Form of Syllables in Classical Greek and Latin Poetry, by Professor Leon J. Richardson, of the University of California.

In order to syllabicate a Greek or Latin verse according to its structural nature, one should consider: (A) *Phonetics*, e.g. in languages having an unstressed or lightly stressed accent, a single consonant between two vowels tends in fluent speech to be amalgamated to some extent with the vowel that follows, thus leav-

ing the syllable represented by the preceding vowel open. This holds even in a *final* single consonant when the next word begins with a vowel; for (1) a verse shows a closely connected series of sounds with no appreciable breaks theoretically except at the rhythmic pauses; (2) amalgamation between words is common in all speech; (3) when a short syllable precedes a rhythmic pause, the involved word generally ends with a vowel; (4) initial, medial, and final short syllables occupy indifferently the same part of a foot. This principle, therefore, implies that a syllable having the form *vowel-consonant* causes more resistance in pronunciation and seems to occupy more time than one consisting of the same sounds in reverse order. And a consonant having ante-vowel position in its syllable is easier to pronounce and seems to occupy less time than the same consonant having post-vowel position in its syllable. (B) *Rhythm*, e.g. rhythm in dancing, music, and poetry involves the recurrence of equal time-intervals (*feet*). They are made sensible each through an included group of movements (*syllables*). The beginning and end of each interval are indicated, not by special breaks, but by the fact that the movements within an interval are always arranged according to a determined sequence. A given rhythmic element is theoretically identical in form with every corresponding element in the same series. The form of syllables, as prescribed by rhythmic theory, was less exactly realized in ordinary reading than in other modes of rendering poetry. (C) *Evidence of the text*, e.g. (1) if a word ends with a consonant and the next word begins with a consonant, the final syllable of the former is always long. (2) If a final syllable ends with a short vowel and the next word begins with two consonants, the final syllable of the former is regularly short. (3) Poets use certain words containing a mute and liquid with the syllable represented by the preceding vowel (itself short by nature) now as short, now as long. But since a word ending with a mute followed by a word beginning with a liquid always has its final syllable long, and since the members of compound words show this same fact and also the facts given under (1) and (2), it seems probable that the mute and liquid were properly divided between two syllables, unless the poet desired to make the former syllable short. It appears, moreover, that a syllable long by position was always closed. (D) *Testimony of the ancients* (caution!). (E) *Evidence of allied languages*.

Deductions: 1. A poet's criterion of a syllable is not the dictionary, nor words sounded separately, but audible fluent speech. A syllable, then, may be defined as a division of connected speech formed by a vowel or union of sounds about a vowel and uttered customarily in what seems to an average ear to be one voice-impulse. So a syllable may embrace parts of two words. 2. As a rule, a group of words is divided into syllables in only one way, there being, however, certain classes of exceptions. 3. (a) A verse has as many syllables as it contains vowels and diphthongs. (But see synizesis, elision, and dialysis.) (b) A single consonant between two vowels is sounded closely with the following vowel. (But see diastole.) (c) Since every syllable long by position is closed, a group of consonants between two vowels is divided between the said vowels, except when the preceding vowel represents a short syllable (the whole group being then sounded with the following vowel) or when the preceding vowel is long by nature and ends a word. The case of a medial group of consonants following a long vowel is not herein considered. 4. Every short syllable contains a short vowel and is open. 5. Every long syllable ends with a long vowel or a consonant, never with a short

vowel. 6. The sound-length of syllables is not always proportionate to the letters they contain. For a syllable may be subdivided into two parts, the *obstruction* part and the *duration* part,—the former the initial consonant or consonants (sometimes wanting), and the latter the remainder of the syllable,—a syllable being long or short to the ear simply according to its duration part. Short and long syllables in common speech did not always bear the ratio 1 : 2. But the reader's instinctive feeling for rhythm enabled him to make good any irregular syllabic lengths.

Remarks were made on this paper by Professors Hale, Sihler, Sproull, W. A. Merrill, Buck, and in reply by the author.

13. On the Greek in Cicero's Epistles, by Professor R. B. Steele, of Illinois Wesleyan University.

The use of Greek by Cicero in his Epistles illustrates the influence of Greek forms of expression upon the Romans, who readily admitted Greek words to a place in their own vocabulary. A part of this material was admitted because of the recognized deficiencies to which Latin writers frequently call attention. Cicero in his philosophical works, as well as in his epistles, makes use of Greek terms—medical, philosophical, rhetorical, etc.—which were afterwards used in their Latinized form. However, most of the Greek in the Epistles is in those addressed to Atticus, and must be considered with reference to him as a quasi-Greek, and with reference to its place in the social intercourse of the day. Quotations in the Epistles show that Atticus used Greek freely in his letters to Cicero, while the other correspondents were not at all averse to its use.

QUOTATIONS.

Cicero's quotations do not enable one to pass judgment on his familiarity with the works of different authors. A large number of the poetical quotations are short and have a proverbial force, and may have been so commonly used as not to suggest the original source. Prose writers are represented by a dozen passages, while of the poets, Homer and Euripides are most freely used. Comedy, barring a passage from Aristophanes, is represented, if at all, by the quotations which cannot be assigned to a definite author.

Greek proverbs are freely quoted, though in other places in the works of Cicero some are translated in a form as concise as is the original. As in the poetical quotations, only a word or two is sometimes given as a suggestion, in this illustrating "a word to the wise." There are several score of political, philosophical, and geographical statements expressed in Greek which cannot be traced to any Greek source, and may be considered as Cicero's independent use of the Greek words.

INDIVIDUAL WORDS.

The Epistles contain a few Greek adjectives and nouns seemingly formed by Cicero on the names of his friends. Apart from these (and they, too, may have entered freely into the talk of the day) Cicero seems to have used the current vocabulary. The citations in the *Thesaurus* of Stephanus have been taken as

settling the frequency of occurrence of individual words, though the statements "used only by Cicero" and "used first by Cicero," true for Greek works extant, might not have been true at the time of Cicero. Referring to the present mass of Greek, about fifty words occur only in Cicero, and a somewhat larger number are used first by him, though owing to textual uncertainties the exact number of each cannot be determined.

Exclusive of the quotations and proverbs, there are about 700 words — adverbs, adjectives, nouns, and verbs. In these, prefixal formations with *á-*, *δus-*, *εβ-*, and prepositions are noticeable, and in the case of adjectives the number of verbals in *-76s*.

The paper was discussed by Professors Gudeman and Richardson.

14. Historical Note on Herodotus I. 106, by Professor H. C. Tolman, of Vanderbilt University (read, in the absence of the author, by Professor Fowler).

Herodotus (I. 95–106) gives the following events in the decline of the Assyrian Empire: (1) Median Revolt; (2) Revolt of the other subject tribes; (3) Conquest of these tribes by the Medes; (4) Median attack on Ninus (Nineveh), interrupted by the inroad of the Scythians; (5) Scythian supremacy (28 years); (6) Overthrow of the Scythians; (7) Fall of Nineveh at the hands of the Medes.

The new stele of Nabû-na'id found at Hillah (Scheil, *Recueil de Travaux*, XVIII, 1896; Messerschmidt, *Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, I., 1896) mentions: (1) Inroad upon Assyria on the part of the Umman-manda; (2) Devastation by these hordes of the temples of Assyria and destruction of the cities on the frontier of Accad; (3) Fall of Harran (date fixed by the inscription 607 B.C.); (4) Restoration of the temple of Sin at Harran by Nabû-na'id in the third year of his reign (553 B.C.).

It is possible from this inscription to infer an alliance of the Babylonians and the Umman-manda. Both Berossus and Ctesias, although their accounts are widely divergent in other respects, yet agree on a Medo-Babylonian coalition against Assyria. If it be true that the Babylonians took a hand in the destruction of Nineveh, we can easily explain the omission of Herodotus on the ground that his informant was a Persian. However tempting the inference may be, yet the text of the document is far too mutilated to warrant Hommel's assertion that the Manda king coöperating with the Babylonian Nabopolassar razed Nineveh to the ground (cf. Billerbeck-Jeremias, "*Der Untergang Ninevehs*"). We fail to see in the inscription itself any direct reference to the fall of the Assyrian capital, and that too in the very place where we should most expect such reference.

Furthermore we cannot accept the theory that regards the Umman-manda as the same people as the Medes.

The Assyrian name (*mât-Mada-a*) generally given to Media (e.g. in inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser, Sargon, Sennacherib, Esar-haddon) originally applied to an individual tribe, but later embraced all the scattered races. A beginning at least of Median unity is shown even in the time of Tiglath-Pileser (745–727) by his application of the epithet *dannûti*, "powerful" (*Nimrud Inscription*, 42). During the reign of Sargon (722–705) we find a Median confederacy so extensive

as to include several races not before classified as Medes (*Sargon*, 159 ff.). The inscription of Ashurbanipal (*Cylinder B*, col. III. 102-IV. 14) shows that the supremacy of *Mata-a* extended over more than seventy-five towns. If, according to the view of many Assyriologists, *Mata-a* be a variant for *Mada-a*, we can infer that the political union of Media had reached a high development in the last years of the reign of Ashurbanipal (668-626), a date which corresponds to that given by Herodotus for the beginnings of the Median dominion (646-624).

The old theory that these "united Medes" were designated on the later inscriptions *Umman-Manda*, "people of the Manda (Medes)," is without support. Tiele (*Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*) regarded *Umman-manda* as an ethnological name for the "Medes of every race." Winckler, who has modified his old theory (*Untersuch.*, p. 124 ff.), now holds that the term is strictly geographical, referring in a general way to the "tribes of the north," and, consequently capable of application to the Medes as well as to the Scythians, Cimmerians, etc. (Messerschmidt, p. 71 fg.). Delitzsch (*Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, 1896) defined *Umman-manda* as "those northern hordes hostile to Assyria — i.e. Cimmerians, Mannaeans, Scythians, etc." As far as the etymology of the word can be determined it favors this view. The first member of the compound (*ummân*) signifies "people"; the second (*manda*) was connected by Jäger with *ma-a-du*, *mandu*, "much" (e.g. Behistan Inscription, 20; Babylonian *u-ku ma-a-du la-pa-ni-šu ip-ta-lab*, Persian *kârashim hacâ darshama atarsa*, "the people feared him much"). But from the use of the word in the inscriptions we get our strongest evidence. It is clear that in the Sargon Annals (159 ff.) the context forbids any connection between Medes and *Umman-manda*.

Again, in the Behistan Inscription (II. 5) the Median Phraortes (Fravartish) claims descent from Cyaxares. Now if the Manda king Astyages had been the last legitimate Median king, there is no reason why the pretender should not have referred immediately to him. This, together with the fact that the Medes themselves gave over Astyages bound to Cyrus (*Nabû-na'id-Cyrus Chronicle*, Obv. col. II. 2), strongly favors the belief that Astyages, "king of the *Umman-manda*," *šar amêl umman-manda* (*Nabû-na'id Cylinder of Abû-Habba*, col. I. 32), was leader of those Scythian hordes which had overrun Media.

I believe it to be very probable that the Medes joined these northern peoples in the subjugation of Assyria. Such a union would not be without precedents. In the time of Esar-haddon (681-668) the inscriptions (*Babylonian Chronicle*, IV. 2) record an alliance of the Medes and Cimmerians against the power of Ashur. Furthermore, two hymns to the sun god (*Sm.* 2005; *K.* 2668) give the names of Median governors who coöperated with the northern invaders. But to declare (as many do declare) that we read on the stele of Nabû-na'id the fall of Nineveh at the hands of the Median hosts is not dealing fairly with our text.

If against the theory of Winckler and others we take the *Umman-manda* to be the Scythians (or even the Medo-Scythians), we have in this Nabû-na'id inscription supplementary evidence of that Scythian inroad mentioned in Herodotus (I. 106), an inroad which so weakened the Assyrian Empire as to make possible the fall of Nineveh; but since we have no information as to whether Nineveh fell before or after the devastation of Harran (607 B.C.), the exact date of its destruction must remain unsettled. In fact, we are still forced to admit that we possess no contemporaneous document describing this tremendous catastrophe.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Association assembled at 2.40 P.M.

15. The Source of the so-called Achaean-Doric *κοινή*, by Professor Carl Darling Buck, of the University of Chicago.

It is an established fact in the history of the Greek dialects that the complete supremacy of the Attic *κοινή* was for a time retarded by the spread in Western Greece, under the influence of the Aetolian and Achaean leagues, of another *κοινή*, now commonly known as the Achaean-Doric *κοινή*. So, for example, Brugmann, *Griechische Grammatik*,³ p. 22, after Meister and others. The thesis which this paper attempts to establish is that even this *κοινή* is an indirect witness to the influence of the Attic *κοινή*; for, although based in the main upon dialects of the Northwest Greek group, it is in a measure an artificial product, for which the Attic *κοινή* has furnished not only the suggestion but also certain specific elements.

Examples of Attic influence are: (1) the universal use of *εί* for Northwest Greek and Doric *ai*, (2) the use of *πρῶτος* in place of *πράτος*, (3) the prevalence of *οί* over *τοί*, (4) of *λερός* over *λαρός*, (5) the frequency of *εις* beside *έν cum acc.*

To what may be called a second stratum of Attic forms belong also *πρός* in place of *πορι*, *είναι* for *είμεν*, and forms like *πδλεως*, *θάλαττα*, *τέτταρες*, *έάν*, *έως*, etc.

Aside from the question of Attic influence, the Aetolian *κοινή* and the Achaean *κοινή* are to be distinguished in some features.

The paper appears in the *American Journal of Philology*, XXI. 193 ff.

16. The Sources of the *Germania* of Tacitus, by Professor A. Gudeman, of the University of Pennsylvania.

This paper appears in full in the TRANSACTIONS.

17. Pliny, Pausanias, and the *Hermes* of Praxiteles, by Professor Harold N. Fowler, of Western Reserve University.

This paper appears in full in the TRANSACTIONS.

18. An Inscribed Proto-Corinthian Lecythus, by Professor F. B. Tarbell, of the University of Chicago.

This vase is in the Museum of Fine Arts, in Boston, Mass.

The painted inscription reads:

Πύρ(ρ)ος μ' έποίησεν 'Αγασίλεφο.

Pyrrhus, son of Agasileos, made me.

This is the only known piece of "Proto-Corinthian" pottery with a painted inscription. The date seems to be as early as the seventh century B.C., and the maker's signature is thus one of the earliest we have, perhaps the earliest. The character of the alphabet and the dialectic peculiarities point to Chalcis as the place of manufacture.

19. Note on a Certain Periodicity in Vital Statistics, by Professor Elmer Truesdell Merrill, of Wesleyan University.

The statement of the ages of the aggregate population of the United States, as reported in the eleventh census, shows what is seen also in the statistics of other modern nations, a tendency to the accumulation of ages at the even five-points, with an equally marked shrinkage at the unit-points immediately before and immediately after the even five-points. For example, taking the colored population, there were reported in 1890, 23,000 persons of the age of 58, 16,000 of the age of 59, 78,000 of the age of 60, 13,000 of the age of 61, 15,000 of the age of 62, and so on. The extreme accumulation at the age of 60 is attained partly at the expense of all the surrounding ages, but more especially by the diminution of numbers at the ages of 59 and of 61. The average person anywhere between the ages of 55 and 65 may call himself 60, but he is more likely to raise himself to an even 60 when he has reached 59, and to keep himself at 60 when he has passed that age by only a single year. The same phenomenon is seen in the case of all classes of the population, and at all the even five-points, between the ages of 20 and 85. In the case of children and youth there is more precision of report: ages of 90 and above are not reported separately in the summary of the census.

The same phenomenon is seen also in the statistics of ancient Roman days. The nearest approach we have to census-returns is in the summary of Vespasian's census given by the elder Pliny (*N. H.* VIII. 153-164). Where he gives individual instances of great longevity he of course mentions them in multiples of five. But even where, as in the report of the 8th region of Italy, he seems to be giving the total number of persons a century old, or more, the statistics still run almost entirely by multiples of five.

More interesting is the study of the ages at death as given in the sepulchral inscriptions of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (cf. the tabulated statement prepared by Professor Harkness, in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association for 1896*, pp. 55 ff.). For each and every part of the Roman empire, and for every age from that of 20, or thereabouts, upward, precisely the same peculiarities of age-groups are seen as in our modern census reports. The only difference is that the exaggerations at and around the five-points are more strikingly marked in the Roman than in the American returns. Each of the volumes of the *Corpus* furnishes enough details to make a conclusion therefrom convincing, though, as might be expected, Vols. VI. and VIII. are richer in material than any of the others. As an example, in Vol. VI. the deaths recorded for the ages of 58 to 62 run in order, 12, 5, 91, 4, 15. The sudden fall immediately before the 60-point, the immense rise at 60, the corresponding drop at 61, and the recovery of the normal level at 62, after the fluctuation, are most striking, and are matched at the other decimal and semi-decimal points. The figures for the same years in Vol. VIII. are, 38, 12, 443, 107, 46. Here again the same phenomena are observed, and even in a more striking degree, with the exception that there is not such a great falling off at the 61-point as in the figures from Vol. VI. On the contrary, the number of deaths at 61 is disproportionately large, instead of small, and this same peculiarity is seen in many other of the multiples of five (plus one) in the returns from Africa. This must be added to the long list of peculiarities of the Province.

Not only is the exaggeration at the five-points observable in the totals, or in the case of those whose age at death is given in years only. It is seen as clearly where the age is specified up to the month or day. For example, these figures in Vol. VI. for the ages of 58 to 62 run, 3, 2, 11, 1, 4; in Vol. VIII. they run 6, 3, 10, 7, 5. There is a precise similarity, point by point, to the total figures for the same ages quoted before. Nor is the agreement strange. The precise birthday might well be remembered by the recurring round of its celebrations at the proper point in the course of seasons and festivals, even though the year was marked by no such unmistakable sign. The number of instances where the age is recorded to the very hour are too few to allow any deduction to be drawn from them.

The note was accompanied and illustrated by a series of charts prepared to show by a simple graphical method the total number of deaths reported at each given age in Vols. II., III., VI., and VIII. of the *Corpus*, and others to show that the same peculiarities are exhibited in the instances where the ages are reported more precisely than to the year alone.

20. The Influence of Homer upon Tennyson, by Professor Wilfred P. Mustard, of Haverford College.

This paper is published in full in the *American Journal of Philology*, XXI. 143-153.

21. Some Affinities in the Maya Language, by Edmund Fritz Schreiner, of Chicago, Ill. (read by title).

The languages here compared are *the Koptic*, or language of the Egyptian people as we find it in manuscripts written between 250 and 450 A.D., and *the Maya*.

The latter is the idiom of about half a million of Indians in Central America. It is spoken in three distinct dialects or sister-languages: the *Maya proper* of Yucatan, the *Quichè* and the *Cakchiquel*, both in Guatemala. The Koptic words in the Comparative Vocabulary of the essay are taken from the *Vocabularium Coptico-latinum*, which was carefully compiled by Dr. Parthey from the larger Koptic Dictionary of Peyron and from Tattam. It is claimed that Dr. Parthey's Vocabulary is thoroughly reliable, showing the phonetic form and the etymon in Latin of every word in each of the three distinct Koptic dialects; viz. the *Sahidic* of Thebes and Upper Egypt, the *Memphitic* of Memphis and Lower Egypt, and the *Bashmuric* of the Delta, the Oasis, and Fayum [Φωμε] around Lake Moeris. It was, therefore, possible to compare not only the Koptic in general, but also every Koptic dialect separately as to existing affinities; and it may be stated here that the investigation brought to light a very singular and interesting feature: Whenever words differ in the different Koptic dialects, be it in phonetic form or in signification, the Maya equivalent almost invariably agrees with the *Sahidic* dialect of Upper Egypt.

The Maya words for the schedule were taken from the *Dictionario de la lengua Maya* by Don Pio Perez, in which we find over twenty thousand Maya words with their Spanish etymon. This linguistic treasure has been built up by

a half-savage people out of about eight hundred radical word-stems with the aid of about two scores of affixes. The Maya language proper is *not polysyllabic*, consisting of words of one, two, or three syllables.

Perez worked on his dictionary from 1835 to 1859, compiling his great work partly from the living language of Yucatan and partly from the ancient or antiquated terms found in the manuscripts written by Maya scholars 350 years ago; and the Maya language is so conservative, as Dr. Brinton tells us, that the educated Maya of our days is fully able to comprehend the language of those old manuscripts, perhaps some obsolete terms excepted.

After Perez's untimely death, Dr. Behrendt revised and completed the dictionary, and it was published in Merida, Yucatan, in 1877.

The writer of the present paper has translated Perez's dictionary into English, and, while thus at work, he observed a great number of affinities to the Koptic language; so many, in fact, that far more than one-third of the Maya roots or radical word-stems come under the scope of this affinity.

The space in the PROCEEDINGS allotted to this abstract of the essay does not admit a recital of the equations; to recite few examples would be of little value, because in an investigation of this kind the convincing argument and proof rests in the accumulation of a large number of equations or examples, which are worth more than all speculation; but for those it will be necessary to refer the critical reader to the essay itself, which will probably appear *in extenso* in some European journal and perhaps also in an American periodical in the course of this year.

Suffice it to say that the Comparative Vocabulary brings 334 equations of radical stems, in which a Koptic word is covered by a Maya equivalent analogous in phonetic form and showing affinity in signification.

In gathering those equations, only such examples have been selected in which the phonetic differentiation is insignificantly slight and the affinity is apparent even to the less observant reader; otherwise the number of examples might have been largely increased.

The affinity does not end with the vocabulary. Not much "grammatical" analogy can be expected in two languages, when the branches of a people, who spoke a common original language, were forever separated before grammar, in the stricter sense of the word, was established; again, a large stock of radical terms or so-called roots of foreign origin may be imported into a language, enriching its vocabulary.

These roots, being assimilated, may thrive with a luxuriant growth in the adopting idiom; they will then be treated like the indigene roots according to the native grammar, so that finally they can hardly be recognized as being of foreign origin. Such, I think, was the process with the Koptic words in the Maya language, which doubtless already had its own grammar when the foreign element intruded.

Yet there are some grammatical analogies common to the two compared languages and peculiar to them, as compared with other tongues. We will enumerate a few of those:—

1. The sounds are almost identical in the two languages, and where there is dialectic differentiation, the same is analogous in both; the Koptic *r*, which does not appear in the Maya proper, reappears in the Quichè dialect; so does the Bashmureic substitute an *l* for the Sahidic *r*. Koptic *f* is represented in Maya by

p or *b*; so does the Sahidic and Bashmuric foster those latter sounds for the Memphitic *f*. *d* and *g* are missing in Koptic as in Maya.

2. Both languages love gemmination of the radical vowel, and, what is very characteristic, both use such gemmination or lengthening for the formation of the passive verb. [Compare Schwartzze, *Koptic Grammar*, edited by Steinthal.]

3. In the formation of the plural, the Maya suffix *ob*, Quichè *om* or *ob*, corresponds to the Koptic plural suffix *ov*. Both languages know a plural by duplication of the stem.

4. In both languages, the simple stem is generally monosyllabic and tri-literal, sometimes bi-literal. Now, since a tri-literal root is *never primitive*, neither of the two languages can be considered as a primitive language.

5. In both languages the simple verbal stem is also used for a noun; the Maya does this without special prefix, while the Koptic distinguishes the noun by the affixed article; but the old Egyptian had no article, and did as the Maya does.

6. Both languages have the peculiarity of reduplicating the verbal stem; in the Koptic, generally, the full syllable with change in the radical vowel, the Maya retaining the latter in the reduplicated syllable but generally dropping the final consonant. The Maya forms frequentative verbs in this manner, the Koptic does the same, and it forms plurals by duplication. [See Schwartzze, *Gram.*, § 91, p. 372.]

7. The Koptic has a real, original indéfinite demonstrative *ah* and another *ash*, which are used for forming verbal nouns. [See Schwartzze, Steinthal, *Gram.*, pp. 353, 362, 364.] The Maya forms certain "personal" nouns from verbal roots, employing for that purpose the prefix *ah-* for males and *ish-* for females, f.i. *cambal*, to be instructed; *ah-cambal*, a disciple; *ish-cambal*, a female scholar.

8. The Koptic forms whole classes of verbal or abstract nouns by prefixes; the Maya has a very elaborate system of expressing a special manner of action such as: forced, sudden, slow, swift, etc., etc., by a simple prefix to the verbal stem.

9. The Koptic forms ordinal numbers and it counts -times, -turns, -fold, -parts, days of month, hours of day, by special affixes. The Maya works a similar system for all it is worth: -times, -fold, -parts, -days, -tierces, -bundles; -flat or round or long or large things are discerned by special affixes to the numeral.

10. Both languages use *ma*, *m*, *em*, for strong negation, and both form comparative or superlative by particles of comparison only. These examples do not pretend to exhaust the affinities.

Now, since the Koptic is the youngest form of the Egyptian *people's* language, and since the oldest Koptic manuscripts accessible to us date from about 250 A.D. and are written in the Sahidic dialect, and since the Koptic words (found in the Maya language) belong to that dialect, we have a right to the following conclusion as the result of our investigation:—

I. A large number of Egyptian words has been imported into the Maya language; those words were taken from the Egyptian language, as it was spoken by the common people in *Upper Egypt*, about the dawn of the Christian era; viz. in the Sahidic dialect, which at that time *was*, or shortly afterward *became*, the written language [*Schriftsprache*] of Egypt.

Now consider in connection with this the following well-known facts:—

a. The Maya chronicles relate of an immigration of a number of people in

long robes, who, coming from sunrise, landed in Yucatan under a prince Votan, and, ascending the Usumacinta River, founded Na-chan [Palenque], and, taking native wives, naturalized and became the teachers of art and science; and the same chronicles fix the date of these occurrences at about the stated epoch, 250 A.D., according to calculations of P. Perez, Dr. I. Valentine, and others.

b. The peculiar arrangement of the Central American pyramids, similar to the terraced pyramid in Sokara in Upper Egypt; the special features of Maya sculpture reminding us of the Eastern style, although executed in a wild fantastic ornamentation.

c. Certain customs, ceremonies, and notions, such as embalming of the corpses, use of incense for worship, and others common to the people of Egypt and those of Central America, as enumerated *in extenso* in my paper, — then we cannot fail to arrive at the *second* conclusion: —

II. Those Egyptian words were brought to Yucatan by Egyptian (Koptic) emigrants, who formed a colony and communicated to the natives as much civilization as they themselves possessed. And since we are able to trace some of those Egyptian words into the Nahuatl of Mexico, into the Dakota (Sioux) and Algonquin, and again into the Quichna of Peru, our third conclusion will be: —

III. The influence of that immigration spread from the Maya to the wandering American nations; traces of such influence can still be traced. Consequently, the principal North American nations, as well as some of the more civilized South American, especially the Incas of Peru, must have had some connection and intercourse with the Maya nation at some time after the Egyptian immigration had occurred.

As proof is brought of a migration from the eastern to the western continent within well-defined historical times, the gap between the two continents is bridged, not by a fabulous Atlantis, but by the seafaring enterprise, audacity, and restlessness of man, the constant wanderer, carrying with him his virtues and vices, his myths and legends. The veil is lifted from the mysterious existence of Eastern lore on American soil; the wonders disappear before the light of knowledge, and for this we have to thank comparative philology.

22. Studies in Greek Agonistic Inscriptions, by Professor Edward Capps, of the University of Chicago.

This paper is printed in full in the TRANSACTIONS.

23. Etymologies of Some Latin Words of *Will* and *Desire*, by Professor Charles H. Shannon, of the University of Tennessee (read, in the author's absence, by Professor A. G. Laird).

The following etymologies are taken from a yet unpublished study of *Words of Will and Desire in the Indo-European Languages*.

Studeō, 'am zealous, eager.'

Phonetically, a connection of *studeō* with Gr. *σπεύδω*,¹ 'am zealous,' cannot be defended; and its comparison with Gr. *στέμμα*,² 'make as if I would,' is at least

¹ Prellwitz, *Etym. Wtbch. d. Griechischen Sprache*, p. 297.

² Persson, *Wurzelerweiterung und Wurzelvariation*, pp. 141, 144.

doubtful. I would suggest a comparison of *studeō* with Lat. *tundō*, 'strike, importune'; Skt. *tuddti*, 'he strikes.' In fact, Alb. *stūh* < **stūd-niō* and Goth. *stautan*, 'strike,' which are recognized¹ as belonging with Lat. *tundō*, Skt. *tuddti*, agree with *studeō* in showing initial *s*. Moreover, N.H.G. *Stoss*, 'blow, impulse,' in addition to the phonetic agreement, shows an approximate correspondence in sense. But, for the meaning, compare especially Eng. *hammer at*, 'labor at assiduously, earnestly.' From N.H.G. *Stoss* and Eng. *hammer at* it can be seen how could have arisen in *studeō* the idea of 'zeal,' which is the prevalent meaning throughout.

Amō, 'love, desire.'

A connection with Lat. *emō*, 'take, buy'; Goth. *niman*, 'take,' is, on the side of phonetics, far from plausible. The difficulty arises from the *a* in *amō* as against the *e* in *emō*; for the proportion *manēō*: μένω, while admitted, is not understood;² and the assumed relation of *amō* to *emō* would not seem to be necessarily parallel, inasmuch as in this case the vowels in question are at the same time initial and before a nasal.

A second etymology proposed for *amō* is that, originating in a nursery word, a *Lallwort*, it is to be connected with Skt. *ambā*,³ 'mother'; but, as regards meaning, there is no satisfactory parallel for the development from such a source of a word of *passionate desire* like *amō*.

I would explain *amō* as follows. In the Indo-European languages words of *desire* frequently develop from words that denote *movement towards*. Compare Lat. *petō*, 'make towards, rush at': 'beg, seek, desire'; Gr. *ῥοῦναι*, 'rise and rush forward': 'am eager.' It is, further, perfectly natural that the idea of *movement towards* should show both a friendly and a hostile side; and this is abundantly evident in Latin itself. Compare, again, *petō*, 'rush at, desire': *impetus*, 'attack, ardor'; *petiō*, 'attack, blow': 'request, beseeching.' Now *amō* may very well represent one side—the friendly side—of such a double development from a word of *movement towards*; and the other side may be found in Skt. *am*, *amīti*, 'he presses on, harms'; *ama-s*, 'onset, impetuosity'; Avest. *am*, 'go.' To this explanation no objection can be made on account of the connection of Gr. *δυννυμι*, 'swear,' with *amīti*;⁴ for the ablaut *ā*: *a*, which would have to be assumed in *δυννυμι*: Lat. *amō*, must be recognized in other words also. Compare *ἄκρος*, 'a jagged point,' with Lat. *acus*,⁵ 'needle.'

Latin *amita*, 'aunt,' possibly represents I.-E. **ame-tā*, the fem. of **ame-tōs*, 'beloved,' a verbal adjective from the root of *amō*. For the meaning compare O. Irish *fine*, 'cognatus,' from the root *uen*⁶ seen in Lat. *venus*, 'love,' and Skt. *van*, *vandti*, 'he loves, desires.'

Gr. *ἄμωρον*, 'eagerly, insatiably,' for which no acceptable etymology has been offered, I would refer to the same root as *amō*, Skt. *amīti*, Gr. *δυννυμι*. For the ablaut of *ἄμωρον*: *δυννυμι* compare *ἄκρος*, 'at the point,' with *ἄκρος*;⁷ and for the

¹ Brugmann, *Grundriss*, I², pp. 113, 726.

² Brug. *Grundriss*, I², p. 120 f.; Lindsay, *Latin Language*, pp. 222, 274 f.

³ Uhlenbeck, C. C., *Etym. Wbch. d. altindischen Sprache*, under *ambā*. Zimmermann, KZ. 34, p. 584.

⁴ Brug. *Grundriss*, I², p. 154; Aufrecht, *Rh. M.* 40, p. 160.

⁵ Brug. *Grundriss*, I², p. 486.

⁶ Brug. *Grundriss*, I², p. 326.

⁷ Brug. *Grundriss*, I², p. 486.

recessive accent of *ἀμοτον* compare *ἀμητος*, 'a gathered crop'; *βίωτος*, 'life,' and the like. The development of meaning would be the same as in *amō*.

The root to which the foregoing words are to be referred probably had the following forms:

ām, Gr. *ἀμ-νν-θι*.

āmā, Gr. *ἀμῶ-της*,¹ *ἰωμο-σα*.

āmā or *amā*, Skt. *amīti*, *amīti*.²

amā, Gr. *ἀμο-ρον*; compare *ἀρο-τρον*.¹

amō or *āmō*, Skt. *dma-s*, *dma-ti*.

ame, Lat. *ami-ta* < **ame-tā*.

With these last thematic forms, especially Skt. *dma-s*, may be compared Lat. *amāre*, which implies directly an *ā*-stem, **amā*, and indirectly an *o*-stem, **amo-s* (cf. Skt. *dma-s*). It is commonly the *o*-stem which stands in Latin beside the denominative verb in *-āre*. Compare *regnu-m* : *regnāre*; *dominu-s* : *domināri*. The root meaning, as above suggested, seems to have been *movement towards*, *impulsion*.³

ōrō, 'beg, beseech.'

As rhotacism does not take place in Oscan, the common view regards it as necessary either to separate *ōrō* from *ōs*, *ōris*, 'mouth,' and compare it with Osc. *urust*, 'oraverit,' or to separate it from *urust* and compare it with *ōs*, *ōris*. A third possibility has been suggested,⁴ namely, that Osc. *urust* may have been borrowed from the Lat. *ōrō*, in which case, of course, it would be possible to look upon *ōs*, *ōris*, as the original of both. But there seems to be no sufficient reason to assume a borrowing on the part of Oscan.

I would follow those who see in *urust* the weakest form of the root *uer*,⁵ comparing Gr. *εἶπω*, 'say, speak, tell,' and the *dh*-extension of the same root in Lat. *verbum* and Goth. *vaird*, 'word.' In this root the idea of 'speaking,' seen in Lat. *verbum* and Goth. *vaird*, is in all probability more nearly original than that of 'asking.' The assumption, moreover, that Osc. *urust* contains the weakest form of the root *uer* does not necessitate the separation of *urust* from *ōrō*; for the relation of these two words can be simply and naturally explained by seeing *ur*, the weakest form of *uer* in both. The phonetic Latin **urō*, by a folk etymology, under the influence of an inevitable association with *ōris* and other cases of *ōs*, could readily have become *ōrō*.

24. The Formation of Substantives from Latin Geographical Adjectives by Ellipsis, by Professor John C. Rolfe, of the University of Michigan (read in abstract, in the author's absence, by Professor W. K. Clement).

This paper appears in full in the TRANSACTIONS.

¹ Bartholomae, *BB*, 17, p. 111 f.

² Brug. *Grundriss*, II¹, p. 947.

³ This would account for the meaning of *ἀμννμι*: cf. Eng. *urge*, 'drive on, press upon; as severate': so in 'He *urged* that this was true.' There seems to me to be less evidence that the root of *ἀμννμι*, Skt. *amīti*, meant 'be hard, make hard,' as Aufrecht, *Rk. M.* 40, p. 160, takes it, comparing also *ἰμός*.

⁴ V. Planta, I, p. 520.

⁵ V. Planta, I, p. 520; Kluge, *Etym. Wtbch.* under *Wort*.

25. The βασιλικὸς λόγος, by Theodore C. Burgess, of the Bradley Polytechnic Institute.

The βασιλικὸς λόγος is one of the oldest, most distinctive, and persistent types of epideictic speech. Its prominence is inferred from its theme, from the conspicuous place and great fulness of detail given to it in the rhetorical treatise by Menander, from the very large number of extant or reported examples, and the fact that its τόποι are prominent in so many other forms of epideictic oratory. In many of these other types the distinctive title represents only a trifling part, and after a few sentences the speech becomes a pure βασιλικὸς λόγος. It also enters largely into various speeches in praise of cities, and forms the basis of all eulogistic biography. This fact, well recognized by the ancients, has recently been given prominence by Gudeman's noteworthy demonstration in the case of Tacitus's *Agricola*.

Menander defines the βασιλικὸς λόγος as an ἐγκώμιον βασιλείως. It thus stands naturally at the head of the vast body of encomiastic speech, and if choice were to be made, far more justly than any other, it might be termed the representative theme of epideictic literature. Rhetorical treatment is found in Menander, Dionys. of Hal. practically includes it, as he does several other types, in his rules for the Panegyric. The βασιλικὸς λόγος flourishes most naturally among a subject people. Many speeches of this character are connected with Philip and Alexander and the Macedonian supremacy. It has a poetic antecedent in praises of Ζεὺς βασιλεύς and other gods in the poets. The very composition of a Pindaric ode, as well as its purpose, involves some of its most essential features, e.g. the 2d Pythian. Many might be analyzed to show the τόποι of the βασιλικὸς λόγος. It has, like so many other epideictic types, a well-defined model in Plato. The speech of Agathon in the *Symposium* (194 E-198) is of this character.

Space does not admit of giving a list of βασιλικοὶ λόγοι, extending, as it does, from Isocrates and Plato on through the Christian Fathers. Among the most notable extant speeches are those by Aristides (or. 9) and Julian (or. 1), and these may be taken as models. [These were then analyzed and compared with the regulations of Menander's treatise. Julian's *Praise of Eusebia* was also shown to conform to the same type.]

In Themistius and Libanius we find a different type of βασιλικὸς λόγος. They are less of the copy-book style. Menander's general outline is there, but great freedom is taken in the order, prominence, or omission of topics.

Parts of the orations of Themistius and Libanius are so general and impersonal and essay-like in character that they approach the form of a theoretical treatise on the duties and responsibilities of a king. A large class of orations under the title *περὶ βασιλείας* has, as an avowed purpose, to picture the ideal prince, to lay down the principles upon which he must base his rule, to present a code of morals, and offer precepts appropriate for his guidance under any circumstances likely to arise under his administration of the sovereignty. This, like the *προ-τροπτικός*, is a union of the parenetic and epideictic elements, and with it forms the oldest example of a combination of rhetoric and popular philosophy. In many cases the prince to whom the *περὶ βασιλείας* is addressed is named in the title; in others it may be learned from internal or external evidence. Nearly all were connected with some individual, and so furnished a temptation to epideictic

display similar to that offered by the βασιλικὸς λόγος itself. The *Ad Nicoclem* of Isocrates is an excellent example of a *περὶ βασιλείας*. Cf. also *Ad Demon.* and *Nicocles*. He has also a βασιλικὸς λόγος in outline in *Phil.* 109 sqq. and another in *Ep.* 9, 1-7. Four orations under the title *περὶ βασιλείας* are found in the list of Antisthenes' writings, and from this time on no single theme in moralizing rhetorical philosophy is more popular. Here too a list might be given.

The *προσφωνητικὸς λόγος* is a mere variant of the βασιλικός. It is defined as a kindly address to a ruler. Orations by Aristides, Libanius, Dion Chrysostomus, or Himerius might be analyzed to show this. The same might be done with several other types of epideictic speech.

The paper also referred at some length to the reproduction of the βασιλικὸς λόγος in Italy and England. Cf. Symonds' *Italian Renaissance*, Burckhardt's *Renaissance in Italy*, Nickol's *Progress and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, Spenser Society Publications, Arber's *English Garner*, Blakey's *History of Political Literature*, and the like.

The paper also presented an outline of a larger paper, of which this was a condensation of a single chapter. This larger paper follows the progress of the word *ἐπιδεικνυμι* and its derivatives from ordinary to technical use; gives a sketch of epideictic literature in general, and with detail in the case of the βασιλικός, the *προσφωνητικὸς*, the *γενεθλιακός*, *παράδοξα ἐγκώμια*, the epithalamium, prose hymns and other more poetic forms. Separate chapters are also given to the special relations of epideictic oratory and (1) poetry, (2) history, (3), philosophy.

Adjourned at 4.55 P.M.

MORNING SESSION.

MADISON, July 5, 1900.

The Association convened at 9.40. During the previous hour the members had enjoyed a ride in the electric cars by invitation of the street railroad company.

The Committee to audit the Acting Treasurer's accounts reported, through Professor Brown, that it had examined the accounts of the Acting Treasurer, compared them with the vouchers, and found them correct.

The Committee on Officers for 1900-1901 reported, through Professor Tarbell, the following recommendations:—

President, Samuel Ball Platner, Western Reserve University.

Vice-Presidents, Andrew F. West, Princeton University.

Charles Forster Smith, University of Wisconsin.

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 Truesdell Merrill, Wesleyan University.

William A. Merrill, University of California.

On motion of Professor Hale, it was voted that the Acting 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.

The Committee on Time and Place of Meeting in 1901 reported, through Professor Fowler, in favor of holding the next annual meeting at Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., beginning on Tuesday, July 9, 1901. Adopted.

The Executive Committee reported, through the Acting Secretary, that the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast had applied for affiliation with the American Philological Association. The Executive Committee made the following recommendation:—

That the members of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast be enrolled as members of the American Philological Association; that all dues by such members be paid directly to the American Philological Association; that the local expenses of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast be paid by the American Philological Association; that the Proceedings of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast be printed as an appendix, not to exceed twenty-five pages, to the PROCEEDINGS of the American Philological Association; that the Executive Committee of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast shall, if possible, approve and send to the Executive Committee of the American Philological Association five of the papers read at the annual meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, and that from these five papers at least two papers or twenty pages, and more if feasible, shall, if approved by the Executive Committee of the American Philological Association, be printed in the TRANSACTIONS.

On motion of Professor Gudeman, seconded by Professor Hale, it was voted to accept the report of the Executive Committee.

It was moved by Professor Gudeman that the Constitution be amended to provide for a class of Foreign Honorary Members of the Association. Professor Gudeman read a tentative list of names of eligible persons.

Moved by Professor Hale and seconded by Professor Slaughter that the matter be referred to the Executive Committee with instructions to report, if possible, at the meeting to be held at Philadelphia in December, in order that the matter may be further discussed before final action at the next annual meeting. Remarks were made by Professors Capps, Merrill, Hale, and Fowler. The motion was carried.

The following resolution was offered by Professor Merrill, seconded by Professor Tarbell, and adopted by a rising vote:—

Resolved, That the American Philological Association, in bringing its thirty-second annual session to a close, desires to express its cordial thanks to the authorities of the University of Wisconsin for the privilege of meeting in their buildings, to Mr. B. J. Stevens and the citizens of Madison for their gracious hospitality, particularly at the Lakeside Cottage and on the Lake last evening, to Major Oakley, for the pleasant trip this morning in the electric car, and to Professor Smith and his colleagues on the Local Committee for the thoughtful provision which has been made for the comfort and pleasure of the members of the Association at this meeting.

Professor Hempl moved that a committee be appointed to report at the Philological Congress at Philadelphia, whether it is advisable and feasible for the various societies there represented to undertake the preparation of a Philological Index to the literature of the last twenty-five years of this century, or of a longer period; and that the secretary of each society be requested to appoint one member to represent his society on the committee.

Professor Hempl was appointed to represent the Association.

26. The Origin of Latin *-issimus*, by Professor George Hempl, of the University of Michigan.

The usual Latin superlative ending *-issimus* is simply a *t*-extension of *-(i)semo-*, cf. *-temo-* / *-emo-*, *-tero-* / *-ero-*.

<i>celer</i>	<i>celerior</i>	<i>*celerissimus</i> > <i>celerrimus</i> ,
	<i>celeriter</i>	<i>*celeritissimus</i> > <i>celerissimus</i> .

The paper will appear in the *Classical Review*.

Remarks were made on this paper by Professor Buck, and in reply by Professor Hempl.

27. The Psychological Basis of Word Order, by Professor Hempl.

The writer showed that the basis of word order, like that of sentence stress, lies not in the grammatical categories, but in the psychological, though the order thus produced later becomes, to a large extent, associated with the grammatical categories with which the psychological categories most frequently coincide. All treatment of the subject must be based on a study of the relations of the psychological categories.

28. Was Attis at Rome under the Republic? by Dr. Grant Showerman, of the University of Wisconsin.

This paper appears in full in the TRANSACTIONS.

29. The Genitive and Ablative of Description,¹ by Professor William Gardner Hale, of the University of Chicago.

In Nos. XI, 2, and XI, 4, of the *Archiv*, Wölfflin has presented the results of an investigation of the origin and uses of the Genitive and Ablative of Description, made by Mr. George Edwards in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (June, 1899) of the Johns Hopkins University. Dr. Edwards's dissertation has since been published (1900). There are some small differences between the two presentations, which cannot be dealt with in this brief article.

The underlying theory is the old one, that the Genitive, as the case of Possession, expresses permanent qualities, while the Ablative, as the case of Accompaniment, expresses passing and changing qualities.² These proper distinctions, however, it is said, are more or less traversed by several other considerations, (1)³ partly historical, (2) partly of form, (3) partly of sound, (4) partly of metre, (5) partly of word-meaning, and (6) partly of the "subjective" view of the writer. These considerations may be briefly illustrated as follows:

(1) The Ablative construction is the older. Hence the Genitive construction comes in slowly, even where it would be more suitable than the Ablative. — (2) The word *vis* is not employed in the Genitive construction before the third century, since no Genitive form was in use. The Genitives of the fifth declension were avoided because of their ambiguity; though *spei* does come in with Caesar, to express the idea of "promise," as distinct from that of "hope." For the same reason the Genitive of *par* was avoided, and the Genitive of Adjectives in *-is*. — (3) Combinations like *multarum causarum* were avoided, on account of the rhyme. — (4) *Corpore* fits into the fifth foot of the hexameter, and, through its considerable use in this construction in Lucretius and Virgil, and imitation in poets of the Silver Age, remained commoner than *corporeis*. — (5) In Plautus, *animus* expresses the changing mental attitude, in Cicero an abiding mental character. Hence the Genitive is the proper case for Cicero; though he does employ the Ablative in a number of places where the Genitive would have fitted better. — (6) Lucretius and Virgil conceived weight as a temporary quality, and therefore use the Ablative of *pondus*. Caesar, and, after him, Livy, rightly conceived that weight was not an accident of matter, and said *magni ponderis*, etc.

My criticism of the above would be briefly as follows:

1. The Genitive does not express the thing possessed (*e.g.* a quality), but that which possesses. The common conception, which for this construction has dominated the Grammarians (and still dominates these two expositions), is thus founded upon a complete confusion of thought. Further, there is nothing in the case that gives it the power of expressing *lasting* possession.

2. Not merely temporary physical attributes, but permanent as well, may be expressed by the Ablative; *e.g.* "with a sickly body" (perhaps a temporary condi-

¹ The paper will be published in the *Am. Journ. Phil.*

² Thus, Middendorf-Grüter, *Lat. Schulgr.* § 200; Menge (in substance), *Lat. Gramm.* § 145; Rawlins and Inge, *Eton Lat. Gramm.*; Harkness, § 473; Gildersleeve, *Gramm.*, "Principal Rules," 82; Bennett, Appendix, § 322. Lattmann, Lane, and several others, on the other hand, recognizing that the facts do not tally with these statements, say that to a certain extent the two constructions are interchangeable. Krüger's modified doctrine that the Genitive expresses a thing as it is, the Ablative as it appears, also has defenders; *e.g.* Golling, *Gymn.* VI, 1 and 2.

³ The order here chosen is my own.

tion) "with a Roman nose" (permanent). Nor, as regards mental attributes, can Caesar, *B. G.* 1, 47, 4, *summa virtute adulescentem*, have meant that the young man had merely screwed up his courage for the moment.

3. The Genitive was at hand in Plautus's time as well as the Ablative. If in their very nature the Genitive case was fitted to express that which was permanent, and the Ablative that which was transitory, then the Romans would not have begun by putting permanent, as well as transitory, attributes into the Ablative.

Before I pass to my own views, another somewhat prevalent theory of the Genitive deserves a moment's attention; namely, that it originally indicated the possession of some person by a quality. It does not seem to me probable that such an example as *magnae virtutis homo* meant originally, as Bennett, in the Appendix to his *Latin Grammar*, § 322, translates it, "virtue's man." With such an origin, there would be no need of the regularly accompanying modifier. But a more seriously unattractive side of the derivation is that it posits too vague a conception at the outset. Roman thought was much less abstract than this. A concrete starting-point is necessary for any satisfactory solution.

The theory which I have to propose is as follows:

1. The Genitive construction is due to the fusion, more or less complete, of two constructions, the Genitive of Possession, as in such common Roman phrases as "men of the senatorial order," "men of the Greek race," and the explanatory Genitive, as in "a fleet of a hundred ships," "an interval of five days." With the shift of the meaning of *genus* from "stock" or "kin" to "kind," there would grow up a feeling that the case *described*, and it would then be used with words with which, in the beginning, it could not have been used. Similarly one would not stop with such a phrase as "an interval of five days," but would, by a very natural association, go on to say "a delay of five days," etc., etc. But by this time the effect of the case, on this side also, would clearly be to describe. The range of the construction as a whole would now cover nouns of abstract or general meaning, like *class*, *kind*, *virtue*, and nouns of measure, like *mile*, *foot*, *year*.¹

2. The Ablative construction is likewise the result of a more or less complete fusion of three constructions: namely, the Ablative of Accompaniment, illustrated by the use of a Preposition in Lael. Schol. Bob.: *is cum illo animo atque ingenio*; Liv. 32, 9, 3: *agnum cum duobus capitibus natum*, etc.; the Locative Ablative of Situation or Mental Condition, illustrated by the use of a Preposition in Cic. *Sest.* 50, 106: *in eo statu est*; Hor. *Ep.* 2, 2, 12: *meo sum pauper in aere*; Cic. *Att.* 6, 2, 6: *magna in spe sum*; etc.; and (for the rare *eo genere*) the Separative Ablative, illustrated by the use of a Preposition in Cic. *Font.* 19, 42: *ex eo genere homines*. Cf. Cic. *Har. Resp.* 28, 61: *ut meliore simus statu*; *Cat.* 2, 2, 4: *reliquit quos homines, quanto aere alieno*; *Fam.* 12, 28, 3: *sum spe bona*.

The theory now stated accounts for the facts of the actual uses of the constructions, and the limitations upon each, as follows:

The oldest expression of a mental trait was through the idea of Accompaniment, as in *magna virtute*. The Possessive idea, as such, was impossible. A man does not "belong to" a trait. When, however, through the influence of phrases originally Possessive, like *eius generis*, the Genitive had developed a descriptive

¹ Greek has both these constructions of the Genitive, but the free development on the Possessive side was arrested.

power, it was then possible to say *magnae virtutis homo*, and the two constructions were now, for this class of ideas, interchangeable. Even *genus* itself came to be used, though very rarely, in the Ablative. On the other hand, the phrases *eius modi*, etc., always maintained themselves unbroken, partly because their extreme commonness naturally gave them permanency, and partly also, doubtless, because phrases like *eo modo* were already appropriated for an *adverbial* force.

With numerals, the Genitive, originally one of explanation or More Exact Definition, always remained the only possible case. Such a conception as, e.g., "a ditch *with* three feet," was impossible.

Words denoting parts of the body could originally, of course, be used only in the construction of Accompaniment. We may think of a man as "with a Roman nose"; but never of a man as "belonging to a Roman nose." *Facies* and *species* naturally followed the same construction (cf. "*qua facies?*" "*Macilento ore, naso acuto,*" etc., Plaut. *Capt.* 646). These words always suggested, *in summary*, physical details for which the construction would have to be in the Ablative. This, and not the fact that they are of the Fifth Declension, is the reason why *facies* and *species* are not used in the Genitive construction until very late. On the other hand, words like *statura*, *forma*, *figura*, tend in a larger degree to suggest the idea of *kind* (as in *homines tantulae staturae*, "men of such slight stature," = "such puny men") and accordingly came to be used occasionally in the Genitive, though the Ablative always remained the commoner construction in classical usage.

The origins assigned above also account for the necessary presence of a modifier in either construction. A phrase like "a man belonging to a class" would mean nothing. One would at once ask, "belonging to *what* class?" Similarly, one would not say, "a man with a nose." All men normally are equipped with noses, and what one wishes in a given case to learn is with *what kind* of a nose this particular man is equipped. Similarly, one would have no occasion to say "a ditch of feet," but would often wish to say "of such or such a number of feet."

The practical results may be summed up in two statements of usage for Classical Prose Latin, and two Notes.

1. Kind and Measure may be expressed by the Genitive.
2. Kind and External Appearance may be expressed by the Ablative; also, in a few phrases, Situation and Mental Condition.
 - a. *Genus* is rarely used in the Ablative construction, and *modus* never.
 - b. A few words of External Appearance of a *general* kind (*statura*, *forma*, *figura*) are occasionally used in the Genitive construction.

30. The Technique of Literary Characterization in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, by Professor George L. Hendrickson, of the University of Chicago (read in the absence of the author by Professor Capps).

The purpose of the paper was to show that Dionysius (or predecessors) had reduced to rule the points of view from which any given literary personality was to be judged. Several methods of characterization were distinguished and illustrated, and their component elements analyzed and discussed. The relation of

the technique of criticism in Dionysius to the other ancient criticism — Cicero, Quintilian, pseudo-Longinus, and Hermogenes — was touched on briefly.

This paper is to be published in the *University of Chicago Studies*. Remarks were made on the paper by Professor Gudeman.

31. Some Uses of the Prepositions in Horace,¹ by Professor John C. Rolfe, of the University of Michigan (read in abstract, in the author's absence, by Professor Tarbell).

The discussion of the form of the preposition in Horace was preceded by a general survey of the use of the forms *a*, *ab*, and *abs*, from the earliest to the latest times. It was pointed out that the treatment in our grammars and handbooks is unsatisfactory, in that the differences to be observed in the inscriptions as compared with the literature, and in the various periods, styles, and writers, were not sufficiently regarded. It was shown that the use of *ab* before consonants was especially persistent in certain stereotyped formulas, such as *ab Jove*, *ab dis*, *ab re*, and with personal and geographical names. The rule of using *ab* only before vowels and *h* was a gradual development, perfected first in poetry, and appearing in prose first in the writings of Seneca the Rhetorician. Horace belongs in the same class with Virgil and Lucretius in this respect, in contrast to Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid. He has twenty cases of *a* before consonants, and six of *ab*, most of the latter being of a formulaic character. The word order of the poets differs essentially from that of the prose writers; Horace offers no special peculiarities. As regards the syntax, Horace has little or nothing that is irregular or peculiar. The readings *ab labore* in *Epod.* 17, 24; *ab avaritia* in *Serm.* 1, 4, 26; *at ipsis saturnalibus* in *Serm.* 2, 3, 4, were argued for against Keller and Holder. The various syntactical uses of *ab* with the ablative were discussed in some detail, and illustrated as far as possible by citations from Horace.

32. Tibullus as a Poet of Nature, by Professor Karl P. Harrington, of the University of Maine (read by title).

The Roman poets as a class were not nature poets in any proper sense of the term. This fact seems to me the more remarkable when we consider the natural charm of Italian scenery. While of the elegiac poets as a class something more in this line might have been expected, because they were rather introspective, and the poets of their own moods and tenses, none among these poets seems on *a priori* grounds so likely to exhibit a considerable amount of nature painting as the gentle-spirited, war-hating, leisure-loving Tibullus, who was always happiest on his country estate, with his sheep and oxen, the quiet hills and plains, and the starry heavens, all about him.

A search to discover what Tibullus saw, what he loved to see, and what it meant to him, is, however, somewhat disappointing. Although a few passages appear to betray some love of nature's beauty for its own sake, even these are rather monotonous and empty of real feeling; e.g. 1, 1, 27; 1, 1, 48; 1, 2, 71; 2, 1, 37.

¹ This paper will be published in full in vol. xii of the *Harv. Studies in Class. Phil.*

There is an even larger preponderance than might have been expected of passages referring to the vegetable and animal life of his own farm; and comparatively little to indicate that he had ever travelled extensively, or that foreign scenery had made any impression upon his mind and his imagination. With the phenomena of the outside world, and often even with those of his own home life, his acquaintance is voiced in the merely conventional phrases of the poets: 'soft garlands,' 'yellow grain,' 'snow-white sheep,' 'cruel wild beasts,' 'caerulean waves,' and 'the unstable sea.' Summer is largely dependent on the 'Dog-Star'; in the sky Jove's thunderbolts, Aurora's car, and Lucifer's star figure prominently; the 'hard' iron and flint and the gems of Ind have their place; streams are 'rapid' robbers; the winds are 'pitiless'; Olympus and Taurus are the types of mountains, though Tibullus never saw either; valleys are either 'deep' or 'shady'; Night 'yokes her steeds'; and fire is Vulcan's 'ravishing' messenger.

The complete list of references may be arranged as follows:—

VEGETABLE LIFE.

- I, I, 7: *teneras maturo tempore vites.*
 I, I, 8: *grandia poma.*
 I, I, 9: *frugum acervos.*
 I, I, 15: *flava Ceres . . . corona spicea.*
 I, I, 27: *sub umbra arboris.*
 I, 3, 45: *mella dabant quercus.*
 I, 3, 61: *fert casiam . . . benigna rosis.*
 I, 3, 66: *myrtea sarta coma.*
 I, 4, 1: *umbrosa tibi contingant tecta.*
 I, 4, 29: *quam cito purpureos . . . colores . . . alba comas.*
 I, 4, 65: *robora tellus . . . vehet.*
 I, 5, 27: *illa deo sciet . . . uvam . . . spicas.*
 I, 5, 31: *dulcia poma . . . arboribus.*
 I, 7, 31: *inexpertae commisit semina terrae . . . arboribus.*
 I, 7, 33: *teneram . . . vitem . . . viridem dura . . . comam.*
 I, 7, 35: *matura uva.*
 I, 10, 27: *myrtoque canistra . . . caput.*
 I, 10, 35: *non seges . . . culta.*
 I, 10, 47: *Pax aluit vites et sucos condidit uvae.*
 I, 10, 67: *spicamque teneto . . . et pomis . . . ante sinus.*
 2, I, 3: *dulcisque tuis e cornibus uva pendeat . . . Ceres.*
 2, I, 19: *neu seges eludat messem fallacibus herbis.*
 2, I, 38: *querna pellere glande famem.*
 2, I, 40: *exiguam viridi fronde operire domum.*
 2, I, 43: *tum consita pomus, tum bibit inriguas fertilis hortus aquas.*
 2, I, 45: *aurea . . . pressos . . . dedit uva liquores.*
 2, I, 48: *flavas . . . comas.*
 2, I, 59: *rure puer verno . . . de flore coronam.*
 2, 2, 6: *mollia sarta.*
 2, 3, 13: *salubribus herbis.*
 2, 3, 15: *vimine iunci.*

- 2, 3, 61: *dura seges . . . persolvat nulla semina certa fide.*
 2, 3, 63: *iucundae . . . uvae.*
 2, 3, 68: *glans alat.*
 2, 4, 56: *quidquid et herbarum Thessala terra gerit.*
 2, 5, 25: *herbosa Palatia.*
 2, 5, 27: *Ilicis umbrae.*
 2, 5, 37: *secundi . . . munera ruris.*
 2, 5, 84: *spicis horrea plena.*
 2, 6, 21: *Spes sulcis credit aratis semina, etc.*
 4, 2, 17: *metit quidquid bene olentibus arvis . . . Arabs segetis.*

ANIMAL LIFE.

- 1, 1, 18: *terreat . . . aves.*
 1, 1, 30: *tardos boves.*
 1, 1, 31: *agnamve . . . fetumve capellae desertum oblita matre.*
 1, 1, 33: *pecori . . . lupi . . . parcite.*
 1, 3, 45: *ferebant obviam securis ubera lactis oves.*
 1, 3, 59: *passimque vagantes dulce sonant tenui guttore carmen aves.*
 1, 4, 17: *docuit parere leones.*
 1, 4, 31: *quam tacet . . . missus equus!*
 1, 4, 35: *serpens novus exiit annos.*
 1, 5, 52: *e tectis strix violenta canat.*
 1, 5, 54: *a saevis ossa relicta lupis.*
 1, 5, 56: *aspera turba canum.*
 1, 7, 8: *niveis . . . equis.*
 1, 7, 17: *volitet . . . alba . . . columba.*
 1, 10, 10: *securus varias dux gregis inter oves.*
 1, 10, 26: *e plena rustica porcus hara.*
 1, 10, 41: *ipse sectatur oves, at filius agnos.*
 1, 10, 46: *aratueros . . . boves.*
 2, 1, 20: *neu timeat celeres tardior agna lupos.*
 2, 1, 50: *conpleat ut dulci sedula melle favos.*
 2, 1, 58: *dux pecoris . . . hircus.*
 2, 1, 62: *lucida . . . ovis [a rare epithet].*
 2, 1, 67: *inter agros interque armenta Cupido natus . . . equas.*
 2, 2, 14: *arat vulido rusticus arva bove.*
 2, 3, 8: *steriles . . . boves.*
 2, 3, 20: *rumpere mugitu boves!*
 2, 3, 42: *multa innumera iugera pascat ove.*
 2, 4, 28: *niveam . . . ovem.*
 2, 4, 57: *indomitis gregibus . . . adflat amores, hippomanes . . . equae.*
 2, 5, 14: *lubrica exta.*
 2, 5, 25: *tum pascebant herbosa Palatia vaccae.*
 2, 5, 38: *niveae candidus agnus ovis.*
 2, 5, 55: *carpite . . . tauri, de septem montibus herbas.*
 4, 3, 9: *latebras ferarum.*
 4, 3, 13: *velocis . . . vestigia cervi.*
 4, 3, 22: *saevas . . . feras.*

THE SEASONS.

- 1, 1, 27: *sed canis aestivos ortus vitare.*
 1, 1, 47: *gelidas hibernus aquas cum fuderit Auster.*
 1, 2, 29: *non pigra nocent hibernae frigora noctis.*
 1, 4, 2: *ne capiti soles, ne noceantque nives.*
 1, 4, 5: *hibernae producis frigora brumae, . . . canis.*
 1, 4, 19: *annus in apricis maturat collibus uvas.*
 1, 4, 42: *canis arenti torreat arva siti.*
 1, 7, 21: *arentes cum findit Sirius agros.*
 2, 1, 47: *terunt messes, calidi cum sideris aestu deponit flavas . . . comas.*
 2, 1, 49: *levis verno flores apis ingerit alveo.*
 2, 1, 59: *puer verno . . . de flore coronam fecit.*
 2, 6, 22: *semina, quae magno fenore reddat ager.*
 4, 2, 13: *talis . . . felix Vertumnus . . . mille habet ornatus.*

THE SKY.

- 1, 2, 8: *Iovis . . . fulmina petant.*
 1, 2, 49: *tristi depellit nubila caelo.*
 1, 3, 93: *Aurora nitentem Luciferum roseis candida portet aquis.*
 1, 4, 20: *annus agit certa lu. ida signa vice.*
 1, 4, 43: *praetexens picea ferrugine caelum.*
 1, 4, 66: *dum caelum stellas.*
 1, 9, 10: *ducunt instabiles sidera certa rates.*
 1, 9, 35: *sidera caeli lucere . . . vias.*
 1, 9, 62: *dum rota Luciferi provocet orta diem.*
 2, 1, 88: *lascivo sidera fulva choro.*
 2, 3, 56: *Solis et admotis inficit ignis equis.*
 2, 4, 17: *solisque vias, . . . ubi orbem complevit, versis Luna . . . equis.*
 2, 5, 71: *mala signa cometen . . . deplueretque lapis.*
 2, 5, 75: *Solem defectum lumine . . . pallentes . . . equos.*

WINDS.

- 1, 1, 45: *inmites ventos.*
 1, 1, 47: *Auster.*
 1, 4, 21: *periuria venti . . . per terras et freta . . . ferunt.*
 1, 4, 44: *nimbifer Eurus.*
 1, 5, 35: *Eurusque Notusque iactat, etc.*
 1, 6, 54: *hic ventis diripiturque cinis.*
 1, 9, 14: *ventis horrida facta coma.*
 2, 4, 9: *insanis cautes obnoxia ventis.*
 2, 4, 40: *eripiant . . . ventus et ignis opes.*

RAIN.

- 1, 1, 50: *tristes pluvias.*
 1, 2, 7: *te verberet imber.*
 1, 2, 30: *multa decidit imber aqua.*
 1, 4, 44: *venturam . . . aquam.*
 1, 7, 25: *nullos tellus tua postulat imbres, arida nec pluvio . . . Iovi.*

DAY.

- 1, 4, 28: *quam cito non segnis stat remeatque dies!*
 1, 5, 22: *sole calente.*

NIGHT.

- 1, 2, 24: *obscura surgere nocte.*
 1, 2, 61: *nocte serena.*
 1, 3, 67: *in nocte profunda abdita.*
 1, 5, 16: *nocte silente.*
 2, 1, 76: *tenebris . . . venit et pedibus praetemptat . . . caecas . . . vias.*
 2, 1, 87: *iam Nox iungit equos, . . . Somnia nigra pede.*
 2, 4, 11: *noctis . . . umbra.*

THE SEA.

- 1, 1, 49: *furorem maris.*
 1, 2, 40: *rapido . . . mari.*
 1, 3, 37: *caeruleas . . . undas.*
 1, 3, 50: *nunc mare.*
 1, 4, 45: *caeruleas . . . undas.*
 1, 5, 46: *vecta . . . caerulea . . . Thetis.*
 1, 5, 76: *in liquida nat tibi linter aqua.*
 1, 7, 19: *maris vastum . . . aequor.*
 1, 9, 9: *freta . . . parentia ventis.*
 2, 2, 16: *eo qua maris unda rubet.*
 2, 3, 39: *vago . . . geminare pericula ponto.*
 2, 3, 45: *indomitum . . . mare . . . hibernas piscis . . . minas.*
 2, 4, 10: *naufraga . . . vasti tunderet unda maris.*
 2, 5, 59: *fluitantibus undis Solis . . . abluit amnis equos.*
 2, 5, 80: *indomitis merge sub aequoribus.*
 2, 6, 3: *vaga ducent aequora.*

STREAMS.

- 1, 1, 28: *ad rivos praetereuntis aquae.*
 1, 2, 44: *fluminis . . . rapidi.*
 1, 2, 77: *soporem nec sonitus placidae ducere posset aquae.*
 1, 3, 68: *quam circum flumina nigra sonant.*
 1, 4, 66: *dum vehet amnis aquas.*
 1, 7, 11: *Rhodanusque celer . . . lympa Liger . . . serpis aquis.*
 1, 7, 22: *fertilis . . . Nilus . . . herba Iovi.*
 1, 9, 50: *liquida deleat amnis aqua.*
 4, 4, 8: *in pelagus rapidis evehat amnis aquis.*

MOUNTAINS.

- 1, 6, 83: *ex alto . . . Olympo.*
 1, 7, 15: *quantus et aetherio . . . frigidus . . . Taurus.*
 2, 4, 8: *in gelidis montibus . . . lapis.*

VALLEYS.

- 1, 4, 49: *altas si claudere valles.*
 2, 3, 19: *caneret dum valle sub alta.*

- 2, 3, 72: *umbrosa valle.*
 4, 3, 2: *colis umbrosi devia montis.*

PLAINS.

- 2, 3, 41: *cupit inmensos . . . campos . . . multa iugera.*
 2, 5, 33: *Velabri regio patet, . . . per vada linter, etc.*
 4, 3, 1: *bona pascua campi.*

SUBSTANCES OF THE EARTH.

- 1, 1, 63: *duro ferro.*
 1, 1, 64: *neque in tenero stat tibi corde silix.*
 1, 4, 18: *longa dies molli saxa peredit aqua.*
 1, 7, 30: *teneram ferro . . . humum.*
 1, 7, 59: *glarea dura . . . silix.*
 2, 2, 15: *gemmarum quidquid felicibus Indis nascitur.*
 2, 3, 6: *pingue . . . solum.*
 2, 4, 8: *lapis, vel . . . cautes.*
 2, 4, 27: *viridesque smaragdos.*
 2, 4, 30: *lucida concha.*
 4, 2, 19: *niger rubro de litore gemmas . . . Indus aquis.*

FIRE.

- 1, 9, 49: *rapida Vulcanis . . . flamma torreat.*
 2, 4, 40: *eripiant . . . ventus et ignes opes.*
 2, 4, 42: *nec quisquam flammae sedulus addat aquam.*
 2, 5, 81: *sacris crepitet bene laurea flammis.*
 4, 6, 17: *celeris urunt altaria flammae.*

The foregoing references are taken from only those parts of the Tibullus collection which are generally agreed to be the composition of Tibullus himself. A much smaller proportion of references to any and all sorts of natural phenomena occurs in the Lygdamus part of the collection, another striking confirmation of the difference in authorship.

Tibullus was a student rather of human nature and character than of the phenomena of the world about him. His interests were largely concentrated in his Delia, his Nemesis, and his boy love Marathus. Thus the blush of the cheek, the fire of the eye, the graceful curve of the arm and the shoulder, were to his enthralled heart-vision no less real, and far more dear, than the beauties of the earth and the sky.

33. Interpretation of Catullus viii., by Professor W. A. Heidel, of Iowa College (read by title).

This poem presents a peculiar problem to the student. One should expect to find it easy of interpretation, being so brief; but a glance at the commentaries will convince one that there is hardly a beginning of agreement among scholars.

Doering thinks that in this poem Catullus "*repente fit philosophus*"; Riese concludes that the poet has lost confidence in the displeasure he has vowed, and "*in Ton und Haltung unsicher uebertreibt.*" Similar disagreement appears when one examines the opinions of Ellis, Ribbeck, Haupt, Baehrens, Schwabe, and others.

Editors seem to approach the poem by preference by way of the words "*truces iambo*" in c. xxxv. 5, which are almost invariably applied to c. viii. In regard to this point we may note three considerations: (1) there is no need of insisting on an iambic poem, supposing even that our *liber Catulli* contains the verses in question, for c. xl. 2 and c. liv. 6 sufficiently prove that hendecasyllables may be denoted as '*iambi*'; (2) if we grant that c. viii. was meant to be characterized in '*truces iambo*,' we should remember that the poem in question was such only *ex sententia Lesbiae*, who, in her petulance at being bidden begone, might very well employ stronger terms than the case warranted; (3) the tone of c. xxxvi. is so unmistakably sportive that we cannot fairly infer from it that the verses referred to were seriously intended. Yet Baehrens calls c. viii. "*iambi trucissimi.*"

We may, therefore, first essay an interpretation of the poem taken by itself, with a view to find its meaning and the spirit in which it was written.

*Miser Catulle, desinas ineptire,
Et quod uides perisse perditum ducas.*

Our poet thus confesses his unhappiness and exhorts himself to eschew folly. We need not now determine the precise degree of unhappiness which Catullus feels, but we may note that it is practically identified with the folly which consists in clinging in fancy and affection to what his judgment has pronounced quite lost. There is a suggestion of obstinacy in the willed renunciation; but there is no settled state of feeling. It is rather a complex mood characterized by a rout of eddying emotions. Scarcely has he admonished himself to cease from folly, when we discern the need of this conscious effort. Involuntarily he lapses into a pensive revery in which he reverts regretfully to the past,—

Fulsere quondam candidi tibi soles,—

a past the thought of which enchants him by contrast with the darkened present. And all the happiness of those fair days was associated with the person of his now unconsenting lady-love,

Cum uentitabas quo puella ducebat.

That dear name '*puella*' is the open sesame to unlock the flood-gates of his heart's affections, and, quite forgetting his courted obstinacy, he utters what is at once a confession and a vow,

Amata nobis quantum amabitur nulla.

Then the enthusiasm of his mood, at first subdued, grows by degrees as he dwells in fancy on each sweet detail of their once happy intercourse,

*Ibi illa multa tum iocosa fiebant,
Quae tu uolebas nec puella nolebat.*

Surely "T had been pity To sunder hearts so equally consented," and as he comes to feel it fully, the flood of bliss that springs from other days finds renewed expression in the emphatic asseveration,

Fulsere uere candidi tibi soles.

But the poet awakens from his dreams to a realization that the promise of the past has been broken to his hopes. She who once was fain has grown reluctant; and the thought of her refusal brings him round to the starting-point, an exhortation addressed to himself to meet coldness with coldness,

Nunc iam illa non uolt: tu quoque, impotens, noli.

However he may admonish himself, he is still *impotens*, "peu maître de lui-même," as Benoist and Rostand well put it. All the impulses that decline to own the supremacy of reason are in open revolt.

But pain, aside from its other blessed ministries, tends insensibly and often illogically to foster hope; and so we find, in his next utterance, the poet's heart divided against itself,

*Nec quae fugit sectare, nec miser uiue,
Sed obstinata mente perfer, obdura.*

Here amid the loud protestations of fixed determination there is the still, small voice of a new-born hope. We detect it in the words "*nec quae fugit sectare*," a manifest reminiscence of Sappho, fr. I,

*καὶ γὰρ αἱ φεύγει, ταχέως διώξει,
αἱ δὲ δῶρα μὴ δέκετ', ἀλλὰ δώσει,
αἱ δὲ μὴ φίλει, ταχέως φιλήσει
κῶνκ ἐθέλωσα.*

It is this new thought that reduces to harmony the impulses warring in the poet's heart: he will meet disdain with disdain, assured that, dealing as he is with a woman, his artifice will produce the desired result. For he had the assurance of Terence (*Eunuch.* 811. foll.) "Iam haec tibi aderit supplicans | Ultro. — Credin? — Immo certe: noui ingenium mulierum: | Nolunt ubi uelis, ubi nolis cupiunt ultro," which was quite closely followed by Ford in *The Broken Heart*, I. ii. So with an ill-concealed grimace of affected resolution he bids her farewell,

Vale, puella! Iam Catullus obdurat.

The addition of the tender '*puella*,' in which he has just acknowledged the charm of auld lang syne, shows that the formal and curt '*uale*' is not to be taken too seriously; and it requires no superior acumen to detect a note of affectation in '*iam*.' But, as if to reassure his anxious heart that his experiment will not fail, he recurs to his text and murmurs a word from Sappho,

Nec te requiret nec rogabit inuitam (ὄνκ ἐθέλωσα).

Glad as Catullus is to avail himself of the prescription of the tenth muse, he will make assurance doubly sure. He himself has just experienced the power of the spell exercised over the lover's heart by the thoughts of a happy past. He there-

fore sets about picturing to the imagination of the reluctant Lesbia the unlovely life she has henceforth to lead, and, by way of effective contrast, recites each precious detail of their wanton dallings in the happy days of old. He resumes, then, in a tone of tenderest commiseration,

*At tu dolebis, cum rogaberis nulla.
Scelestā, uae te! quae tibi manet uita!
Quis nunc te adibit? cui uideberis bella?
Quem nunc amabis? cuius esse diceris?
Quem basiabis? cui labella mordebis?*

It seems strange that anybody should have thought for an instant that '*scelestā, uae te!*' expressed anger instead of pity. Baehrens' note should have settled that point, it seems. So also '*quae tibi manet uita*' represents Lesbia's life as even now sad and desolate, just as Catullus has repeatedly confessed himself to be '*miser,*' and thus adds a further incentive to immediate reconciliation.

Our poet has now employed every resource at his command. He can now do nothing but recur to the promise of Sappho and rest his heart upon it; for, as Horace also has said, "*iam te sequetur,*" if you will but bide your time. And so, at last, he exhorts himself to meet disdain with disdain,

At tu, Catulle, destinatus obdura.

No opposition could be more complete than that between the foregoing interpretation and that which Baehrens proposed. He considered it as an exceedingly irate invective addressed by Catullus on his return to Rome from Verona to Clodia after hearing of the suspicion she had incurred of poisoning her husband. I need not pause here to refute his views in detail. If the foregoing interpretation is sound, they fall to the ground. All depends upon the apprehension of what I regard as the key to the whole, the words "*nec quae fugit sectare*" (v. 10). Baehrens there refers to Theocritus xi. 75 and Callimachus ep. xxxii. 5. A glance at these passages in their context will show that they afford no parallel whatever. There is no suggestion of giving up what is lost in order to enjoy what is at hand. It is, therefore, a gratuitous insult to Catullus as well as to Lesbia to quote these passages and Horace, *Sat.* I. ii. 105 foll. Theocritus vi. 17, although not quite parallel, is more nearly so; better still is Horace, *C.* II. v. 13, '*iam te sequetur.*'

To understand Catullus c. viii. one ought perhaps to consider also c. lxxvi., as even a casual reading of these poems, one after the other, will suffice to convince one that there exists between them more than a chance relation. On closer study, however, the contrast between them in tone and spirit becomes very striking. It is well known that Macaulay somehow associated the two poems in his mind; and one may readily conceive of the latter moving him to tears, though they seem rather ill-bestowed when shed over c. viii. It would seem that when Catullus came to bid a last farewell to Clodia in cc. xi. and lxxvi. he recurred in thought to the earlier poem *written when he did desire that she requite his love*, before he learned to loathe the very passion he had formerly cherished.

Catullus' c. viii. receives further illustration from several other poems to which we may now briefly refer. First, we are reminded of Horace *C.* III. xxvi., where the poet proclaims his intention of renouncing the warfare of love and dedicating his arms to Venus; in the end, however, it appears that his votive offering has

been made only to induce the goddess to give the disdainful Chloe one touch with her uplifted lash. Of Horace *C. III. ix.* Porphyrius says: "*Hac ψ δ̂ η̂ alternis vicibus respondentem sibi Lydiam amicam facit. Agit autem cum ea de instauratione gratiae.*" Here both lovers play consciously at the game of feigned disdain, and therefore each understands the other the more readily. In English we have Carew's famous *Disdain Returned*, which in tone is closely akin to the first example from Horace, although it is far less refined. In striking contrast to this is the beautiful sonnet by Michael Drayton, entitled *Love's Farewell*, and beginning,

"Since there's no hope, come let us kiss and part."

The touches are delicate and the tone is refined. The sonnet also bears a more intimate relation to Catullus *c. viii.* than to any other poem here cited unless it be Horace *C. III. ix.*

One need not seek to disguise the fact that Catullus, as became the ardent nature of the man, felt more keenly than Horace "the pains of despised love," in order to show that there exists between these various lyrics more than a chance resemblance. They are one and all art lyrics, although in Catullus art is more perfectly fused with life. Fortunately we need not choose, as if that choice alone remained, between regarding *c. viii.* as an artistic bit of *vers de société*, like Horace *C. III. ix.*, and as an angry lampoon addressed to a woman who has been discovered to be a Lucrezia Borgia. In common with *c. iii.*, it possesses the exquisite charm resulting from the delicate transition from emotion to emotion without destroying the moving equilibrium of the unitary mood.

In closing, I may say that there is no need to wonder at the familiarity of Catullus with Sappho which is presumed in the foregoing interpretation. If evidence were desired it could be found in *cc. xi., li., lxi., lxii.*, etc. But we know that Valerius Cato busied himself with the literary interpretation of Sappho, and all of his associates were doubtless well acquainted with her poems.

34. Repetition in Shakspeare, by Professor J. E. Harry, of the University of Cincinnati (read in abstract, in the absence of the author, by Professor Hubbard).

"Shakspeare never repeats" is a common saying, but like many common sayings, is untrue. Boyet says "*veni, vidi, vici . . . videlicet*, he came, saw, and overcame"; Rosalind speaks of "Caesar's thrasonical brag of 'I came, saw, and overcame'"; the Queen in *Cymbeline* declares that: "a kind of conquest Caesar made here, but made not here his brag of 'came,' and 'saw,' and 'overcame'"; and Falstaff boasts that he may justly say "with the hook-nosed fellow of Rome, I came, saw, and overcame."

The poet does not often literally plagiarize himself, but the same ideas (frequently in phraseology which betray their origin) recur so many times in both the plays and the poems that the revelation is almost startling to one who has been accustomed to regard repetition as a fault (if fault it be) from which the world's greatest dramatist is singularly free.

Reunions and reconciliations occur in nearly all of Shakspeare's romances. The recovery of lost children is not an infrequent incident. Mistakes of identity, disguises, and bewilderments recur often in the earlier comedies, certain tricks and

frauds in the later. A play within a play is found several times. The second scene of the first act of the *Merchant of Venice* is almost identical with a scene in *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (I. 2). Mariana, in some respects, is like Helena; Oberon and Puck have their counterparts in Prospero and Ariel. Queen Mab's doings are not so very different from those of Puck. The Welsh parson recalls Holofernes; Sir Hugh reminds us of Fluellen; and the vision seen by Queen Katharine calls up King Richard's dream on Bosworth Field. Pyramus and Thisbe appear in more than one play; Troilus and Cressida are mentioned in two, and are the chief characters in another; Lucrece is referred to not unfrequently in the plays, and is the subject of a long poem. The mountainous retreat in *Cymbeline* has some resemblances to the Forest of Arden (in spite of the differences). Marina and her mother have many experiences in common with Perdita and Hermione.

Shakspeare gives us no typical mother. Characters of the faithful wife, of the dutiful daughter, are well drawn, but the mother, the *real* mother, whose character, as *mother*, might insensibly and irresistibly attract us, like Desdemona, or Imogen, or Marina, are wanting. Volumnia does not count, although she is spoken of as "the most noble mother of the world"; nor can Constance deserve to be called an ideal mother — she is not a *real*, but a *royal* mother.

References to his own life are to be found in three of Shakspeare's plays. Evidence from his poems shows that he studied birds and flowers, knew much about horses and dogs, was familiar with hawking and hunting. The poet frequently ridicules the craze of foreign travel. The prose epistle which serves as a preface to the *Rape of Lucrece* is turned into poetry in three of the sonnets. Repetitions in the latter are numerous. The ideas of decay, Time with his scythe, birth, death, resemblance of progeny to parent, sleep (alone and in comparison with death) appear very frequently.

Rosalind discourses to Orlando on the heart-wholeness of him that "will break an hour's promise in love," and Eglamour declares that "lovers break not hours, | Unless it be to come before their time, | So much they spur their expedition." One cannot read those noble lines in *Measure for Measure* ending with "Become them with one half so good a grace as mercy does," without thinking of the celebrated words of Portia: "The quality of mercy is not strain'd . . . it becometh the throned monarch better than his crown."

Examples of repetition of thought might be multiplied. The same may be said of phrases and conceits: "Beguiled | With outward honesty, but yet defiled with inward vice," "Whose inward ill no outward harm express'd." Compare *Romeo and Juliet*, I. 3, and Sonnet XVI. Cheeks as red as roses is a thought that constantly recurs. Expressions like "worms and tombs" are abundant. "Thorns and roses" is another frequent combination. Graves and ghosts, naturally, are spoken of in many dramas: "The grave stood tenantless and the sheeted dead | Did squeak and gibber in the Roman streets"; "Now it is the time of night that the graves, all gaping wide, | Every one lets forth his sprite, | In the church-way paths to glide"; "Graves at my command | Have waked their sleepers, oped and let 'em forth"; "The sepulchre | Hath oped his ponderous and marble jaws"; "And graves have yawn'd and yielded up their dead"; "And ghosts did shriek and squeal about the streets"; "And spirits walk, and ghosts break ope their graves." References to disorder among the planets are especially frequent.

But in the whole visible world nothing seems to have won the admiration of Shakspeare so much as the glorious orb of day. The sun to him was the very type of majesty. It is mentioned 242 times in his dramas, and 46 times in his poems, the moon and stars only about half as often.

But even "the glorious planet Sol in noble eminence enthroned" does not interest Shakspeare so much as one of the planets—"this huge stage" which "presenteth nought but shows | Whereon the stars in secret influence comment." How much he drew from the stage for metaphor and illustration can be seen even in a casual perusal of *Lear*, *2 Henry IV*, *As You Like It*, *Merchant of Venice*, *Macbeth*, *Henry V*, *Troilus and Cressida*, and Sonnet XXIII. Allusions to the power of "sweet music" are almost as abundant. Not infrequent are the references to the singing of birds: "Hark! Hark! the lark at heaven's gate sings"; "Like the lark at break of day arising | From sullen earth, sings hymns at heaven's gate."

Verses almost identical—that is, containing the same thought couched in almost the same language—may be cited by the hundreds. To take the first that comes to hand: "Deeper than e'er plummet sounded"; "Deeper than did ever plummet sound"; "Or dive into the bottom of the deep | Where fathom line could never touch the ground."

The President then declared the session adjourned.

The thirty-third annual session will be held at Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, beginning Tuesday, July 9, 1901.

PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST.

SAN FRANCISCO, December 30, 1899.

For years the question of the organization of a Philological Association on the Pacific Coast had been discussed among the members of the language departments of the University of California and the Leland Stanford Jr. University. In December, 1898, at an informal dinner of the University of California Greek Club, a committee was appointed, consisting of Professors E. B. Clapp, University of California, E. M. Pease, Stanford University, and E. F. Burrill, Oakland High School, to consider the question of calling a meeting for the organization of such an association. The arrival of Professor B. I. Wheeler as President of the University of California added additional impetus to the plan, and a call was issued by the committee for a meeting to be held in the Mark Hopkins Institute of Art in San Francisco, to which all persons interested in the organization of a Philological Association of the Pacific Coast were invited. A programme of papers to be read accompanied the call, to which the following persons responded :—

- Mr. W. H. Alexander, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
 Mr. J. T. Allen, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
 Mr. W. F. Belfrage, Visalia, Cal.
 Mr. G. Berg, Marysville, Cal.
 Prof. C. B. Bradley, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
 Rev. W. A. Brewer, San Mateo, Cal.
 Miss H. S. Brewer, Redlands, Cal.
 Miss Josephine Bristol, High School, Redwood City, Cal.
 Mr. Valentin Buehner, High School, San Jose, Cal.
 Mr. E. F. Burrill, High School, Oakland, Cal.
 Mr. Martin Centner, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
 Mr. Samuel Chambers, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
 Prof. E. B. Clapp, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
 Mr. James G. Coffin, Stanford University, Cal.
 Mrs. Emily Cressey, Modesto, Cal.
 Mr. J. A. De Cou, Red Bluff, Cal.
 Prof. Frederik S. Dunn, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore.
 Mr. Jefferson Elmore, Stanford University, Cal.
 Prof. H. R. Fairclough, Stanford University, Cal.
 Mr. G. E. Faucheux, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
 Prof. P. J. Frein, Stanford University, Cal.

Prof. John Fryer, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
Dr. John Gamble, High School, Haywards, Cal.
Prof. C. M. Gayley, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
Mr. Charles B. Gleason, High School, San Jose, Cal.
Prof. Julius Goebel, Stanford University, Cal.
Mr. Walter H. Graves, High School, Oakland, Cal.
Miss Rebecca T. Green, High School, Salinas, Cal.
Miss Grace L. Hanley, High School, Red Bluff, Cal.
Rev. Henry H. Haynes, San Mateo, Cal.
Mr. Edward Hohfeld, High School, Visalia, Cal.
Mr. Wesley Hohfeld, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
Miss Rose Hohfeld, Stanford University, Cal.
Miss Lily Hohfeld, Stanford University, Cal.
Dr. H. M. Hopkins, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
Mr. C. S. Howard, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
Mr. R. W. Husband, Stanford University, Cal.
Mr. M. C. James, High School, Berkeley, Cal.
Prof. O. M. Johnston, Stanford University, Cal.
Prof. A. F. Lange, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
Rev. James O. Lincoln, San Mateo, Cal.
Miss Alice Marchebout, Girls' High School, San Francisco, Cal.
Prof. Max L. Margolis, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
Mr. H. S. Martin, Marysville, Cal.
Prof. John E. Matzke, Stanford University, Cal.
Miss G. E. McVenn, High School, Redwood City, Cal.
Prof. Walter Miller, Stanford University, Cal.
Prof. W. A. Merrill, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
Mr. F. O. Mower, High School, Napa, Cal.
Dr. George F. G. Morgan, San Francisco, Cal.
Mr. Harold Muckleston, Stanford University, Cal.
Mr. Edward J. Murphy, San Mateo, Cal.
Prof. A. T. Murray, Stanford University, Cal.
Mr. H. C. Nutting, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
Mr. Andrew Oliver, San Mateo, Cal.
Prof. F. V. Paget, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
Prof. Ernest M. Pease, Stanford University, Cal.
Mr. E. Pitcher, High School, Alameda, Cal.
Mr. Clifton Price, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
Prof. Samuel B. Randall, California College, Oakland, Cal.
Miss Cecilia Raymond, Dixon, Cal.
Prof. Leon J. Richardson, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
Mr. J. J. Schmit, Lowell High School, San Francisco, Cal.
Prof. Henry Senger, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
Mr. L. R. Smith, High School, Santa Clara, Cal.
Mr. G. H. Stokes, Marysville, Cal.
Mr. C. M. Walker, Lowell High School, San Francisco, Cal.
Pres. B. I. Wheeler, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
Rev. M. D. Wilson, San Mateo, Cal.

Miss C. E. Wilson, Girls' High School, San Francisco, Cal.

Mr. P. S. Woolsey, High School, Vizalia, Cal.

The meeting was called to order at 2.45 P.M. by Professor Clapp, who explained the considerations that had led to the call of the meeting, and stated that nominations for temporary officers were in order. Upon the motion of Mr. Price, Professor Clapp was elected Temporary Chairman.

On the motion of Professor Merrill it was then

Voted, That the committee which had called the meeting be authorized to conduct the business of the session, that Professor Miller act as Temporary Secretary, and that a Committee of five be appointed by the Chair to draw up plans for a permanent organization.

The meeting then proceeded to the reading of papers. With the consent of the members the Chair stated that papers would be strictly limited to twenty minutes, and that owing to the length of the programme no discussion would be possible.

1. Logical Thought Power of Greek as shown in its Hypothetical Expression, by Professor Louis F. Anderson, of Whitman College, Walla Walla, Wash. In the absence of the author, the paper was read by Mr. E. F. Burrill, of the Oakland High School.

No abstract of this paper is available.

2. The Pronominal Group of Words, by Professor C. B. Bradley, of the University of California.

The confusion and uncertainty attending the treatment of this group of words, even in our best grammars, call loudly for a new study of the whole field, and especially for a determination of the precise nature of the *differentia* which should cause them to be set off from other words. This difference cannot be that which sets off one part of speech from another, since words of unmistakably pronominal quality are found in nearly every part of speech. The paper suggests that their distinctive quality is found in the peculiar nature of their symbolism, which inverts the ordinary relation of denotation and connotation in words. For, while in ordinary words denotation is the more important element, and is fairly constant, — connotation being the variable, determined by accidents of suggestion and context, — in pronominal words connotation is the essential and constant element, while denotation is variable and determined by the context. The difference is akin to that between the arithmetic and the algebraic symbols of quantity, or that between a bank-note and a check signed in blank.

The paper proceeds next to a tentative classification of all distinctly pronominal words in English under four great types of their peculiar symbolism: viz. I. DETERMINATES, whose connotation is fully determined by the speaker — with a sub-group of *Emphatic Determinates*. II. INDETERMINATES, whose connota-

tion is more or less indifferent to the speaker, and so is left to the hearer — with a sub-group of *Emphatic Indeterminates*. III. INTERROGATIVES, and IV. RELATIVES. Under each head the classification proceeds, first, upon the basis of grammatical function; *i.e.* according to the part of speech represented; and, second, according to the varieties of specific connotation involved. The first and second groups are found to be surprisingly rich on both these lines, and show a wider departure from the traditional grouping than do the third and the fourth.

3. Philology of the Chinese Language, by Professor John Fryer, of the University of California.

The paper has been published in the *California University Chronicle*, III. pp. 1-12.

4. Juvenal as a Humorist, by Professor F. S. Dunn, of the University of Oregon.

The theme of this paper was a protest against the usually conceded estimate of Juvenal as nothing else but a grim satirist, exemplified by such expressions as "Not a ray of sunshine illumines his pages, not a trace of humor relieves the oppressive gloom."¹ It is unjust and an exaggeration to regard Juvenal as always and continually a Jeremiah.

Many lines are relieved of their sting by an accompanying humorous gesture or posture. If many or even all of the satires were written for declamation, there would be still greater freedom and more likelihood for humorous views of subjects. The body of the paper was taken up with citations from Juvenal's own lines, in which humor was predominant, *e.g.* the *sportula* scene, in which the impostor with an empty *lectica* claims an extra dole.

The Third Satire was especially quoted as alone sufficient to refute the usual verdict against Juvenal. While being in some respects one of the bitterest of the sixteen, it is yet the most humorous of all. The constant references to the annoyances of city life are among the most amusing passages in all literature. The whole Satire may be taken as a laughable tirade on the part of Umbricius, — Juvenal listening with sometimes a smile, oftener with bursts of unrestrained merriment, which arouse all the more exaggerated burlesque in Umbricius, the fun becoming the more poignant the farther he proceeds, until he brings it all to an inimitable climax in the scene of the drunken bully.

5. The Connection between Music and Poetry in Greek Literature, by Professor H. Rushton Fairclough, of the Leland Stanford Jr. University.

Music was considered an indispensable accompaniment of Greek poetry from the earliest times. The epic poet was literally a singer, and all our evidence goes to prove that Homeric poetry was intended to be actually sung. Elegiac verse, too, was sung to the music of the flute, and in Plato's time children were taught

¹ From Gudeman's *Latin Literature of the Empire*—Poetry—Introduction to extracts from Juvenal.

to sing Solon's poems. Even iambic poetry was originally sung (*μελωδηθησαι*). It was in this sphere, however, that music and poetry were first divorced, for Archilochus allowed his verses to be partly sung and partly recited, and also introduced the custom of playing instrumental interludes, without singing.

The innovations attributed to Archilochus practically coincide in time with the great advance made in the musical art by Terpander. Archilochus and Terpander are the founders of the more musical and elaborate form of lyric, known as melic. Music, being more characteristic of melic poetry, came to be regarded as an essential feature of this species, but unessential to other forms. The simplicity of the earlier music stood out in marked contrast with the complex and elaborate art of later days, and when the creative period of Greek poetry had passed away, and Homer and his successors were studied for the substance of their work, rather than for their art, then it was natural to regard music as a mere accident in epic, elegiac, and iambic verse, while it was treated as an essential in those forms, in which the elaborate rhythms were inexplicable apart from music. So (*e.g.*) Plutarch (*De Mus.*, ch. 12): *την γαρ ολιγοχορδιαν και την απλοτητα και σεμνοτητα της Μουσικης παντελως αρχαικην ειναι συμβεβηκεν.*

This paper is shortly to be published elsewhere in full.

6. Goethe's Homunculus, by Professor Julius Goebel, of the Leland Stanford Jr. University.

This paper has been published in the *Goethe Jahrbuch*, XXI. p. 208 ff.

7. Notes by an Amateur on Reading Plautus and Terence, by Mr. C. W. Goodchild, of San Luis Obispo, California. In the absence of the author the paper was read by Professor W. A. Merrill, of the University of California.

No abstract of this paper is available.

8. Dramatic Satura in Relation to Book Satura and the Fabula Togata, by Dr. H. M. Hopkins, of the University of California.

The paper defended the traditional view that Book Satura was derived from a rude dramatic prototype such as Livy describes in vii. 2.

The argument was based upon a study of the Fabula Togata and of Book Satura. The following dramatic elements were found:

(1) *Dramatic Personifications*; *e.g.* Mors and Vita in Ennius (Quint. ix. 2. 36), Veritas in Varro (Buech. frag. 141), Avaritia and Luxuria in Persius, 5, 132-153.

(2) *Clownish Gibes*; *e.g.* Lucil. (Baehrens 83), Horace, *Sat.* 5, 151-69, and *Sat.* 7.

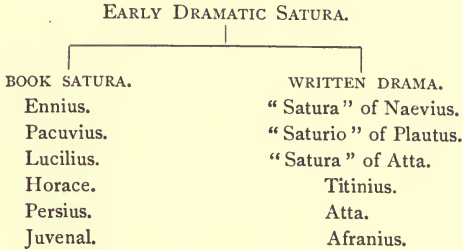
(3) *Dramatic Scenes*; *e.g.* the recalcitrant lover in Hor. *Sat.* 2, 3, 259-271, and Persius, 5, 161-174. Cf. Ter. *Eun.* The collapse of the débauché, Pers. 3, 100-103, for which cf. Mansfield in "A Parisian Romance."

(4) *Dramatic Catch-words*, as *nempe*, Hor. *Sat.* 1. x. 1, Pers. 3. 1.

(5) *The Phrase "verba togae"* (Pers. 5. 14), pointing to a connection between the Book *Satura* and the *Fabula Togata*.

(6) An early play of Plautus called "*Saturio*" (Gell. 3, 3 *ad fin.*), the play of Atta called "*Satura*," and the "*Satura*" or "*Ludus*" of Naevius (Cic. *Cat. Mai.* vi. *ad fin.*), seem to show that an effort was made to put the rude dramatic *satura* on the stage as *Fabula Togata*.

(7) The so-called Prologue to the *Satires* of Persius is a dramatic tradition. The genealogy of the old *Satura* might be expressed as follows:



The Chair then announced the following committee to draw up plans of organization: Professors Merrill, Matzke, Murray, Bradley, and Rev. Mr. Lincoln.

Adjourned at 6 P.M.

SECOND SESSION.

The second session was called to order at 8.15 P.M. by the Chair.

President Wheeler, of the University of California, addressed the Association on the subject of "The Place of Philology."

9. The Place of Philology, by President Benj. Ide Wheeler, of the University of California.

In the steady development and differentiation of the intellectual activities, especially during the century just closing, the peculiar discipline in whose name we are here to-day assembled has finally taken a shape and assumed an individuality which assert for it a place and area of its own, and establish some tentative boundary lines between it and its nearest neighbors—philosophy and history. The process of differentiation has been attended by one of selective coöperation, and auxiliaries like archaeology and scientific linguistics have tended to seek their place under the hegemony of philology.

The guiding power in these reciprocal processes of differentiation and of selective coöperation has not been derived exclusively or even principally from a theoretical determination of the proper scope and purpose of the related disciplines. The various definitions of philology which have had vogue, and particularly that of Boeckh, may have served some purpose in giving here and there direction to effort and determining division of tasks, but of vastly greater weight have been

the facts, the actual facts composed of what has actually engaged the interest of individual philologists and of philologists as a class, under the necessities of their teaching and through the bent of their minds as conditioned by the materials and methods of their study. A scholar's interests will in the long run conform to his studies, and his studies are prone to take the direction of what he teaches in the schools and of what he was taught in the schools. . . .

It has occurred to me that instead of attempting to locate philology on the barren ocean by aid of the stars we might traverse the land and find men at their work, so that we might perchance be able to report, not so much where philology ought to be and what it ought to do, as where philology is and what it is doing. . . .

If we turn now to examine the work which is actually engaging the attention of scholars whose training and whose activity are called philological, we shall find a large proportion of that work applied in teaching the elements of foreign literary tongues or in studying with a view to giving these elements a clear and appreciable isolation. The mechanism commonly employed for teaching a language consists of the artificial classifications of descriptive grammar. . . .

In continuing our examination of the work which occupies philologists, we should find a considerable body, particularly in this country, and perhaps more among Latinists than among the representatives of any other branch, devoted to the investigation of the higher problems of syntax. The impulse to this form of work has arisen less from the desire to penetrate into the thought expressed by the language than from the desire to formulate into quotable types the usage of a language whose thought has been already keenly and sympathetically felt. The task is to identify the prevailing types of word-combination existing in the organization of the sentence. When the work extends to the observation of these types as they extend or decline, and to the determination of which is older, which younger, and possibly to investigation of the causes of extension or decline, it is called historical syntax. Comparative syntax is its occasional auxiliary. These prevailing types which it is the object of syntax to determine cannot, however, be held to represent types or moulds of folk-psychology, as it was once the dream of Lazarus and Steinthal to demonstrate, except so far as such psychology was itself the product of the language and the peculiar combinations in its mechanism. The best which syntax, therefore, can hope to attain is the identification of certain general ruts or grooves which the combinations tended to follow, but with the certain limitation that like forms of words of different meaning are not committed to like grooves. The effort expended in this identification tends to induce a careful observation and fine discrimination, and leads toward the determination and summarizing of those conventional types of word-combination, which, however they may have been created, condition, restrain, and mould the popular thought. Therein lies the advantage of syntax as a discipline on the one hand, as a science on the other. If conducted, however, on the assumption, implied or expressed, that logical principles accessible through metaphysical reasoning are involved in the formation of the types, nothing but mischief can be wrought for teacher, text, and taught.

The study of historical grammar in the form of comparative morphology and phonology has yielded tribute on the one hand to the general science of language, on the other to philology. As tributary to philology it serves the purpose of showing how the outward form of language is historically conditioned. By

distinguishing the old from the new and establishing a chronology of form-development, it furnishes syntax with its only sure foundations, and provides one of the only two possible bases for a real classification of language-phenomena. The other possible basis is not that of descriptive grammar, which is utterly artificial, and neither scientific nor popular, but is that of the folk-consciousness, of the language as it rests untouched by reflection in the mind of the folk. Classification upon this latter basis, all-important as I believe it will yet prove to be, has not yet been attempted, owing to lack of competent observation of the facts. Psychology is still too young. . . .

Historical grammar as dealing both with the moulds of form and with the combination-types of syntax will prove to be inseparable from philology, and indispensable to a philological equipment. It is particularly essential that the teachers of the elements of language should be thoroughly trained both in the principles governing the life and growth of language in general, and in the history of the language they teach in particular. It is essential in order that the artificial classifications which for pedagogical purposes they are compelled to employ may never assume the position of real things, either with teacher or learner; that is to say, it is peculiarly essential *for the very reason* that historical grammar and the so-called comparative philology *cannot* be taught to beginners. The arbitrary introduction of tidbits of historical grammar and of syntactical lore into an exercise of interpretation, when they do not directly serve the purposes of interpretation, is simply grotesque pedantry. The exaggerated attention paid to syntax at present in American classrooms of Greek and Latin constitutes the severest menace to the usefulness and therefore to the continuance of classical study which now exists.

The seminaries and to an undue extent also the lecture-rooms of Germany are at present dominated by the exercise in textual criticism which constitutes as much of a menace there as syntax does here. Both are, however, a menace only in their disproportion. Both are the handmaidens of hermeneutics. Both give skill and certainty of grasp in interpretation. Conscientious interpretation will insist first of all upon knowing what is written. Among the divergent traditions of the text, it will seek for some reasonable ground of choice. The *διόρθωσις* (*recensio*) will precede every attempt at independent interpretation. As sympathy with a text and its author's thought advance, the temptation to occasional exercise of the divinatory criticism will arise. Such criticism indeed, though the chances are always heavily against its success, has its place as part and parcel of the *interpretatio*, but is never an end to itself. The practice of seminaries in framing conjectures has undoubtedly served much purpose in sharpening wits and enforcing reflection, but it has also served to encumber would-be scholarship with vast accumulations of hopeless lumber. An exercise begun with the purpose of aiding interpretation has to a considerable extent become an end to itself and led philology out upon the arid and trackless deserts of pedantry.

In the exercise of the various tasks to which we have thus far alluded it may be questioned whether philology has not turned its look too far away from what we ordinarily understand by literary study. Philology concerns itself primarily with literary documents. Its professed traditional aim is the interpretation of literary documents, or of a life betrayed most fully in such monuments. If it fails of reaching this goal, it will be held to have failed entirely, — at least in the court of

common judgment. If it spends all its time and all its strength in sharpening and whetting its tools for that which is to be its ultimate work, it will be looked upon as either a visionary or a deceiver, a fool or a fraud.

Literary study may be either the study of a fine art whose material is language, — in which case it is a branch of aesthetics, — or it may be a study of the ideas and forms of thought involved, in which case it can hardly escape becoming a branch of history through its dependence upon historical modes for an understanding of these forms. The almost complete differentiation of historical studies from philological, which the present century seems to have brought about, has, as a matter of fact, robbed philology of its historical power. The training and tastes of the men who have actually represented the philological activities have not led them into sympathy with the historical point of view. They have left this under the division of labor too exclusively to the professional historians. Here we have, then, an unmistakable and most emphatic illustration of the view that the scope of philology is determined not by theoretical definitions so much as by the actual tastes and occupation of the men actually engaged in its pursuit.

The philologist, in his painful concentration upon the details of fragments, and his absorption in the task of restoring a condition which belongs to a single time and status, has undoubtedly lost something of that power of perspective which a consideration of the historical meaning in reference to conditions related by succession in time is alone able to impart. While, therefore, it is evident that he cannot afford to yield entirely the historical point of view, it must, however, be remembered that he is primarily concerned with restoring a condition which exists in a single plane rather than in establishing a line of descent. The historian will utilize his results. From the philologist the historian will learn atmosphere. From the historian the philologist will learn perspective.

Absorption in the task of teaching the elements of language and mastering the various branches of linguistic study has furthermore diverted the average philologist from literary aesthetics. In the philological class-rooms of Germany and America pure literary study has been reduced dangerously near to a minimum. The influence of the methods employed during the past century by the natural sciences has been undoubtedly in a measure responsible. On every hand one marks the effort to establish aesthetic criteria by measuring and counting and classifying. A large japanned tin box full of cards provided by the cunning of the Library Bureau will not, however, yield with unerring and mechanical certainty its expected semestral output of literary taste.

We have been speaking of the way in which the actual facts of the experience and interests of those who are called philologists have served to determine the place and definition of philology. An example of this has been afforded in the last two decades by the new animation imparted to classical study through men who have studied at Rome and Athens. Most of the students who have pursued archaeological studies in connection with the American schools at Rome and Athens have, on their return to the practical work of teaching, become perforce philologists rather than archaeologists. There has not been a sufficiently large demand for archaeological specialists to absorb their work for this distinctive field. Philology has been thereby the gainer. Contact with the habitat and the material remains of ancient life has quickened in these men a sensitiveness for this life as real. They have become interpreters in a more direct and definite way. They

have brought new materials to bear in the task of reconstructing the thought and form of ancient life out of its fragmentary remains. The very fact that these men have been absorbed into the philological mass through the accident of conditions that temporarily at least forbade the fuller organization of archaeology as a clearly differentiated discipline has served to widen and enrich the practice and consequently the conception of philology. If we admit that philology has indeed no boundaries established in the inherent nature of things, then is it true that the fact has actually enriched and widened the very definition of the term.

Without proceeding further in our illustrative survey of the field actually occupied at present by the activity of the representatives of the discipline, let us turn to a precision and summary of its significance based upon what we have observed and what we in general know as to that field and its work.

The work is in the first place characterized by the necessity under which it labors of restoring and reconstructing a whole out of fragmentary materials. The literatures as rescued monuments of a past are in themselves but fragments and parts. Out of the entirety of Greek literature for example have been rescued only a few samples, a few such as the needs in the main of the rhetorico-philosophical schools of antiquity selected as worthy of duplication, and consequently of preservation. Chance has had its say to some extent, but on the whole the texts read in the schools are those that have been thus preserved,—a little school library of standard epics, lyrics, dramatics, historians, and philosophers. From these and their allusions and citations we have to restore an impression of the contents and purpose and tone of a vast literature. Even the rescued texts are battered, torn, and shop-worn, and must be the continual objects of a study that guides through a schooled and chastened imagination to a realization of the original.

The language has not been preserved either on living voice or in completed thesaurus, but must with painful labor and patient collecting, sifting, classifying, be reassembled from the leaves of parchments and papyri and from fragments of stone, and find its meaning through the interpretation of texts and the searching of feeble glossaries and the collating of the chance scribblings of the scholiasts.

The restoring and reading of the inscriptions represents most sharply and concretely the work of the philologist. From three dim letters on a *stoichedon* inscription the epigraphist divines a word, and with the help of his knowledge of the formulas and by counting the spaces fills a line; so that often from the rescued edge of a stone he reads a whole, four and five times the extent of the given material.

This applies to the entire field and method and work of philology. What the architectural archaeologist does in restoring the plan and conception of an ancient building by help of a few column-drums, a few intercolumnar spaces, traces of a foundation wall, and fragments of an architrave or cornice, the philologist must do with fragments of a structure of human thought. The harmonies and measurements yielded by the column-drum and cornice-fragment are represented by the spacing of letters or the moulds of metre or the trend and continuity of the thought divined. Throughout there is demanded the most accurate knowledge of all that reconstruction has yet accomplished, and a divining imagination based thereon and able to throw its cantilevers out into space. Herewith we may characterize and identify most surely the philologist's work.

He deals primarily and principally with language, the language that expresses

and sets forth the life of a culture that has lapsed into the past, but which had a unity and harmonies and measures inhering in an established and solidified scheme of conventional historical life. That which links together the exercises of advanced investigation such as the philological specialist pursues and the first efforts of translation and interpretation such as occupy the beginner in the study of language is this essentially characteristic method of divining a whole out of incomplete data. The boy who is laboriously collecting the data afforded by case and tense and word order and with help of the known harmonies and measures yielded in the ascertained moulds of syntax is restoring, however crudely, a meaning for the sentence, is doing the work and receiving the training which belong to all the endeavors of philology. Out of data that at the best will always prove incomplete, he is divining the vanished whole. The educative power of the exercise inheres, first, in the constructive effort of assembling the materials; second, in the use of the memory for aiding the assemblage; third, in the intelligent direction of the imagination toward reconstruction; fourth, in the cultivation of the power of contingent reasoning. The fourth is akin to the third, and together they constitute the all-important educative and uplifting power of language-study. Contingent reasoning is the form of reasoning we apply almost exclusively in the practical doings of life. It is life-reasoning as distinguished from absolute or mathematical reasoning, and as such it is the form of mental reasoning most available for use, most essential to effective living, and most desirable to cultivate. As language is the most potent educator of the child, so it has always been of the race. It represents in its very texture the thought and the reason of the natural man, and is the most human thing produced by human men. Mind is thus naturally nourished during its growth by a food which is itself a natural product of mind. Life is fed by life.

The existing place of philology among the learned disciplines has been established and defined by the facts of educational practices and the demands of learned study in connection therewith quite as much as by any logically determined boundary marks.

The tradition of the schools as formulated by the renaissance appointed its general scope. The successive differentiations whereby other disciplines like philosophy, history, archaeology, have been created out of its body, have narrowed its field and intensified its vision even to the encouragement of dangerously narrow concentration. The surrender of history has wrought temporarily at least some mischief, as has also the loss of control over instruction in the vernacular which, prior to the development of departments such as English composition, or English outright, rested chiefly in the hands of the classical philologists. Those who to-day contend for the old classics as affording the true cultural course of study, in spite of the limitation to a small range of subjects, do so in assertion of the old, undivided claim. They still propose to teach many of the differentiated subjects incidentally, or as contained in the body of the whole. Whether they do, depends, as it always has, very much upon the teacher. If the modern specialized philology is taught, however, it will not be culture that results, any more than from the teaching of other specialized subjects. The real question at issue is not so much one of subjects as of the period for introducing the differentiated and specialized types of the great civilizing and educating subject,—human thought in the life-form.

After all delimitations have been reckoned with, and all the readjustments have been effected, there remains for philology a well-defined place and task. Language is its chief material. The life-thought of a people is its chief object of study. History, geography, art, antiquities, manners and beliefs, institutions and government,—all of these it must understand and utilize for its interpretations, but it is through language as the open window that it must look straight in upon the life and with the straight, whole look of sympathy learn to comprehend and relive it.

At the conclusion of the address Professor Merrill reported for the committee on organization, and the following constitution was adopted.

CONSTITUTION OF THE PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE
PACIFIC COAST.

ARTICLE I.—NAME AND OBJECT.

1. This Society shall be known as "The Philological Association of the Pacific Coast."
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, and a Secretary-Treasurer.
2. There shall be an Executive Committee of eight, composed of the above officers and four 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 San Francisco, 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 one interested in 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 a vote of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE V.—SUNDRIES.

1. All papers intended to be read before the Association must be approved by 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 the 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.⁵

The Committee recommended further that a committee of three be appointed by the Chair to nominate officers for the ensuing year, that another committee of three be appointed to report on the time and place of the next meeting, and that the Executive Committee to be chosen be authorized to communicate with the officers of the American Philological Association concerning terms of affiliation with that body.

Upon motion of Professor Bradley the report of the Committee was adopted.

The Chair announced the following committees :

Nomination of Officers : Professors Pease, Gayley, and Dr. Gamble.

Time and Place of Meeting : Professors Fairclough, Senger, and Mr. James.

The meeting then adjourned.

THIRD SESSION.

The third session was called to order by the Chair on Saturday, December 20, 1899, at 10.15 A.M.

10. The use of *le, la, les*, before *me, te, vous, nous, lui, leur* in Old French, by Professor O. M. Johnston, of the Leland Stanford Jr. University.

This paper has been published in *Modern Language Notes*, XV. 1-6.

11. Pleonastic Formative Elements in the Semitic Languages, by Professor Max L. Margolis, of the University of California.

Mixed forms, or forms with pleonastic formative elements, arise through "contamination." Two classes may be distinguished: (1) forms with cumulated suffixes (e.g. Engl. *fruit-er-er*); (2) forms which in themselves, unencumbered by any suffix, convey the idea which the superadded suffix is visibly to bring out (e.g. Engl. *folk-s*). In the Semitic languages we equally meet with both classes. First Class: (a) stem formation, e.g. Eth. *ta-n-tōlē'a* "he was covered"; late Hebr. *nī-t-nabē(')* "he prophesied"; (b) suffixes *ān* and *ī*, e.g. Arab. *fākih-ān-ī* "fruiterer"; Hebr. *ḥadīm-ōn-ī* "foremost, Eastern"; Aram. *rahām-ān-ī* "compassionate"; (c) double feminine ending, e.g. Hebr. *rām-t-ā(h)* "she threw" (older form *ram-at-at*); (d) double plural ending, e.g. Hebr. *bām-ōt-ē* "high places." Second Class: (a) to an "inner" adjective the suffix *ān* may be added, e.g. Arab. *sakr-ān(u)* "drunk" (*sakr(un)*, shortened from *sakir(un)*, means the same); (b) infinitives with pleonastic prefixes or suffixes, e.g. Arab. *ma-kal(un)* "eating"; *ta-zūāl(un)* "ceasing"; *'ibād-at(un)* "service"; *lahab-ān(u)* by the side of *lahab(un)* "burning"; Hebr. *n'ūr-īm* "youth"; (c) inner feminines, e.g. Eth. *ḥadās* fem. of *ḥadīs* "new" becomes in Hebr. *ḥādās-ā(h)* (older form: *ḥadaš-at*; from which masc. *ḥādāš* is a back formation); (d) collectives, e.g. Arab. *labīn(un)* "bricks" (*labīn-at(un)* is *nomen unitatis*) becomes in Hebr. *lḥēn-īm*; (e) broken plurals, e.g. Arab. *riḡāl-āt(un)* "men" (plural of a plural); hence Hebr. *mlūḡ-īm* "kings."

12. The Sources of Corneille's Tragedy *La Mort de Pompée*, by Professor John E. Matzke, of the Leland Stanford Jr. University.

This paper has been published in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XV. 142-152.

13. The Charge of *ξενία* in the Old Comedy, by Professor A. T. Murray, of the Leland Stanford Jr. University.

No abstract of this paper is available.

14. Cicero's use of the Imperfect and Pluperfect Subjunctive in *si*-clauses, by Dr. H. C. Nutting, of the University of California.

Two points only, suggested by a study of this topic, are emphasized: (a) *the essence of a condition is not necessarily inherent in the verb*. This is well illustrated by such a sentence as *de Leg. Agr. II. 3, 6: Quodsi solus in discrimen aliquid adducerer, ferrem, Quirites, animo aequiore*; here, though the conditional sentence is doubtless contrary to fact, Cicero does not mean to imply that the action of the *verb* is not taking place,—the unreality of the condition lies in the word *solus*. This is indicated formally by the emphatic position of the word, and, doubtless, by stress of voice in speaking.

On the basis of the fact that language generally tends to allow unemphatic words to drop away, leaving the emphatic in possession of the field, the theory is advanced that we here have the key to the explanation of that class of form-

ally simple sentences 'that imply a condition in a word or phrase'; e.g. *p. Plancio* 37, 90; *mortem me timuisse dicis. Ego vero ne immortalitatem quidem contra rem publicam accipiendam putarem. . . .* This is, logically, a complex sentence; if the emphatic words were expanded into a *si*-clause, the stress would be not on the verb, but on *immortalitas*. The essence of the condition is thus retained in the formally simple sentence.

(*b*) Temporal relations are reflected rather than possessed by conditions contrary to fact. The imperfect subjunctive reflects or is opposed to (1) a general truth, (2) a reality somewhat time-limited but not confined to the immediate present, (3) a reality of the immediate present; this last variety is much less frequently met than is generally supposed. In the same way the pluperfect reflects past time, as aorist and true perfect.

This paper appears in full in the *American Journal of Philology*, XXI. 260-273.

15. Commands and Prohibitions in Horace, by Dr. Clifton Price, of the University of California.

The aim of the paper, in general, was to show the superior ability of the Latin, as compared with other languages, to express commands and prohibitions, and, in particular, to illustrate this versatility by the most tactful of Latin writers—Horace.

In the first place, the four hundred and sixteen cases of the imperative in Horace were classified according to tense and person and then according to the nature of the writing (odes, satires, and epistles) in which they appear. Some interesting statistics were obtained relative to Horace's feeling for the future imperative as compared with the present imperative and present subjunctive, and the frequency of the future imperative in the more colloquial parts. There followed a discussion of the positions taken by Krarup (*De natura et usu imperativi apud Latinos*, Hafniae, 1825), Zumpt (*Lateinische Grammatik*, § 583), and Dietrich (*Quaestiones grammaticae*, Freiburg, 1861). The conclusions reached coincided, for the most part, with those given by Kühner.

The imperative subjunctive was discussed at length with reference to its subjective and objective force.

It was shown that the person of the verb was a large factor in its development. An effort was made to distinguish between the subjunctives of *wish* and *will* with reference (1) to their subjective intensity, (2) to their degree of probability, (3) to their representation of futurity.

The conclusion reached from the discussion of the imperative force of the future indicative was that the force which the future gets, when it approaches the imperative use, is given by the modulation of the voice and the energy displayed in accompaniment rather than in any inherent force of the future itself. The future only expresses the hope that the thing enjoined will be performed, as we see it in polite notes "You will excuse," etc.

It was shown that in expressing prohibitions Horace has the most individuality. He well understood the principle of human nature, that we fret when told what we *must not* do, and he avoided giving his hearer or reader offence by

the greatest ingenuity in expressing prohibitions in some way other than by *ne* and the imperative, e.g. *Epi.* 1. 13. Under this topic the distinction between the force of the present and perfect subjunctives in prohibitions was discussed at length. Some attention was given to the discussion of the force of *non*, *neq*, and *neve* with the imperative subjunctive, but the cases in Horace were too few for definite conclusions.

The following circumlocutions used by Horace for the imperative were discussed: *Cura* with the subjunctive, *memento* with the infinitive, *velim* with the subjunctive, *noli* (*nolito*, etc.) with the infinitive, *cave* with the subjunctive, *fuge*, *mitte*, *omitte*, *parce*, *aufer*, *desine*, each used with the infinitive, the subjunctive with the infinitive, e.g. *remittas quaerere* (*C.* 2. 11. 3), the prohibition in the signification of the verb and certain other forms expressing obligation, such as *debere* and the participle in *-dus*.

A number of formulae or expressions used with the imperative, such as *I nunc*, *mihī crede*, *age* (*agedum*), *dic age*, *adde*, etc., were treated; also the expressions softening the imperative such as *sodes*, *oro*, *precor*, etc. *Quin* with the present indicative was discussed, together with other minor peculiarities of Horace's treatment of commands and prohibitions.

16. Shortcomings in the Rules of Prosody, by Professor Leon J. Richardson, of the University of California.

We needed no word from Corssen (*Aussprache*, 1. 328) to know that the traditional rules of Greek and Latin prosody are a 'medley' of loose statements. Incompatible, for example, are the two following:

(a) *A syllable is long by position, if its vowel (short) is followed by two consonants*, etc.

(b) *In dividing a word into syllables any combination of consonants that could begin a word is sounded with the following vowel*.

According to the latter rule, we are to divide thus: *έ-σπé-ρα* and *o-bli-vi-scor*. But, according to the former, the first syllable in each of these examples fulfils the conditions of a syllable long by position. How can these two things co-exist? For the reader to pronounce a short vowel by itself and at the same time to *sound* it as a syllable long by position is phonetically out of the question. The two vocal acts are mutually exclusive.

The explanation of this inconsistency seems to be in part that the two rules are the outgrowth of widely separate times. What then is the history of the former rule? The theory of quantitative versification, as employed in Greek and Latin poetry, was evolved by the Greeks at a very early period. Speech showed at that time few complex syllables whose elements were compactly united in utterance; *φ*, *θ*, *χ*, and diphthongs, for example, were not yet welded into single sounds, it is thought, but were uttered with the component parts still separately audible; *θ* was *t + h*, *χ* was *k + h*, *αι* was *a + i*, etc. If this is true, there is even more reason for believing that adjacent consonants were generally uttered separately and not included in one syllable with the following vowel. This mode of utterance by the reader is the only one that could give rise to what is called length by position. Hence rule (a).

But in the course of time, as was to be expected, pronunciation underwent

some change. Sound elements became more compactly united within syllables. The early diphthongs, *ε*, *ου*, *οι*, for example, though still written the same, had become monophthongs in the *Hymn to Apollo* (third century B.C.), as found inscribed on stone with musical notation at Delphi. And, again, certain groups of consonants finally came to be sounded, not partly with a preceding and partly with a following vowel, but all with the latter. This increased the number of open syllables, which meant increasing the ease and rapidity with which the language could be spoken. See, for example, the mute and liquid usage; such a combination in Homer generally causes length by position, but in the Attic poets generally not. In other words, these sounds during the early period were generally divided, but in subsequent times they were generally both joined to the following vowel. The extreme and latest stage in such an evolution is to be seen in the French language, where open syllables are relatively very numerous. Baudry says, concerning this later stage in the evolution of languages, when more consonants than one tend to be united with a following vowel: *La voix a, pour ainsi dire, fait son éducation, et l'articulation, devenue plus agile, n'éprouve plus aucune peine à prononcer d'un seul coup deux ou plusieurs consonnes* (*Grammaire Comparée*, p. 13).

Usage in dividing an unfinished word at the end of a line of writing is looked upon by some as the cause and origin of (*β*). Others think (*β*) was derived from the division of words into syllables when accompanied by musical notes. This is the view held by Professor M. W. Humphreys, being partially presented in his article on the "Equivalence of Rhythmical Bars and Metrical Feet" (*Amer. Phil. Assoc.* 23, 157). It seems, however, possible that, besides this, another factor entered into the case. The idea underlying (*α*) is manifestly older than the idea underlying (*β*). The former sprang from an early age of creative literary activity, being as old as quantitative poetry itself, while the latter dates from the subsequent age of criticism. And thus the language changes above described may not improbably have exerted some influence on those who formulated (*β*). Just how far (*β*) reflected actual usage of speech, it is now impossible to determine. However, even down to the end of the classical period the changes in pronunciation were not sufficient to induce either Greek or Roman poets to reform their theory of quantities in composing verses. Their poetry was therefore composed, and presumably always read, in accordance with the early method of word division. A slight disparity between the spoken language and the language as employed in poetry may have arisen in later times, but this is not to be wondered at. All peoples show greater conservatism in their poetry than in other modes of expression. We ourselves used to say, for example, *wīnd*, but gradually changed the word to *wind*, still retaining in our poetry, as the rhyme shows, the older sound *wīnd*.

We have seen that the rules are confused because they perhaps *date from different periods*. Another cause for their shortcomings is that, the science of phonetics being still undeveloped, they were *based largely upon spelling* rather than upon sounds. They often fail, therefore, to show *how* the sounds were produced or *why* the length resulted. Rule (*α*), for example, gives no idea whether one or both or neither of the "two consonants" was sounded with the preceding vowel. A third cause for complaint against the rules is that they often contain *loose statements*. See, for example, the rule for "common" syllables. It does

not make plain, first, that the necessary conditions for such a syllable are a succession of four elements, viz. short vowel, mute, liquid, and vowel (either long or short); secondly, that only a certain few combinations of mute and liquid by usage are here valid; thirdly, that the succession must be entirely within one word; fourthly, that if the word be compound, the succession is always entirely within one member of the word; fifthly, in case of a common syllable used as short, the division of sounds is *ǔ-m-lv*, but, in case of such a syllable used as long, the division is *ǔm-lv*.

The Chair having been informed of Professor Pease's inability to serve on the Committee on Nomination of Officers, Professor Murray was appointed to fill his place as chairman of that committee.

The Committee on Time and Place of Meeting being ready to report, that report was then called for. The committee recommended that the next meeting be held at San Francisco, on Friday and Saturday, December 28 and 29, 1900. The report was adopted, and the meeting adjourned at 12.45 P.M.

FOURTH SESSION.

The fourth session was called to order by the Chair at 2.15 P.M.

17. Faust-Interpretations, by Professor Henry Senger, of the University of California.

This paper is published in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XV. 82 ff.

18. The Use of the Optative with *ei* in Protasis, by Dr. J. T. Allen, of the University of California.

No abstract of this paper is available.

19. Supposed Irregularities in the Versification of Robert Greene, by Professor C. M. Gayley, of the University of California.

The author contended that Greene's dramas were written not to be read, but spoken, and that a proper observance of various rhetorical pauses would show that most of the apparent irregularities in the verse were intentional and highly artistic.

The paper will appear in Vol. I. of the author's *Representative English Comedies*, Macmillan, N. Y., now in press.

20. The Potential Subjunctive in Latin, by Professor E. M. Pease, of the Leland Stanford Jr. University.

After considering the meaning of the term potential and its usual application there followed a brief consideration of the views of Elmer and Bennett on the

subject. The former would eliminate the potential subjunctive entirely from our grammars, and the latter would recognize only a few stereotyped *may* potentials and one small class of *can-could* potentials. Exception was taken to Elmer's fundamental principle that "unless one instance of the subjunctive can be cited which cannot possibly be explained except by assigning to it the force of the potential, then there is not the slightest justification for claiming that the subjunctive has the power of expressing this idea."

A strenuous application of this method would eliminate many other important grammatical categories. Moreover, until it is proved that the potential idea was not expressed in the modal forms of the parent speech, the presumption is in favor of the potential subjunctive in Latin. The current view of the best authorities is for a modal potential in both ancient and modern languages. Therefore, to attack the potential in Latin successfully, one must at the same time eliminate it from all the related languages. For if we grant there is such a thing as a potential subjunctive in other languages, every unprejudiced observer must admit that many a subjunctive in Latin appears to yield its closest meaning only when translated by *may, can, might, could*, etc. This is true of many of the passages quoted by Elmer.

To approach the question from another point of view, there are in Latin and in other languages various synonymous constructions or interchangeable ways of expressing common ideas; *e.g.* commands may be expressed by the imperative, the subjunctive, and even the indicative. Various are the ways of expressing purpose; likewise cause, time, agency. The shifting of voice from active to passive, and *vice versa*, is but a matter of emphasis; necessity and obligation have different modes of expression, and so on with other categories. Is it then likely that the Latin language was so poor in expressions of power, ability, and possibility, that there was but one mode, the auxiliary verbs, *posse, quire*, etc.?

Elmer asks why we do not find many instances of *verum sit, pluat*, etc., in Latin if the Romans made use of the subjunctive. The answer would be: for the same reason that *verum esse potest, pluere potest*, are rare; the ideas should not be expected frequently in the kind of literature that survives. The thought "it may rain" was doubtless frequently expressed, but after a careful search I have failed to find a single case of either *pluere potest* or *pluat*.

The Latin subjunctive is known to be a development from the indicative, — a sort of specialized or indistinct future. Where the indicative asks "what will you do?" the subjunctive inquires "what are you to do?" — with the time idea less definite and the contingent idea more distinct. This meaning of the subjunctive is fundamental, and found in nearly all cases of its independent use. In Cicero, *Verr.* 2, 16, "*Quid hoc homine facias?*" the fundamental idea is "*what are you to do with this man?*" This permits of more definite translation if a protasis is expressed. Thus if the context emphasizes the idea of contingency with a conditional protasis, then we translate "*what would you do, etc.?*" If the idea of power, ability, is present, then we translate "*what can you do, etc.?*" A temporal protasis often shows the independent clause to be a *can* or *could* subjunctive; an adverb often indicates a *may* or *might* subjunctive. Sometimes these subjunctives are purposely indistinct and colorless. At any rate the essential qualities of the mood do not change with the protasis, whether expressed, implied, or purely elliptical. A careful search will discover a goodly number of

potential subjunctives in all periods similar to the following: Juv. 3, 112, *Despicias tu forsitan inbellis Rhodios unctamque Corinthon, despicias merito, you may perchance despise . . . and justly too*; Cic. *Pro. Rosc. Amer.* 89, *Ego forsitan in grege adnumerar, as for me I might perhaps be counted in the common herd* (Lane 1556); Cic. *Pro. Planc.* 64, *Veve, mehercule, hoc dicam, surely this I can indeed say.*

Sometimes the can-could subjunctive is used in close proximity to *posse, licet*, or an adverb suggesting ability: Verg. *Ec.* 1, 40, *Quid facerem? neque servitio me exire licebat, what could I do? It was not in my power, etc.* Liv. 21, 4, 3, *Itaque haud facile discerneres, utrum imperatori an exercitu carior esset, so you could not easily discover whether he were more beloved by the commander or the army.* The potential is common also in relative and other subordinate clauses. Plaut. *Ps.* 294, *Nullus est tibi, quem roges mutuom argentum? have you no one you can borrow of?* Liv. 21, 36, 4, *Haud dubia res visa, quin per invia circa nec trita antea quamvis longo ambitu circumduceret agmen, there seemed to be no doubt the army must be led around, etc.*

The report of the Committee on Nomination of Officers for 1899-1900 was then called for. Professor Murray reported as follows:—

President, Benjamin Ide Wheeler, University of California.

Vice-Presidents, Ewald Flügel, Leland Stanford Jr. University.

E. B. Clapp, University of California.

Secretary and Treasurer, John E. Matzke, Leland Stanford Jr. University.

Executive Committee, The above-named officers and

E. M. Pease, Leland Stanford Jr. University.

W. A. Merrill, University of California.

Julius Goebel, Leland Stanford Jr. University.

C. M. Gayley, University of California.

It was voted that the Temporary Secretary be instructed to cast the ballot of the Association for the persons named in the report, whereupon they were declared duly elected.

Upon motion of Professor Goebel it was then

Voted, That the Association tender a vote of thanks to the authorities of the Mark Hopkins Institute of Art for the use of the room in which the sessions of the Association were held.

There being no further business, the Chair then declared the meeting adjourned.

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Prof. Alfred Williams Anthony, Cobb Divinity School, Lewiston, Me. 1890.
Dr. W. Muss-Arnolt, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1890.
Dr. R. Arrowsmith, American Book Company, Washington Square, New York,
N. Y. 1898.
Prof. Sidney G. Ashmore, Union University, Schenectady, N. Y. 1885.
E. H. Atherton, Girls' Latin School, Boston, Mass. 1894.
Prof. Frank Cole Babbitt, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. (65 Vernon St.). 1897.
Charles W. Bain, University of Sewanee Grammar School, Sewanee, Tenn. 1889.
H. L. Baker, 70 Griswold St., Detroit, Mich. 1889.
Dr. C. H. Balg, 704 Walnut St., Milwaukee, Wis. 1890.
Prof. Francis K. Ball, Exeter, N. H. 1894.
Dr. Cecil F. P. Bancroft, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. 1879.
Cecil K. Bancroft, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (213 Durfee). 1898.
J. Edmund Barss, Hotchkiss School, Lakeville, Conn. 1897.
George K. Bartholomew, Evanswood, Clifton, Cincinnati, O. 1893.
Dr. F. O. Bates, 77 Reed Place, Detroit, Mich. 1900.
Dr. William N. Bates, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Penn. 1894.
Prof. William J. Battle, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. 1893.
Dr. Edward A. Bechtel, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1900.
Prof. Isbon T. Beckwith, General Theological Seminary, Chelsea Square, New
York, N. Y. 1884.
Charles H. Beeson, 103 Moss Ave., Peoria, Ill. 1897.
Prof. A. J. Bell, Victoria University, Toronto (17 Avenue Road). 1887.

¹ This list has been corrected up to February 1, 1901; 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.

- Prof. Charles E. Bennett, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. (7 South Ave.). 1882.
John Ira Bennett, Union University, Schenectady, N. Y. 1897.
Prof. Louis Bevier, Jr., Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J. 1884.
Hiram H. Bice, 52 West Sixty-fifth St., New York, N. Y. 1892.
William F. Biddle, 4305 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1894.
Dr. C. P. Bill, Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. 1894.
Rev. Dr. Daniel Moschel Birmingham, Walden University, Nashville, Tenn. (addr.: Park Row Building, New York, N. Y.). 1898.
Prof. Charles Edward Bishop, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va. 1890.
William Warner Bishop, 74 Pitcher St., Detroit, Mich. 1895.
Prof. Robert W. Blake, Lehigh University, So. Bethlehem, Pa. (440 Seneca St.). 1894.
Prof. M. Bloomfield, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1882.
Prof. Willis H. Boccock, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga. 1890.
Prof. C. W. E. Body, General Theological Seminary, New York, N. Y. (4 Chelsea Sq.) 1887.
Dr. George M. Bolling, Catholic University of America, Brookland, D. C. 1897.
Prof. D. Bonbright, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 1892.
Prof. A. L. Bondurant, University of Mississippi, University, Miss. 1892.
Dr. Campbell Bonner, 1500 Hawkins St., Nashville, Tenn. 1899.
Dr. George Willis Botsford, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (45 Walker St.). 1894.
Prof. Benjamin Parsons Bourland, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (545 Thompson Ave.). 1900.
Prof. B. L. Bowen, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. 1895.
Prof. Charles F. Bradley, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. 1886.
Prof. J. Everett Brady, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1891.
Prof. H. C. G. Brandt, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. 1876.
Dr. Josiah Bridge, Westminster School, Dobbs Ferry, N. Y. 1888.
Prof. Walter R. Bridgman, Lake Forest University, Lake Forest, Ill. 1890.
Prof. James W. Bright, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1887.
Miss Caroline G. Brombacher, Erasmus Hall High School, Brooklyn, N. Y. (399 Clermont Ave.). 1897.
Prof. Jabez Brooks, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. (1708 Laurel Ave.). 1887.
Carroll N. Brown, Asheville School, Asheville, N. C. 1899.
Prof. Demarchus C. Brown, Butler College, Irvington, Ind. 1893.
Prof. F. W. Brown, Franklin College, Franklin, Ind. 1893.
Prof. Mariana Brown, Earlham College, Richmond, Ind. 1892.
Dr. Carleton L. Brownson, College of the City of New York, N. Y. (New Rochelle, N. Y.). 1892.
C. F. Brusie, Mount Pleasant Academy, Sing Sing, N. Y. 1894.
Prof. A. H. Buck, Boston University, Boston, Mass. 1893.
Prof. Carl D. Buck, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1890.
Miss Mary H. Buckingham, 71 Pinckney St., Boston, Mass. 1897.
Walter H. Buell, Hotchkiss School, Lakeville, Conn. 1887.

- Dr. H. B. Burchard, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1900.
 H. J. Burchell, Jr., Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1895.
 Isaac B. Burgess, Morgan Park Academy, Morgan Park, Ill. 1892.
 Dr. Theodore C. Burgess, Bradley Polytechnic Institute, Peoria, Ill. 1900.
 Prof. John M. Burnam, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O. 1899.
 Prof. Sylvester Burnham, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y. 1885.
 Dr. William S. Burrage, 10 Fayette St., Cambridgeport, Mass. 1898.
 Prof. Harry E. Burton, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1899.
 Prof. Henry F. Burton, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y. 1878.
 Dr. Curtis C. Bushnell, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1900.
 Prof. Henry A. Buttz, Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J. 1869.
 Prof. Edward Capps, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1889.
 Prof. William H. Carpenter, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1884.
 Prof. Mitchell Carroll, Columbian University, Washington, D. C. 1894.
 Prof. Frank Carter, McGill University, Montreal, Canada. 1897.
 Pres. Franklin Carter, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1871.
 Prof. Jesse Benedict Carter, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1898.
 Prof. Mary Emily Case, Wells College, Aurora, N. Y. 1895.
 Prof. Clarence F. Castle, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1888.
 Dr. William Van Allen Catron, West Side High School, Milwaukee, Wis. 1896.
 Miss Eva Channing, Exeter Chambers, Boston, Mass. 1883.
 Prof. A. C. Chapin, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1888.
 Prof. Henry Leland Chapman, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. 1892.
 Prof. George Davis Chase, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. (217 Mitchell St.).
 1900.
 Dr. George H. Chase, St. Mark's School, Southborough, Mass. 1899.
 Prof. S. R. Cheek, Centre College of Kentucky, Danville, Ky. 1890.
 Dr. Clarence G. Child, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (2312 De
 Lancey Place). 1897.
 Miss Emma Kirkland Clark, 545 A Quincy St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1896.
 Prof. Willard K. Clement, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. (Y. M. C. A.
 Building). 1892.
 Prof. George Stuart Collins, Polytechnic Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1897.
 Prof. Hermann Collitz, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1887.
 William T. Colville, Carbondale, Pa. 1884.
 D. Y. Comstock, St. Johnsbury, Vt. 1888.
 Prof. Elisha Conover, Delaware College, Newark, Del. 1897.
 Dr. Arthur Stoddard Cooley, Fairmount College, Wichita, Kans. (1604 Fairmount
 Ave.). 1896.
 J. Randolph Coolidge, Jr., Chestnut Hill, Mass. 1884.
 Dr. Frederic T. Cooper, 177 Warburton Ave., Yonkers, N. Y. 1895.
 Principal W. T. Couper, Booneville, N. Y. 1895.
 Prof. William L. Cowles, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1888.
 Edward G. Coy, Hotchkiss School, Lakeville, Conn. 1888.
 Prof. W. H. Crogman, Clark University, South Atlanta, Ga. 1898.
 William L. Cushing, Westminster School, Dobbs Ferry, N. Y. 1888.
 Prof. William K. Denison, Tufts College, College Hill, Mass. 1899.
 Prof. Walter Dennison, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O. 1899.

- Prof. George H. Denny, Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va. 1897.
Prof. Samuel C. Derby, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. 1895.
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.
Miss Emily Helen Dutton, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1898.
Prof. Mortimer Lamson Earle, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1890.
Prof. William Wells Eaton, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt. 1882.
Dr. Herman L. Ebeling, 48 W. State St., 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, Concord School, Concord, Mass. 1883.
Homer J. Edmiston, 55 Trowbridge St., Cambridge, Mass. 1894.
Prof. Katharine M. Edwards, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1893.
Prof. James C. Egbert, Jr., Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1889.
Prof. Wallace Stedman Elden, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. (1462 Neil Ave.). 1900.
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, Brown University, Providence, R. I. 1896.
Vernon J. Emery, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (63 Gorham St.). 1893.
Prof. George Taylor Ettinger, Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa. 1896.
Rev. Dr. W. E. Evans, Columbia, S. C. 1897.
Rev. Orishatukeh Faduma, Troy, N. C. 1900.
Prof. Arthur Fairbanks, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. 1886.
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.
Prof. O. M. Fernald, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1876.
F. J. Fessenden, High School, Pottstown, Pa. 1890.
Dr. George Converse Fiske, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1900.
Prof. Edward Fitch, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. 1890.
Miss Helen C. Flint, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1897.
Dr. Benjamin O. Foster, State Normal School, Ypsilanti, Mich. 1899.
Herbert B. Foster, St. Stephen's College, Annandale-on-Hudson, N. Y. 1900.
Prof. Harold N. Fowler, Western Reserve University (College for Women), Cleveland, O. (49 Cornell St.). 1885.
Dr. Wilmer Cave France, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1900.
Dr. Susan B. Franklin, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1890.

- Dr. I. F. Frisbee, Latin School, Lewiston, Me. 1898.
 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. 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.
 Prof. Charles J. Goodwin, Lehigh University, South Bethlehem, Pa. 1891.
 Prof. William W. Goodwin, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (5 Follen St.). 1870.
 Dr. Louis H. Gray, 53 Second Avenue, Newark, N. J. 1900.
 Prof. E. L. Green, South Carolina College, Columbia, S. C. 1898.
 Prof. Herbert Eveleth Greene, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1890.
 Prof. Wilber J. Greer, Miami University, Oxford, O. 1892.
 Prof. Alfred Gudeman, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1889.
 Prof. Charles Burton Gulick, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (18 Walker St.). 1894.
 Prof. William Gardner Hale, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1882.
 Prof. Arthur P. Hall, Drury College, Springfield, Mo. 1886.
 Prof. F. A. Hall, Drury College, Springfield, Mo. 1896.
 Prof. T. F. Hamblin, Bucknell University, Lewisburgh, Pa. 1895.
 Prof. Adelbert Hamilton, Elmira College, Elmira, N. Y. 1895.
 Prof. William A. Hammond, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. (29 East Ave.). 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, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O. 1896.
 Dr. Carl A. Harström, The Folly, Norwalk, Conn. 1900.
 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.
 Dr. Henry H. Haynes, 15 Lowell St., Cambridge, Mass. 1900.
 Prof. F. M. Hazen, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1896.
 Theodore Woolsey Heermance, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (202 Edwards St.). 1897.
 Prof. W. A. Heidel, Iowa College, Grinnell, Ia. 1900.

- Prof. F. Hellems, Boulder, Col. 1900.
Prof. Otto Heller, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1896.
N. Wilbur Helm, Pennington, N. J. 1900.
Prof. George Hempl, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (1033 East University Ave.). 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.
Prof. James M. Hill, Central High School, Philadelphia, Pa. 1900.
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, Eastern District High School, Brooklyn, N. Y. (165 So. Ninth St.). 1900.
Prof. W. D. Hooper, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga. 1894.
Prof. E. Washburn Hopkins, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (235 Bishop St.). 1883.
Dr. Joseph Clark Hoppin, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1900.
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. 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. 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, 32 E. Preston St., Baltimore, Md. 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, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (307 Welch Hall). 1897.
 Prof. Francis W. Kelsey, American School of Classical Studies, Rome, Italy (Via Gaeta 2). 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. William Hamilton Kirk, Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J. 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.
 Dr. Charles Knapp, Barnard College, Columbia University, 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. Lambertson, 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. (17 Clifton Pl.). 1888.
 Prof. Abby Leach, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1888.
 Dr. Arthur G. Leacock, Exeter, N. H. 1899.
 Dr. Emory B. Lease, College of the City of New York, N. Y. (109 West Forty-eighth St.). 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, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1888.
 Prof. O. F. Long, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 1900.
 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.
 Pres. George E. MacLean, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. (603 College St.). 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.
Prof. Allan Marquand, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1891.
Prof. Winfred R. Martin, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1879.
Miss Ellen F. Mason, 1 Walnut St., Boston, Mass. 1885.
Dr. Maurice W. Mather, 13 Mt. Auburn St., Cambridge, Mass. 1894.
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.
Dr. John Moffatt Mecklin, 1122 McCulloh St., Baltimore, Md. 1900.
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.
Truman Michelson, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (38 Weld Hall).
1900.
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. (P.O. Box 415).
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. (45 Gardner St.).
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. Wilfred P. Mustard, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. 1892.
Prof. Francis Philip Nash, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y. 1872.
Dr. Charles B. Newcomer, Columbia, Mo. 1900.

- Prof. Barker Newhall, Kenyon College, Gambier, O. 1891.
 Prof. Frank W. Nicolson, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. 1888.
 Prof. George Norlin, Boulder, Col. 1900.
 Prof. Edward North, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. 1871.
 Prof. Richard Norton, American School of Classical Studies (Via Gaeta 2), Rome, Italy. 1897.
 Charles James O'Connor, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1900.
 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. James M. Paton, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. 1887.
 John Patterson, Louisville High School, Louisville, Ky. (1117 Fourth St.). 1900.
 Dr. Charles Peabody, 197 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1894.
 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. Pepler, 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, American School of Classical Studies, Athens, Greece. 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. 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.
 Prof. William K. Prentice, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1895.
 Henry W. Prescott, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (Thayer 29). 1899.
 Prof. Ferris W. Price, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa. 1895.
 Prof. Benjamin F. Prince, Wittenberg College, Springfield, O. 1893.

- Prof. John Dyneley Prince, New York University, University Heights, New York, N. Y. 1899.
- M. M. Ramsey, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1894.
- Prof. John W. Redd, Centre College, Danville, Ky. 1885.
- Prof. Horatio M. Reynolds, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (213 Durfee Hall). 1884.
- Dr. Ernst Riess, De Witt Clinton High School, Manhattan, N. Y. 1895.
- Prof. Edmund Y. Robbins, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1895.
- Dr. Arthur W. Roberts, Brookline High School, Brookline, Mass. 1884.
- Prof. W. A. Robinson, Lawrenceville School, Lawrenceville, N. J. 1888.
- Joseph C. Rockwell, 61 Oxford St., Cambridge, Mass. 1896.
- Prof. F. E. Rockwood, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa. 1885.
- Prof. John C. Rolfe, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (1412 Hill 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. (633 Church St.). 1899.
- Prof. Myron R. Sanford, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt. 1894.
- Miss Catharine Saunders, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1900.
- 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.
- Edmund F. Schreiner, 486 N. Clark St., Chicago, Ill. 1900.
- 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. (2110 Orrington Ave.). 1898.
- Miss Annie N. Scribner, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1900.
- 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. Charles H. Shannon, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn. 1900.
- 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.
- Dr. F. W. Shipley, Lewis Institute, Chicago, Ill. 1900.
- Prof. Paul Shorey, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1887.
- Dr. Grant Showerman, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1900.

- Dr. Edgar S. Shumway, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (Thirty-fourth and Chestnut Sts.). 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.
- Princ. M. C. Smart, Claremont, N. H. 1900.
- Prof. Charles Forster Smith, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1883.
- Prof. Charles S. Smith, Columbian University, Washington, D. C. (2122 H St.). 1895.
- Prof. Clement L. Smith, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (64 Sparks St.). 1882.
- Harry de Forest Smith, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. 1899.
- Prof. Josiah R. Smith, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. 1885.
- Prof. Kirby F. Smith, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1897.
- 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. 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.
- Dr. Marguerite Sweet, 13 Ten Bronck St., Albany, N. Y. 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.
- Prof. Esther Van Deman, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1899.
- 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. (105 Irving St.).
1874.
- Dr. Winifred Warren, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1897.
- Dr. William E. Waters, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (Felton Hall).
1885.
- Prof. Helen L. Webster, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1890.
- Miss Mary C. Welles, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (33 Wall St.). 1898.
- 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.
- Prof. Arthur L. Wheeler, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1899.
- Prof. James R. Wheeler, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1885.
- Prof. G. M. Whicher, Packer Collegiate Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1891.
- Prof. Frederic Earle Whitaker, Kenyon College, Gambier, O. 1900.
- 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.
- 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, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 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.

[Number of Members, 467.]

WESTERN BRANCH.

MEMBERS OF THE PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF
THE PACIFIC COAST.

(ESTABLISHED 1899.)

Membership in the American Philological Association prior to the organization of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast is indicated by a date earlier than 1900.

- W. H. Alexander, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2601 Durant Ave.). 1900.
 Albert H. Allen, 1601 Taylor St., San Francisco, Cal. 1900.
 Dr. James T. Allen, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (1633 Arch St.). 1898.
 Prof. Louis F. Anderson, Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington. 1887.
 Prof. C. B. Bradley, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2639 Durant Ave.). 1900.
 Miss H. S. Brewer, Redlands, Cal. 1900.
 Rev. William A. Brewer, San Mateo, Cal. 1900.
 Miss Josephine Bristol, High School, Redwood City, Cal. 1900.
 Valentine Buehner, High School, San Jose, Cal. 1900.
 Elvyn F. Burrill, 2536 Bancroft Way, Berkeley, Cal. 1900.
 Prof. Luella Clay Carson, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore. 1900.
 Martin Centner, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1900.
 Prof. Samuel Chambers, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1900.
 Prof. Edward B. Clapp, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (1 Bushnell Pl.). 1886.
 A. Horatio Cogswell, 2509 Parker St., Berkeley, Cal. 1900.
 Mrs. Frank A. Cressey, Modesto, Cal. 1900.
 Prof. L. W. Cushman, Nevada State University, Reno, Nev. 1900.
 J. Allen De Cou, Red Bluff, Cal. 1900.
 Prof. Frederic Stanley Dunn, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore. 1899.
 Dr. J. Elmore, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1900.
 Prof. H. Rushton Fairclough, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1887.
 Prof. G. E. Fauchaux, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1900.
 Dr. W. S. Ferguson, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1899.
 Prof. Ewald Flügel, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1900.
 Prof. P. J. Frein, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1900.
 Prof. John Fryer, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1900.
 Dr. John Gamble, Haywards, Cal. 1900.
 Prof. Charles Mills Gayley, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1895.
 Charles Bertie Gleason, High School, San Jose, Cal. 1900.
 Prof. Julius Goebel, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1900.
 Walter H. Graves, 1220 Linden St., Oakland, Cal. 1900.
 Miss Rebecca T. Greene, Salinas, Cal. 1900.
 Prof. James O. Griffin, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1896.
 Edward Hohfeld, 14 Grove St., San Francisco, Cal. 1900.

- Miss Lily Hohfeld, Siskiyou Co. High School, Yreka, Cal. 1900.
Dr. Herbert M. Hopkins, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2644 Dwight Way). 1898.
Prof. C. S. Howard, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1900.
M. C. James, High School, Berkeley, Cal. 1900.
Prof. Oliver M. Johnston, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1900.
Winthrop Leicester Keep, Mills College, Alameda Co., Cal. 1900.
Tracy R. Kelley, 1809 Jones St., San Francisco, Cal. 1900.
Prof. Martin Kellogg, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1884.
Prof. S. F. Lange, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1900.
Prof. H. B. Lathrop, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1900.
Rev. James O. Lincoln, San Mateo, Cal. 1900.
Miss Alice Marchebout, Girls' High School, San Francisco, Cal. 1900.
Prof. Max L. Margolis, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1900.
Prof. John E. Matzke, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1900.
Prof. William A. Merrill, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1886.
Prof. Walter Miller, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1900.
Francis O. Mower, Napa High School, Napa, Cal. 1900.
Harold Muckelston, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1900.
Edward J. Murphy, San Mateo, Cal. 1900.
Prof. Augustus T. Murray, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1887.
Carl H. Nielsen, Vacaville, Cal. 1900.
Rabbi Jacob Nieto, 1719 Bush St., San Francisco, Cal. 1900.
Prof. H. C. Nutting, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2125 Cedar St.). 1900.
Dr. Andrew Oliver, San Mateo, Cal. 1900.
Prof. F. V. Paget, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1900.
Prof. Ernest M. Pease, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1887.
E. Pitcher, High School, Alameda, Cal. 1900.
Dr. Clifton Price, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1899.
Prof. A. Putzker, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1900.
Prof. S. B. Randall, California College, Oakland, Cal. 1900.
Miss Cecilia L. Raymond, 2407 S. Atherton St., Berkeley, Cal. 1900.
Prof. Karl G. Rendtorff, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1900.
Miss Beatrice Reynolds, 3050 Kingsley St., Los Angeles, Cal. 1900.
Prof. Leon J. Richardson, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1895.
Prof. F. G. G. Schmidt, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore. 1900.
Prof. Henry Senger, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1900.
Leigh Richmond Smith, San Jose, Cal. 1896.
C. M. Walker, Lowell High School, San Francisco, Cal. 1900.
President Benjamin I. Wheeler, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1879.
Miss Catherine E. Wilson, 3043 California St., San Francisco, Cal. 1900.

[Number of Members, 74. Total, 467 + 74 = 551.]

THE FOLLOWING LIBRARIES AND INSTITUTIONS (ALPHABETIZED BY TOWNS)
 SUBSCRIBE FOR THE ANNUAL PUBLICATIONS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

- Albany, N. Y. : New York State Library.
 Amherst, Mass. : Amherst College Library.
 Ann Arbor, Mich. : Michigan University Library.
 Auburn, N. Y. : Theological Seminary.
 Austin, Texas : University of Texas Library.
 Baltimore, Md. : Johns Hopkins University Library.
 Baltimore, Md. : Peabody Institute.
 Berkeley, Cal. : University of California Library.
 Boston, Mass. : Boston Public Library.
 Brooklyn, N. Y. : The Brooklyn Library.
 Brunswick, Me. : Bowdoin College Library.
 Bryn Mawr, Pa. : Bryn Mawr College Library.
 Buffalo, N. Y. : The Buffalo Library.
 Burlington, Vt. : Library of the University of Vermont.
 Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard College Library.
 Champaign, Ill. : University of Illinois Library.
 Chicago, Ill. : The Newberry Library.
 Chicago, Ill. : Public Library.
 Chicago, Ill. : University of Chicago Library.
 Cincinnati, O. : Public Library.
 Clermont Ferrand, France : Bibliothèque Universitaire.
 Cleveland, O. : Library of Adelbert College of Western Reserve University.
 College Hill, Mass. : Tufts College Library.
 Columbus, O. : Ohio State University Library.
 Crawfordsville, Ind. : Wabash College Library.
 Detroit, Mich. : Public Library.
 Easton, Pa. : Lafayette College Library.
 Evanston, Ill. : Northwestern University Library.
 Gambier, O. : Kenyon College Library.
 Geneva, N. Y. : Hobart College Library.
 Hanover, N. H. : Dartmouth College Library.
 Iowa City, Ia. : Library of State University.
 Ithaca, N. Y. : Cornell University Library.
 Lincoln, Neb. : Library of State University of Nebraska.
 Marietta, O. : Marietta College Library.
 Middletown, Conn. : Wesleyan University Library.
 Milwaukee, Wis. : Public Library.
 Minneapolis, Minn. : Athenæum Library.
 Minneapolis, Minn. : Library of the University of Minnesota.
 Nashville, Tenn. : Vanderbilt University Library.
 Newton Centre, Mass. : Library of Newton Theological Institution.
 New York, N. Y. : Astor Library.
 New York, N. Y. : Library of Columbia University.
 New York, N. Y. : Library of the College of the City of New York (Lexington Ave. and Twenty-third St.).

New York, N. Y.: Union Theological Seminary Library (700 Park Ave.).
Olivet, Eaton Co., Mich.: Olivet College Library.
Philadelphia, Pa.: American Philosophical Society.
Philadelphia, Pa.: The Library Company of Philadelphia.
Philadelphia, Pa.: The Mercantile Library.
Philadelphia, Pa.: University of Pennsylvania Library.
Poughkeepsie, N. Y.: Vassar College Library.
Providence, R. I.: Brown University Library.
Rochester, N. Y.: Rochester University Library.
Springfield, Mass.: City Library.
Tokio, Japan: Library of Imperial University.
University of Virginia, Albemarle Co., Va.: University Library.
Vermilion, South Dakota: Library of University of South Dakota.
Washington, D. C.: Library of Congress.
Washington, D. C.: Library of the Catholic University of America.
Washington, D. C.: United States Bureau of Education.
Waterbury, Conn.: Silas Bronson Library.
Wellesley, Mass.: Wellesley College Library.
Worcester, Mass.: Free Public Library.

[Number of subscribing institutions, 63.]

TO THE FOLLOWING LIBRARIES AND INSTITUTIONS THE TRANSACTIONS ARE
ANNUALLY SENT, GRATIS.

American School of Classical Studies, Athens.
American School of Classical Studies, Rome (No. 2, via Gaeta).
British Museum, London.
Royal Asiatic Society, London.
Philological Society, London.
Society of Biblical Archæology, London.
Indian Office Library, London.
Bodleian Library, Oxford.
University Library, Cambridge, England.
Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, Scotland.
Trinity College Library, Dublin, Ireland.
Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Shanghai.
Japan Asiatic Society, Yokohama.
Public Library of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia.
Sir George Grey's Library, Cape Town, Africa.
Reykjavik College Library, Iceland.
University of Christiania, Norway.
University of Upsala, Sweden.
Stadsbiblioteket, Göteborg, Sweden.
Russian Imperial Academy, St. Petersburg.

Austrian Imperial Academy, Vienna.
 Anthropologische Gesellschaft, Vienna.
 Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, Italy.
 Reale Accademia delle Scienze, Turin.
 Société Asiatique, Paris, France.
 Athénée Oriental, Louvain, Belgium.
 Curatorium of the University, Leyden, Holland.
 Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia, Java.
 Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences, Berlin, Germany.
 Royal Saxon Academy of Sciences, Leipsic.
 Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences, Munich.
 Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Halle.
 Library of the University of Bonn.
 Library of the University of Freiburg in Baden.
 Library of the University of Giessen.
 Library of the University of Jena.
 Library of the University of Königsberg.
 Library of the University of Leipsic.
 Library of the University of Toulouse.
 Library of the University of Tübingen.
 Imperial Ottoman Museum, Constantinople.
 Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.

[Number of foreign institutions, 43.]

TO THE FOLLOWING FOREIGN JOURNALS THE TRANSACTIONS ARE ANNUALLY SENT, GRATIS.

Athenæum, London.
 Classical Review, London.
 Revue Critique, Paris.
 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.
 Musée Belge (Prof. Waltzing, 9 Rue du Parc, Liège, Belgium).
 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 (Prof. J. Golling, Maximilians Gymnasium, Vienna).
 Prof. A. Lepitre, 10 Avenue des Noailles, Lyons.

[Total (551 + 63 + 42 + 1 + 17) = 674.]

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.

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 *ἔπρωσ* 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 Tupi 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 *daw*.

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.: $\Phi\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\epsilon\iota$ or $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\epsilon\iota$ — 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 $\epsilon\acute{i}$ with the future indicative and $\acute{e}d\acute{u}$ 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 $\acute{\omega}s$.
- Whitney, W. D.: On the relation of surd and sonant.
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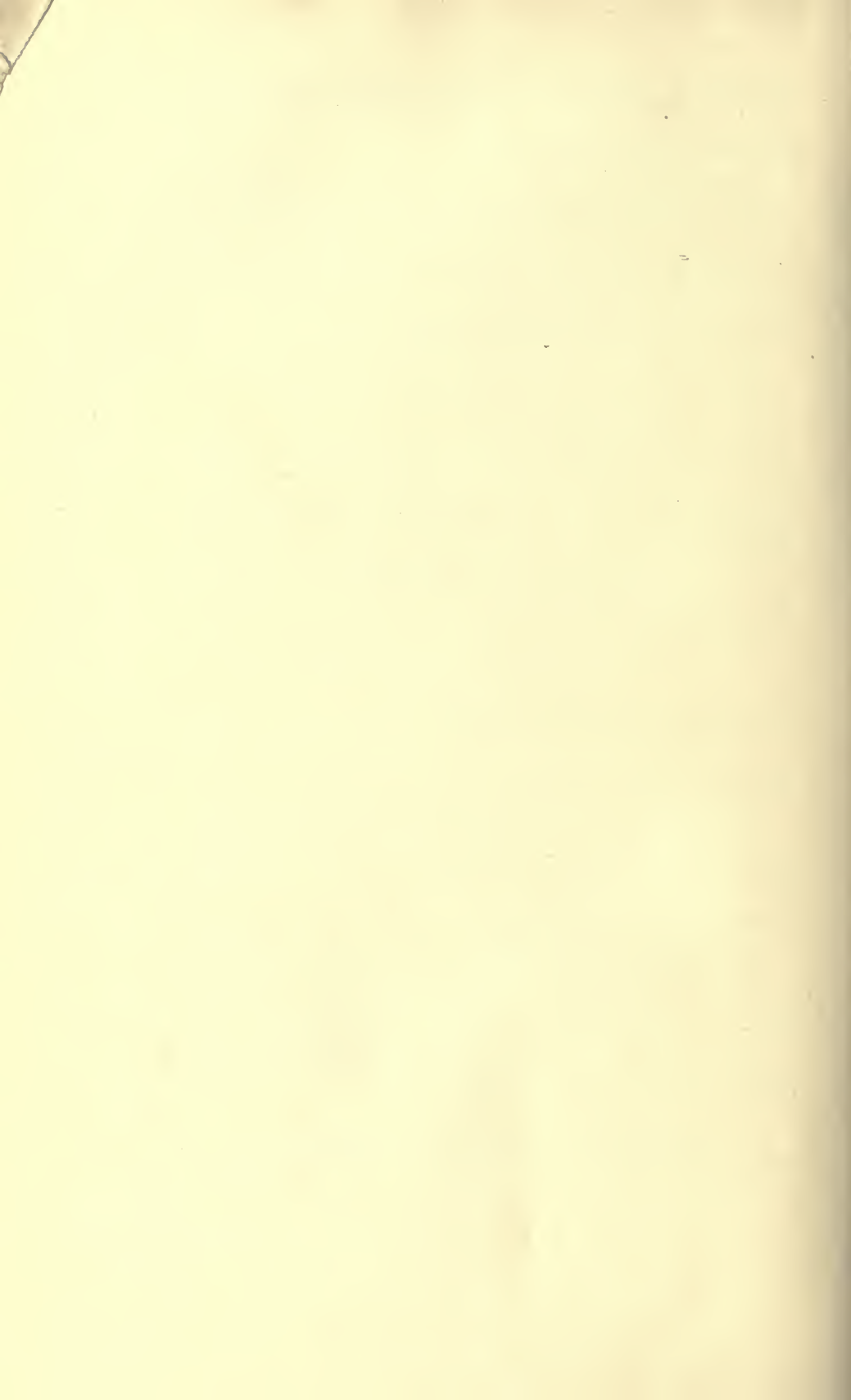
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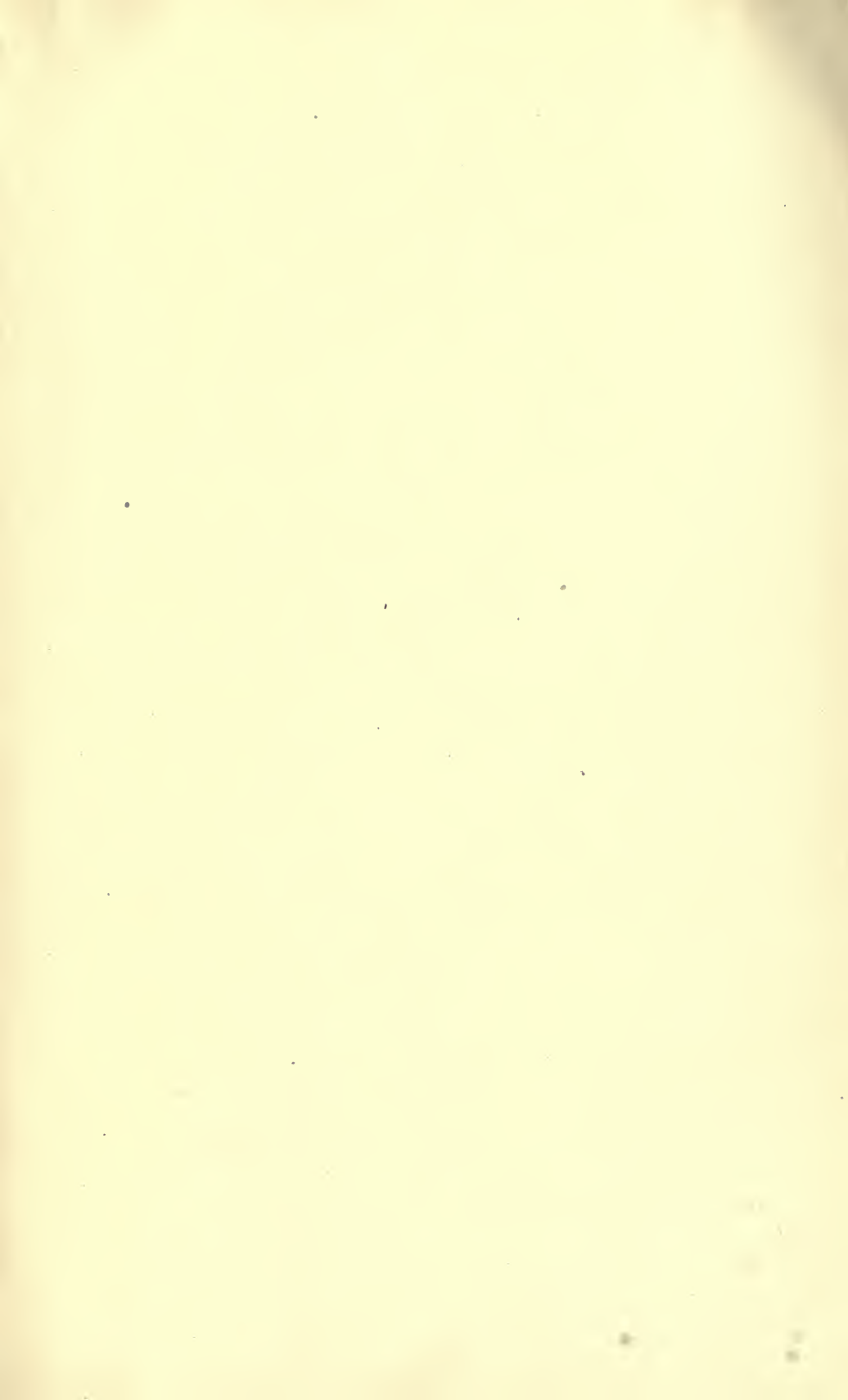
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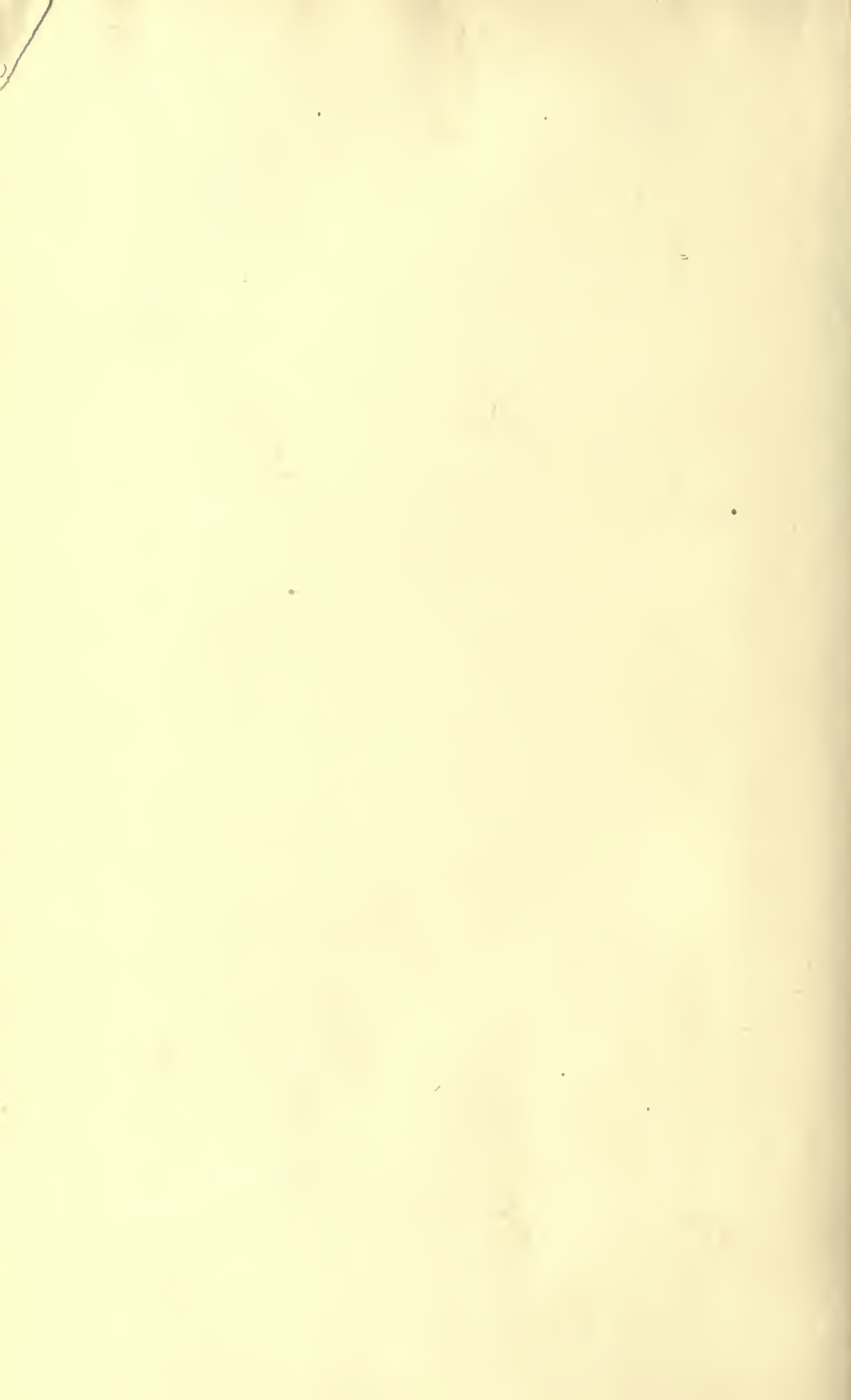
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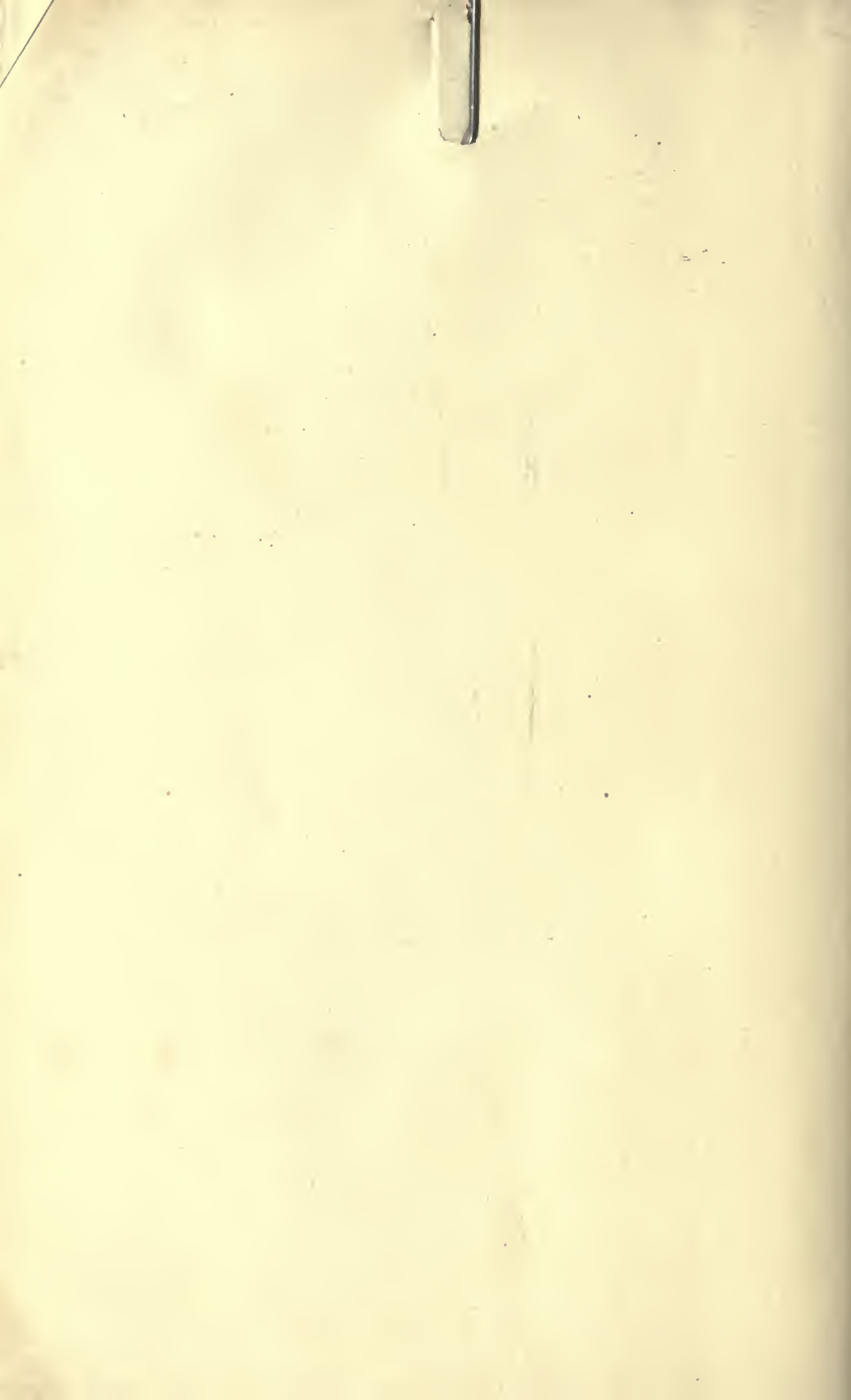
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