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TRANSACTIONS  
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PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
AMERICAN  
PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

1905.

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TRANSACTIONS  
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1905.

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I. — *The Oxyrhynchus Epitome of Livy and Reinhold's Lost Chronicon.*

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THE Oxyrhynchus Epitome of Livy, covering Books 37-40 and 48-55, was discovered on some papyrus fragments, found in the summer of 1903, though the fact of the discovery was not published until November of that year, when I was already reading the page proof of my article on the Lost Epitome of Livy, in Vol. I of the *Univ. of Mich. Studies*. I was able to add in a footnote only the most general reference to the find. As I have been criticised in the *Amer. Hist. Review*, Vol. X, p. 621, by one who evidently knew nothing about the circumstances or the subject, because I had not delayed my article until I could compare it with the newly discovered work, I have felt compelled to take the subject up again.

The Oxyrhynchus Epitome is only a late descendant of the Lost Epitome of Livy. It is far briefer than even the extant Periochae. It throws new light practically on but one question, which I discussed in the *Studies*, viz. Reinhold's Lost Chronicon. In the publication of the Papyrus, Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyr. Pap.* IV, p. 90 ff., refer to Mommsen's (*Abh. d. k. sächs. Ges.* VIII, p. 552) and Zangemeister's (*Festsch. d. XXXVI Philologenversam.* 1882, p. 86) proofs of a Lost Epitome of Livy. They appear to have had no knowledge of the

later literature on the subject, of which the more extensive articles are by Ay, *De Livii Epitoma deperdita*, Leip. 1894; Sanders, *Die Quellen-contamination im xxi, xxii Buche des Livius*, Pt. I, Berlin, 1897; Reinhold, *Das Geschichtswerk des Livius als Quelle späterer Historiker*, Berlin, 1898; and Drescher, *Livius epitome*, Erlangen, 1900.

Reinhold, in particular, had tried to establish an intermediate source for Eutropius, Festus, Cassiodorus, and Obsequens. This source was a Chronicon derived from the Epitome of Livy, but *unlike* it, arranged chronologically, with the consuls' names in the ablative before the events of each year. The need of comparing this view with the newly found Oxyrhynchus Epitome was at once apparent. It was undertaken by C. H. Moore, *Amer. Jour. Phil.* XXV (1904), p. 241, and by Kornemann, *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte*, zweites Beiheft, 1904, *Die neue Livius-Epitome*. In the following discussion I shall refer to these articles by the authors' names alone, taking them up in the order of their appearance.

Reinhold, p. 8, called attention to four chronological statements in which either Festus or Cassiodorus agrees with Eutropius, against the united testimony of Livy and the Periochae. Neither my own criticism of these proofs in *U. of M. Studies*, I, p. 180 ff. nor Reinhold's reply, *Woch. f. klass. Phil.* XXII (1905), p. 566, is satisfactory.

First of all there are other chronological statements in these authors, which need explanation. Let us consider them all, at least for the period of the republic, and not pick out some one or two, which seem to prove or disprove a pet theory. I will give them for convenience in a table.

The identity of the numbers in Eutropius and Festus is apparent. The only real difference is that Eutropius does not give the length of Servius Tullius's reign. Festus could, however, obtain it by the easiest combination, or from the Epitome of Livy, which also had the same, and was known to him. The years of Rome up to the death of Jovian (1117, Festus, I, 1)<sup>1</sup> agree with Eutropius, 10, 18, 2-3: *Decessit . . . tertio decimo Kal. Mart. . . . anno u. c.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pirogoff, *De Eutrop. brev. fontibus*, Berlin, 1873, p. 26.

	DIO- DORUS	DIONY- SIUS	LIVY	PER. LIV.	EUTRO- FIUS	FESTUS	CASSI- ODOR.	HIERO- NYM.	EUSE- BIUS	CHRON. a. 354	BAR- BARUS
Romulus . . . . .	38	37	37		37	37	38	38	38	38	38
Interregnum . . . . .		I	I		I	I		(1)			
Numa . . . . .	41	43	43		43	43	41	41	41	41	41
Tullus . . . . .	33	32	32		32	32	32	32	32	32	32
Ancus . . . . .	(27) <sup>1</sup>	24	24	24	24	24	23	23	23	23	23
Tarquinius I . . . . .	37	38	38	38	38	38	37	37	37	28	38
Servius . . . . .	44	(44)	44	44	44	44	34	34	34	45	44
Tarquinius II . . . . .	24	25	25	25	24	24	35	35	35	25	35
Total . . . . .	244	244	244	255	243	243	240	240 or 243	240		255 (251)
Consuls I. . . . .			(84 +3)				(84)	? <sup>1</sup>			
Decemvirs . . . . .	2	3	3	3	2	2	40	2			
Mil. trib. I . . . . .	30	29	29				(124)	9			
Total . . . . .		119	119					124			
Mil. trib. II . . . . .	16		(15 +1)		? <sup>1</sup>		17	?			
Anarchy . . . . .	I		5	5	4	4	4				
Mil. trib. II . . . . .	3		4		3	3	3				
Total . . . . .	20		24 (+1)			458	24				
Consuls II . . . . .			(314)				(314)				
Republic Total . . . . .			(458)		(462)		462	464			
Caesar . . . . .					5		5	5			
Total . . . . .					467	467	467	469			
Empire . . . . .					407	407	569	(407)			
Total . . . . .					1117	1117	1271 or (1117 + 86 + 68) (= 1031 + 240)	(1117)			

<sup>1</sup> A question-mark indicates mention without number of years. Numbers in parentheses are gained by combination or emendation.

MCXVIII. (The exact time is thus 1117 years, 1 month, 17 days.) It is noteworthy that Festus closes with the same date as Eutropius, *in ortum perennitatis vestrae* (*i.e.* the accession of Valentinian and Valens), repeating it as *in Iovianum* (*i.e.* to the death of Jovian). Festus, 1, 3, gives the duration of the republic as 467 years *in Pansa et Hirtium* (*i.e.* counting their consulship; during which Octavianus came to power). Eutropius, 7, 1, places the death of Caesar 709 *a.u.c.*, mentioning the consulship of Antony, and follows with the consulship of Pansa and Hirtius without date, but 710 *a.u.c.* is to be inferred, though he is thus one year earlier than the Varronian reckoning. If Festus subtracted his 243 years of royal rule from this 710 years, he got 467 years for the republic. As Livy must have given 464 years for the same period<sup>1</sup> and Eusebius-Hieronymus had 469, it is very likely that Eutropius was the source of Festus.

The duration of the empire in Festus (407 years) must thus also agree with Eutropius, as the totals of the two were the same. We have left to consider in Festus, 1, 3, the 916 consuls (=458 pairs), two years for decemvirs, three years under military tribunes, and four years without curule magistrates. Eutropius, 2, 1, mentions the change from consuls to military tribunes, though he does not say for how long a time; then (2, 3) he mentions the four years without curule magistrates and adds that military tribunes were again elected, and that this office continued for three years. Festus interpreted these three years as covering the whole period of rule by military tribunes, and so placed it before the four years of anarchy. These, with the two years of decemvirs, gave him nine years without consuls:  $467 - 9 = 458$ ; *i.e.* the number of consular years for Festus, hence 916 consuls. The fact that most of these statements are wrong, and that all are thus easily derived from Eutropius and from no other known source, is a positive proof that Eutropius actually was the source.

<sup>1</sup> Livy's reckoning is three years behind the Varronian from Book 10 on; thus the consulship of Pansa and Hirtius would have been 708 *a.u.c.*, and taking away 244 years for kings, he had 464 for republic; cf. Mommsen, *Röm. Chron.* p. 120 ff.



In Cassiodorus the length of reigns of the kings was taken from Hieronymus. The total number of years in Cassiodorus from the founding of the republic to 519 A.D. is given as 1031. This number was easily obtained from his sources, Prosper and Eutropius. If we add to the total of Eutropius (1117 years) the years of the next eight emperors according to Prosper (=86) and the four reigns ( $7+17+17+27=68$ ), which Cassiodorus inserts on his own knowledge, we get 1271 years; and if we subtract 240 years of royal rule, we have 1031 years left for republic and empire. But the Mss of Cassiodorus have only 153 pairs of consuls for the period after Eutropius, as the consuls for the year 503 A.D. are missing, thus shortening the reign of Anastasius to twenty-six years instead of twenty-seven. There is no doubt that this pair of consuls must be restored. Cassiodorus certainly knew the length of the last emperor's reign, nor could he have forgotten a pair of consuls coming only sixteen years before he wrote.

Of these 1031 years Mommsen (*Leip. Akad.* VIII, p. 555) assigns 462 to the republic (before Julius Caesar) and 569 to the empire. The result is correct, but his method faulty. The Mss give 568 pairs of consuls for the empire, but Mommsen reckons in the missing consuls for 297 A.D., on the authority of the edition of Cuspinianus alone, though he thus gets twenty-one consulships for the reign of Diocletian, to whom both Cassiodorus and his source Hieronymus give the length of rule expressly as twenty years. We may, therefore, be sure that Cassiodorus omitted the consulship, as we have the combined evidence of his sources, his own reckoning, and all the Mss. The total, 569 years, is obtained by the reinsertion of the consuls for the year 503, as given above. Mommsen on his reckoning must either omit this, or explain that Cassiodorus miscounted. He inclines to the latter view.

Considering the 569 as settled, we have 462 years left for the republic down to the rule of Caesar. As Cassiodorus assigns four years seven months to the rule of Caesar, his total for the republic really agrees with Festus ( $462+5=467$ ),

and thus with Eutropius. It is interesting to note also that, as Livy was three years behind the Varronian reckoning, the last year of the republic in Cassiodorus, 705 (Varr.), must have been 702 *a.u.c.*, had it appeared in the Epitome. From this also Cassiodorus would get 462 years by subtracting his 240 years of royal power.

These 462 years of the republic are divided as follows: in the period before the military tribunes of 362 *a.u.c.* (Varr.) he chronicles eighty-three pairs of consuls, to which we must add those for 333 *a.u.c.*, omitted in the Mss of Cassiodorus, but found in Livy, 4, 43, giving eighty-four pairs; he then adds the monstrosity, forty years of decemviral rule. Why?<sup>1</sup> Evidently because he had to complete 124 years before the first accession of military tribunes known to him. According to Eutropius, 2, 1, these were first elected in 365 *a.u.c.*; *i.e.* there had been 364 years of the state before; Cassiodorus divided this into 240 years for the kings and 124 for the republic.<sup>2</sup> But he had only eighty-four pairs of consuls and found mention only of decemvirs as additional rulers for this earlier period, according to Eutropius. It is clear that, if Cassiodorus had no other information available, his insertion of forty years of decemviral rule was natural; so it is not likely that his consular list, which came directly or indirectly from the Epitome of Livy, could have retained the three decemviral and twenty-nine military tribune years of the original. For, if it had, he would have learned about the military tribunes while copying the consuls' names. Even if Mommsen's unwarranted scorn of Cassiodorus were deserved, we could not think him guilty of such falsification as this. We may feel sure that the form of the Epitome, which Cassiodorus used, did not contain an exact enumeration or designation of the non-consular years for this earlier period.

For the following period Cassiodorus gives seventeen years of military tribunes, four years of anarchy, then three years

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mommsen, *l.c.*, who found it impossible to reconcile this number with any known chronology or combination, simply because he did not reinsert the omitted consulate of 333 *a.u.c.*

<sup>2</sup> Hieronymus also copies this incorrect date from Eutropius.

of military tribunes, a total of twenty-four years and 311 pairs of consuls. We must, however, with Mommsen, *l.c.*, add three pairs of consuls, which have been omitted by the copyists; one consul from each of the years 688, 689 *a.u.c.* is missing, causing the two remaining to coalesce into one year; the missing consuls for 561 *a.u.c.* are given by Livy, 34, 54, and for 485 by Eutropius, 2, 16. The three extra pairs are thus fully established for the Livian tradition and for the Epitome, hence for Cassiodorus. On this basis his total of years for the republic is  $124 + 24 + 314 = 462$ , the same that we found above that he must have to agree with his sources and with his own total. But Mommsen got the necessary total, 462, without supplying the missing consuls for 333 *a.u.c.* That was, however, because he had made a mistake in counting, claiming that he had 312 pairs of consuls on Ms authority for this period, when in fact he had but 311. Hence his vain attempt to show why Cassiodorus might have omitted a pair of consuls certainly given in Livy.<sup>1</sup>

Though the sum total of non-consular years after 362 *a.u.c.* is twenty-four as in Livy, Cassiodorus gives seventeen years as the first period of military tribunes, where Livy had but fifteen, for the period of anarchy four, against Livy five, and the remaining military tribunes three, against Livy four. The last two agree with Eutropius, who has, however, given the duration of the first period only by the indefinite expression, *post aliquantum*. But the total twenty-four years (= Livy) could perhaps be obtained from the Epitome, and at any rate was made necessary by his previous reckoning ( $462 - 124 = 338$ , from which subtracting the 314 consular years leaves 24). To bring all into agreement with Eutropius and Livy's total, he gives seventeen years to the first period of military tribunes. We thus see that Cassiodorus, while indebted to Eutropius, seems to show acquaintance with the chronology of the Epitome of Livy for this period, though he had to be ignorant of it in the former. This is best explained on the basis that he got

<sup>1</sup> The consuls for 247, 264, and 265 *a.u.c.* as well as the military tribunes for 378 *a.u.c.* were omitted by Livy himself, though he reckons them in his chronology.

the Livian consular list out of excerpts from the Epitome rather than out of the full work.

Hydatius<sup>1</sup> furnishes further information. It is known that the Hydatian consular list was copied about 470 A.D. from the source of the *Fasti Capitolini* and of the Chronograph a. 354, but with the addition of a few statements and changes in names from the Epitome of Livy, probably indirectly (see further below). We note that in the early period of the republic Hydatius got his two years of decemviral rule and thirty-one years of military tribunes from his *Fasti* source probably by counting,<sup>2</sup> while in the second period he has four years of anarchy instead of five of the *Fasti*, and must have had three years of military tribunes following, as Cassiodorus and Eutropius (the Mss omit the number), for he inserts eighteen years for the longer period of military tribunes, so as to equal the twenty-five years of non-consular space in his *Fasti* source. (This space is certain from the Chronograph a. 354, who gives twenty-five pairs of consuls.) The wrong numbers 4 and 3 are thus the occasion for the wrong reckoning here. It is not likely that Hydatius borrowed these numbers from Eutropius directly, nor yet that he used the Epitome of Livy directly for the few errors (discussed below) due to that work. Neither would such a view explain why Hydatius should get the same incorrect numbers from Eutropius as Cassiodorus did. It seems necessary to assume an earlier consular list drawn from the Epitome with some additional historical statements, and the chronology warped by use of Eutropius. In the period before 362 *a.u.c.* this work omitted even the mention of military tribunes. Hydatius could correct this by reference to his main source, the *Fasti Consulares*. Cassiodorus, having no such aid, had recourse to Eutropius, and inserted forty years of decemvirs to make his total right. With this explanation we may again

<sup>1</sup> For the sake of brevity, I use Hydatius for Pseudo-Hydatius. The consular list of the *Chronicon Paschale* was translated, though with many errors, from an earlier, better version of Hydatius; cf. Mommsen, *C.I.L.* I, 1, p. 82 ff.

<sup>2</sup> We are sure of thirty years for the *Fasti*, while to the year 316 *a.u.c.* Hydatius by mistake assigns two years of military tribunes.



hold that Cassiodorus wrote in good faith and perhaps had some ability, even if he had no great acquaintance with history.

As we have seen that a proper combination of previously known sources explains all the numbers in Cassiodorus, we may now take up Reinhold's proofs of the Lost Chronicon.

(1) The years of anarchy: Livy, 6, 35, 10, and Per. Liv. 6 (add Lydus, *de Mag.* 1, 35; 38) give five years. The Chronograph a. 354 indicates five years also, which is thus assured for the original *Fasti*.<sup>1</sup> We can lay no weight on Lydus. He used some easily accessible source, perhaps the Epitome or even the Periochae. The presence of five as the number of years in the Periochae indicates that it was in the Epitome also, though this may be a correction from the entire Livy or a Ms mistake; V and IV interchange easily. The authorities for four years of anarchy are Eutropius, 2, 3, 1; Festus, 2; Cassiodorus, 362; add Hydatius, Dio-Zonaras, 7, 24, 9, and Vopiscus, *Tac.* 1. I have shown above that Festus, Cassiodorus, and Hydatius drew directly or indirectly from Eutropius. The presence of the number in Vopiscus indicates only a common, well-known source. We have left Cassius Dio and Eutropius. Both used the Epitome, Dio seldom, Eutropius often. Both had other sources. A positive decision is thus impossible. The agreement of the last three authors seems to point to the Epitome as source; but if so, it is to the original Epitome and not to a later Chronicon.

(2) Length of decemviral rule is three years according to Livy, 3, 38-54, Per. Liv. 3, and probably Orosius, 2, 13, 2-5; add Cicero, *de Rep.* 2, 62, and Dionysius Hal. 10, 59-11, 2. Livy therefore drew the number 3 from the later annalists, and the Epitome retained it. For two years the authorities are Eutropius, 1, 18, and Festus, 2, 3; add Florus, 1, 17 (24, 1); Hieronymus a. 1565; Diodorus, 12, 24; Tacitus, *Ann.* 1, 1; *Fasti Capitolini*; Chronograph a. 354; and Hydatius. Festus and Hieronymus drew from Eutropius, the Chronograph and Hydatius from the *Fasti* source, to which the *Annales Maximi*, Diodorus, and Tacitus are in some way related. Florus and Eutropius alone are left to indicate that the Epitome of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mommsen, *C.I.L.* I, 1, *Fasti*.

Livy gave only two years, and even these are not quite certain, as Eutropius was sometimes influenced by Florus, who certainly had another source besides the Epitome. Even if the two years did appear in the Epitome, it is only an easy Ms error for three.

(3) The omission of the earlier period of military tribunes was first made by Eutropius and copied indirectly by Cassiodorus, as I have shown above.

(4) For the reign of Tarquinius Superbus, Eutropius, 1, 8, 3, and Festus, 2, give twenty-four years; add Diodorus (in Eusebius).<sup>1</sup> Livy, 1, 60, Per. Liv. 1 b, and others give twenty-five years. Festus used Eutropius, but we have no indication that Eutropius in turn ever used Diodorus or Eusebius. On the other hand, both Diodorus and Eutropius contain material from the annalists. This question is, however, inseparable from that of the total years of royal rule, 244 in Livy, etc., but 243 in Eutropius, Festus, Hieronymus (a variant), Lydus, *de Mag.* 1, 29, Orosius, 2, 4, 13, and Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, 3, 15. This is a stately array, but Festus and Hieronymus certainly borrowed from Eutropius, as did Orosius probably. For Augustine, however, this explanation is not admissible, as Ay, p. 11, has shown,<sup>2</sup> and certainly not for Lydus, who obtained this number, as his others, from some easily accessible source. The evidence seems to point to the number 243, and so perhaps to twenty-four for the Epitome. If so, it was an attempt to change the Livian 244 years of royal rule to the 243 of the Fasti by reducing the rule of Tarquinius Superbus to twenty-four years in accord with the annalistic version found in Diodorus.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It appears both in Syncellus, p. 450, 1, and in the Armenian version; cf. Schoene, *Eusebii Chron.* I, p. 291. These numbers are unnecessarily emended. All seem right, including the total, except for Ancus, where read XXVII for XXXIII. Or if we emend to XXVIII, the reign of Tullus must be restored to the regular thirty-two years.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Reinhold's ungrounded assertion to the contrary, *Woch. f. klass. Phil.* XXII (1905), p. 576.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Mommsen, *Röm. Chron.* p. 142, that both the source of the Fasti and Cato must have assumed 243 years for the royal period, doubtless by omitting the year of interregnum after Romulus.

Periocha 1 b does not give the total length of royal rule, though 1 a, found in the same Mss, gives 255 years.<sup>1</sup> This number finds its only parallel in Scaliger's *Barbarus*, 24 a, though it is there plainly a Ms error (the total should be 251, according to the numbers for the separate reigns). The mistake is original in that place, for it is inconceivable that a writer should borrow a false number, when he only needed to add seven numbers before him, and besides had added correctly on another page of the same work (42 a). Whether the number 255 was a simple insertion in Per. 1 a, from the *Barbarus*, or crowded out the correct number, it is impossible to say; it is surely an interpolation. As the Ms authority of Per. 1 b and 1 a is the same, this interpolation may cause us to doubt the Ms accuracy of twenty-five years for Tarquin in 1 b. If we do not, we must suppose the twenty-five a correction of the author from his knowledge of the entire *Livy*, as twenty-four seems more likely for the *Epitome*. In any case the agreement of *Eutropius*, *Augustine*, and *Lydus* does not seem to point to *Reinhold's Lost Chronicon*. In fact, all hope of defending that according to the original conception vanished with the proof that *Cassiodorus* and *Festus* were indebted to *Eutropius* for their chronology.<sup>2</sup>

I omit *Reinhold's* proof, founded on passages on the capture of Rome by the Gauls, as I have nothing to add to my handling in the *U. of M. Studies*, I, p. 183; there are so many authors showing similar peculiarities that it is necessary to assume Ms variations in the original *Epitome* of *Livy*. Neither is it necessary to discuss in full his three remaining proofs, as they are based solely on a comparison of *Festus* and *Eutropius*, in passages where *Festus* had combined statements from the *Epitome* with those of *Eutropius*. To illustrate the method, however, I will take the first set of *Reinhold's* passages, printing them in full:

<sup>1</sup> Kornemann, p. 86, inclines to change to 243; Wagner, *Phil.* XLV, p. 518, to 244.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Mommsen, *Mon. Germ. Hist. auct. ant.* II, p. xxviii, that *Cassiodorus* used *Eutropius*; and Wölfflin, *Archiv*, XIII, p. 73 ff., for *Eutropius* as source of *Festus*.

<p>PER. LIV. 127. P. VENTIDIUS, Antoni legatus PARTHOS proelio victos SYRIA EXPULIT, LABIENO EORUM DUCE OCCISO.</p> <p>128. P. VENTIDIUS, legatus M. Antoni, PARTHOS IN SYRIA proelio vicit, regemque eorum occidit.</p> <p>OROSIUS, 6, 18, 23. <i>Ventidius Persas et PARTHOS in Syriam inrumpentes tribus bellis maximis fudit, REGEMQUE EORUM PACORUM IN ACIE INTERFECIT, ea scilicet die, qua Crassus a Parthis fuerat occisus.</i></p>	<p>FLORUS, 2, 19. invitante Labieno</p> <p>Labieni copias ipsumque Pacorum et omnem Parthicum equitatum . . . late cecidisset . . .</p> <p>REX fortissime dimicans CECIDIT... Sic Crassianam cladem Pacori caede pensavimus (cf. Tacitus, Ger. 37).</p>	<p>FESTUS, 18. P. VENTIDIUS Bassus PARTHOS, QUI DUCENTE LABIENO SYRIAM INVASERANT, occurrens in Capromonte cum paucis FUGAVIT, LABIENUM OCCIDIT, persecutus Persas AD INTERNICIUM STRAVIT. <i>Qua congressione Pacorum, regis filium, eadem die, qua Crassus fuerat victus, occidit,</i> ne aliquando Romani ducis mors inulta relinquere-tur. <i>Ventidius de Persis primus triumphavit.</i></p>	<p>EUTROPIUS, 7, 5, 2. L. Ventidius Bassus inrumpentes in Syriam Persas tribus proeliis vicit.</p> <p><i>Pacorum, regis Orodis filium interfecit eo ipso die, quo olim Orodes Persarum rex perducem Surenam Crassum occiderat. Hic primus de Parthis iustissimum triumphum Romae egit.</i></p>
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The portions of Festus and Orosius parallel to Eutropius are in italics, the portions directly indebted to the Epitome in small capitals. The thought taken from Florus by Festus is in heavy face type. One phrase in Festus is left doubtful, but the preceding and following words are from the Epitome, hence probably these also. The mistake of Eutropius, *L. Ventidius*, is avoided. The passage is an extremely good illustration of Festus's method of work. He combines his sources very loosely, brief phrases from one being inserted in or added to a version from another.

It remains to consider the proofs for this Lost Chronicon, which are supposed to be found in the Oxyrhynchus Epitome of Livy. I treat first those offered by Moore, who, on p. 255, expressed doubt as to the accuracy of Reinhold's results, precisely on their weak point, viz. the inclusion of Eutropius



among the descendants of the Chronicon. In general, however, both Moore and Kornemann accept Reinhold, though they have made no investigations into the question outside of the passages parallel to the Oxyrhynchus Epitome.

Moore's proofs that Oxyr.<sup>1</sup> used the source of Obsequens, Cassiodorus, and Eutropius, are found on pp. 245 to 255 of his article, in which he discusses or refers to some seven different passages. In all Oxyr. shows a reasonably close relationship to these authors, but also to the Periochae Livii, Orosius, etc., wherever they treat of the same subjects. In other words, all the passages show indebtedness to the Epitome. In only one case does Moore find that his authors agree in a divergence from the Epitome tradition. I quote from p. 245: "Oxyr. 88, *L. Marcio Censorino M. Manlio cos* (= 103, *Manlio et Marc(i)o c[os]*); Cassiodorus a. 605, *L. Marcius et M. Manlius*. The correct form in Per. Liv. 49, *L. Marcio M' Manilio cos*; Censorinus, *de Die Nat.* 17, 11 (Livy cited), Florus, 1, 31, 7, Orosius, 4, 22, 1, Appian, *P.* 75; 97; and Zonaras, 9, 26, all have the same, while Eutropius, 4, 10, in Mss P. and D., has *Marco Mallio*, though *Manilio* appears in the version of Paeonius." The trouble with this proof is that in many of the cases cited the correct form of the name is due to emendation. In the best Mss the name appears as follows: Censorinus, *M. Manlio*; Per. Liv. *M. Manilio*; Florus, *Manilio*; Orosius, § 1, *M. Manilius* § 7, *Manlius*; Eutropius, *Marco Manilio* (in the three oldest Mss); Appian, *Μάρκων Μανίλιον*; Zonaras, *Μάρκος Μανίλιος*. I add *de Vir. Ill.* 58, *Tito Manlio*; Velleius Paterculus, 1, 13, 1, *M. Manlio*. All descendants of Livy had *Marcus* for *Manius*, but Moore laid no stress on that variation. As regards the form *Manlius*, we must decide that it is only a Ms variation, liable to creep in anywhere. Further, Kornemann has removed all reason for discussing the passage by finding that Oxyr. really reads *Man(i)lio* in l. 88 (*i.e.* there is space for the letter, though it is no longer distinguishable on the papyrus), but in l. 103, the reading is *Manlio*. I will

<sup>1</sup> Oxyr. = Oxyrhynchus Epitome of Livy; the number following refers to the line.

take up the question of language and minor points under Kornemann's article.

To sum up, Moore's paper presents welcome proof that Oxyr. was related to the Epitome of Livy, not to the entire Livy, but he gives no evidence on the question of Reinhold's Chronicon, except to throw doubt on the placing of Eutropius among its descendants.

We turn to Kornemann, who has openly accepted the Chronicon, yet without definite additional proofs. For in no case do his parallels show a different version for the Epitome, where there is special agreement between Oxyr., Cassiodorus, and Obsequens. Eutropius does not come in question at all. I discuss these few passages below in connection with many more.

As Kornemann offers no decisive proofs for the Lost Chronicon, we turn to the considerations which induced him to accept it. These lie almost exclusively in the chronological character of Oxyr., Obsequens, and Cassiodorus. To this he adds (p. 70) that in certain cases kindred occurrences of two years are united in one, or such a union indicated for the common source by errors in dates. These he claims point to a source that was not chronological, so the original of the mistakes must go back of the Chronicon to the Epitome, which was thus *not* annalistic in its arrangement. He cites only two passages to illustrate, but a search of his commentary discloses eight such parallels:

- (1) Oxyr. 17, Livy, 38, 36, 5, and 38, 28, 4;
- (2) Oxyr. 44-45, Obsequens, 3, and Livy, 39, 54;
- (3) Oxyr. 49, Livy, 39, 20, 5, and Per. Liv. 39;
- (4) Oxyr. 71-73, Livy, 40, 5-24, and Per. Liv. 40;
- (5) Oxyr. 103-104 and Per. Liv. 49;
- (6) Oxyr. 174, Per. Liv. 54, Eutropius, 4, 17, 1, and Orosius, 5, 4, 13-21;
- (7) Oxyr. 202-205 and Per. Liv. 55;
- (8) Oxyr. 213-214 and 216-217, Per. Liv. 55, and Orosius, 5, 4, 18.

Most of these cases are individual errors, but Oxyr. and Obsequens agree in error once, Oxyr. and Per. Liv. probably

twice. Both these errors and some of the others involve combination of events, both being given under the one which seems to the author more important. A few similar chronological errors had been previously noted (cf. *Quellen-contamination*, p. 44).

This is certainly interesting information, but as we are not positive that a non-annalistic Epitome occurred between Livy and these latest descendants, such data must be interpreted in the light of the information we now possess. Let us first note a few well-established points in regard to the Epitome :

(1) The consuls' names of Livy were given to later writers through the Epitome.

(2) These names were given in the ablative, therefore at the beginning of the years. This was proved by Mommsen by reference to Cassiodorus and Obsequens, but is supported by the other descendants ; see further below.

(3) The Epitomator Livii combined material from other sources with his excerpts from Livy.

(4) The division into books was preserved in the Epitome.

The mistakes in order noted by Kornemann and others find their adequate explanation in these facts, and themselves help to confirm this character of the Epitome. No one has yet explained how the Livian consular list could get to the later writers except through the Epitome, nor how the Epitome could transmit it intelligibly, unless it preserved the annalistic form. In spite of this, however, changes in order and time might creep in, owing to the fact that the author was combining material from other sources, was seeking to condense to the utmost, and above all was preserving the book division. This last had a tendency to make the author regard each book as a unit rather than each consulship. If we add to this the thorough acquaintance with Livy and the popular traditions of history possessed by the writer (cf. *U. of M. Studies*, I, p. 254), we shall be willing to admit that in writing his Epitome of each book, he would not have copied blindly from an unhandy roll, but trusted to a vigorous memory, quickened by repeated reading and perhaps aided by some few brief notes. The mistakes in chronology and

changes in order, and particularly the combination of related events, above noted, form a most convincing proof that such was his method of work.

More important as indication of an intermediate source is Kornemann's statement (p. 74) that of the few historical notices in *Obsequens*, three appear elsewhere only in *Oxyr.*, though with different wording. This loses some of its force, when we note that in the brief parallel portion of *Obsequens*, there are twelve historical notices, and that of Kornemann's three, one (burning of the *sacrarium Opis*) was also a prodigy, and that another, *Obsequens*, 22, states the opposite from *Oxyr.* 167 in point of fact. There is left one historical notice found only in *Oxyr.* 132-134 and *Obsequens*, 20. Of the remaining historical notices in *Obsequens*, four are found in *Oxyr.* (one under different consuls) as well as in other epitomators, while six are not found in *Oxyr.* There is also a single notable agreement found only in *Livy*, 39, 22, 1, *Cassiodorus*, 568, and *Oxyr.* 42. These cases are most easily explained if there was a much abbreviated form of the *Epitome* used by *Oxyr.* and *Obsequens*, though they hardly prove the existence of such a work. *Cassiodorus* shows less clearly the same close connection.

The language of the *Oxyrhynchus Epitome* has been fully treated by Moore and Kornemann<sup>1</sup>; they note the extreme brevity, often reduced to substantive and modifiers, excess of participles, and poverty of expression. The same characteristics occur in *Per. Liv.* 1 a and, in a less degree, in *Obsequens*. Moore even tries to discover the same tendencies in *Cassiodorus*. I fail to see them. Of the forty-three passages found in the *Livian* portion of *Cassiodorus*, twelve contain complex or compound sentences, and only seven show the pure participial construction, while some of these are known to have been taken from *Eutropius*. The style of *Cassiodorus* is the same even in the last portion of his work, where he was supposedly original.

Of the special words or expressions found often in *Oxyr.*, *Per. Liv.* 1 a, or *Obsequens*, the following are distinctive:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Wölfflin, *Archiv*, XIV, p. 221 ff.



(1) *devinco* found rarely in Livy and only once in Per. Liv. (49);

(2) *vexo*, only once in Per. Liv. (32);

(3) *prosperere* (*dubie* or *varie*) *dimicatum* (*pugnatum*); the Periochae have regularly combinations with *male*, *dubio eventu*, or *feliciter* and the active;

(4) *re bene gesta*; Per. Liv. has *res prospere gestas* as object.

The other words treated, *caesus*, *subactus*, and *occisus*, occur with special frequency in Per. Liv., usually with a copula. *Clades accepta* appears in Per. Liv. 67; also present participles in nom. sing. are fairly common, even those noted by Kornemann both occurring, *decedens* in Per. 30 and *fleus* in Per. 89. Kornemann laid particular stress on the frequency of *vastare* and especially that it takes as object names of peoples in Oxyr. (not in Obsequens). Per. Liv. also uses the word frequently and once at least (Per. 47) with the name of a people as object. All these expressions point to the influence of the original Epitome, though favorite expressions doubtless increased in the later Mss or abridgments of the work (cf. *U. of M. Studies*, I, p. 188 ff.). Further we must admit that even these later historians sometimes show characteristics of their own time.

Omitting, however, everything questionable, we have still several agreements in language and style between Oxyr., Per. 1 a, and Obsequens, on the basis of which I believe we are warranted in assuming a fairly close relationship. This position is supported by the agreements between Oxyr. and Obsequens in historical statements. Cassiodorus does not seem to be as closely related, but this may be due to the character of his work.

In spite of the similarity in language Per. Liv. 1 a is not a fragment of the complete original of Oxyr. Kornemann (p. 78) has made this clear by noting the greater brevity of Per. 1 a. A still stronger point is that in spite of the extremely chronological character of Oxyr., in which the consuls' names project from the text, so that the years can be easily counted, Per. 1 a does not give the length of

reign of a single king, and the total for all is probably only an interpolation. Per. 1 a may, therefore, be a further abridgment of a complete Oxyr., or from its source. I incline to the latter view.

Obsequens, on the other hand, indicates a far fuller version than Oxyr.; so if they were both from the same abridged Epitome, it was still a fairly extensive work. The fact, however, that Orosius, or even Florus, Lucan, and Valerius Maximus (cf. *U. of M. Studies*, I, p. 221) sometimes present omens not found in Obsequens may indicate that he did not use the complete Epitome.

Cassiodorus gives practically only a list of consuls. With these little has been done since Mommsen, till Kornemann used the order of names in a few instances to illustrate the source relationship. This is a doubtful proof till we know the tendency of the various copyists in regard to preserving the order. With only two consuls, but one change in order was possible. For this reason I have investigated the entire consular list from 245 to 745 *a.u.c.* with the following results:

(1) The *Fasti Capitolini* represent the correct or established order. The minor *Fasti* vary three times, 542, 712, and 720 *a.u.c.*

(2) The Chronograph a. 354 differs from the *Fasti Capitolini* only twice, 532 and 677 *a.u.c.*<sup>1</sup> Therefore we may consider their agreement, or where the *Fasti Capitolini* fail, that the Chronograph a. 354 represents fairly accurately their common source.<sup>2</sup>

Compared with this fixed tradition we find that Livy has a different order of names for fifty-four years in the thirty-five books preserved. He certainly did not copy directly or indirectly the source of the *Fasti Capitolini*. In only two (538, 572 *a.u.c.*) out of these fifty-four changes has the order been restored by two or more descendants of the Epitome, and one (572) of these is found only in the nearly related Cassio-

<sup>1</sup> *Fast. Cap.* 694 is too fragmentary to be certain.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mommsen, *C.I.L.* I, 1, p. 81, on the relation of Chron. a. 354 to *Fast. Cap.* The latter are preserved sufficiently to determine order of names for some 270 years, before 745 *a.u.c.*

dorus, Obsequens, and Oxyr. Even if we add all the variations in order from the entire Livy, which rest on the authority of Cassiodorus alone, when not contradicted by other descendants of the Epitome, the total is but four, and that in over 200 pairs of consuls; and of these four, but one can be assigned positively to the Epitomator of Livy.

Taking now the various descendants of the Epitome, we find that Cassiodorus in the 438 pairs of consuls from Livy has himself changed the order but six times,<sup>1</sup> Eutropius giving fewer consuls four times,<sup>2</sup> Florus twice,<sup>3</sup> Obsequens twice,<sup>4</sup> Per. Liv. once,<sup>5</sup> and Oxyr. once,<sup>6</sup> while for Orosius there is no certain case. To these we must add the years 494 and 672 *a.u.c.*, where Florus changed the order and was copied by Eutropius, and the year 711 *a.u.c.*, where Orosius agrees with Velleius Paterculus (*Hirtius et Pansa*). The opposite order is common to the Epitome, Livy, and the Fasti. Tacitus, *Ann.* 1, 10, and Solinus, 1, 32, have *Hirtio et Pansa*, and probably the names were elsewhere so placed, though seldom when given as a date merely.

This brief survey shows us that we are dealing with material, which can properly be used in determining source as well as Ms relationships. Livy's variations from the Fasti are numerous, but his descendants followed their copy with exceptional accuracy. There will be found but few cases which are purely careless or arbitrary.

On this showing we should not hesitate to refer all variations in order from the Fasti back to Livy, in case the source of the change is uncertain. This includes seventeen instances for which Cassiodorus is the only Livian authority, also three cases found in all the descendants of the Epitome (495, 499, 513 *a.u.c.*), and probably three others not as clearly proved.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 498, 529, 577, 683, 700, 703 *a.u.c.*    <sup>2</sup> 533, 671, 543, 667 *a.u.c.*    <sup>3</sup> 544, 605 *a.u.c.*

<sup>4</sup> 635, 679 *a.u.c.*; cf. also 600 *a.u.c.*    <sup>5</sup> 446 *a.u.c.*    <sup>6</sup> 611 *a.u.c.*

<sup>7</sup> For 464 *a.u.c.* Cass. and Eutrop. agree against Chron. a. 354; for 532 *a.u.c.* Cass., Eutrop., and Chron. a. 354 agree against *Fast. Cap.* and Hydat.; for 648 *a.u.c.* Cass., Obs., and *C.I.L.* X, 3778 (a carelessly written inscription) agree against Chron. a. 354, Hydat., and *C.I.L.* X, 3779. The last case might be traced to the abridged source of Cass. and Obs., but the inscription indicates a variable order early.

Turning to the other non-Livian consular lists, we find that the *Chronicon Paschale* agrees almost absolutely with Hydatius.<sup>1</sup> To all intents and purposes they are Mss of the same work, therefore I shall not refer to the *Chronicon Paschale* unless the form is different from Hydatius. This list was in general an accurate copy of the Fasti. In the order of the consuls' names but twenty-one variations from the *Fasti Capitolini* and Chronograph a. 354 occur in over 400 pairs of names. Eleven of these (275, 277, 284, 404, 469, 488, 539, 615, 668, 682, and 686 *a.u.c.*)<sup>2</sup> seem to be careless changes by the author or some copyist; the other ten agree with Livy or the Epitome:

251 *a.u.c.* Hydatius agrees with Livy, 2, 16, and Cassiodorus against Chronograph a. 354 and Dionysius, 5, 44.

279 *a.u.c.* Hydatius agrees with Livy, 2, 52, and Cassiodorus against *Fasti Capitolini*, Chronograph a. 354, Diodorus, 11, 60, and Dionysius, 9, 28.

301 *a.u.c.* Hydatius agrees with Livy, 3, 32, Dionysius, 10, 53, and Cassiodorus against Fasti, Chronograph a. 354, and Diodorus, 12, 7.

302 *a.u.c.* Hydatius agrees with Livy, 3, 32, Cassiodorus, Diodorus, 12, 22, and Dionysius, 10, 50, against *Fasti Capitolini* and Chronograph a. 354. Hydatius also has *Capitolinus* with Livy and Diodorus against *Capito* in the others.

317 *a.u.c.* Hydatius agrees with Livy, 4, 17, Diodorus, 12, 43, and Cassiodorus against Chronograph a. 354.

572 *a.u.c.* Hydatius agrees with Livy, 39, 56, 4, against *Fasti Capitolini*, Nepos, *Hann.* 13, 1, and the later imitators of the Epitome; see below.

614 *a.u.c.* Hydatius agrees with Cassiodorus and Obsequens, 23, against *Fasti Capitolini* and Chronograph a. 354.

672 *a.u.c.* Hydatius agrees with Cassiodorus and Velleius Paterculus, 2, 27, against *Fasti Capitolini*, Chronograph a. 354. For Florus and Eutropius see above, p. 18.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mommsen, *C.I.L.* I, 1, p. 82, that it was taken in the year 630 A.D. from a Ms of the Fasti which now pass under the name of Hydatius.

<sup>2</sup> For 469, 488, and 682 *a.u.c.* evidence is too scanty. For 284 and 404 *a.u.c.* Hydat. agrees with Diodor., for 686, with inscription, *Bull. d. Inst.* 1882, p. 8. For 704 the Mss vary in the order.



705 *a.u.c.* Hydatius agrees with Cassiodorus and Dio, 41, 1, 1, against *Fasti Capitolini* and Chronograph a. 354.

406 *a.u.c.* Hydatius agrees with Livy, 7, 26, Cassiodorus, and Diodorus, 16, 69, against *Fasti Capitolini* and Chronograph a. 354. Also both here and in other places Hydatius and also Chronograph a. 354 have *Corvinus* for *Corvus* of Livy and the *Fasti Capitolini*. The Epitome regularly had *Corvinus* (cf. *Quellen-contamination*, p. 29). The fact that the combination of these two changes can be referred to the Epitome alone makes us sure that it was the original source of Hydatius. Also the change of *Corvus* to *Corvinus* in Chronograph a. 354 probably goes back indirectly to the same source.

To this evidence on Hydatius we may add the two errors noted by Zangemeister, p. 102 :

(1) *Falco*, Orosius, 4, 11, 10, and Hydatius a. 516 for *Falto* in *Fasti Capitolini* and Chronograph a. 354; Cassiodorus has *P. Cornelius*, a memory mistake due to the colleague, *Ti. Sempronius Gracchus*.

(2) *Rutilius*, Hydatius a. 622, Orosius, 5, 9, 7, Per. Liv. 59 (Naz. *Autilius*; add Velleius Paterculus, 2, 7, 4), for *Rupilius* of the *Fasti Capitolini* and Cicero, *de Amic.* 11, 37. One agreement is given by Ay, p. 28, viz. Per. Liv. 8, *de Vir. Ill.* 28, Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, 5, 18, and *Chronicon Paschale*, 429 (not found in Hydatius).

To these I add the following: Hydatius, 481, and Eutropius, 2, 15, 1, name one consul *Licinius* for *Licinus*, while the other, *Canina*, is right in Eutropius but appears as *Cinna* in Chronograph a. 354. For this name also Hydatius stands nearer to Eutropius; *CAMBRIA* is an easy corruption for *CANINA*.

For 570 *a.u.c.* Hydatius, Cassiodorus, and Oxyr. 50 have *Licinius* for the correct *Licinus* of Livy, 39, 32, 13, and the other *Fasti*. The other consul was, in Hydatius, *Pulchro II*. That this was the second consulship is an error not found elsewhere except in *Chronicon Paschale*. It is therefore not a Ms error. The mistake goes back to the author of the Hydatian *Fasti* or his source. In Oxyr. the names are

restored *P. Claudio Pulchr[o L. Porcio Li]cinio*. Ten letters only are supplied, though Kornemann states there is space for twelve. In fact, he has to supply twelve letters two lines below, where the space seems to be one letter narrower. I would therefore emend by inserting *II* after *Pulchro*, thus referring the mistake in Hydatius back to the Epitome consular list.

For 444 *a.u.c.* Hydatius and Livy, 9, 33, give *Rutilio* for *Rutilo* of the Fasti.

For 539 *a.u.c.* Hydatius, Cassiodorus, and Orosius, 4, 16, 12, in accord with the statement of occurrences in Livy, 23, 24, 3; 30, 18; 31, 14, give as one of the consuls *Fabius Maximus III*, a consul suffectus, instead of *Postumius Albinus* of the Fasti, who was indeed elected, but was killed before he entered upon his office.

To sum up, we have in all sixteen changes or mistakes, which point to a close agreement of Hydatius and Cassiodorus in their indebtedness to the Epitome. Two cases seem to show Livian influence on Hydatius where he is opposed to Cassiodorus, and in one case the Ms reading of Cassiodorus is beyond emendation.

We have still to consider some agreements between Cassiodorus and Obsequens and other cases to be similarly explained.

498 *a.u.c.* Cassiodorus and the *Fasti Capitolini* alone give *Q. Caedicius*, for whom Per. Liv. 17, Florus, 1, 18, 17, Orosius, 4, 8, 10, Eutropius, 2, 21, 1, and Chronograph a. 354 name *Atilius Regulus*, a consul suffectus, though the last two plainly make him consul eponymous. Hydatius agrees with the *Fasti Capitolini* in calling *Regulus* consul suffectus, but for *Caedicio*, has the Ms error *decio*. It seems certain that the Epitome consular list had been corrected from some Fasti source shortly before Cassiodorus copied it.

589 *a.u.c.* Cassiodorus and Obsequens, 13, agree in order of names against the Fasti. Other descendants of Livy omit the names.

663 *a.u.c.* Cassiodorus and Obsequens, 54, agree in order of names with all the Fasti, but are opposed to Florus, 2,

6, 8, Eutropius, 5, 3, 1, and Orosius, 5, 18, 1. Orosius may have copied Eutropius, of whom, however, Florus was not the source, for he does not have the praenomina there given. It is likely that Florus and Eutropius represent the original order of the Epitome, some descendant or Ms of which changed it before the copies were made by Obsequens and Cassiodorus. That a different order stood in the Fasti was the reason for the change.

694 *a.u.c.* Obsequens, 62, and Cassiodorus agree against the other Fasti, Dio, 37, 49, 1, and *C.I.L.* I, 727-728.

572 *a.u.c.* Cassiodorus, Obsequens, 5, and Oxyr. 67 change the order of names from Livy, 39, 56, to agree with the Fasti, etc. I have shown above that the agreement of Hydatius with Livy for this year was due to the Epitome as intermediate source. We have also seen how rigidly in all cases the Epitome preserved the Livian order of names. The natural explanation, therefore, is that the immediate ancestor of Cassiodorus, Obsequens, and Oxyr. changed the order so as to agree with the Fasti.

I add certain Ms variations in spelling, which point to a similar near relationship.

For 578 *a.u.c.* Cassiodorus has *Petillius* as *Fasti Capitolini* and Obsequens, 9, but Livy, 41, 14, *Petilius*, with one *l*. This has little weight owing to poor Ms authority of Livy, 41 to 45.

For 591 *a.u.c.* Obsequens, 14, has *T. Graccho*; Cassiodorus, *T. Sempronius*; *Fasti Capitolini*, *Ti. Sempronius Gracchus II*. Again, for 577 *a.u.c.* Cassiodorus has *T. Sempronius*, but the Fasti, *Ti*. Also Per. Liv. 41, and Orosius, 4, 20, 32, have *Tiberius*, so the Epitome must have had *Tiberius*, as also Livy, though *T. Sempronius* appears in the sole Ms of Livy, 41, 8, 1.

For 650 *a.u.c.* Obsequens, 43, has *Caio Marcio Caio Flacco*; Cassiodorus, *C. Marcus, C. Fl. Fimbrius*. *C.I.L.* X, 3780, gives [*C. Fl*] *avio C. f. C. Mario C. f. cos*. Furthermore, the Fasti and all the descendants of the Epitome, including Cassiodorus and Obsequens in other passages, have the name of the famous C. Marius right. This is a Ms error of the parent of Obse-

quens and Cassiodorus. In the second name it arose from the abbreviation *C. Fl. Fimbr.*, which is still distinguishable in Cassiodorus.

For 652 *a.u.c.* the error of Obsequens, 44, *Q. Luctatio* (for *Lutatio*), appears in Cuspinian's edition of Cassiodorus, though the Regensburg Ms (11th cent.) has *L. Lutatius*. Mommsen (*Leip. Akad.* VIII, p. 571 ff.) has shown that Cuspinianus had the parent Ms of Cassiodorus before him.

For the years 723 to 731 *a.u.c.* Cassiodorus numbers the consulships of Augustus II to X instead of III to XI as the other authorities, including Orosius, 6, 19, 14; 6, 20, 1; 6, 21, 1. The change had thus not taken place in the Epitome. It agrees better with the marks of revision which we have referred to the parent of Cassiodorus than with Cassiodorus himself.

From the evidence given by me (*U. of M. Studies*, I, p. 186) to show Ms variations in the original Epitome of Livy, the common mistake of Obsequens, 49, and Cassiodorus, 658, is best referred to the parent of these two. The correct form for the original Epitome is shown by Per. Liv. 70, Hieronymus, 1922, Festus, 13, etc.

In the following two cases, as in possibly one above, the variations may even go back to Livy himself, though it seems easier to refer them to a later writer.

For 624 *a.u.c.* Cassiodorus and Obsequens, 28, have *App. Claudius*, but Cicero, *de Leg.* 3, 19, 42, *C. Claudius*. For 659 *a.u.c.* Cassiodorus and Obsequens, 50, have *P. Crassus*, but *Fasti Capitolini*, *L. Licinius Crassus*.<sup>1</sup>

Summing up our evidence, we find that we have fifteen errors or changes, which are best explained by supposing a close relationship of source between Cassiodorus and Obsequens and nothing against this assumption. Considering the different character of the two and the brevity of the portion

<sup>1</sup> For the year 576 *a.u.c.*, Ay, p. 53, refers to the Epitome the mistake of Cassiodorus and Obsequens, 8, *Cn. Manlius* for *A. Manlius* of Livy, 40, 59. But the Livy passage has to be emended by reference to Livy, 41, 10; 43, 2; 45, 9, and also the form *Cn. Manlius* appears in Florus, 1, 26, 2, hence in the original Epitome.



of Obsequens which comes in question, this is a remarkable agreement.

It remains to compare this evidence of the consuls' names with the previous conclusions of a close agreement between Obsequens, Oxyr., and Per. 1 a in language and the chronological agreement of Hydatius and Cassiodorus. It is evident that most of our evidence belongs under the head of Ms variation, though cases of interpolation from other Mss or works are not infrequent. Many of the changes have been due to errors in writing, but we are not to think that this fact and the overwhelming majority of agreements in all the descendants preclude the possibility of an intermediate source for any of the later writers. We have seen that the Epitomator Livii followed Livy's consular list with even greater faithfulness. So while I have discussed these questions as Ms variations, and am convinced that we have the right to judge the source relationships of these few later writers as we would Mss and Ms families, this position is entirely compatible with the further conclusion that some of these families represent expansions, abridgments, or even excerpts from the original Epitome.

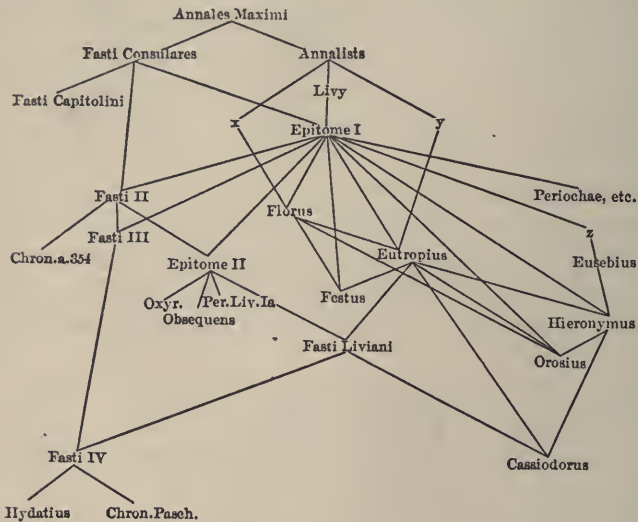
How many of these there have been we may never know; for the present I feel sure of only two:

(a) An abridgment used by Obsequens, the Oxyrhynchus Epitome, and the Periocha 1 a of Livy.

(b) The Livian consular list, with addition of some historical statements, excerpted from this abridged Epitome. It was used regularly by Cassiodorus and compared by the unknown author of the Hydatian Fasti, though his main source was the *Fasti Consulares*, which we can trace back through the source of the *Fasti Capitolini* (30 B.C.) to the *Annales Maximii* as final source.

We have a very few instances indicating that the Epitomator Livii was acquainted with these *Fasti Consulares*, which were in common use and were parallel to the consular names prefixed to each year in the Epitome of Livy. Owing to this common character and the ease of comparison, interpolations were liable to occur from one to the other. Thus a few

changes and historical additions had come into the *Fasti Consulares* before 354 A.D., when the Chronograph made his copy. Later a second small series of interpolations came in which appear in Hydatius, though not drawn from the Livian *Fasti*, which were later excerpted from the abridged *Epitome*, and show the influence of the chronology of Eutropius. This work the Pseudo-Hydatius compared, when copying the *Fasti Consulares*. The following diagram shows the relationship of the various authors discussed.



The abridged *Epitome* of Livy must have been in existence before 300 A.D. It doubtless preserved the character and form of the original *Epitome* as described above. In size, if we may judge from the prodigies of *Obsequens*, it was much more voluminous than the *Periochae* of Livy.

The *Fasti Liviani* were excerpted after 375 and before 470 A.D. The consuls' names were taken practically in the form of the *Epitome*, though doubtless often shortened. If the consul had served before, the number of the consulship was noted. Though *Cassiodorus* more often omits these numbers, yet he preserves seven not found in *Livy*. The other descendants of the *Epitome* also preserve a few of the

numbers, Per. Liv. 10<sup>1</sup> even one not found in Livy. The filling out of the consular list in this manner was, therefore, the work of the Epitomator Livii, though some additional changes can be traced to the direct source of Cassiodorus, *i.e.* the excerptor of the Livian Fasti.

The names of the consuls were put in the ablative at the beginning of each year by the Epitomator, the lines projecting from the body of the text as in Oxyr. so that the consulships could be easily compared or counted. This form was retained in the abridged Epitome and so passed into Oxyr.

That the names were given in the ablative in the abridged Epitome is proved by the mistakes of Cassiodorus and the agreement in form of Oxyr. and Obsequens. This form is also just as sure for the original Epitome. Orosius gives the consuls' names in the ablative, introducing his statements for the year, more than fifty times, Eutropius nearly as many, and yet in only twenty-four cases do they give the consuls for the same years, in less than half of which Orosius copied Eutropius. All the rest of this long list came, as we have seen above, directly from the Epitome of Livy. The Per. Liv. also preserved this ablative form in six cases, though the work had ceased to be annalistic. Florus has still less reason for retaining this form, yet, to the injury of his style, he often gives the name of one consul in the ablative absolute and allows you to supply *populus Romanus* as subject of the sentence. A much worse case of awkward retention of the ablative absolute is found in Eutropius, 2, 22, 1: *M. Acmilio Paulo Ser. Fulvio Nobiliore consulibus ambo Romani consules ad African profecti sunt*. Such cases prove the presence of the ablative absolute in the original even more certainly than the frequent occurrence of the ablative in Eutropius and Orosius does.

We see thus that even the annalistic form and the designation of the years by the consuls' names appeared in the Epitome of Livy, so there was little or nothing left for later writers to do, except to abridge or excerpt, and this was quite in accord with the times in which they lived, when the sum total of historical, if not of all literary activity, lay in abridgments and excerpts.

<sup>1</sup> The number rests on an emendation, though a sure one.

II. — *Types of Sentence Structure in Latin Prose Writers.*

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THE traditional method of studying Latin sentence structure from the point of view of style — the method elaborated with considerable detail in Nägelsbach's *Stilistik* in the chapter entitled "Architektonik der Rede" — is, at least in some respects, inadequate. This will be apparent to any one who follows carefully the attempt of Schmalz in his *Lateinische Stilistik*, pp. 465 ff. (3d ed.) to give even a sketchy outline of the history of Latin sentence structure. It is the purpose of this paper to direct attention to a different method of dealing with the subject, one which may perhaps not so much supersede as supplement the somewhat mechanical system of counting clauses and participles and examining the order in which they follow each other, or the manner in which they are interwoven or interlocked. "Le stil c'est de l'homme même." We can more fully understand an author's style after we have determined what mental processes were involved in the organization<sup>1</sup> of his sentences. We must transfer our attention from the outer product to the inner process which it represents. The traditional method is admirable as applied to a rhetorical writer like Cicero, but fails when applied to a spontaneous writer like Tacitus. Cicero may be studied from the point of view of rhetoric; Tacitus should be approached from that of psychology.

This paper has taken as its basis the system of psychology elaborated by Professor Wilhelm Wundt of Leipzig. It is therefore necessary to describe briefly the two processes (or rather groups of processes) which he terms association and apperception.<sup>2</sup> Both consist in the uniting (*Verbindung*) of

<sup>1</sup> *Gliederung* in the terminology of Wilhelm Wundt. As this word implies, the present paper accepts the definition of a sentence given in his *Völkerpsychologie*, I, vol. ii, ch. 7, § I, 5, c. (All references to this work apply to both editions.) See also Wundt, *Sprachgeschichte und Sprachphilosophie*, pp. 68-71, and *Jl. of Germ. Phil.* IV (1902), p. 390.

<sup>2</sup> For a detailed discussion of these processes see his *Physiologische Psychologie, passim*, and his brief but lucid *Grundriss der Psychologie*, 5th ed. pp. 243-334.



psychical elements or concepts (*Begriffe*) into ideas (*Vorstellungen*). The main difference between them lies in the greater or less part which the feelings play in them, as also in the form which the feeling assumes. Speaking relatively the associations are passive processes; we give ourselves over to the flow of ideas, and they form and run as if of their own accord. A reverie is a series of such associative acts; dreams afford a still more striking example. Into the apperceptive processes the feelings enter more largely, and in particular, they assume that most complex form, the will. Accordingly, in the apperceptive processes we exercise a more or less strong control over our ideas. There is a feeling of activity (*Tätigkeitsgefühl*). The will enters in, and we relate, compare, analyse, and synthesize the elements of our ideas, whereas in association the logical relations between the concepts are less regarded. The distinction between the two is at bottom merely relative. Some forms of association are more active than others; some forms of apperception are more passive than others; and there are various links (*Uebergangsstufen*) between them. Into most of our mental activity both processes enter, but one or the other may greatly predominate. It is characteristic of apperceptive analysis that it always proceeds by a series of bisections (dichotomy), the unit of thought (*Gesamtvorstellung*) that forms the basis of the sentence being first divided into halves, each of which is again subdivided, and so on.

How are these processes reflected in language? The written or spoken sentence is, of course, simply the outer form corresponding to a series of associative and apperceptive processes. The basis of the sentence is a relatively complete unit of thought of varying magnitude and complexity, which is present in consciousness at the moment the organization of the sentence begins. By successive acts of analysis and synthesis the various elements of this unit are set into their logical relations to each other. Each single act of apperceptive analysis yields only two sub-units (dichotomy), *e.g.* subject and predicate, substantive and attribute. The connection is therefore a closed one (in the sense that no third



member is possible) and is symbolically represented in Wundt by a curved line, thus:  $\widehat{a\ b}$ ,  $a$  and  $b$  representing the sub-units. A purely apperceptive sentence will contain only connections of this kind. Under favorable mental conditions, however, any one of the elements of a sentence *may* induce an associative addition to the original unit, and this addition (or the original element) may induce a second addition and so on indefinitely. The connection between these associative additions and the inducing elements is therefore an open one.

The formula  $a^{-}a_1^{-}a_2^{-}a_3^{-}a_4^{-}$  will then represent a series of such associative processes,  $a$  being the original element, and  $a_1, a_2, a_3, a_4$  being induced elements. The associative (open) nature of the connection is symbolized by the horizontal line. I know of no more striking illustrations of these two forms of connection than the Sanskrit copulative (associative) and determinative (apperceptive) compounds respectively. The formula just given represents the compound *devagandharvā-mānuṣo* (=  $a-u$ ) *raga-rākṣakās*, "gods, heavenly singers, men, serpents, demons" (to correspond to the last horizontal stroke in the formula, an *ādi* "and so forth" might have been added). The determinative compounds, on the contrary, *always* admit of dichotomic analysis; *e.g.* *devadūtaḥ*, "messenger of the gods," is a closed connection:  $\widehat{a\ b}$ . In general, subordinate conjunctions will mark the apperceptive connections, coördinate the associative. In primitive thinking (*e.g.* in that of children) and imaginative compositions (*e.g.* in poetry) associations predominate, in scientific thinking the apperceptive processes rule.

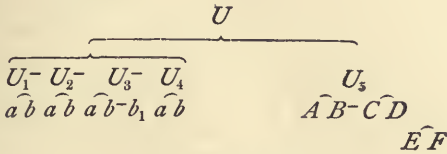
Dr. Boucke, of the University of Michigan, has entered upon an historical examination of the German and English literatures from this point of view and has formulated a number of types of sentence structure.<sup>1</sup> These are as follows:<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Jl. of Germ. Phil.* IV (1902), pp. 389-420.

<sup>2</sup> The symbol U means "unit of thought." All other letters represent subject or predicate.  $\widehat{a\ b\ A\ B}$  symbolizes an ascending sentence (subordinate clauses first),  $\widehat{\begin{matrix} a\ b \\ c\ d \end{matrix}}$  symbolizes a descending sentence (main clause first).

I. ASSOCIATIVE.

- 1) primitive :  $U_1^- U_2^- U_3^-$
- 2) intuitive :  $\widehat{a} \widehat{b}$   
 $\widehat{c} \widehat{d} \widehat{d}_1^- \widehat{d}_2^- \widehat{d}_3$   
 $\widehat{e} \widehat{f} \widehat{f}_1$
- 3) combining :



II. APPERCEPTIVE.

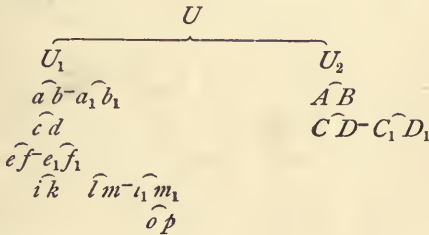
- 1) isolating [a) simple, b) ascending, c) descending] :

- a)  $\widehat{a} \widehat{b}$       b)  $\widehat{a} \widehat{b} \widehat{A} \widehat{B}$       c)  $\widehat{a} \widehat{b}$   
 $\widehat{c} \widehat{d}$

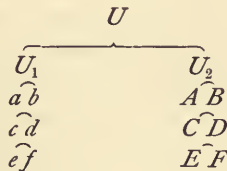
- 2) narrative :

- a)  $\widehat{a} \widehat{b} \widehat{b}_1 \widehat{A} \widehat{B} \widehat{B}_1$       b)  $U_1^- U_2$   
 $\widehat{a} \widehat{b}$   
 $\widehat{c} \widehat{d}$

- 3) interlocked :



- 4) analytical :



- 5) synthetical [a) ascending, b) descending] :

- a)  $U_1 \widehat{U}_2$       b)  $U_1$   
 $\widehat{U}_2$

For a description of these types we must refer to Dr. Boucke's admirable paper, and limit ourselves to a few very general statements. Types I, 2) and I, 3) take their essential characteristics from the two main types of imagination, the passive and the active (or intuitive and combining) respectively. In II, 4) and II, 5) are reflected the two more complex apperceptive processes, analysis and synthesis, while II, 2) and II, 3) show an apperceptive groundwork with an intermingling of associative elements, II, 3) being the more complex. The differences between I, 1), II, 1), and II, 5) lie not simply in the organization of the unit of thought itself, but perhaps even more in the relations between successive units, the first showing open connections, the last closed connections, the other relative disconnectedness or isolation. A very good concrete notion of literary style that is based upon the predominating associative form of thought (the primitive type) is given by the following passage from Reuter's *Stromtid*, cited by Dr. Boucke (p. 395): "So Hawermann sat there and his hands were folded and his honest blue eyes turned upward and a more beautiful light was mirrored in them than that of God's sun. Then a little maiden came running up and laid some daisies in his lap and his prayerfully uplifted hands sank and were thrown round the child: it was his child — and he rose up from the bench and took his child on his arm and in his hand he had the flowers and went with his child along the path down the garden." Examples of the isolating type will be cited below.

On undertaking the study of the Latin sentence, we meet at once several conditions which make the problem somewhat different from that of the student of modern languages. In the first place it appears to be quite generally accepted as true that the ancient languages, particularly Latin, make extensive use of connecting particles which bring out clearly and distinctly the relations existing between the successive units of thought, while the modern languages, the French in particular, leave those relations unexpressed.<sup>1</sup> If this is true, we should expect to find types I, 1) II, 1), and

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that this reputed difference is merely formal.

II, 5) rarely employed in Latin, while I, 2), I, 3), and II, 2) would prevail. We cannot here take up this question in detail, but it will appear from the following pages that type II, 1) is far from uncommon in Latin.

A second characteristic of the Latin language, in which it differs decidedly from the modern languages of Europe belonging to the Indo-European group, is found in its pronounced attributive character as opposed to the predominately predicative character of the latter.<sup>1</sup> This results in a great increase in the importance and complexity of the minor elements of the sentence.<sup>2</sup> In fact the distinctive character of a Latin sentence may be more clearly reflected in them than in the relations between the primary (major) elements. Sometimes an attributive element, either by virtue of its dominating character or complexity, attains an importance equal to or greater than that of a subordinate clause. Furthermore such an attributive member or some part of it is apt, like any other element of a sentence, to awaken a train of associative additions. The main framework of a sentence may thus almost entirely disappear in the network of subordinate elements.<sup>3</sup> The student of Latin sentence structure is constrained by these conditions to examine all the minor elements with special care, with much greater care perhaps than would yield profitable returns to the student of the modern sentence.<sup>4</sup> A con-

<sup>1</sup> On the general distinction between attributive and predicative structure, see Wundt, *Völkerps.* I, vol. ii, ch. 7, § V, 3 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The *major* elements of the sentence are those taken account of in the above formulæ, *i.e.* 1) main and subordinate clauses, 2) subject and predicate. All others are minor.

<sup>3</sup> Whether this is a stylistic merit or defect, will, of course, depend upon the clearness or muddiness of an author's thought.

<sup>4</sup> In this respect the Sanskrit stands on the same basis as the Latin. An admirable example of attributive structure is afforded by the following sentence (*Hitopadeśaḥ* 2, 4): ityālocya (gerund) tena (*sc.* sīhena) grāmaḥ gatvā (gerund) dadhikarṇanāmā bidālo māśādyāhārena saṭoṣya (gerund) prayatnād ānya (gerund) svakandare dhṛtaḥ (participle). Translated *ad litteram*: "By the lion thus having reflected, having gone to a village, having won the confidence (*sc.* of a cat), having carefully led it (*sc.* to his den) the cat kept (*sc.* was)." Contrast with this version the following idiomatic English translation with predominating predicative form: "(The lion) thus reflecting went to a village, won the confidence of (literally 'satisfied') the cat Curd-ear by meat and other food, then led him carefully to his den and kept him there."



crete example will make this clear. Post emensos insuperabilis expeditionis eventus languentibus partium animis, quas periculorum varietas (*a*) fregerat (*b*) et laborum, nondum tubarum cessante clangore vel milite locato per stationes hibernas, fortunae saevientis procellae (*A*) tempestates alias rebus infudere (*B*) communibus per multa illa et dira facinora Caesaris Galli, qui (*C*) ex squalore imo miseriarum in aetatis adultae primitiis ad principale culmen insperato saltu pro-  
 vectus ultra terminos potestatis delatae procurrens asperitate nimia cuncta foedebat (*D*).<sup>1</sup> How inadequate would be the conception of this sentence given by the following formula, which takes account of the major elements only!



A third fundamental question is whether in general the works of Roman literature are sufficiently spontaneous to admit the application of tests which make assumptions as to the form an author's thought assumed before it was written down in the words in which we have it now. Without entering upon a detailed examination of this question, we may justly make the following statements. Many lines of evidence converge to prove that, while such a test may not profitably be applied to a rhetorical writer like Cicero — at least not to all of his works — yet there are authors who do exhibit a high degree of spontaneity. Witness Varro, Petronius, Tacitus, Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, not to mention many of the Christian writers. Again the decidedly rhetorical character of a composition does not necessarily affect (*i.e.* modify) the backbone or groundwork of the author's sentences, but may be concerned chiefly with minor details of phraseology, leaving the relations between the larger or even smaller elements quite undisturbed, and so not obscuring the original organization of the thought. For example, the *clausulae rhetoricae* so extensively used ordinarily involve nothing more than the choice of a different word or an alteration of the order of

<sup>1</sup> Ammianus Marcel. 14, 1, 1.



words at the close of a period or colon. Furthermore, writers who, like Seneca of the school of modernists under the early empire, developed a tendency to the use of short, pithy sentences may, as will appear in the course of this paper, show marked individual traits in the inner structure of such sentences and in their interrelations. The same is true conversely of writers like Velleius Paterculus (a notorious slave of rhetoric) and Pliny the Elder, who sometimes attempt elaborate periods. The student who approaches the study of sentence structure from the point of view of the mental processes involved in it ought therefore to find in the Roman literature a fruitful field.

The number of types described by Dr. Boucke is, of course, not final, and we may at the outset point out another distinctively marked type common in Roman authors which has not been recorded as current among the moderns. A good example is found in the third chapter of Tacitus' *Dialog on Orators*: adeo te tragoediae istae non satiant ( $\widehat{a\ b}$ ), quominus omissis orationum et causarum studiis omne tempus modo circa Medeam, ecce nunc circa Thyestem consumas ( $\widehat{c\ d}$ ), cum te tot amicorum causae, tot coloniarum et municipiorum clientelae in forum vocent ( $\widehat{e\ f}$ ), quibus vix suffeceris ( $\widehat{g\ h}$ ), etiam si non novum tibi ipse negotium importasses ( $\widehat{i\ j}$ ), ut Domitium et Catonem, id est nostras quoque historias et Romana nomina ( $\widehat{k\ l}$ ) Graeculorum fabulis adgregares ( $\widehat{m\ n}$ ).

$$\begin{array}{c} \widehat{a\ b} \\ \widehat{c\ d} \\ \widehat{e\ f} \\ \widehat{g\ h} \\ \widehat{i\ j} \\ \widehat{k\ l} \\ \widehat{m\ n} \end{array}$$

In general character it resembles Dr. Boucke's analytic type (II, 4), and might perhaps be described as an analytic form with descending construction. Such a sentence may involve any number of successive bisections (analyses) of the unit of thought and its elements, from two or three up to the point at

which the unit passes beyond the range of consciousness possible to the writer. Sentences involving three or four such analyses are not uncommon. The type differs from II, 4) in not involving a primary bisection of the unit of thought into two large sub-units. This fact carries with it two consequences of sufficient importance to justify us in setting up the form as a distinct type. On the emotional side sentences of this type lack the element of tension that necessarily accompanies the analysis of the first sub-unit of type II, 4), as also the feeling of relaxation that sets in at the beginning of the analysis of the second. This alternation of tension and relaxation is, of course, an important factor in style. On the ideational side the smooth and continuous forward movement that attends the organization of the sentence, together with the absence of a fixed terminus up to which the analysis must proceed before the relation of the elements to each other becomes clear, make it possible for the author to break off at various points without causing a violent or even noticeable anacoluthon. This gives to the type a certain looseness or freedom which lays it particularly open to the intrusion of associative additions. Such additions yield two sub-varieties of this type. (a) If after the completion of the associative addition or additions the analysis of the complete idea is again taken up, we obtain a type bearing the same relation to the interlocked (II, 3) that the type just described bears to the analytic (II, 4):

$$\begin{array}{c} a\widehat{b} \\ c\widehat{d}-e\widehat{f}f_1 \\ i\widehat{j} \qquad g\widehat{h} \\ k\widehat{l} \end{array}$$

(b) If there is no return to the prior idea we obtain a frustum of a sentence plus a closely related associative addition. Three specific forms which such associative additions assume are the correcting *quamquam* and *si* clauses, and in many cases those loosely attached clauses introduced by a relative pronoun that may be rendered into English by a copulative conjunction plus a personal or demonstrative pronoun.

A number of such sentences occur in Tacitus, — chiefly, however, in the *Dialog*, — notwithstanding that author's strong tendency toward the isolating and synthetic types. Similar associative additions occur occasionally in the second half of ascending sentences of the analytic type (II, 4). The second chapter of the *Dialog* offers an illustration : *nam postero die*, etc., to the end of the chapter.<sup>1</sup> The passage begins as an ascending sentence of the analytic type, but no sooner does the organization of the second sub-unit begin with the words *venerunt*, etc., than at the mention of *Aper* and *Secundus* the author passes off into a statement of his own friendly feelings toward them, which in turn suggests the hostile attitude of others, their criticism of the two orators, and the refutation of that criticism. Only after all this has been disposed of does Tacitus come back to the prior idea, and then in an entirely new sentence beginning with an *igitur* ("to resume") *ut intravimus*, etc., a repetition of the thought of *venerunt*, etc., which clearly betrays the associative character of the intervening statements. One should not be surprised to find associative additions thus bearing the outward garb of apperceptive elements, because the apperceptive tendencies in the Indo-European languages as a class are so strong that their mechanical devices and schematic forms are forced even on associative additions.

Among the Roman authors Tacitus is distinguished as being one of the most spontaneous, most indifferent to the rules of rhetoric, and most individual. His uniquely organized mind, his strong individuality, his enthusiastic devotion to his work, and his serious purpose in writing, all combine to give his works a special value to the student of sentence structure.

Tacitus possessed an intensely emotional nature. This is clearly brought out in Nipperdey's masterly characterization of the style of Tacitus, to be found in the introduction to his edition of the *Annals*. Such natures naturally tend to ex-

<sup>1</sup> What is ordinarily printed as a separate sentence beginning *nam et Secundus* is really an associative addition to the preceding clause. One must not lay too much stress on punctuation.

press themselves either in exclamatory (emotional) sentences or in an associative succession of vivid pictures. But when the purpose of the utterance has its origin in certain intellectual motives, there results a form of mental activity that is a kind of compromise having two very marked characteristics: first, the absence of associative additions overrunning or breaking down the unit of thought, and, second, the absence of any great amount of apperceptive organization. The resulting literary form will be a series of short sentences showing little complexity and following each other without connecting particles; for the apperceptive tendencies are so held in abeyance, as it were, by the emotions that the relations between the ideas do not come out clearly.<sup>1</sup> This type is not very frequently used by Tacitus in its extreme form, such as it assumes on the lips of excited messengers and in sensational newspaper headlines. Examples, however, do occur now and then, especially, yet not exclusively, in descriptions of battles. See *Historics*, 2, 15, nec Vitelliani quamquam victi quievere: accitis auxiliis securum hostem ac successu rerum socordius agentem invadunt. caesi vigiles, perrupta castra, trepidatum apud navis, donec sidente paulatim metu, occupato iuxta colle defensi, mox inrupere. atrox ibi caedes. . . .

Formula: <sup>2</sup>

$$\widehat{a}\widehat{b} \mid \widehat{a}\widehat{b} \mid \widehat{a}\widehat{b} \mid \widehat{a}\widehat{b} \mid \widehat{a}\widehat{b} \mid ab$$

$\widehat{c}\widehat{d}$

Even more striking is *Agricola* 38, 1-13, the formula of which runs:

$$\widehat{a}\widehat{b} \mid \widehat{a}\widehat{b} \mid (\widehat{a}\widehat{b}) \mid (\widehat{a}\widehat{b})\widehat{b}_1 \mid (\widehat{a}\widehat{b})\widehat{b}_1 \mid (\widehat{a}\widehat{b})\widehat{b}_1 \mid \widehat{a}\widehat{b} \mid \widehat{a}\widehat{b} \mid \widehat{a}\widehat{b} \mid$$

$\widehat{c}\widehat{d}$

$$\widehat{a}\widehat{b} \mid \widehat{a}\widehat{b} \mid \widehat{a}\widehat{b}$$

In dealing with Tacitus, one of the first questions to suggest itself is naturally, whether the structure of his sentences shows any shifting of type corresponding to the changes in vocabulary, syntax, etc., which have already been made the

<sup>1</sup> See Wundt, *Völkerps.* I, vol. ii, ch. 7, § V, 5 extr. (= p. 354, 2d ed.).

<sup>2</sup> The perpendicular stroke indicates the isolating character of the passage.



subject of elaborate investigations. Such a difference does actually appear. Its nature and explanation, if I correctly interpret Tacitus, are as follows: The passages just cited, which are examples of the prevailing type of sentence found in Tacitus — a special form of the isolating type — are characterized by an emotional tone peculiar to strong feeling under control (cf. *supra*). The intensity of the feeling involved and the extent of the apperceptive control may vary widely, and this variation will be reflected in the greater or less predominance at different times of the apperceptive and associative tendencies. Any increase in the emotional element without a corresponding increase in the apperceptive control will result in a tendency toward a looser connection between the psychical elements, and eventually the structure of the sentences will pass over into one of the associative types. Conversely, a relatively greater apperceptive control will give the sentences a tendency toward the more elaborate apperceptive types; and this tendency to organize the thought will be revealed in the presence of attributive elements in increasing number, or even, instead of them, more elaborate predicative members. An increase in the intensity of both emotions and apperceptive control will manifest itself in an increasing number of brief sentences and a tendency toward attributive rather than predicative forms.

The works of Tacitus, when examined from the point of view here taken, fall into three groups: 1. The *Dialog*. 2. The *Germania*, *Agricola*, and *Histories*. 3. The *Annals*. The kinship between the last two groups is, as would be expected, closer than that between the first and either one of the others. The sentences in the *Dialog* show the most elaborate organization. This is no doubt due not only to the lower emotional tone, but also in a certain degree to a conscious effort to imitate the Ciceronian style. In the *Dialog* only one-fourth of the sentences are simple sentences (*i.e.* sentences with a single primary analysis), four-tenths show two such analyses, and the remaining thirty-five per cent show still higher organization. In the *Histories* the converse of these conditions is found, nearly seven-tenths of the sentences



being simple sentences, while over three-tenths show only two main analyses, a very small number showing three or more subordinate clauses. The *Germania* and *Agricola* show a somewhat smaller proportion of simple sentences, and a somewhat higher degree of organization. If, as is usual with those who study the style of Tacitus, we should be guided in our investigation by the assumption that his later works exhibit the more distinctively Tacitean peculiarities in a more marked way, the extreme form appearing in his latest work, the *Annals*, we should expect the *Annals* to show an increase in the proportion of simple sentences and a decrease in elaborateness of organization. But we must not allow ourselves to be unduly influenced by the chronological sequence of any author's works. It *may* be important, or it may be of trifling moment; and in just this particular is seen one of the great advantages of approaching the subject from the point of view urged in this paper, for the attention is primarily fixed upon the fundamental question as to the character of the mental processes reflected in a given work, and the time element is relegated to a subordinate place. Now what do we really find on examining the *Annals*? We find that the sentences on an average show a greater complexity both as regards the predicative and the attributive elements, considerably less than half the number belonging to the simpler type, — a *much smaller* proportion than is found in the *Histories*. And this is precisely what we should expect. For if the emotional tone played as important a part in Tacitus's style as it appears to have played, we should expect to see less evidence of it in the *Annals* than in the *Histories*, since the latter are *historiae* in the true Roman sense of the word, *i.e.* a history of the writer's own times, and they describe events not far removed from those in which Domitian, non iam per intervalla ac spiramenta temporum, sed continuo et velut uno ictu rem publicam exhaustit, — events that must have moved Tacitus more deeply than those described in the *Annals*, which were more remote from him both in time and interest.

What is here said of the style of Tacitus should be supplemented by the further statement that there is a decided syn-

thetic tendency in Tacitus's thought. The nature of this tendency and its effect upon style are clearly brought out by Dr. Boucke, who draws an instructive parallel between Tacitus and Emerson in this particular.<sup>1</sup>

An interesting and instructive comparison may here be made between Tacitus and Juvenal. Both have a strong emotional nature, both show clearly the influence of this upon their sentences, both have themselves given in their own words the clue to their interpretation. Tacitus writes *sine ira et studio*; with Juvenal *facit indignatio versus*. In Tacitus the emotion is under control, and we get the type just described; Juvenal gives rein to his emotions, and writes in a predominatingly associative form.

A second figure belonging to the early empire, Lucius Annaeus Seneca the Younger, like Tacitus, has left his personality clearly impressed upon his style — and this notwithstanding the distinct rhetorical tinge which his works exhibit throughout. The study of Seneca is on the whole simpler than that of Tacitus, because he employed essentially the same type of sentence from his earliest writings to his latest. His sentences resemble those of Tacitus in some ways. In particular both have a remarkable clearness and distinctness of apperception, by which is meant that the ideas are in themselves clearly apperceived and that each is sharply marked off from the other. These qualities make the sentences of both writers brief and concise. Yet a close comparison of the two reveals some marked differences between them. In the first place Seneca's range of consciousness is much narrower than that of Tacitus. He grasps much fewer elements at once. Consequently the single impressions are more striking and intense, the sentences average much shorter, and show even less organization. In the second place the synthetic tendency in Seneca is decidedly less marked. This is shown in the more frequent use he makes of connecting particles and in the presence of predicative members (subordinate clauses) in contrast with the numerous attributive elements found in Tacitus. Consistent with the general character of

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 407 f.



renascentur ( $- \cup - | - \cup$ ), temperemus ( $- \cup | - \cup$ ), toto removeamus ( $- \cup \cup | - \cup =$  the Ciceronian *esse videatur*), malae rei temperamentum est ( $- \cup - | - \cup - | - \cup -$ ), adnitamur modo ( $- \cup -$ ), etc. The recurrence of these familiar cadences again and again at the close of sentences can have had no other effect than to accentuate the close of the sentence and so direct attention to it. Thus the individual sentences are marked off with greater distinctness and sharpness and the degree of their isolation enhanced. Of course, one could hardly suppose that the use of such cadences could in itself develop an isolating style. But where both the tendency to use *clausulae* and the isolating style are present, each enhances the effect of the other and develops in the writer an ever-increasing facility which may eventually become almost automatic. The skill which Seneca developed in the use of *clausulae* is shown by the infrequency with which he disturbs the natural order of words at the close of his sentences. In this respect he stands in marked contrast with Cicero and Nepos. It is furthermore worthy of note that both the *clausulae* and the isolating sentence are characteristic of the Asiatic school.

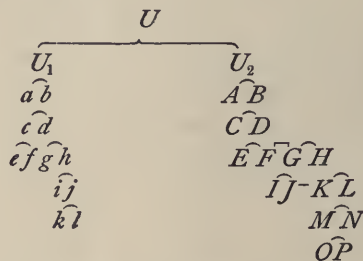
The sentence structure of Seneca is closely paralleled by that of Cato the Elder, judging from both the *de Agri Cultura* and the fragments of his orations. His narrow field of consciousness and his clear and distinct apperceptive power make each concept stand out sharply.<sup>1</sup> Some few subordinate clauses are found (temporal, conditional, purpose), but they are always brief and concise. The successive units of thought are, however, seldom compared, and the relations between them less frequently grasped than in Seneca. See the fragment of his oration against Thermus preserved in Gellius, 10, 3, 17,  $\frac{\widehat{ab}}{\widehat{cd}} | \widehat{ab}-b_1 | \widehat{ab} | \widehat{ab} | \overline{a\ o} | \overline{a\ o} | \overline{a\ o} \widehat{b}-ab |$

<sup>1</sup> Incidentally it may be said that to this was doubtless due in large measure the fact that later grammarians were led by the study of his vocabulary to collect lists of synonyms from his works. See Isidor, *Differentiarum sive de Proprietate Sermonum*, ii, *praefatio* 5, 10 (M). The same tendency of mind led Cato to make his collection of *ἀποφθέγματα καὶ γνῶμολογίαι*, an anthology of pithy sayings gathered from other writers. Many of the acts of Cato's public life reflect this same quality of mind.



$\widehat{a}(b)$  (ubi societas?) |  $\widehat{a}(b)$ , etc. In some of his fragments, where the emotional tone is calmer, associative elements are found. Compare, for example, with the passage just quoted the sentence, scio solere plerisque hominibus in rebus secundis atque prolixis atque prosperis animum excellere, atque superbiam atque ferociam augescere atque crescere.<sup>1</sup> The strong individuality reflected in Cato's sentence structure forces us to conclude, that, however much Roman editors may have modernized his phraseology, they did not materially alter the groundwork of the style in the *de Agri Cultura*.

A comparison of the sentence structure of Cato and Varro shows clearly how much in style depends upon the author's type of mind and how little may depend upon the subject-matter. To the strongly marked isolating style of Cato, the equally strong analytic tendency seen in Varro's *Res Rusticae* stands in sharp contrast. Varro's field of consciousness is wide, and a multiplicity of minor elements enter into his sentences. When most Varronian we have sentences represented by formulae like the following:



The type is in complete harmony with the careful and systematic analysis to which Varro subjected the subject-matter of his works.<sup>2</sup> Sentences like the above are, of

<sup>1</sup> Apud Gellium, 6, 3, 14.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the elaborate analyses descending sometimes almost to formalism and schematism which a table of contents of his *Antiquitates* shows. Similar analytic treatment of his theme is shown in numerous passages in the *de Lingua Latina*, especially at the beginnings of the books and larger subdivisions of the matter, where he is dealing with the general aspects of his subject rather than with the details.

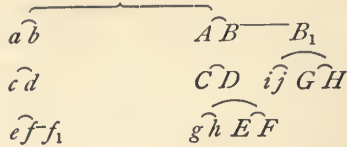


course, not found on every page of Varro, but in general the organization of the sentences must be considered as quite elaborate, especially in view of the fact that the *Res Rusticae* are written in the form of the Platonic dialog, which is much less favorable to such a treatment than is the Aristotelian.

Quintilian is deserving of special attention as a notable example of a medium apperceptive type. The units of thought are of moderate size. The relations of their elements to each other as well as the relations of successive units are clearly grasped. Associative additions are frequent, but seldom overrun the thought or crowd out other elements. The sentences of Quintilian accordingly often bear a resemblance to the narrative type. In the following passage it happens that the associative processes are little in evidence: *Institutio*, 3, 6, 81-83: *sed non statim, quod esse manifestum est, etiam quid sit apparet. hoc quoque constituto novissima qualitas superest neque his exploratis aliud est ultra. his infinitae quaestiones, his finitae continentur: horum aliqua in demonstrativa, deliberativa, iudiciali materia utique tractatur: haec rursus iudiciales causas et rationali parte et legali continent: neque enim ulla iuris disceptatio nisi finitione, qualitate, coniectura potest explicari. . . . discant igitur ante omnia, quadripertitam in omnibus causis esse rationem, quam primam intueri debent qui acturus sit. Formula:*

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \widehat{a}\widehat{b}\widehat{a}\widehat{b}\widehat{c}\widehat{d}\widehat{a}\widehat{b} & | & \widehat{a}\widehat{b} & | & \widehat{a}\widehat{b}\widehat{a}\widehat{b} & . . . & \widehat{a}\widehat{b} \\ \widehat{c}\widehat{d}\widehat{e}\widehat{f} & & & & \widehat{c}\widehat{d} & & \widehat{c}\widehat{d} \\ & & & & & & \widehat{e}\widehat{f} \\ & & & & & & \widehat{g}\widehat{h} \end{array}$$

The discourse moves on in a calm and steady flow, perspicuous and for the most part carefully articulated. The sentences seldom pass beyond the average normal range of consciousness. Here we have, to use Quintilian's own words, his *nuda praeceptorum traditio*. This is Quintilian the *man*. In the proemiums to his different books we see traces of Quintilian the *rhetorician*. Note only the following: 1, *proem.* 5, *ego cum existimem, etc.*



See also 3, *proem.* 2-3. Quintilian shows good taste in employing comparatively few of these overloaded sentences.

There appears to be no Roman writer, at least before the third century A.D., who was addicted to the use of the interlocked form (Boucke's type, II, 3). Those who do employ long sentences either follow the types described above (pp. 39-40) or the strictly analytic type (II, 4). This is plainly due to the same general characteristic of the Roman mind, which made it possible for them to create the two most remarkable products of that nation, the Roman legal system and the organization of the Roman Catholic Church. However, we do find sporadic examples of the interlocked type. Velleius Paterculus and Pliny the Elder, for example, occasionally become entangled in their own web of thought when they attempt elaborate periods. A single sentence from Velleius Paterculus (2, 18, 1-3) will be sufficient to illustrate the lengths to which he could go in extravaganza. Even more marvellously constructed than this sentence is the one which fills sections 143 and 144 of the seventh book of Pliny's *Natural History*.

The Roman historians of the classical period are representatives of a style approaching very closely to Dr. Boucke's narrative form (II, 2). In Caesar, however, the associative elements do not play a very important part. He is somewhat akin to Quintilian. This is not true, however, of Book viii, written by Hirtius.

This rapid and rather sketchy review of the essential qualities of the sentence structure of five writers who possessed remarkably strong individualities will perhaps show in a general way what the method of study here followed would accomplish. Within the general field a number of subordinate questions arise. Some of these, both because of the inadequacy of our sources of information concerning the

lives of the writers and also because of the small part of their writings that has been preserved to us, can never be solved. Others have been briefly suggested or touched upon in the course of this paper. Do different schools of stylists show general differences in sentence structure? Did any general development of the type of sentences employed take place in the centuries between Plautus and Isidor? Such a development can be clearly traced in German literature. Does the type of sentence structure show any development of the mode of thought, in the case of those authors whose extant works extend over long periods of time? Does the test of sentence structure throw any light on the authenticity of writings of questioned authorship? Lastly, it should be the main object of one who deals with this subject to determine so far as possible whether and in how far the qualities of mind shown in an author's sentences can be correlated with those shown in his actions otherwise, thus bringing the style in relation to the man himself.<sup>1</sup> This is, of course, difficult in the cases of writers concerning whose lives we know little. The great advantage, however, of the general method followed in this paper is that it is individualistic — that the style of each author is approached as a distinct and different problem. The method does not seek, as does the Nägelsbachian, to impose a group of artificial (rhetorical) forms upon a writer, but on the contrary recognizes an unlimited number of types which it would abstract from the writer's sentence structure.

<sup>1</sup> Professor Fred Newton Scott, of the University of Michigan, has undertaken the study of the rhythms of Walt Whitman from much the same point of view, and has obtained interesting and valuable results.

III. — *The Reputed Influence of the Dies Natalis in determining the Inscription of Restored Temples.*

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IN an article which appears in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. IX (1905), pp. 427-449, I have endeavored to reconstruct the policies adopted by Augustus and Hadrian in inscribing the public buildings which were restored under their auspices. Reference is there made to Marquardt's assertion<sup>1</sup> that in the restoration of a temple the emperors sought to avoid the necessity of adding to the traditional *dies natalis* a second anniversary of dedication, by preserving the inscription of the founder and passing over in silence their own repairs.

I took exception in my previous paper to the statement of Marquardt, on the ground that he failed to recognize the possibility of variation in policy, and hence based a sweeping inference on the practice of Augustus. He writes "die Kaiser," but quotes only the three stock passages that treat of the method of the Princes. One point, nevertheless, I left unchallenged; namely, the supposition that the *dies natalis* wielded a preservative power in favor of the original dedicatory inscription, and thus became a factor in moulding imperial policy. This question I purpose to discuss in this paper. The matter at issue has to do with motives rather than with methods, although it is necessary to fix the ultimate causes lying back of imperial procedure by a study of the facts. Let me confess at the outset that my attitude toward Marquardt's hypothesis is polemical.

In one respect the views which Marquardt held concerning the *dies natalis*, when he made his suggestion, have been superseded. A examination of the context in *Römische Staatsverwaltung* will show, the author accepted the rule first laid

<sup>1</sup> *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, vol. III, p. 274.



down by Jordan,<sup>1</sup> to the effect that the anniversary of the foundation as originally fixed survived all vicissitudes of restoration and rededication. At the most a subordinate festival commemorating the new dedication might be inserted in the Fasti. This doctrine is no longer orthodox. Several years after the publication of Jordan's article Emil Aust<sup>2</sup> attacked his thesis and pointed out various instances in which, as a consequence of restoration, the day of dedication was changed. This apparently was always the case when a temple was rebuilt *a solo*. Wissowa,<sup>3</sup> whose opinion at the present time carries greatest weight in questions of this sort, adopts the view of Aust.

Nevertheless this amendment in fact does not materially affect the spirit of Marquardt's contention according to which the sanctity attached to the annual cult celebration actually dictated imperial procedure in rejecting the right of inscription on a restored temple. Indeed, if the regard in which the *dies natalis* was held can be supposed to have exerted any force as a controlling motive, even greater influence may be logically imputed to it. Marquardt inferred that the emperors felt bound to avoid the necessity of depriving the original anniversary of an undivided observance. If the Caesars paid such homage to the traditional festival, they would have been even more careful to refrain from any mode of inscription which might have consigned the old *dies* to oblivion and brought to pass the substitution of a new date of celebration in the Fasti. Therefore the possibility that desire to perpetuate the original anniversary of foundation may have modified the policy of the imperial restorer, retains all the right to consideration that it may ever have possessed.

In practice there were three methods of inscription to which any restorer, emperor or subject, might resort: (1) The inscription of the original builder was kept intact and alone. (2) The restorer kept the inscription of the founder,

<sup>1</sup> *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, vol. I, p. 235.

<sup>2</sup> *De aedibus sacris populi Romani inde a primis liberae reipublicae temporibus usque ad Augusti imperatoris aetatem Romae conditis*, Marburg, 1889, p. 42 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, p. 406; *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Munich, 1904, p. 146.



but added to it mention of his restoration. A variation of this method is presented by inscriptions of the form of *C.I.L.* III 709, VI 1718, XIII 1642, XIV 2216, where the restorer has inserted a reference to the work of the founder in his own inscription. (3) A restorer omitted all allusion to the building of a predecessor and wrote his own name alone in one of the typical formulae. Examples are to be found *passim* in the *Corpus*.

Now the second method, which provided for the retention of the name of the founder but did not deny to the restorer the right to commemorate his repairs, must have been considered a justifiable proceeding. The original builder was robbed of none of the prestige which the dedication had brought. On the other hand, it was only fair that the man who had saved the structure from total collapse should be granted whatever compensation a record of his services would offer. Reasons founded on *a priori* considerations, however, need not constitute the only data. Inscriptions of the type in question are numerous, as even a cursory search will show. We find them referring to the restoration of altars, temples, secular buildings, and statues.<sup>1</sup> Original dedicators and restorers from all ranks in life recorded their names and their operations. It is not uncommon to read that a restorer has reclaimed the monument of a kinsman and has duly set down the facts on the stone.<sup>2</sup> It would be absurd to entertain any suspicion of trespass in these cases. Evidently custom sanctioned the act of the ordinary restorer who subjoined his inscription in the fashion described.

There are also instances in plenty where an imperial restorer has not hesitated to commemorate a restoration on the work of a predecessor below the founder's inscription. Thus on the bridge over the Marrechia, near Rimini, Tiberius added his own inscription to that of Augustus.<sup>3</sup> It is instructive to recall the fact that Tiberius was one of the emperors

<sup>1</sup> A few examples are : III 1803, 2809, 2907 ; VI 103, 619, 940 ; VIII 15562 ; IX 3146.

<sup>2</sup> XI 3572.

<sup>3</sup> XI 367. Tiberius completed the work begun by Augustus.

who took pains to show great deference to the original builder; cf. Dio Cassius, 57, 10, 1-2: τὸν Αὔγουστον ἠγαλλεν . . . ὅτι τὰ τε οἰκοδομήματα ἃ προκατεβάλετο μὲν οὐκ ἐξετέλεσε δέ, ἐκποιῶν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐπέγραφέ σφισι. . . . τοῦτο δὲ τὸ κατὰ τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς οὐκ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις μόνοις τοῖς τοῦ Αὔγουστου ἔργοις ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι ὁμοίως. . . . ἔποιησε κ.τ.λ. Bridges partook, even though somewhat remotely, of the character of a personal memorial, as is well attested by the fact that Alexander Severus, according to his biographer (26, 11), kept the name of Trajan upon the bridges which that emperor had built, even when a thorough reconstruction was necessary. The inscriptions furnish no example of this type; but in restoring the aqueduct at Dyrrachium,<sup>1</sup> Alexander perpetuated the fame of Hadrian, the builder — a fact which may serve as a partial indication of his attitude. One is led to consider whether the biographer may not have bounded the loyalty of Alexander to his predecessors within too narrow confines, although understatement is, to be sure, a temptation to which the *Scriptores* succumb but seldom in treating topics of this nature.<sup>2</sup> In a similar fashion the emperors<sup>3</sup> who restored the aqueducts of the City often appended their names to the builder's inscription. Sometimes with a gratuitous conscientiousness the restorer inserted in his new titulus reference to the predecessor whose work was amply commemorated by the retention of the first inscription.

This form of inscription is typical of the restorations carried out in Rome by Septimius Severus and the members of his house. Compare *C.I.L.* VI 883, 896, 935, 938, 997. To illustrate still further the currency of the method it will be sufficient to add in outline the following examples: VI 1275, M. CALPURNIUS FACIUNDUM CURAVIT . . . TRAIANUS RESTITUIT; XI 2999, CLAUDIUS FECIT . . . VESPASIANUS RESTITUIT; X 3832, COLONIA . . . FECIT . . . HADRIANUS RESTITUIT ET COLUMNAS ADIECIT . . . ANTONINUS DEDICAVIT.

<sup>1</sup> III 709.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Imperial Methods of Inscription*, etc., *AJA*, vol. IX (1905), p. 445.

<sup>3</sup> VI 1244-1246, Augustus, Caracalla, Titus; VI 1256-1258, Claudius, Vespasian, Titus.

Thus, by establishing the prevalence of this mode of procedure, the inscriptions themselves go far to justify its propriety. Corroborative testimony is afforded by the literature. According to Dio Cassius, 60, 6, 8-9, Claudius placed on the new scene of the Stone Theatre an inscription which, *mutatis mutandis*, is reproduced in the last example quoted above. First came the name of the builder — ἀπέδωκε δὲ καὶ τῷ Πομπηίῳ τὴν τοῦ θεάτρου μνήμην; there followed the name of Tiberius, who had undertaken to restore the stage after its destruction in his reign. Lastly, Claudius, the dedicator, added an inscription of his own. In so doing Claudius disregarded a precedent which had been set by the Princeps and duly followed by Tiberius. Augustus himself tells us that he restored the building *sine ulla inscriptione nominis mei*. (*Mon. Anc.* 4, 10.) To this significant phrase I shall presently revert. Tiberius gave public notice of his purpose to preserve the name of the founder of the theatre. *Tac. Ann.* 3, 72, at Pompei theatrum igne fortuito haustum Caesar exstructurum pollicitus est . . . manente tamen nomine Pompei. There is no doubt that the emperor had in view the retention of Pompey's name alone. We know that the words *manentibus titulis* used by Suetonius, *Aug.* 31, imply *sine inscriptione nominis restitutoris*. According to Dio Cassius, 57, 10, 2, the predominant<sup>1</sup> policy of Tiberius was modelled on that of Augustus. In a passage in Velleius, 2, 130, Tiberius is said to have restored the theatre *magnifico animi temperamento*. These words of the eulogist refer, I believe, directly to the contemplated procedure of Tiberius, and point also to the conclusion that he acted with the most generous restraint.

Yet, in spite of the fact that Claudius departed from the policy of the first two emperors, we have no reason to suppose that his act betrayed the slightest eccentricity or that he was in any way poaching on Pompey's preserves. Indeed, the tone of Dio's narrative is distinctly laudatory. Claudius

<sup>1</sup> I use the word "predominant" advisedly. One must always reckon with the possibility that such references to the policy of the emperors as I have collected in this paper are based upon conspicuous instances only and are not as universally applicable as the words of the historian indicate. Cf. my examination of *Vit. Haar.* chap. 19 in *Imperial Methods of Inscription*, p. 441 ff.

gave back the statues of which Caligula had despoiled the cities, restored the Temple of Castor and Pollux to its original form, replaced the name of Pompey on the stage-building of the Stone Theatre, and added his own name "not because he had built the scene, but because he had dedicated it."<sup>1</sup> He was careful to confine his inscription to the only part of the theatre in which he could justly claim an interest — ἄλλω δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐνεκόλαψεν. The chapter ends in a similar vein with a reference to the modest department of the emperor at the dedicatory celebration.

A more explicit recognition of the right of a restorer to affix his inscription to a building in conjunction with the titulus of the founder is furnished by Suetonius, certainly no mean authority on antiquarian matters. In speaking of the buildings which Domitian restored after the fire of Titus, the biographer says: Plurima et amplissima opera incendio absumpta restituit in quis et Capitolium quod rursus arserat; sed omnia sub titulo tantum suo ac sine ulla pristini auctoris memoria (*Domit.* 5.)<sup>2</sup> The animus underlying this comment is unmistakable. Domitian is criticised not because he did not renounce entirely the right of inscription. Suetonius singles out for particular notice the fact that Domitian inscribed his own name *only*. We must, therefore, surmise that if Domitian had prefixed to his own inscriptions those of the original builders, he would not have overstepped the bounds of a proper policy according to contemporary opinion.

<sup>1</sup> I follow without hesitation Reiske's reading οὐχ ὅτι κατεσκεύασεν ἀλλ' ὅτι καθιέρωσεν. Boissevain approves this version, although he did not receive it into his text. The vulgate καὶ καθιέρωσεν does violence to all available data. κατασκευάζειν is Dio's regular word for *a solo reficere*. There is no ground for assuming a second conflagration in the few years subsequent to the completion of the building by Caligula (*Suet. Cal.* 21.). Had Dio supposed that Claudius built the stage anew, he must have accounted for the necessity of the act just as he does in referring to the restoration by Tiberius. Possibly οὐχ ὅτι καὶ κατεσκεύασεν was the original order—to hazard a conjecture of my own. The transposition was brought about by confusion with the common *non modo sed etiam* combination.

<sup>2</sup> For the bearing which this apparently neglected passage has upon the controversy concerning the date of the inscription of Agrippa on the Pantheon, cf. *AJA*, IX (1905), p. 449.



By means of this survey of the data I have sought to establish the fact that the method which I have classified as "second" was not employed sporadically in inscribing restored buildings, but was in vogue at all times and on all sorts of structures. To be sure, the inscriptions show no token of its use by the emperors on consecrated edifices until a relatively late period. Yet Augustus by his choice of words in the *Monumentum Ancyranum* showed plainly that he was conscious of the possibility of appending a notice of his repairs to the inscription of Catulus on the Capitol. I have previously quoted the phrase *sine ulla inscriptione nominis*, in which the Princeps alluded to his rejection of the right of inscription. If it had been merely a question of keeping the name of the founder instead of substituting his own, some expression like *manentibus titulis eorum qui opera fecerant* would have been the natural formula to use. Furthermore, the Stone Theatre, by a clever fiction, was dedicated by Pompey as a temple of Venus Victrix, and therefore stood in close relation to the cult and to the natal-day celebration on August 12.<sup>1</sup> Aulus Gellius, 10, 1, 7-9, indicates that the dedicatory inscription on the stage building served for the entire structure. Technically, therefore, the inscriptions placed by Claudius on the scene were located on a consecrated building. Lastly, Suetonius, in the passage just cited, recognizes no restrictions in the application of the method.

If an emperor desired to perpetuate the memory of a former builder, he had, it would seem, at his disposal two modes of procedure, each sanctioned by usage. The bearing of this conclusion upon the question at issue is, I hope, patent. The theory that the emperors looked first to the preservation of the exclusive sanctity of the *dies natalis* fails to explain a really significant fact of policy, the feature of imperial conduct upon which the historians lay particular stress; namely, why the emperors chose oftentimes to refrain from subjoining to the original inscription a second, thereby rejecting an indubitable prerogative. For, in a choice between the first two methods, considerations attendant on the

<sup>1</sup> Tertull. *de Spect.* 10; *C.I.L.* I<sup>2</sup>, p. 324.



*dies natalis* were equally negligible. If the restorer had elected to add an inscription of his own to the founder's titulus, alteration in the Fasti would no more have been an inevitable concomitant than if he had passed his work in silence. In neither case was the original dedication obscured. Whenever the Fasti register a shifting of the *dies natalis* or the addition of a subsidiary festival in consequence of the restoration of a temple, it is possible in nearly every case to show that the shrine in question passed through a reconstruction *a solo*. In this event a new dedication was, of course, the rule and the inscription of the founder was never retained.<sup>1</sup> The views of scholars differ as to the significance of the festivals referred to the Temple of the Dioscuri<sup>2</sup> and the Temple of Minerva on the Aventine.<sup>3</sup> One of the two celebrations in honor of Quirinus undoubtedly commemorates a restoration. The only question is, which is the date of foundation, February 17 or June 29?<sup>4</sup> The Forum Temple of Concord, the Shrine of Janus near the Theatre of Marcellus, the Temple of the Lares on the Sacred Way, also acquired new dates of celebration. In all these cases, irrespective of any perplexities attached to them, we can prove that a rebuilding occurred together with a new dedication and a new inscription. Thus, the temples of Quirinus, of Minerva, and of the Lares are classified in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*<sup>5</sup> as new buildings. I have shown that Augustus kept the name of the founder on none of these.<sup>6</sup> The temples of the Dioscuri, of Concord, and of Janus<sup>7</sup> were restored and dedicated by Tiberius. Dio Cassius expressly informs us that the edifices first named were dedicated under entirely new

<sup>1</sup> Except in cases of abnormal behavior such as that of Hadrian; cf. *AJA*, vol. IX (1905), p. 448.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Aust, *op. cit.* p. 43; Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus*, p. 217; Mommsen, *C.I.L.* I<sup>2</sup>, p. 308; Richter, *Top.* p. 86.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Aust, *op. cit.* p. 42; Wissowa, *op. cit.* p. 203; Mommsen, *op. cit.* p. 312; Richter, *op. cit.* p. 208.

<sup>4</sup> Aust, *op. cit.* p. 41; Wissowa, *op. cit.* p. 140; Mommsen, *op. cit.* p. 310; Richter, *op. cit.* p. 286.

<sup>5</sup> 4, 1-8.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 431.

<sup>7</sup> This building was begun by Augustus and finished by his successor; cf. *Tac. Ann.* 2, 49.

inscriptions; cf. *Hist. Rom.* 55, 27, 4; 56, 25, 1. On the Temple of Janus Tiberius probably wrote the name of Augustus in consonance with his usual policy; cf. Dio Cassius, 57, 10, 1. At any rate the name of C. Duilius, the founder, was not repeated. I need not linger over certain doubtful cases cited by Aust, such as the Temple of Flora and the Temple of Consus, where the literature and the Fasti do not meet on common ground. Certainly available data allow us to lay down the law that a change in the *dies natalis* was accompanied by reconstruction of the building and obliteration of the name of the founder.

It is possible to go a step farther in criticising Marquardt's suggestion. As a matter of fact the status of the *dies natalis* need not have been conditioned on the preservation of the inscription of the dedicator. There was another means by which the stability of the festival could be secured even if the restorer desired to stand as sole sponsor for the temple. The ceremonies attendant on the new dedication had only to be celebrated on the annual festival. Thus the date of the new foundation would coincide with the old, no matter whose name was to be read on the architrave. This device was actually resorted to.<sup>1</sup> Yet the procedure of the emperors is scarcely so rigid as to indicate that they were affected by overweening concern to avoid tampering with the Fasti. If their attitude had been quite uncompromising, the arrangement desired could have been secured always by a postponement of the new dedication or by rushing the work on the building. It was simply a matter of adjustment. But the Fasti themselves, as we have just seen, prove that the imperial restorer frequently did not deem the game worth the candle.

In view of these facts it seems hardly credible that the emperors took serious cognizance of the *dies natalis* when they chose the method of inscription to pursue on a restored temple. Marquardt's interpretation of the motives of Augustus solely in terms of the *dies natalis* is inadequate, even if it is not to be dismissed entirely. As an element in forming

<sup>1</sup> Wissowa, *op. cit.*, p. 406.

the decision of the restorer its influence may be disregarded in comparison with another factor which Marquardt's explanation ignores. The prime consideration by which the emperors regulated their conduct in inscribing sacred edifices as well as secular, was what may be termed conveniently the commemorative impulse. The name of the original builder was identified in a memorial sense with his structure, which was thereby endowed with a monumental character. A decent homage to the rights of the founder thus appeared to be an act of homage, a pious obligation. The tribunal of public opinion to which even an emperor was amenable, took this point of view for granted in handing down its verdicts. Thus Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius went down to posterity as restorers who had displayed loyalty to the memory of the founder. Zonaras, 11, 17 (Dindorf, vol. III, p. 53), attributes to Vespasian a like policy.<sup>1</sup> Hadrian's biographer tells the same story of him. Even if the traditional estimate of his method must be modified, as I have shown elsewhere is probably the case, he, like the others mentioned, wished to show honor to the great men of former times.

We have seen in the case of Domitian that an emperor who transgressed the rules of chivalrous behavior did so in the face of public opinion and courted criticism. A passage in Ammianus Marcellinus, 27, 3, 7, depicts the popular view of an emperor who treated lightly the obligations resting upon a restorer. The historian is speaking of Lampadius, a certain prefect, who made the restoration of a building a pretext for placing his own inscription alone on the architrave and thus masquerading as the founder. The same shortcoming is ascribed to Trajan in the following words: *quo vitio laborasse Traianus dicitur princeps, unde eum herbam parietinam iocando cognominarunt.*<sup>2</sup> The word *vitium* is considered none too strong to characterize the conduct of

<sup>1</sup> Probably to be taken *cum grano salis* and not to be accepted as universally true.

<sup>2</sup> Space does not permit me to discuss here the correctness of this description of Trajan's policy. There is reason to believe that the criticism is uncalled for. It is merely as an index to the feeling which instigated the criticism that I wish to utilize the passage.

Trajan. In this connection it is not amiss to recall the fact that by the Code of Theodosius a prefect who omitted the inscription of an emperor on a restored building was liable to prosecution.<sup>1</sup> Thus what was a fault when the offender was an emperor became *lèse majesté* in the case of a presumptuous official. The will of the emperor was supreme and could be controlled neither by legal bar nor constitutional hindrance. Nevertheless, his course could not escape judgment in terms of the unwritten code based upon the universal recognition of the priority of claim which founders had established to their monuments. Consciousness of this fact may well have affected the policies of those emperors who held sincerely the belief with which Velleius credits Tiberius: *quidquid enim umquam claritudine eminuist, id veluti cognatum censet tuendum.*

The motives which controlled the practice of the emperors were, therefore, human and are intelligible in themselves. Those who followed the first method by preference chose it deliberately because it represented the ultragenerous policy. Although, as we have seen, the second method was approved in practice, it nevertheless fell short in popular estimate of the ideal procedure which involved self-effacement on the part of the restorer in favor of the founder. The emperors whose adherence to this latter policy was marked and constant, received favorable comment from the historians, as our citations have shown. There is a passage in the *Life of Septimius Severus*, chapter 23, which well illustrates the ordinary view of the two methods of inscription, although as a description of the emperor's policy it does not square with extant inscriptions<sup>2</sup> and doubtless harks back to a partisan source: *magnum vero illud in vita eius quod Romae omnes aedes publicas quae vitio temporum labebantur instauravit, nusquam prope suo nomine adscripto, servatis tamen ubique*

<sup>1</sup> Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung im römischen Kaiserreiche*, p. 164.

<sup>2</sup> As I have remarked previously (p. 55), the inscriptions from the City show that Severus and the members of his family usually added their names to the founder's inscription. The biographer would have us believe that this was the exception, not the rule.



titulis conditorum. The biographer's eulogy hinges on the fact that it was the well-nigh invariable habit of Severus to let his restorations go unrecorded. This was the height of magnanimity. The occasions on which the emperor did attach his name to the buildings of the City were lapses from a perfection of behavior which were rendered excusable only by the care which he took to preserve everywhere the name of the founder.



IV. — *The Ablative of Association.*<sup>1</sup>

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PRACTICALLY all recent investigators in the field of Indo-European case syntax agree in attributing to the Indo-European instrumental a sociative force, and in regarding the idea of means, which is so frequent a use of this case in most Indo-European languages, as developed from the idea of association. Those who reject these conclusions differ not in attributing another primitive 'Grundbegriff' to the Indo-European instrumental, but rather in refusing to attach to it any 'Grundbegriff' whatever.

The object of this paper cannot be to discuss the relative merits of these two views. Any such consideration, involving, as it does, fundamental principles of method in syntactical investigation, would, of necessity, take us far beyond the field of our present topic. I must therefore content myself with stating that my own conviction is at present firm that we are justified in attaching 'Grundbegriffe' to the chief inflectional forms of Indo-European, and that I am further in agreement with those who regard the Indo-European instrumental as having primarily a sociative force. My present purpose is to show that the range and frequency of the primitive sociative functions of the instrumental are much more extensive in Latin than is at present recognized. According to my observations it appears with verbs of joining, entangling, mixing, sharing, being attended, keeping company with, being accustomed, wedding, mating, piling, playing, changing and interchanging, agreeing, wrestling; also with adjectives of equality. Several, in fact most, of these categories, as will be indicated

<sup>1</sup> This investigation has had regard to the literature down to the time of Apuleius. While the lists of examples are quite full, it is not claimed that they are absolutely complete for all authors.

more fully later, unquestionably go back to the 'Ursprache.' I take the different categories up in order :

#### I. VERBS OF JOINING AND BEING JOINED.

These appear construed with the instrumental in Vedic (see Delbrück, *Altindische Syntax*, p. 131) and in Avestan (Hübschmann, *Casuslehre*, p. 255). The material in Latin is as follows :

*iungo* : *Leg. xii Tab.*, tignum iunctum aedibus vineave e concapi ne solvito ; *Cic. de Or.* i. 243, dicendi vis egregia summa festivitate et venustate coniuncta ; *ibid.* ii. 237, improbitas scelere iuncta ; *ibid.* iii. 55, quae vis est probitate iungenda summaque prudentia ; *id. Brut.* 162, defensione iuncta laudatio ; *id. ad Att.* ix. 10. 4, bellum iunctum miserrima fuga ; *Vell. Pat.* ii. 65. 3, consularem praetextam iungentem praetoria. In Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* v. 96, the Mss. read exspectatio speratarum voluptatum perceptarum memoria iungeretur. Madvig inserted *cum* before *perceptarum*, and most — possibly all — subsequent editors have followed him. The change seems to be unnecessary. Ebrard, *de Ablativi Locativi Instrumentali etc. Usu*, p. 618, cites *Lex. Iul. Munic.*, plostra bubus iumentisve iuncta, as an instance of this ablative, but *bubus* here may be dative. The dative is authenticated for Lucretius i. 713, iungentes terram liquori. The ablative with *cum* is also an alternative construction found as early as Lucretius, e.g. v. 438 ; vi. 1075.

*coniungo* : *Lucr.* ii. 743, nullo coniuncta colore ; *Cic. pro Cluentio*, 12, libido non solum dedecore verum etiam scelere coniuncta ; *id. pro Sest.* 132, civis coniunxit eodem periculo et crimine ; *id. Phil.* iii. 35, summa miseria est summo dedecore coniuncta ; *ps.-Virg. Ciris*, 40, coniunctum carmine nomen ; *Virg. Aen.* x. 653, ratis coniuncta crepidine saxi ; *Vitruv. de Arch.* x. 20. 2, tignum quo capreoli coniungantur. Besides the simple ablative, we find also the ablative with *cum*, e.g. *Lucr.* iii. 159 ; iv. 493. The dative also occurs, e.g. *Cic. de Off.* ii. 34, intellegentiae iustitia coniuncta. Hence numerous examples are ambiguous. Doubtless some of them are ablatives.

*confundo* : *Cic. de Div.* i. 118, quae (vis sentiens) est toto confusa mundo ; *ibid.* ii. 35, quae (vis divina) toto confusa mundo sit ; *Col. de Re Rustica*, x. 260, ingenuo confusa rubore rosa. The construction with *cum* appears as early as Cicero, e.g. *Timaecus*, 49, cum ignis

oculorum cum eo igni se confudit. The dative occurs in Ovid, *de Med. Fac.* 61, cornua pulvereae confusa farinae, and elsewhere. Hence passages like Horace, *Sat.* ii. 4. 67, *Ep.* ii. 1. 195, and others are ambiguous.

**contineo**: *Lex. Iul. Munic.* 53, semitam eo aedificio perpetuo continentem. I should also bring under this head Cic. *pro Marcello*, 22, tua salute contineri, 'is bound up with your safety.' But Cic. *pro Caecina*, 11, huic fundo continentia praedia, shows the dative, and assures the character of *pro Caec.* 15, fundo antiquo continens, and of *in Pis.* 11, continentis his funeribus dies.

**haereo**: Virg. *Aen.* x. 361, haeret pede pes; Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3. 205, haerentes litore; Ovid, *Met.* vi. 236, haeret cervice summa sagitta; 290, haerentia viscere tela; *ibid.* ix. 351, haerent radice pedes; *ibid.* xii. 184, haereat pectore res; Lucan, i. 507, limine haesit; *id.* vi. 210, haerentis cute hastas; 567, haerentem gutture; Sen. *Thy.* 548, haerere fratris aspectu; *id. Phaedra*, 1101, haesere biuges vulnere; *id. Oct.* 744, haerens amplexu mariti. But the dative also occurs, e.g. in Virg. *Aen.* iv. 73, haeret lateri letalis harundo; so often in poetry.

**cohaereo**: Ovid, *Am.* i. 4. 43, nec crure cohaere. The construction with *cum* also occurs as early as Cic. *Top.* 53, id cohaeret cum re; also the dative, e.g. Quint. iv. 2. 89, verae alicui rei cohaereat. Hence many passages are ambiguous, including those cited in Harper's Dict., s.v. II. A. 1, as datives, all of which may be ablatives.

**apto**: Stat. *Theb.* x. 309, aptatam cava testudine dextram percutit, gives us a sure instance of the ablative. Horace also has three examples which, though ambiguous, may belong here, viz. *Epodes*, 7. 1, cur dexteris aptantur enses conditi? *Odes*, ii. 12. 4, aptari citharae modis; *Ep.* i. 3. 12, fidibusne Latinis Thebanos aptare modos; and Propertius one, iii. 3. 35, haec carmina nervis aptat. The *Thes. Ling. Lat.* classifies all these as datives, but in view of the Statius passage they may possibly be ablatives.

**inhaereo**: Virg. *Aen.* x. 845, corpore inhaeret; Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* ii. 20, latere inhaerens, a poetical translation by Cicero himself of Soph. *Trach.* 1046 ff. So also in the same paragraph just before the beginning of the poetical translation we have, inhaesisset ea visceribus.

The case in the following examples of verbs of *joining* is more or less doubtful:

**copulo** : Lucr. vi. 1078, denique non auro res aurum copulat una. Landgraf, *Beiträge z. hist. Synt. d. lat. Spr.*, p. 19, suggests that *auro* here may be ablative. Ebrard, from his silence, though his lists are very incomplete, may be thought to regard it as dative. Cicero repeatedly uses the ablative with *cum*; the dative only once, *viz. de Div. ii. 143, naturae copulatum*. The dative is found also in Livy, xxi. 28. 8.

**necto** : Lucr. v. 1202, votis nectere vota; Prop. iii. 5. 12, armis nectimus arma nova; Virg. *Aen.* iv. 239, pedibus talaria nectit. Cic. uses the dative in *de Div. i. 125, causae causa nexa*. Landgraf, *Beiträge*, p. 20, suggests that in the Lucretius passage the case may be ablative.

**revincio** : Lucr. v. 553, partibus aeriis caeloque revincta; cf. v. 537, (naturam) coniunctam atque aptam partibus aeriis mundi; see below under **aptus**.

**coeo** : Hor. *A.P.* 12, placidis coeant immitia.

**constringo** : In Cic. *Ac. Post.* i. 11, (me) multis officiis implicatum et constrictum, *officiis* is quite as much dependent upon *constrictum* as upon *implicatum*. With the latter word, as will be shown later, the only construction in Cicero (barring prepositional phrases) is the ablative; *officiis* is therefore here in the ablative case. Hence it is possible that the following also belongs under the sociative head, Hor. *Sat.* i. 6. 23, fulgente trahit constrictos Gloria curru, 'bound to (or tied up with) her car.'

**aptus** : In Plaut. *Trin.* 658 the Ambrosianus reads *otio aptus*; the P Mss. have *captus*. Of recent editors, Götz-Schöll, Lindsay, and Morris read *aptus*; Leo, *captus*. The reading *captus* is also preferred by the *Thes. Ling. Lat.* s.v. *aptus*; *aptus* seems to me the more likely reading here. Nonius defines *aptum* as *conexum et colligatum*; so Festus, p. 18, defines by *comprehendere vinculo*; Isidore, xix. 30. 5, by *ligare*. I therefore interpret *otio aptus* as meaning 'entangled with (or in) indolence.'

In Lucr. v. 537 we read (naturam) coniunctam atque aptam partibus aeriis mundi; here also the probability seems to me strong that we have the ablative. Cic. *de Leg.* i. 56, ex natura vivere, id est vita modica et apta virtute perfrui, is doubtful. Does *apta virtute* mean 'linked with virtue,' 'combined with virtue'? I believe it does. Merguet in his lexicon to the philosophical works of Cicero seems so to take it. Zumpt and Baiter conjecture *e virtute*.



2. VERBS OF *ENTANGLING* AND *INVOLVING*.

**alligo**: Cic. *pro Flacco*, 41, ne se scelere alliget; *pro Rab. Post.* 14, ne qua nova quaestione alligaretur.

**astringo**: Cic. *pro Sest.* 108, scelere astringi; *id. de Off.* iii. 19, num se astrinxit scelere? *id. pro Sulla*, 82, tanto scelere astrictis hominibus; *id. Phil.* iv. 9, magno scelere se astringeret; Sall. *Iug.* 60. 6, studio suorum astrictis; *ibid.* 70. 2, maioribus (rebus) astricto; Val. Max. iv. 7. 4, vitam suam consilii crimine astrinxit; Fronto, 227, 11, N., cottidiano te mendacio astringi.

**devincio**: Ter. *Haut.* 208, ubi animus semel se cupiditate devinxerit mala; Cic. *de Domo Sua*, 131, si templum religione Concordiae devinxisset ('should connect the temple with the worship of the goddess Concord'); *id. de Har. Resp.* 5, quo scelere se devinxerit; *pro Cael.* 52, eodem se scelere devinxit.

**illigo**: Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* ii. 20, ipse illigatus peste interimor textili, Cicero's own poetical translation of Soph. *Trach.* 1046 ff.; Hor. *Odes*, i. 27. 23, illigatum Chimaera; Val. Max. vi. 8. 4, dextram torpore illigavit; Tac. *Ann.* iii. 21. 16, illigatus praeda; xv. 51. 6, conscientia illigare. The dative is nowhere authenticated, and *cum* occurs in Pliny, *N.H.* xxviii. 14. 58. 203. Hence I should also regard as ablatives the following: Cic. *Ac.* ii. 6, sermonibus illigari; *id. de Domo Sua*, 40, Caesaris actis illigatus teneretur; Hor. *Epodes*, i. 25, iuvencis illigata aratra; Livy, xxxii. 21. 11, illigari bello; Val. Max. ix. 13. 4, duarum matrimonio illigatus; Tac. *Hist.* iii. 46. 17, bello illigari; *id. Ann.* ii. 27. 11, quo pluribus iudiciis illigaret (sc. Libonem); *ibid.* vi. 32. 7, veneno illigaret; *ibid.* xii. 25. 3, stupro illigatus; *ibid.* xiii. 40. 2, locis se illigaret; *ibid.* xv. i. 7, bellis illigatus; Min. Fel. *Oct.* 16. 5, facultatibus illigatos.

**impedio**: Plaut. *Amph.* p. 53 of Götz and Schöll, *Frag.* x, qui domi uxorem meam impudicitia impedivit ('has involved her in shame'); Ter. *Phorm.* 442, me et se hisce nuptiis impedivit.

**implecto**: Tac. *Ann.* xvi. 10. 13, vidua implexa continuo luctu; Min. Fel. *Oct.* 20. 3, Centauros equos suis hominibus implexos. In view of the great frequency of the ablative with *implicitus* and *implicatus* (see the next rubric), it seems likely that the following examples also belong here: Virg. *Georg.* iv. 482, implexae crinibus angues Eumenides; Apul. *de Mag.* p. 457 (Hild.), hirudines dentibus (crocodili) implectuntur.



**implico** : Plaut. *Merc.* 14, sed ea ut sim implicitus dicam. The Mss. here read *eam*. Götz and Schöll follow this, but Leo and Lindsay accept Lambinus's conjecture of *ea*. In view of the very great frequency of *implico* with the ablative, *ea* seems the much more probable reading here; Varro, *Sat. Men.* p. 234 (Riese), imber grandine implicatus; Cic. *pro Quinctio*, 3, rem controversiis implicatam; *id. Verr.* II. ii. 44, ipse tua defensione implicabere; *ibid.* iii. 82, omnibus legibus implicatum; *ibid.* v. 150, implicatum severitate iudicum; *id. de Domo Sua*, 105, religionibus implicuisses; *id. de Har. Resp.* 7, expectatione supplicii implicatus; *id. pro Cael.* 71, eo maleficio implicati; *id. pro Balbo*, 60, nostris familiaritatibus implicantur; *id. in Pis.* 70, familiaritate implicatus; *ibid.* 86, criminibus implicata; *id. pro Rab. Post.* 19, his causis implicati; *id. pro Lig.* 1. 3, nullo negotio implicari; *id. Phil.* ii. 81, implicata inscientia impudentia; *id. Phil.* xii. 3, pacificatoria legatione implicatos; *in Vat.* 1. 3, inconstantia tua cum levitate tum etiam periurio implicata; *id. Tusc. Disp.* iv. 58, neglecta ratio multis implicatur erroribus; *id. Tusc. Disp.* v. 3, angoribus et molestiis implicatos; *id. de Nat. Deo.* i. 51, occupationibus implicatus; *ibid.* i. 52, implicatus negotiis; *id. de Fin.* ii. 45, se implicet civium societate; *id. Ac.* i. 11, officiis implicatum; *id.* ii. 105, nulla re implicato; *id. de Div.* i. 79, quam (vim di) hominum naturis implicant; *id. de Off.* i. 117, implicatur aliquo certo genere cursuque vivendi; *ibid.* ii. 40, negotiis implicantur; *Lael.* 45, alienis (rebus) implicari; *id. Frag. F.* v. 97, implicuerint hominum vitiis et erroribus. Cicero also uses *cum* with the ablative, *e.g. de Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 19, haec ratio implicata est cum illis pecuniis. He never uses the dative.<sup>1</sup> Hence all examples which might seem ambiguous have been classed as ablatives. The first appearance of the dative seems to be in Augustan poets, *viz.*, in Virg. *Aen.* ii. 724, dextrae se parvus implicuit. Further instances of the ablative are: Caes. *B. C.* iii. 18. 1, graviore morbo implicitus; Nep. *Dion.* 1. 1, utraque implicatus tyrannide; Virg. *Cul.* 200, implicuit formidine mentem; Ov. *Ars Am.* i. 561, implicitam sinu; *id. Her.* 9. 94, implicitis angue comis; Vitruv. *de Arch.* ii. 8. 12, morbo implicare; *ibid.* iv. 1. 9, nuptiis implicata; Val. Max. i. 7. 4, religione implicaret; *id.* ii. 7. 10, implicatis desperatione vitae; *id.* iii. 6. 1, relatione implicet; *id.* v. 5. 3, labore implicatus; *id.* vii. 4. 5, implicavit

<sup>1</sup> Pascal, *Dizionario dell' uso Ciceroniano*, s.v. *implico*, recognizes the dative for Cicero, but without reason, it seems to me. I have discovered no certain instance of the dative, nor does Pascal cite any.

exercitum suum ignorantia ; Lucan, iii. 432, terrore implicitus ; Celsus, *Medic.* iii. 21, eo morbo implicitum ; Val. Flacc. *Arg.* v. 451, implicat igne domus ; Sil. Ital. *Pun.* ix. 629, implicitum nexu ; *ibid.* xv. 618, implicat errore vias ; Tac. *Hist.* iii. 77. 9, pari formidine implicabuntur ; *Ann.* xi. 8. 13, implicatur obsidione ; *id.* *Ger.* 45. 21, implicata umore ; Pliny, *Epp.* vii. 19. 2, hoc discrimine implicata est. The regularity of the ablative and extreme rarity of the dative make it practically certain that the following examples also are in the ablative : Virg. *Aen.* xi. 108, vos fortuna implicuit bello ; Hor. *A.P.* 424, litibus implicitum ; Livy, iii. 2. 1, morbo implicitum ; so vii. 23. 2 ; xxiii. 40. 1 ; Lucr. vi. 1232 ; Val. Max. i. 7. 1 ; *id.* i. 8. Ext. 16, implicabatur febri ; *id.* iii. 1. Ext. 1, implicati finitimo bello ; *id.* ix. 1. Ext. 2, implicarunt urbem cladibus (in Val. Max. ix. 9. *ad init.* we have apparently a clear case of the dative, implicat se culpae) ; Val. Flacc. *Arg.* v. 254, spiris nemus implicat ; *id.* iii. 31, erroribus implicet urbem ; *id.* iii. 389, fontes poenis implicat ; *id.* viii. 19, sinus venenis implicat ; Tac. *Ann.* xii. 4. 3, consiliis implicari ; *ibid.* iv. 53. 1, morbo implicata.

**intorqueo** : Cic. *pro Caec.* 77, verbo ac littera ius intorqueri ; Sil. Ital. *Pun.* v. 535, intorquens nubem nigranti turbine. So also probably Hor. *Odes.* ii. 13. 35, intorti capillis Eumenidum.

**involve** : Cic. *Phil.* vii. 19, pacis nomine bellum involutum ; Val. Max. vii. 3. Ext. 10, involutum benevolentiae simulatione mendacium ; Tac. *Ann.* i. 70. 15, cuncta pari violentia involvebantur. No case of the dative is attested. Hence I should regard as probably ablative the following : Varro, *Sat. Men.* p. 217, 6 (Riese), adest fax involuta incendio ; Lucr. vi. 443, ut involvat venti se nubibus vortex ; Cic. *Ac. Post.* i. 15, rebus ipsa natura involuta ; Val. Max. i. 7. 5, involvendum silentio ; Pliny, *Epp.* i. 5. 7, me laqueis involveram ; Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 30. 9, igni suo involvit ; *ibid.* xvi. 32. 14, fraudibus involutos.

**irretio** : Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* ii. 20, me irretivit veste, Cicero's own poetic translation of Soph. *Trach.* 1046 ff. ; *id.* *pro Mil.* 54, cum paenula irretitus esset ; *id.* *ad Quir.* 11, provinciarum foedere irretiti (Mss. *irritati, irinati*). No instance of the dative is attested. Hence I should regard as ablatives the following examples also : Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* v. 62, irretierat erratis ; *id.* *de Har. Resp.* 7, irretitus odio bonorum omnium.

**obligo** : Cic. *de Domo Sua*, 20, populum Romanum scelere obligasces ; *ibid.* 124, bona Lentuli religione obligavit ; *ibid.* 106, huius

domum religione sempiterna obligare; *id. pro Murena*, 3, se nexu obligavit; *id. de Har. Resp.* 27, castissimos ludos omni scelere obligares; *id. de Div.* i. 7, ne impia fraude aut anili superstitione obligemur; Hor. *Odes*, ii. 8. 5, obligasti perfidum votis caput; Ovid, *Am.* iii. 12. 42, obligat verba fide ('ties not its words to the accuracy of history'); Suet. *Iul.* 42, cum se scelere obligarent.

**obstringo**: Cic. *in Verr.* II. i. 8, se tot sceleribus obstrinxerit; *id.* iv. 71, tanto scelere se obstrictum esse sentiat; *id.* v. 179, tanto scelere se obstrinxerunt; *id. pro Sulla*, 6, obstrictum patriae parricidio; *id. pro Cael.* 47, obstrictus voluptatibus; *id. in Pis.* 95, pari scelere obstrictos; *id. Phil.* xi. 14, se obstrinxerit parricidiis; *ibid.* 29, se patriae parricidio obstrinxerit; *id. de Off.* iii. 83, se eo (parricidio) obstrinxerit; *id. Epp.* xi. 10. 5, amicos aere alieno obstrinxerim; Caesar, *B. C.* ii. 32. 4, vos scelere obstringere; Livy, iv. 17. 5, obstringi conscientia tanti sceleris; *id.* xxvi. 48. 12, se periurio obstringere; Tac. *Hist.* iv. 55. 12, aliquem conscientia obstrinxere; *Ann.* xiv. 57. 4, aliquem societate scelerum obstringere; Suet. *Iul.* 27, faenore obstrictis.

The following examples of constructions with verbs of entangling and involving are less certain:

**illaqueo**: Cic. *de Har. Resp.* 7, illaqueatus periculis. This expression occurs combined with the phrase *irretitus odio*, where *odio* is probably ablative; see above under *irretio*.

**teneo**: Possibly the following passage belongs under the construction we are considering: Plaut. *Pseud.* 1110, nisi ut improbis artibus teneant, 'hold to bad ways,' 'involve themselves in bad ways.'

### 3. VERBS OF MIXING.

These occur combined with the instrumental in Avestan (Hübschmann, *Casuslehre*, p. 255) and Slavic (Miklosich, *Grammatik der slavischen Sprachen*, IV. p. 701). In Greek and Gothic we have the dative, which in both those languages has probably inherited instrumental functions. In Latin we have:

**admisceo**: Lucr. iv. 1247, admiscetur muliebri semine semen; Varro, *de Re Rust.* i. 9. 3, terra admixta aliqua re; Cic. *de Nat. Deo.* ii. 27, aer multo calore admixtus; *ibid.* ii. 39, neque sidera ulla praeterea sunt admixta natura; Caes. *B. C.* iii. 48, genus radicis

admixtum lacte<sup>1</sup>; Pliny, *N.H.* xxx. 141, lutea admixta pondere. The dative occurs with some frequency from Cicero on; see *e.g.* *de Nat. Deo.* ii. 26. We also find *cum* with the ablative in Cato, *de Agr.* 115, 2, vites ne admisceas cum cetero vino, and a few times in later writers; see *Thes. Ling. Lat.* s.v. p. 746, 12 ff. Yet several of the examples cited by the *Thesaurus* as ablatives are quite as likely to be datives.

**commisceo**: Enn. *Trag. Frag.* 196 (Vahlen<sup>2</sup>), commixta stellis splendidis; Lucr. iv. 1257, semina seminibus commisceri; *id.* v. 502, liquidum corpus turbantibus aeris auris commiscet; *id.* vi. 322, commixta (vis venti) calore; *id.* vi. 1159, gemitu commixta querella; Virg. *Aen.* iii. 633, frustra cruento commixta mero; *ibid.* vi. 762, commixtus sanguine; *ibid.* viii. 255, commixtis igne tenebris; *id. Georg.* ii. 327, magno commixtus corpore; Hor. *Sat.* i. 10. 24, Chio nota si commixta Falerni est; Scrib. Larg. *Comp.* 32, (croci) aqua pluviali commiscetur; Vitruv. *de Arch.* ii. 4. 3, calx palea commixta; *ibid.* vii. 1. 2, commisceantur quercu; Suet. *Iul.* 81, libellum libellis ceteris commiscet; *id. Vit.* 2, salivis melle commixtis; *id. Dom.* 17, reliquias Phyllidis cineribus Iuliae commixtas; *commisceo* is construed also with *cum* and the ablative in Lucr. (*e.g.* vi. 276, ventus cum eo commiscuit igni), Cato, and Cicero. The dative apparently does not occur.

**misceo**: Acc. *Trag.* 83 (Ribbeck), sanguine sanguen miscere suo; Pac. *Trag.* 414 (R.), grando mixta imbri largifico; Varro, *Sat. Men.* p. 151 (Riese), atque Aeneae misceri sanguine sanguen; *ibid.* p. 201 (R.), frigus calore atque umore aritudinem miscet; Lucr. ii. 576, miscetur funere vapor; *id.* ii. 579, mixtos vagitibus aegris ploratus; *id.* iii. 233, mixta vapore; *id.* iii. 842, terra mari miscetur et mare caelo; *id.* vi. 159, grandine mixti; *id.* vi. 371, frigore mixtus; *id.* vi. 941, mixtum corpus inani; *id.* vi. 1072, latices aquai fontibus misceri. Lucretius also uses the dative, *e.g.* iii. 234, nec calor quisquam cui mixtus non siet aer. But this is the only instance. Hence ambiguous forms in the above citations have with some confidence been classed as ablatives.<sup>2</sup> Cicero, *pro Scauro*, 13, crudelitate mixtas libidines; *id. Tim.* 44, voluptate et molestia mixtum amorem; *id. de Off.* ii. 48, mixta modestia gravitas; *id. Rep.* ii. 1, gravitate

<sup>1</sup> The Mss. and editors are divided here between *lacte* and *lacti*. Du Pontet, Kübler, and Meusel read *lacte*; the *Thesaurus* reads *lacti* (s.v. *admisceo*).

<sup>2</sup> This accords also with the opinion of Hidén, *de Casuum Synt. Lucr.* ii. p. 80, and of Landgraf, *Beiträge*, p. 22.



mixtus lepos; *id. de Nat. Deo.* i. 75, candore mixtus rubor; Cat. 64, 95, curis qui gaudia misces; *id.* 68. 18, curis miscet amaritatem; Sall. *Iug.* 57, 5, picem sulphure et taeda mixtam; *Auct. Bell. Alex.* 56, 2, mixtam dolore voluptatem; Hor. *Sat.* ii. 4. 24, miscebat mella Falerno; *ibid.* ii. 4. 55, Surrentina miscet faece Falerna vina; Col. *de Re Rust.* vi. 4, sale miscent pabula; Phaed. i. 14. 8, antidoto miscere toxicum; Ov. *Am.* i. 9. 16, mixtas imbre nives; *id. Ars Am.* ii. 417, piper urticae semine miscent; *id. Her.* 6. 76, ira mixtus amor; *ibid.* 16. 200, nectare miscet aquas; *id. Met.* iv. 504, sanguine mixta recenti; *ibid.* xi. 595, nebulae caligine mixtae; *ibid.* ix. 130, mixtus tabe sanguis; *id. Fas.* iv. 626, ventus grandine mixtus; *ibid.* v. 380, flavi corpore mixtus equi; *ibid.* v. 405, sanguine Centauri Lernaee sanguis Echidnae mixtus; *ibid.* vi. 566, mixtis sanguine aquis; *id. Trist.* iv. 3. 12, spes mixta metu (Ovid also uses *cum* with the ablative, e.g. *Met.* xii. 256, mixtos cum sanguine dentes; also sometimes the dative. An example of the latter is *Met.* iv. 140, fletum cruori miscuit. Hence many examples are ambiguous, e.g. *Trist.* iii. 10. 28; *Ars Am.* i. 663; *Pont.* ii. 10. 26). Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 727, mens miscet se corpore; *ibid.* xii. 68, mixta rubent lilia rosa; *ibid.* 838, Ausonio mixtum sanguine; *Cir.* 76, misceret sanguine pontum. Virgil uses the dative in *Aen.* viii. 431, metum miscebant operi. Hence the case in *Aen.* vii. 661 and *Georg.* iii. 516, may be dative. Further instances of the ablative are: Val. Max. i. 6. 5, aquas sanguine mixtas; Vell. Pat. ii. 98, 3, mores eius vigore et lenitate mixtissimos; Vitruv. *de Arch.* vii. 14. 1, vaccinium lacte miscentes; Lucan, iv. 679, mixti Garamante Marmaridae; *id.* x. 32, miscuit sanguine amnes; Quint. ii. 8. 11, alterum alterius natura miscendum; Mart. i. 87. 5, mixtum diapasmate virus. Tacitus shows the dative in *Hist.* v. i. 7 and elsewhere; *cum* with the ablative is found in *Ann.* xvi. 34. 10. Numerous examples in Tacitus are ambiguous, but no certain instance of the ablative appears. Juvenal, i. 69, quae Calenum miscet rubeta; Stat. *Theb.* i. 208, mixta maiestate; *ibid.* v. 197, mixtus caligine; *ibid.* vi. 197, fletu verba miscens; *ibid.* viii. 609, miscent sermone querelas.

The dative, though not frequent till the Augustan poets, is found as early as Enn. *Epich.* 2 (V.<sup>2</sup>), frigori miscet calorem umori aritudinem.

*permisceo*: Lucr. iii. 351, animam permixtam corpore toto. Hidén, *de Casuum Synt. Lucr.* II, p. 88, takes *corpore* here as a locative ablative; Ebrard, *de Abl. Loc. Instr.*, p. 626, as sociative. I can see no ground whatever for dissociating it from the similar



constructions with *misceo* and *permisceo* and for putting it in the locative category. The following ambiguous example from Lucretius is probably also ablative: ii. 990, *seminibus permixta*. Cic. *pro Planc.* 92, *fructus acerbitate permixti*; Virg. *Aen.* xi. 634 reads, *permixti caede virorum equi*. Hence I should regard *Aen.* x. 416, *cerebro permixta cruento*, as illustrating the ablative; also probably Hor. *Odes*, i. 1. 23, *lituo tubae permixtus sonitus*. Sall. *Jug.* 60. 2, *has, clamor permixtus hortatione*; hence in *Cat.* 22, *sanguinem vino permixtum*, *vino* is probably ablative. Val. Max. has the ablative in iv. 6. 2, *spiritum luctus acerbitate permixtum*. The dative occurs in i. 8. 11. Further instances of the ablative are: Lucan, i. 190, *gemitu permixta*; ii. 152, *permixta viva sepultis*; iii. 138, *permiscent dies summa imis*; iii. 577, *permixtus sanguine pontus*; iii. 658, *permixtus viscere sanguis*; also probably iv. 196, *castris permixtus*; Sil. Ital. iii. 197, *hiemem permixtam grandine*; Stat. *Theb.* viii. 712, *permixtus sudore et sanguine*; *ibid.* x. 312, *sanguine permixti latices*; *id. Silv.* ii. 2. 32, *permixti pulvere soles*. So also probably, *Theb.* x. 113, *vera falsis permixta*, and *Silv.* v. 3. 170, *permixtus ignis aquis*. *Cum* with the ablative also occurs, e.g. Cic. *in Vat.* 13, *tuas sordes cum splendore permisceas*. The dative occurs in Livy, xxi. 14. 1, *permixtum senatui populi concilium*.

**remisceo**: The following passages are all obviously ambiguous. The case may be dative: Horace, *A.P.* 151, *veris falsa remiscet*; *Odes*, iv. 15, 30, *remixto carmine tibiis*; Sen. *de Const.* 7. 4, *venenum remixtum cibo*. The dative is certain for Sen. *Ep.* 71. 16, *animus naturae (natura P) suae remiscebitur*.

#### 4. VERBS OF SHARING AND PARTICIPATING.

These occur in Avestan construed with the instrumental (Hübschmann, *Casuslehre*, p. 255).

**communico**: Plaut. *Mil. Glo.* 51, *communicabo te mensa mea*; *cum* with the ablative occurs in Sall. *Cat.* 56. 5, *causam civium cum servis communicasse*.

**participo**: Plaut. *Mil. Glo.* 261, *quin sermone aliquem participaverit*; Cic. *de Leg.* i. 33, *sequitur ad participandum alium alio nos esse factos*; Apuleius, *Met.* ix. 33, *meum dominum prandio participat*. By an extension of this usage we find the ablative with the adjective *particeps* in Sen. *Herc. Fur.* 369, *particeps regno*; cf. Vel-

leius' use of *mixtissimus* with the ablative in ii. 98. 3, *mores eius vigore et lenitate mixtissimos*.

**socio**: As certain examples of the construction under discussion I should regard Virg. *Aen.* i. 598, *quae nos urbe domo socias*, 'that makest us partners in thy city and home'; Lucan, i. 314, *Pompeium continuo sociabunt* [vulgate, *satiabunt*] *regno*; Apuleius, *Met.* viii. 1, *factionibus sociatus*. Cicero repeatedly uses *cum* and the ablative in connection with *sociare*, e.g. *de Or.* iii. 131, *qui vim rerum cognitionemque cum scientia sociaris*. The following examples are less certain: Hor. *Odes*, iv. 9. 4, *verba socianda chordis*; Ovid, *Met.* xi. 5, *sociantem carmina nervis*; Stat. *Theb.* iii. 282, *me sociare marito*. In Allen and Greenough's *New Latin Grammar* § 429. 3, *socius* is recognized as taking the ablative. The authors cite Sall. *Jug.* 85. 47, *socius periculis*, and explain the ablative as locative. Were the reading correct we might recognize a sociative use. But all our Mss. except V give *periculi*, which seems to be the reading of editors since Dietsch. Lucan, vii. 716, *socius cladibus*, may, however, illustrate the ablative.

**consocio**: Pomponius Mela, ii. 7. 16, has *consociare se pelago*; *pelago* here may be ablative, though it is usually taken as dative. In favor of recognizing the ablative in this passage is the frequent use of *cum* with the ablative in connection with *consocio*. No instance of the dative is attested.

##### 5. VERBS OF ACCUSTOMING AND BEING ACCUSTOMED.

**assuefacio**: Cic. *in Cat.* ii. 9, *assuefactus frigore et fame et siti et vigiliis preferendis*. The idea is, 'made familiar with.' Further examples are: Cic. *Brut.* 213, *puro sermone assuefacta domus*; *id. de Or.* iii. 39, *sermone assuefacti*; Caesar, *B.G.* iv. 1. 9, *nullo officio aut disciplina assuefacti*; *id. B.C.* i. 44. 2, *barbaro genere pugnae assuefacti*; Val. Max. viii. 7, Ext. 15, *Persico sermone se adsuefecit*. The dative also occurs, — first in Livy, then in Pliny, Frontinus, and Tacitus.

**assuesco**: Cic. *de Or.* iii. 58, *labore assueti*; Virg. *Aen.* vii. 746, *adsueta venatu*; Ovid, *Met.* xiii. 554, *praedae assuetus amore*; Livy, xxxi. 35. 3, *genus pugnae quo assueverant*; Sen. *Contr.* i. 2. 8, *assuetus humano sanguine*; *id. Contr.* ii. 1, *utroque assuevi*; Celsus, *de Med.* 1 *praef.* p. 12 (Dar.), *uno cibo non prandio quoque assuetus*; Col. *de Arb.* i. 4, *ut vitis exiguo assuescat umore*; Quint. Curt.

vi. 3. 8, tot gentes alterius imperio ac nomine assuetas ; Pliny, *N.H.* 23. 44, assuetas meri potu ; Lucan, v. 776, adulescens fati ; Stat. *Theb.* iv. 655, uvifera Rhodopen assueverat umbra ; Florus, i. 1. 7, assuetus sanguine et praeda ; *id.* ii. 27. 17, barbaros signis et disciplina assueverat ; Fronto, p. 206. 20 (N.), ne armatu quidem sustinendo assueti ; Apuleius, *Plato*, 2. 20, assuetus voluptate. The dative is also frequent, beginning with Ovid. Hence many examples are ambiguous.

**consuesco** : Ter. *Adelphoe*, 666, qui illa consuevit prior ; cf. Plaut. *Cist.* 86, tu cum ququam viro consuevisti ? Cic. *in Verr.* II. v. 30, quibuscum iste consueverat. The reading of the *Adelphoe* passage follows the Bembinus. Interpolated Mss. have *cum illa*, which is metrically impossible. Donatus knew a variant *illam*, which Dziatzko suggested might possibly be correct. Fleckeisen in his last edition reads *qui cum ea*, an unnecessary and, in my judgment, entirely unwarrantable tampering with the text ; Columella, *de Re Rust.* viii. 15, quae (aves) consuevere libero victu ; *ibid.* viii. 13. 1, (aves) magis humo quam stagno consueverunt ; *ibid.* x. 153, sicco ut consuescat pulvere planta ; Livy, i. 40. 5, quibus ferramentis consueti erant ; Stat. *Theb.* ii. 438, consueta luxu ; also probably *id.* ix. 250, (ungula) consueta campo ; *id.* *Silv.* v. 1. 235 consueta obsequiis. The only sure instance of the dative that I have found is Pliny, *Epp.* viii. 23. 8, dolori consuescere, where the ablative *timore* practically necessitated the dative construction for *dolori*.

**insuesco** : Col. *de Re Rust.* vi. 4, aqua pecus insuescere. The dative occurs in Tac. *Ann.* xi. 29. 11, quarum corpori insueverat.

**suetus** : I have found the following examples, given as datives in Harper's *Dictionary* : Virg. *Aen.* v. 414, his ego suetus ; Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 27. 7, neque coniugiis suscipiendis neque alendis liberis sueti ; *id.* *Hist.* v. 6. 15, suetas aquis volucres ; *id.* *Ann.* ii. 52. 3, latrocinii suetos ; Lucan, i. 325, suetus civilibus armis. In all these the form is ambiguous, but in view of the construction with *assuetus*, *consuetus*, *insuetus*, it seems far more likely that the case used with *suetus* is likewise the ablative.

#### 6. VERBS OF ATTENDING AND BEING ATTENDED.

In Vedic *sak-* (Latin *sequor*, Greek *ἕπομαι*) takes the instrumental, though in classical Sanskrit this verb is transitive. The root *hac-* in Avestan also takes the instrumental (Hübschmann,

*Casuslehre*, p. 255). In Greek, ἔπομαι with the dative is probably a relic of the instrumental usage. In Latin we have:

**comitor**: Cic. *pro Caelio*, 34, (mulier) alienis viris comitata; Cat. 63. 32, comitata tympano; Ovid, *Met.* ii. 441, suo comitata choro; *ibid.* ii. 845, virginibus Tyriis comitata; *ibid.* iii. 215, natis comitata duobus; *ibid.* ix. 687, pompa comitata suorum; *ibid.* x. 9, turba comitata; *id. Am.* i. 6. 33, militibus venio comitatus et armis; Tib. iii. 2. 13, comitata dolore; Pliny, *N.H.* xxi. 65, gladiolus comitatus hyacintho; Tac. *Agr.* 40. 19, uno aut altero amicorum comitatus; *id. Ann.* xiv. 8. 17, trierarcho et centurione comitatus; Curtius, vi. 5. 26, trecentis feminarum comitata; Sen. *Phaëdra*, 19, comitatae gregibus parvis; Stat. *Achill.* ii. 309, lacrimis comitata suorum.

**stipo**: Cic. *ad Att.* i. 18. 1, stipati gregibus; Prop. iii. 8. 13, custodum grege circa se stipat euntem; Vell. Pat. ii. 58. 2, stipati gladiatorum manu; Lucan, iv. 208, turba stipatus.

#### 7. VERBS OF PILING.

**accumulo**: Lucr. iii. 71, caedem caede accumulantes. I think the meaning is 'piling up murder with murder.'

**cumulo**: Lucr. vi. 1237, cumulabat funere funus; Cic. *de Off.* i. 116, Africanus eloquentia cumulavit bellicam gloriam; *id. in Cat.* i. 14, nonne alio incredibili scelere hoc scelus cumulasti? *id. Sex. Rosc.* 30, haec aliis cumulant; Tac. *Agr.* 40. 1, triumphalia ornamenta multo verborum honore cumulata; *id. Ger.* 27, 2, struem rogi nec vestibus nec odoribus cumulant.

**stipo**: Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3. 11, stipare Platona Menandro, 'pack Plato with Menander.'

#### 8. VERBS OF PLAYING.

These occur construed with the instrumental in Vedic (Delbrück, *Altindische Syntax*, p. 131), and in Slavic (Miklosich, *Grammatik der slavischen Sprachen*, IV. p. 701). In Latin we have:

**ludo**: Plaut. *Mil. Glo.* 324, ludis me :: quidum? :: quia ludo luto; Ter. *Adelphoc.* 739, quasi quom ludas tesseris; Cat. 61. 128, satis diu lusisti nucibus; Cic. *Phil.* ii. 56, alea ludere; *id. de Fato*, 34, pila luderem; Hor. *Odes*, iii. 24. 56, trocho ludere; Vitruv. *de Arch.* vii. 5. 6, pila ludentes; Suet. *Aug.* 71, 83, talis ludere.



9. VERBS OF *CHANGING* AND *INTERCHANGING*.

**commuto** : Cic. *de Rep.* i. 69, genera generibus commutantur novis ; *id. de Lege Agr.* i. 14, possessionis invidiam pecunia commutent ; Lucr. v. 1105, victum vitamque priorem commutare novis rebus ; Caes. *B. G.* vi. 22. 3, ne studium belli gerendi agricultura commutent ; *Auct. ad Herenn.* iv. 38, commutat (verbum) alio verbo ; *ibid.* ii. 29, leve compendium fraude maxima commutarunt ; Ov. *Pont.* iv. 14, 11, Styx commutabitur Istro ; Col., *de Re Rust.*, xii. 26, mustum aere commutato.

The ablative with *cum* also occurs, e.g. Cic. *Epp.* iv. 5. 3, mortem cum vita commutare ; *id. pro Sest.* 37, cum patriae caritate constantiae gloriam commutaret.

**muto** : Plaut. *Capt.* 28, si quem reperire posset qui mutet suum ; so also 101 ; Lucilius, xxvi. 17 (M.), uno hoc non muto omnia ; *ibid.* 15, publicis mutem meos ; Sal. *Iug.* 38. 10, mortis metu mutabantur ; *id. Cat.* 58. 15, pace bellum mutavit ; *id. Hist. Frag.* i. 77. 7 (Maur.), diurna mercede vitam mutaverit ; *ibid.* i. 87, paludamentum toga mutavit ; Virg. *Ecl.* iv. 44, mutabit vellera luto ; *id. Georg.* i. 8, glandem mutavit arista ; *ibid.* ii. 511, exsilio domos mutant ; Hor. *Odes*, i. 16. 25, mitibus mutare tristia ; *ibid.* i. 29. 14, Socraticam domum mutare loriceis Hiberis ; *ibid.* i. 34. 12, ima summis mutare ; *id. Epodes*, i. 27, Calabris Lucana mutet pascuis ; *ibid.* 9. 27, punice lugubre mutavit sagum ; *id. Sat.* ii. 7. 109, uvam furtiva mutat strigili ; *id. Epp.* i. 1. 100, mutat quadrata rotundis ; Ovid., *Met.* iv. 397, mutantur palmite ; *ibid.* xi. 741, ambo mutantur alite ; *id. Fast.* iii. 461, periuro mutarat coniuge Bacchum ; *ibid.* iv. 402, mutavit glandes utiliore cibo ; *ibid.* vi. 665, exsilio mutant urbem ; *id. Pont.* iii. 3. 97, mutatur nigra pice lacteus umor ; Livy, v. 30. 3, victrix patria victam mutari ; *id.* ix. 12. 2, victoriae possessionem incerta pace mutasse ; Col. *de Re Rust.* viii. 5. 4, aere mutantur ; *ibid.* ix. 1. 7, aere mutandi sunt ; Val. Max. iv. 8. 2, mutare paupertatem inopia ; *id.* vii. 4. 1, mutavit metum fiducia ; *id.* v. 4. 1, mutavit bellum pace ; *id.* iv. 2. *ad init.* mutatum bellum pace ; Vell. Pat. i. 4. 2, mutat Cumanos Osca vicinia ; Petron. 98, palliolo suo laceratam mutavit vestem ; Lucan, x. 202, mutat diem nocte ; Sen. *Thy.* 298, mutare miserias regno ; Sil. Ital. iii. 227, mutare iugum terris ; *id.* vii. 562, mutare solum sceptris ; *id.* xiv. 214, mutare gemitus mugitibus ; *ibid.* 464, mutare casas marmore ; Pliny, *Epp.* v. 17. 2, excelsa depressis, exilia plenis, severis iucunda mutabat ; Tac. *Ann.* ii. 75. 12, luctum laeto

cultu mutavit; *ibid.* ii. 6. 19, id vocabulum mutat Mosa flumine; *ibid.* iii. 44. 10, pacem bello mutari; *ibid.* iv. 23. 7, libertos regio et servilia imperia bello mutaverant; *ibid.* xvi. 12. 6, menses Maius Claudii Julius Germanici vocabulis mutantur; Justin, v. 5. 4, Alcibiadem ducem Conone mutaret.

**permuto**: Hor. *Odes*, ii. 12. 22, Mygdonias opes permutare velis crine Licymniae; *ibid.* iii. 1. 47, cur valle permutem Sabina divitias operosiores; Val. Max. ii. 6. 8, permuto reliquias spiritus mei fine; *id.* ix. 1. 7, permutare religionem stupro; Sen. *Thy.* 598, permutat hora ima summis; Martial, ix. 22. 12, quem permutatum nec Ganymede velis; *id.* vi. 93. 7, virus ut hoc alio fallax permutet odore; Sil. Ital. i. 660, permutare culmina muris; Val. Flacc. v. 424, permutant carbasa bracis.

**verto**: Hor. *Odes*, i. 35. 4, vertere funeribus triumphos; *id.* *A.P.* 226, vertere seria ludo; Ov. *Met.* x. 157, nulla tamen alite verti dignatur.

With *muto* and its compounds the ablative by many scholars is regarded as one of Means or Price. But in view of the wide extent of the sociative function of the ablative in Latin it seems much more natural to treat the above cases as a sociative development.

#### 10. VERBS OF *MATING, WEDDING, ETC.*

In Slavic verbs of *marrying*, and *betrothing*, are construed with the instrumental (Miklosich, IV. p. 701), while in Gothic verbs of the same meaning take the dative, which may well represent the instrumental of the parent speech. In Latin we have:

**marito**: Hor. *Epodes*, 2. 9, adulta vitium propagine altas maritat populos; Col. *de Re Rust.* xi. 79, ulmi vitibus maritantur; *ibid.* viii. 2. 12, quae (feminae) ternae singulis maribus maritantur; Apuleius, *Met.* viii. 8, quovis alio felicius maritare (impv.); cf. Claudian, *Rap. Pros.* ii. 89, (Zephyrus) glaebas fecundo rore maritat.

**maritus**: Hor. *Odes*, iii. 5. 5, milesne Crassi coniuge barbara turpis maritus, 'basely wedded to barbarian mate'; Ovid, *Her.* 4. 134, et fas omne facit fratre marita soror.

**geminor**: I should regard as very probably sociative the following from Horace, *A.P.* 13, serpentes avibus gementur, tigribus agni, though Landgraf, *Beiträge*, p. 19, takes the case as dative.

**adulteror** : Hor. *Epodes*, 16. 32, adulteretur columba miluo. For this I see no satisfactory interpretation except to take the ablative as sociative.

**pecco** : Hor. *Odes*, i. 33. 9, peccet adultero. This seems to me entirely analogous to the preceding example. In Gothic, *gahorinon*, 'commit adultery,' takes the dative, which, as already pointed out, may represent uses of the Indo-European instrumental.

#### 11. VERBS OF *WRESTLING*.

In Vedic we find verbs of *contending* construed with the sociative instrumental (Delbrück, *Altindische Syntax*, p. 131). In Slavic verbs of *wrestling* take the same construction (Miklosich, *Grammatik der slavischen Sprachen*, IV. 701). In Greek verbs of *contending* take the dative, which, as is well known, in many of its functions represents the Indo-European instrumental. Traces of this construction seem to be preserved in Latin, in Lucan, iii. 503, ignis viridi luctetur robore. In Cic. *de Rep.* iv. 4, we have *cum* with the ablative, cum tuo Platone luctari. The two following passages in Horace may also contain ablatives: *Odes*, i. 1. 15, luctantem Icariis fluctibus Africum; *Epp.* ii. 1. 74, luctantur funera plaustris.

#### 12. VERBS OF *AGREEING WITH*.

These appear in Avestan construed with the instrumental (Hübschmann, *Casuslehre*, p. 255). The only Latin example I have noted is Apuleius, *Met.* xi. 15, vultum laetiozem candido isto habitu congruentem. Yet in xi. 27, we find the dative, nocturnae imagini congruentem. Cicero also uses the dative. Hence ambiguous examples, such as Gellius, *N.A.* iii. 3. 3, sermonis Plauto congruentis, are best taken as datives.

#### 13. ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS OF *EQUALITY*.

**par** : Sall. *Hist. Frag.* iv. 14, scalas pares moenium altitudine; Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 804, in qua par facies nobilitate sua. Merkel changes *par* to *pars*; while Peter, who retains the reading of the Mss., has the comment, '*par* (*sc. Anco*) nobilitate.' The sense, I think, is 'features

on a par with her rank'; cf. the repeated occurrence of *par cum*, e.g. Sall. *Jug.* 14. 9, quem tu parem cum liberis tuis fecisti; Cic. *de. Rep.* i. 7.

*aeque*: *aeque cum* occurs in Plautus, *Asin.* 332, ut aequae mecum haec scias, and repeatedly elsewhere. It is therefore possible that the following examples, which are usually classed as Ablatives of Comparison *κατὰ σύνεσιν* are really sociatives: Plautus, *Amph.* 293, nullus est hoc meticulosus aequae; *Curc.* 141, qui me in terra aequae fortunatus erit?

It is perhaps unnecessary to add by way of conclusion that the very wide range of the construction we have been considering has remained hitherto unrecognized. Most of our important manuals of Latin grammar omit all reference to the idiom, while the few in which it is recognized at all give no indication of its actual scope.



V.—*The Relation of Accent to Elision in Latin Verse, not including the Drama.*

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It is the purpose of this paper to consider some of the phenomena of elision in Latin poetry. Though elision occurs most frequently in the drama, yet its use can in some respects be better studied in those forms of verse in which it is employed in a more restricted way and conforms to more definite rules. I shall accordingly consider the subject from this point of view. I desire first to show that the sense-pause occurring in elision should be observed in reading Latin and that there is evidence in the structure of the verse that this was the intention of the poet. I employ the word *elision* to denote such a union of a final vowel (or vowel with final *m*), with the initial vowel of a following word as gives the value of one verse-syllable. The term *syllable* is employed in referring to the second element of elision, though technically this is only one part of the verse-syllable. The term *pause-elision* is used, for the sake of brevity, to denote those cases of elision in which a sense-pause occurs between the vowels forming the elision. I shall take for granted, without reviewing the arguments, that as a rule both vowels in elision are to be sounded. There seems to be sufficient authority to justify this position,<sup>1</sup> and most modern metricians agree in accepting this theory of the pronunciation.<sup>2</sup>

I desire first to establish the principle which may be briefly stated as follows: The second syllable in pause-

<sup>1</sup> The most important passages relating to this subject which are to be found in our ancient authors are cited in Corssen, *Aussprache*, II<sup>2</sup>, 771 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Kühner, *Lat. Gramm.* II, 96; Schmidt, *Rhythmic and Metric*, trans. by J. W. White, 5 ff.; L. Müller, *Rei Metr. Summarium*, § 33, 61; Christ, *Metrik der Gr. u. Röm.*<sup>2</sup> § 44, 32; Gleditsch, *Metrik der Gr. u. Röm.* in I. Müller's *Handbuch*, II, 3<sup>3</sup>, § 41, 89; Plessis, *Métrique Grèque et Latine*, § 19, 17.

elision does not admit a strong sentence-accent. This principle is not like a physical law, or even like a law of phonetics, working in exactly the same way in all cases. To establish the fact that the poet intended to make a distinction between pause-elision and elision in which the elided words are closely connected in thought, it would be only necessary to prove that he showed a marked tendency to treat the two cases differently.

In order to bring out more clearly the general difference in the treatment of the two classes of elision I shall first contrast the usage in the two cases as exemplified by the first book of the *Aeneid*. I shall then note those cases in the works of Vergil, Horace, and Catullus which seem to be somewhat exceptional in character, and I shall next consider more briefly the usage of other authors. Vergil makes the most varied and effective use of elision, yet Horace in some of his *Satires* and Catullus in his shorter poems employs it with greater boldness and freedom. Even in Vergil we see a difference in usage between those passages which are conversational in tone and those which are more formal and elevated in style.

In taking up the first book of the *Aeneid*, I shall first refer to those cases of elision in which the elided words are closely connected in thought and which have an accent on the second syllable of the elision. I shall divide these cases into three classes:

1. Those in which the second syllable of the elision is long and is the accented syllable of a noun.
2. Those in which the second syllable is long and is the accented syllable of some other word than a noun.
3. Those in which the second syllable is short.

1. As illustrations of the first class we may cite the following: 43 evertitque aequora, 5 a;<sup>1</sup> 95 ante ora, 2 a; 123 inimicum imbrem, 3 t; 142 tumida aequora, 5 a; 152 arrectisque

<sup>1</sup> The number denotes the foot in which the elision occurs; *a* denotes that it is in the arsis; *t* that it is in the first syllable of the thesis; a small number to the right of the letter denotes that it is in the second syllable of the thesis. Arsis is used to denote the strong, or accented, part of the foot.

auribus, 5 a; 161 scindit sese unda, 5 a; 175 suscepitque ignem, 2 t; 177 corruptam undis, 3 t; 177 cerealiaque arma, 3 t; 334 and 349 ante aras, 2 t; 349 atque auri, 4 a; 383 convulsae undis, 3 t; 424 molirique arcum, 2 t; 442 iactati undis, 3 t; 506 saepta armis, 1 t; 531 atque ubere, 5 a; 537 perque undas, 1 t; 625 ipse hostes, 1 t; 660 atque ossibus, 4 a; 687 atque oscula, 4 a; 743 unde imbrem, 5 a.

2. Illustrations of the second class are such combinations as: 32 maria omnia, 5 a; 98 animam hanc, 4 a; 263 bellum ingens, 1 t; 476 curruque haeret, 3 t; 626 seque ortum, 1 t; 191 nemora inter, 4 a.<sup>1</sup>

3. Illustrations of the short accented syllable are such as the following: 114 ante oculos, 2 t; 202 revocate animos, 3 t; 385 atque Asia, 2 t; 489 easque acies, 2 t.<sup>2</sup>

Turning to pause-elisions, the question arises, What are we to consider a sufficient pause to mark the distinction between the two classes of elision? The stronger pauses are marked by punctuation in our editions, and viewing the literature as a whole this might be adopted as our general standard. Punctuation is in many respects arbitrary. Ribbeck's *Editio Stereotypa*, 1903, which we take as the basis of our discussion of Vergil, differs in this respect not only from other editors, but also from his own earlier editions. In the first book of the *Aeneid* I have noted upwards of seventy-five pause-elisions in which the second syllable of the elision is long. All but twelve of these are marked by punctuation either in the edition of Ribbeck or Heise, and in all these elisions the pause corresponds to the principal caesura, or to one of the two main caesuras of the line. The following will illustrate the character of these pause-elisions:

13 Karthago, Italiam contra Tiberinaque longe.  
48 bella gero. et quisquam numen Iunonis adorat.  
96 contigit oppetere ! O Danaum fortissime gentis.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 69, 175, 189, 218, 243, 429, 475, 476, 524, 537, 547, 695, 738.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 57, 65, 125, 347, 464, 511, 567, 705, 743, 744. I have not attempted to enumerate all the instances of these three classes of elision found in this book, but have given the most striking examples.

251 navibus (infandum !) amissis unius ob iram.  
303 corda volente deo ; in primis regina quietum.<sup>1</sup>

The second syllable of pause-elisions consists of (1) words not accented on the first syllable, as *Italianam, amissis*, etc.

(2) words which are usually employed as sentence-enclitics, as *et, atque, ac, aut, ut, utque, in, O, haut*.<sup>2</sup>

There are three pause-elisions in which the second syllable is short :

514 laetitiaque metuque : avidi coniungere dextras.  
571 auxilio tutos dimittam opibusque iuvabo.  
753 immo age, et a prima, dic, hospes, origine nobis.

In the first of these the second syllable of the elision is accented.<sup>3</sup>

Contrasting the two types of elision in which the second syllable is long, we see that when the elision occurs with words which are closely connected in thought, the second syllable is very frequently strongly accented, and is in many cases the accented syllable of a noun, and that this does not occur in the case of pause-elision.<sup>4</sup> In fact, so rarely does the long accented syllable occur as the second syllable of pause-elision, that the total number of such instances in all the verse of the Golden Age is very small, — smaller even than the number of such cases found in the first book of the *Aeneid* alone when the words forming the elision are closely connected in thought. This difference of treatment in the two types of elision certainly cannot be accidental.

While observation shows that the nature of the second

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 28, 30, 35, 41, 49, 63, 90, 101, 117, 119, 134, 151, 158, 180, 186, 193, 207, 238, 244, 246, 248, 258, 276, 295, 298, 301, 323, 344, 380, 387, 389, 396, 406, 414, 424, 425, 434, 445, 447, 458, 478, 486, 519, 520, 526, 540, 542, 554, 564, 566, 577, 591, 614, 622, 627, 647, 653, 655, 658, 660, 662, 666, 669, 672, 684, 704, 714, 727, 739.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Greek *ὀδ*. "Es war also das Verhältniss der Negation zum verbum finitum dasselbe wie das Verhältniss der Präposition," Delbrück, *Syntakt. Forsch.* IV, 147.

<sup>3</sup> The nature of this accent will be considered on p. 90.

<sup>4</sup> In line 16 *hic*, and in line 405 *ille*, occur after a vowel with an intervening pause, and in both cases hiatus is used.



word in pause-elision is regularly as I have stated, yet some apparent exceptions and irregularities occur which deserve special attention.<sup>1</sup>

ii, 78 vera' inquit, 1 t;<sup>2</sup> 548 genitori. illi, 3 t; 550 morere.' hoc, 2 a; iii, 45 ego. hic (adv.), 3 a; 408 sacrorum, hunc, 4 t; iv, 35 esto, aegram, 1 t; v, 484 persolvo; hic, 2 a; 535 longaevi hoc, 4 t; 644 Iliadum. hic, 2 a; 681 posuere; udo, 3 t; vi, 43 aditus centum, ostia centum, 5 a; viii, 364 aude, hospes, 1 t; ix, 333 singultantem; atro 3 t; 427 me me (adsum . . . , 1 t; 454 Numaque. ingens, 3 t; x, 61 redde, oro,<sup>3</sup> 1 t; 703 comitemque, una quem nocte, 3 t; 905 odia; hunc, 3 a; xi, 353 unum, optime regum, 5 a; 664 postremum, aspera virgo, 5 a; xii, 532 solo; hunc, 4 a; *Ecl.* i, 13 ago: hanc, 3 a; vii, 8 aspicio. ille, 2 a; *Georg.* ii, 187 dispicere: hoc, 2 a; iii, 101 praecipue, hinc, 2 a.

Horace, *Sat.* i, 3, 20 vitia? immo, 3 a;<sup>4</sup> 5, 12 ingerere: huc appelle, 2 a; ii, 1, 83 iudiciumque. esto, 2 t; 2, 30 petere! esto, 6 a; 3, 236 possideam: aufer, 6 a; 283 magnum? addens, 2 t; 307 vitio. 'accipe, 5 a; 7, 72 ego, hercule, 4 a; *Carm.* iii, 30, 7 Libitinam: usque.

Catullus 9, 1 Verani, omnibus; 14, 19 Suffenum, omnia; 75, 4 amare, omnia; 114, 3 aucupium, omne; 8, 9 tu quoque, impotens, noli; 13, 1 Fabelle, apud me; 29, 18 Pontica: inde; 61, 171 aspice, intus; 71, 6 odore, ipse; 77, 2 frustra? immo; 5 eripuisti, eheu; 6 vitae, eheu; 114, 3 prata, arva, 5 a; 115, 5 prata, arva, 1 t; 62, 5 Hymenaeae, Hymen, 3 t.

<sup>1</sup> I shall not give further illustrations of the enclitics mentioned on p. 85 (2).

<sup>2</sup> Similar elisions of *inquit* are not infrequent. Cf. *Aen.* ii, 387; v, 348, 353; viii, 439; *Georg.* iv, 494. There is not a marked pause before *inquit*; it is a question whether any pause in the reading is to be made in this case. The sense-pause as well as the principal caesura comes after *inquit*. Furthermore *inquit* is an unemphatic word, the weak narrative "s'd he." The second element of pause-elision may be the accented syllable of a word used parenthetically. This usage is very common in the drama.

<sup>3</sup> Similar to the use of *inquit* (cf. footnote above) is the parenthetical use of *oro*.

<sup>4</sup> I shall not cite further illustrations of *ille* and *hic* in pause-elision. I have noted the following cases in Horace and Catullus: Horace, *Sat.* i, 3, 57 illi; i, 9, 41 ille; *Carm.* iii, 3, 33 illum; *Epod.* 9, 6 illis; *Sat.* i, 4, 136 hoc; ii, 3, 152 hoc; *Carm.* i, 19, 13 hic; Catullus, 100, 3 ille; 27, 7, hic; 29, 9 and 76, 8 haec; 56, 6 hunc; 91, 2 hoc; 100, 3 hoc; 107, 2 hoc.

Lucretius i, 980 hoc pacto sequar atque, oras ubicumque locaris. Persius iii, 7 itane? ocius adsit 5 a; Juvenal vi, 281 ipsa! olim convenerat 3 t; Statius *Theb.* iii, 348 vociferans: arma, arma viri, 3 a.

Turning to those cases of pause-elision in which the second syllable is short, we find numerous examples in which the second element of the elision is an accented syllable even of a noun. As examples we may cite: Verg. *Aen.* v, 483 tibi, Eryx; vi, 344 responso animum; viii, 450 redduntque, alii; xii, 142 fluviorum, animo; 945 ille, oculis; *Ecl.* 3, 88 qui te, Polio, amat; 94 parcite, oves; 97 ipse, ubi.<sup>1</sup>

I have endeavored to cite from the verse of the later republic and the early empire those cases of pause-elision which might seem to be the most exceptional in relation to the accent of the second syllable of the elision. I have noted certain cases in which there is the sense-pause, though it is not indicated by punctuation in our texts, and certain other cases in which punctuation is given, but in which a natural rendering of the thought would not make a pause. Let us examine a few lines in illustration of the latter case:

*Aen.* viii, 364 aude, hospes, 1 t. In the case of this vocative we have the standard punctuation, but there is no real pause either in the thought or verse. Brugmann (*Vergl. Gramm.* I<sup>2</sup>, § 1043, 953) states that in the primitive Indo-Germanic the vocative was unaccented when it did not stand first in the sentence. While the Latin has preserved many of the characteristics of the Indo-Germanic, it is not necessary to attribute this character of the vocative entirely to that influence, for we see a similar usage in modern languages. When the vocative is unemphatic as here, it is little more than an unaccented pronoun and it is almost as closely associated with its verb. In view of these considerations and the fact that we find elision in the poets in connection with the vocative, Corssen (*II<sup>2</sup>*, 780) does not seem justified in his statement that elision

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Georg.* ii, 18; iii, 95; iv, 172, 318; Horace, *Sat.* i, 2, 30; 5, 71; 6, 61; ii, 3, 117, 150, 180, 260; ii, 7, 2. I have noted ten similar cases in Catullus, but I have not attempted to make a complete list of either of the three authors cited.

is impossible before *Eruci* in Cic. *pro Sex. Roscio*, 50 Ne tu, Eruci, accusator esses ridiculus.

*Aen.* iv, 35 esto, aegram nulli quondam flexere mariti. This occurs in a conversational passage, and such passages allow greater freedom in elision and a nearer approach to ordinary speech, yet there is hardly a more marked pause to be observed here than there would be between a verb and its object clause.

*Aen.* ix, 427 me me (adsum qui feci), in me convertite ferrum. The nature of the thought indicates haste and does not allow a marked pause before *adsum* (see also p. 108). Experimental phonetics shows that in the reading of poetry haste is indicated rather by the shortening of the pauses than by the shortening of the sounds.

Lucretius i, 980 hoc pacto sequar atque, oras ubicumque locaris. Here the sense-pause and the caesura come before *atque*, and after *atque* there is but a slight pause, if any. Here is also to be taken into consideration that the final vowel in *atque* had but a slight sound and hardly counted as a part of the verse-foot.<sup>1</sup>

*Aen.* vi, 43 quo lati ducunt aditus centum, ostia centum. This line suggests the difference which exists between the reading of prose and verse. While in prose there would be an appreciable pause before *ostia*, in rendering it as verse the pause would be reduced, if not utterly disregarded. While the proper rendering of poetry in all languages makes a distinction between poetry and prose, this principle is not to be carried in the Latin to extremes, which would be intolerable if applied to a living language, as, for example, the disregarding of marked sense-pauses in *Aen.* i, 48.

Catullus 114, 3 aucupium, omne genus piscis, prata, arva ferasque; 115, 5 prata, arva, ingentis silvas vastasque paludes. The character of these elisions is similar to those last mentioned. They occur in poems of mock-heroic spirit and ironical tone, which contain a higher percentage of elisions than even Lucilius. These lines are intended to be read in harmony with their mock-heroic tone in the heroic style and

<sup>1</sup> See p. 93, footnote.

without pause. Such an enumeration of details would hardly allow a pause in any kind of verse.

Statius *Theb.* iii, 348 vociferans: arma, arma viri, tuque optime Lernaee. In this verse also the thought does not seem to favor a pause. In this line and in the one last cited the elision is favored by the concurrence of the same vowel in both syllables of the elision.<sup>1</sup>

There remains for consideration one other elision in which the second syllable is the long accented syllable of a noun, — Catullus 62, 5 Hymen O Hymenaeae, Hymen ades O Hymenaeae. While *Hymen* is here a vocative, it is not of the character of the one in *Aen.* viii, 364, to which reference has been made. This verse, which is repeated as a refrain, is to be regarded rather as a quotation from the Greek than as a Latin phrase. It indicates the Greek elision just as the imitation of Vergil in Ovid. *Metam.* iii, 501 dictoque vale 'vale!' inquit et Echo, represents the method of Vergil rather than that of Ovid. Furthermore the corresponding syllable of the adjective is short, and in the Greek, *Hymen* is accented on the ultima. The penult would thus be less prominent in Latin even if the place of the accent were not actually changed.<sup>2</sup>

With the single exception of this last case, which it seems natural to exclude from our consideration of Latin elision, none of the cases considered involves a marked sense-pause nor coincides with the caesura.

I have cited a sufficient number of examples to illustrate the relation of the accent to the second syllable of the elision when this syllable is short. On p. 87 I have given fourteen examples of an accented short syllable used as the second syllable in elision when the elided words are closely con-

<sup>1</sup> There seem to be good reasons for considering the penult of *arma* as a light syllable even if we agree with Lindsay (*Latin Lang.* p. 97) that *r* did not become a "mere voice-glide." For the quantity of the vowel *a* see *Archiv für lat. Lexik.* XIV, 403.

<sup>2</sup> Though *Hymen* was as a rule pronounced as a Latin word, as shown by the accent in Plautus, still in this verse, which is almost a quotation, its Greek character might be retained in accordance with the well-known rule laid down by the grammarians; cf. Diomedes K. I, 433; Sergius K. IV, 483.



nected in thought. Vergil and Horace together contain about twice as many cases of pause-elision with the second syllable short. Contrasting the pause-elisions in which a short accented syllable occurs as the second syllable with those in which the second syllable is long, we see a very marked difference in the usage of the two classes. The freedom with which accented syllables, whether of nouns, verbs, or adjectives, are used when the second syllable is short is in marked contrast to the restriction observed when the second syllable is long. This difference evidently depends on the difference in character between the short and the long syllable. Not only has the short syllable less prominence owing to its quantity, but the accent is lighter. Seelmann<sup>1</sup> is undoubtedly correct in his view that there is accord between the strength of the accent and the quantity of the syllable. Experimental phonetics also shows that as a rule in modern languages, there is a mutual dependence between accent and quantity, that in general they increase and decrease together (Viëtor, *Elemente der Phonetik*<sup>5</sup>, § 131, 273; Scripture, *Experimental Phonetics*, p. 510 ff.). Several considerations lead me to infer that the accent of a short syllable was relatively light and volatile. After the penultimate law had become well established in Latin, we still find in the drama the recession of the accent in such words as *facilius* (∪∪∪∪). Words ending in *c* and *n*, representing the enclitics *ce* and *ne*, are accented on the final syllable only when long. The exceptional treatment accorded iambic words in elision does not seem sufficiently explained by mere reference to the quantity of the syllables; but it seems to imply that the ultima was the essential part of the word and that the first syllable did not have that prominence which would belong to a syllable having a marked accent. (For the accent of such words as *solidus*, see p. 100.)

Examining the second syllable in the remaining cases of

<sup>1</sup> *Aussprache*, p. 35, "Es findet also eine harmonische ausgleichung zwischen exspirationsintensität (ictus) und expirationsextensität (quantität), eine ökonomische vereinbarung zwischen kraftdruck und kraftdauer im worte statt." Cf. Klotz, *Grundzüge altröm. Metrik*, p. 278.

pause-elision in which the second syllable is long, we see that as a rule this syllable is formed by a word which is either a sentence-enclitic, or at least an unemphatic element of the sentence which would not have a marked sentence-accent. They are also, in general, common words which by frequent use have been worn down so that they hardly have the normal value of long syllables. Space will not allow a detailed consideration of Latin accent even in its bearing on the words under consideration, but a few points deserve notice :

The sentence-enclitics are the personal and demonstrative pronouns, when not emphatic, conjunctions, and prepositions. The great majority of words forming the second syllable of pause-elisions belongs to this class. There are also other words, which in exceptional cases are used in pause-elision, and, while they are not enclitics proper, have only a secondary sentence-accent. To this class belong such words as *omnis*, *intus*, *impotens*, which are used in pause-elision in Catullus. That this class of words was regarded as having only a secondary sentence-accent appears from the following passage of Audax, K. VII, 360: non omnes partes orationis aequales sunt. nam nomen et verbum et participium inter partes omnes excellunt; ceterae his adpendices videntur. nam et pronomen subiacet nomini, et verbo servit adverbium. coniunctio quoque et praepositio ad clientelam maiorum partium pertinent. hae ergo partes, quae adpendices sunt, sic maioribus copulantur, ut tanquam in unam partem orationis coalescant, proprium vero fastigium perdant, non omnes dumtaxat, sed pleraeque.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This passage is interpreted as referring to sentence-enclitics, apparently on the ground that the remaining part of the passage refers to these; but the broad distinction here drawn between the more important and the subordinate words of a sentence cannot correspond to a classification of words as accented words and sentence-enclitics. The latter would comprise but a very small proportion of the words classified as subordinate in the passage quoted. It is also to be noted that the words immediately following those quoted are in contradiction to what precedes them. The discrepancy was evidently felt by the copyists, who to bring this part into harmony with what precedes wrote *admittunt* where our text follows L. Müller's emendation. The correction is rendered necessary in order to make the sentence harmonize with what follows, with which it is evidently closely connected in thought. It would appear that in Audax's excerpt something

This passage distinguishes two classes of words, those which have a main accent and those which have only a subordinate accent. In the first class are included only the noun, verb, and participle; in the second class are included all other words. These dependent words as they occur in the sentence do not form a definite word-group with the more important words, but they resemble the enclitics of the word-group in being subordinate in accent to the words on which they depend. This is brought out by the expression "ut *tanquam* in unam partem orationis coalescant." To illustrate this relation of the accent of the subordinate word to the main word, we may take such types as the word-groups, bene rém gerit, ad illam hóram. The accent here indicated is the normal accent of Plautus (*Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* XXXIV, p. 73 ff.; Lindsay, *Latin Lang.* p. 170). With these types we may compare the union of the adjective with its noun, or of an adverb with its verb in such cases as *Aen.* xi, 664 postremum, aspera virgo; *Juv.* vi, 281 ipsa, olim convenerat. *Aspera* and *olim* would seem to be examples of such words as Audax classifies as subordinate words which do not have a sentence-accent.<sup>1</sup> We may refer to classes of words as having a certain normal sentence-accent, though there may in certain cases be a variation from the normal. In a similar way we may speak of the normal pitch of the vowels, though their position in the word or sentence may cause a departure therefrom. It is apparently the normal sentence-accent of classes of words to which the passage in question refers.

In examining the exceptional instances which have been quoted (p. 86) from Vergil, Horace, and Catullus, we see that

has been omitted after the words quoted, and that two passages treating of two different classes of accents have been brought together.

<sup>1</sup> We cannot draw a definite line between sentence-enclitics and subordinate words which have a secondary sentence-accent. For example, unemphatic pronouns are enclitics, but we cannot draw a definite line between their use as enclitics and as accented words. The sentence-accent of *ante venit* must have resembled *ante Cæsarem* much more closely than it did *Rómam venit*, though the preposition is classed as a sentence-enclitic, while *ante* (adverb) and *Romani* are regarded as accented words. Such a combination as is formed by the union of a subordinate sentence-word (but one which is not an enclitic proper) with an accented word, we may call with Sweet a stress-group, or with Sievers a 'Sprechtakt' (*Phonetik*<sup>5</sup>, § 621, 233).

the usage of these authors differed somewhat. In Vergil, besides the cases already considered (pp. 84 f., 87 f.), we find the following words in the second syllable of pause-elision: hic, hoc, hunc, hic (adv.), hinc, ille, illi, optime, aspera, una, ingens, udo, atro. The vocatives, xi, 353 optime regum and xi, 664 aspera virgo, may be compared with *Aen.* viii, 364 (p. 87). There is only a slight pause, if any, before the vocatives, and the phrase-accent is on *regum* and *virgo*. In the case of *una* and *ingens* the first syllable of the elision is *-que*. The vowel in *-que* was doubtless very lightly sounded, and in some cases was almost a negligible quantity; and in this as in many other respects, the stately hexameter reflected the usage of the spoken language. This light pronunciation would apply to the *-que* at the end of so-called hypermetrical lines and in pause-elision, especially if such a syllable was not found in the author in question in other combinations.<sup>1</sup> The case of *una* differs from the others we have considered in that the vowel in the second syllable of the elision is long.

Only two cases in Vergil remain to be considered. If our texts containing *udo* and *atro* in pause-elision are correct, these two cases would stand by themselves as quite exceptional. The first of these is *Aen.* v, 681:

indomitas posuere; udo sub robore vivit.

Ribbeck's critical edition<sup>2</sup> has the following note on *udo*: "duro Macrobiani ω exc. Par. 1." He does not, however, state that some of the best Mss of Servius imply a variation in the reading. Thilo and Hagen's edition of Servius contains the following note on this passage: "VVDO SVB ROBORE F VDO SVB R̄VN VDO SVB D. R. LM VDĒ SVB DER H. propter D. in Servianis libris additum moneo Macrobiani codices Sat. vi, 6, 18 duro sub robore præbere."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Professor Lindsay (*Capt.* 26) shows that *e* was entirely silent in certain cases in Plautus, and he compares with this the hypermetrical use of *-que* and *-ve* in classical poetry. The fact that a vowel with *m* is similarly used by Vergil (*Georg.* i, 295; *Aen.* vii, 160) is opposed to the theory that the hypermetrical syllable was entirely silent. Again, the general character of epic verse as contrasted with dramatic would tend to keep the vowel sound from being entirely disregarded in pronunciation (cf. p. 101). We may even doubt whether the vowel in *est* was always silent in elision. Cf. Mar. Sacerd. K. VI, 493.

<sup>2</sup> See footnote on p. 110.



The VVDO of F may be explained as arising from *duro* contained in a Ms written in the cursive hand, or as a perpetuation of an error arising from this source. *d* and *r* are often interchanged in Vergil (Ribbeck, *Prol.* p. 243). One example is also found of the confusion of *d* and *v*. In N the break is explained by reference to LM, where D. R. evidently stands for *duro robore*. In H these letters have given rise to SVBDER. There was probably a marginal correction indicating that *duro* was to be substituted for *udo* and to be placed after *sub*. The change from *udo* to *duro* in our texts involves the change from *posuere* to *ponunt*, and this is one of the strongest grounds for the change of *udo*. There is a definite unity of thought and expression from line 675 to 686, or even to 692. All the verbs of the passage are in the present tense with this one exception, and this variation of tense does not seem necessary, or even justified by the thought. With these changes the passage would read as follows (v, 680-682):

sed non idcirco flamma atque incendia vires  
indomitas ponunt ; sub duro<sup>1</sup> robore vivit  
stuppa vomens tardum fumum, lentusque carinas. . . .

The rhythm of the verse in this form has not the lightness and rapidity of the version in our texts, but it is more in harmony with Vergil's method in such passages as the one before us. The rhythm of the texts is quite out of keeping with the thought as well as with the rhythm of the preceding and the following line. It seems entirely inappropriate to use the rhythm to describe a fire eating its way into wet wood which would be in place in describing a fire crackling in the dry leaves.<sup>2</sup> In the line as given above we have the slow, stubborn progress of the fire working its way into the hard oak, described in a form which is full of energy and

<sup>1</sup> Macrobius's reading is *duro sub robore*, and this more nearly preserves the rhythm of our editions.

<sup>2</sup> This light rapid rhythm seems entirely in harmony with i, 175 :

succipitque ignem foliis atque arida circum  
nutrimenta dedit rapuitque in fomite flammam.

Cf. ii, 705 and 706.

force, and one which is in harmony with the preceding and following line. This rhythm is frequently used by Vergil to express that which is impressive and awe-inspiring.<sup>1</sup> If the Roman critics with their tendencies to realism in art, although these tendencies were utterly at variance with the ideals of Vergil, were confronted with the two readings of this verse, they might be expected to prefer *udo* as being in harmony with the attempts to extinguish the fire. *Duro* is, however, more in keeping with the description of the fire as making irresistible headway in the hard oak. Whatever be our view of the origin of these two versions, or of their relative merits, it would seem highly probable that at an early date, certainly before the time of Macrobius, there were two readings of this verse, and that the retention of *udo* involves a form of elision which is most exceptional in Vergil.

I shall not dwell at length on the last exceptional cases in Vergil, — ix, 333 :

tum caput ipsi aufert domino truncumque relinquit  
sanguine singultantem ; atro tepefacta cruore  
terra torique madent.

Ribbeck's note on this is as follows : " ATRO *potest et superioribus adplicari, ut sit intellectus* : sanguine singultantem atro, *potest et sequentibus iungi, sed melius sequentibus*. Servius Dan. Post singultantem interp. M."

Little dependence is to be placed on the punctuation of our early Mss. It is often from a later hand. In a passage like the one before us, *sanguis* is often modified by *ater*. Here it seems more natural with *sanguis* than with *cruor*, which is practically synonymous with *sanguis ater*. The emphatic position at the beginning of the second clause does not seem appropriate. The hephthemimeral caesura is here more natural and effective than the penthemimeral. L. Müller (*de Re Met.*<sup>2</sup> 204) regards this pause as frequently

<sup>1</sup> We may compare the line in the form given with ii, 218 :

bis medium amplexi, bis collo squamea circum.

The latter part of the line may be compared with such lines as ii, 85, 107, 133, 278.

employed "ubi asperitatem cruditatemque rerum versus congrua imagine quasi depingit." This line is practically a run-on-line, and is more easily read as such if the caesura comes after *atro*, and this is more in harmony with Vergil's usage when there is no pause in the following line before the penthemimeral.

In Horace the most exceptional cases of pause-elision are in connection with the words *addens*, *accipe*, and *aufer*. It is important to notice that these are found in *Sat.* ii, 3. The language of this satire resembles that of comedy and in its use of elision is influenced by the drama. The percentage of elisions in this satire is twice as great as it is in the other satires of the second book. If we take into account only the lines in which these elisions occur and in each case the four preceding and following lines, we find for these twenty-seven lines a higher percentage of elisions than the average of Lucilius.<sup>1</sup>

With reference to Catullus we have already referred to the use of *Hymen* (p. 89) and *arva* (p. 88). In 8, 9 *tu quoque*, *impotens*, *noli*, *impotens* may be compared with the vocatives in *Aen.* viii, 364 (p. 87), and xi, 353, 664 (p. 92 f.). The stronger accent on the vocative in this case, owing to its emphasis and its use as a noun, is counterbalanced by the light syllable *-que* in the first syllable of the elision (for the sound of *-que* see p. 93, footnote 1). The most noteworthy cases which remain are the following: 9, 1 *Verani*, *omnibus*; 14, 19 *Suffenum*, *omnia*; 75, 4 *amare*, *omnia*; 114, 3 *auspicium*, *omne*. The language of these poems reflects the freedom of the conversational style, and in the use of elision shows the influence of the drama. The percentage in these four poems is nearly as high as the normal percentage of the Latin language,<sup>2</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> The accent of *addens*, *accipe*, and even *aufer* was doubtless comparatively weak, owing to the fact that it fell on the prefix. This view is favored by the usage of the Vulgar Latin, which transferred the accent in compound verbs from the prefix to the stem vowel of the verb. Compare *demorat* with Ital. *dimora*, Fr. *demeure* (*Class. Rev.* V, 407; Lindsay, *Latin Lang.* 164). It is noticeable that the accented prefix of the verb occurs in pause-elision in a few instances, though the accented stem vowel of the verb is not thus admitted.

<sup>2</sup> Maurenbrecher, *Hiatus u. Verschleifung im alten Latein*, 251.

between three and four times as high as in Catullus' sixty-fourth poem.

With the exception of the dramatists, Lucilius uses elision the most frequently of all Latin poets.<sup>1</sup> He often employs such as we have noted as occurring exceptionally in certain parts of Horace's satires and in some of the shorter poems of Catullus. We may note the following: 79, 2 *inquam, omnia*, 4 a; 99 *vela, omnia*, 5 a; 119, 11 *velle, his*, 4 t; 185, 4 *bulga. haec*, 3 a; 263 *furique*; *addens*, 3 t; 264, 2 *fecere. adde*, 3 t. He presents also the following instances which are hardly paralleled in later Latin literature: 119, 4 *rectum utile*, 4 a;<sup>2</sup> 245 *nam veluti 'intro' aliud longe esse atque 'intus' videmus*; 346, 2 *te: hilo*, 3 t; 511 *iam, órdo*; 622 *perversa: aera*; 657 *Gnato, úrge!* There does not seem to be any reason to assume that Lucilius strove to avoid a long accented syllable in the second syllable of pause-elision. This was doubtless one of the characteristics of his verse which led Horace to criticise so severely the style of his predecessor to whom he owed so much. Horace has apparently shown in *Sat.* ii, 3 the extreme limit to which he considered that satire was permitted to go in its approach to the conversational style.

Persius has a very high percentage of elisions (49 per hundred lines). Both their frequency and their somewhat exceptional character are in harmony with his effort to make force of expression compensate for lack of boldness and originality of thought. The most striking cases are iii, 7 *itane? ocius*, 5 a, and i, 111 *euge! omnes*, 2 t; (for a consideration of these see p. 108). Though elision is used more frequently in Phaedrus than in Vergil, yet it entirely conforms to the general principle governing the accent in pause-elision. Lucretius's percentage does not fall much below that of Vergil, but with one exception (see p. 88) I have not

<sup>1</sup> The number of elisions occurring in the Roman poets is given by Fr. C. Hermann, *Die Elision bei den röm. Dichtern*. His statistics are correct in the main, with the exception of the drama, as far as I have verified them.

<sup>2</sup> This elision does not seem to be paralleled by such a one as occurs in the rapid enumeration in Lucretius i, 744 *aera solem ignem terras animalia frugis*.



found any noteworthy cases of pause-elision. Juvenal has thirty elisions per hundred lines, but does not show any exceptional uses. Statius comes next to Juvenal in the number employed, and in his heroic verse he has even a higher percentage. Though he shows the influence of his master Vergil in respect to the frequency with which he employs elision, yet he does not attempt to use it to obtain bold effects. We might expect that Propertius, owing to the boldness of his thought and expression, would show this characteristic in his use of elisions, but both in their number and character he conforms more nearly to the standard of Ovid and Tibullus than of Catullus.<sup>1</sup>

A survey of Latin verse leads to the conclusion that after the age of Lucilius it was a recognized principle that in elision the second syllable when long should not receive a strong sentence-accent when this syllable was preceded by a marked sense-pause. Hence we do not find an accented long syllable of a noun thus used. Similarly, verbs in which the first syllable is long and accented are avoided. In rare instances a compound verb is found in pause-elision, especially if the syllable does not contain a vowel naturally long. The most marked exceptions to the general rule are found in that verse which reflects something of the freedom of the conversational style. If the exceptional instances depended merely on chance, and not on the character of the verse in which they occur, we should expect to find the number of exceptional cases correspond to the number of elisions and not to vary with the general style of the poem. This is, however, by no means the case.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Propertius has 24 elisions per hundred lines; Ovid, 17; Tibullus, 14; and Catullus, 44.

<sup>2</sup> I have selected those authors who make the freest and boldest use of elision, and I have attempted to give the most marked exceptions to the principle set forth. An even stronger statement of the principle than that made above may seem justified by the facts: A long syllable as the second element of elision (not including such as may be called defective long syllables) does not receive a strong sentence-accent when the pause before the accented syllable is marked, but in verse reproducing the conversational style there may be a sentence-accent (though not the strongest), especially if the sense-pause is not marked. I may inadvertently have passed over some exceptional cases which a second reading of

Let us now turn to the interpretation of the rule and consider some of the inferences which may be drawn from it.

The prevailing view appears to be that the language of Plautus is natural while that of Vergil is artificial. This view seems to be due to failure to recognize the essential difference between the art of epic and dramatic poetry. We cannot apply the same standards to the verse of Vergil, Dante, and Milton as we do to that of Plautus, Molière, and Shakespeare. Professor Lindsay (*Capt.* 12) says: "The diction of Augustan poetry was in great part an artificial language, with artificial forms, like our pronunciation of the noun 'wind' in poetry so as to rhyme with 'mind.'" The epic of Vergil, like the comedy of Plautus, is the natural expression of the principles governing its art, and the language of the epic grew as directly out of the living language of Rome as did that of comedy.<sup>1</sup> The language of Cicero's orations and letters is not the language of Plautus, but it is as truly the living language of Rome. It is not the language of the mart, but of the senate, and a language too that could reach the hearts of the people. The language of Vergil is not further removed from that of Cicero than is the verse of Plautus from the speech of the common people; or we may even say that the language of Vergil is not more artificial than that of Cicero, and that in some respects it is far more natural. The fundamental difference between the prosody of comedy and of epic verse is determined by the objects and ideals of the two arts. Plautus strove to picture real life to the noisy throng of the theatre, Vergil strove to set forth lofty ideals to be read in the quiet

the authors would have revealed, or my judgment in certain cases may differ from that of another. I trust that with all due allowance for the personal equation, and whatever may be the view of the exact interpretation of the examples cited, I have made the general principle clear.

<sup>1</sup> The generally received theory seems to be that in elision the drama reproduces the natural form of the spoken language, while the epic strives as far as possible to avoid elision. Vergil's *Aeneid*, however, approaches as near as does Terence to the number of such vowel combinations which would naturally occur in Latin where no effort was made to regulate their occurrence. While the *Aeneid* has a little more than one-half the normal number of elisions, Terence has nearly twice the normal number. Cf. Maurenbrecher, *Hiatus u. Verschleifung*, 224 and 251.

of the study or in a circle of congenial listeners. As a result comedy adopted a more emphatic method of utterance and emphasized the stress element in the accent; the epic employed a more evenly sustained method of expression. This difference may be expressed by the terms *staccato* and *legato*. The weakening, or even loss, of the vowel in such words as *sol(i)-dus* is to be attributed to this method of utterance and not to a specially prominent accent. Though the principle would apply in this case to the language as a whole, its application can be more clearly illustrated by the language of the drama. In order to be better understood, there would be the tendency on the stage to emphasize the essential parts of words. This would be accomplished by the mode of expending the breath, beginning with a strong impulse and followed by a sudden decrease (Scripture, *Experimental Phonetics*<sup>5</sup>, p. 499). This method of pronouncing the short syllable has been observed to characterize the German stage (Sievers, *Phonetik*, § 593, 223). To counteract the effect of the stress in adding to the length, the syllable would be pronounced without a prominent pitch accent and very short; for not only quantity, but also pitch and stress, contribute to produce the effect of length, and this fact was recognized by the Romans (Terent. Maurus K. VI, 339). This method of utterance in the case of such a word as *solidus* would tend to obscure or even obliterate the short penult, especially if this were unaccented and followed by a syllable with a secondary accent (Brugmann, *Indog. Gramm.* I<sup>2</sup>, § 1066, 976). It is to be noted that the fall in pitch, as well as the decrease in stress, would contribute to this same result (Scripture, 458). In this word the acute accent would necessarily end in a low tone, as the penult has a low tone. We cannot accept Seelmann's (*Aussprache des Latein*, p. 43) interpretation of the acute accent as "ein hochebener stimmton." This is neither in accordance with our best ancient authorities (Aristoxenus, *Harm. Elem.* i, 28), nor in harmony with experimental phonetics (Sievers, *Phonetik*<sup>5</sup>, § 599, 225). The ear only receives a general impression of the varying pitch of a short syllable (Scripture, 473), and the falling pitch would give but a single impression, and this

would correspond to the middle tone rather than to the high tone at the beginning of the syllable. The pitch would accordingly appear lower than the tone of a long syllable which began with the same pitch, but which was more prolonged and more evenly sustained. As a result we find a short accented syllable used in pause-elision where a long accented syllable would not be admissible. (For the relation of pause-elision to pitch, see p. 106 f.)

This principle also affords a natural explanation of the iambic law (*brevis brevians*). The long syllable following the short is not pronounced with the even tone which it would receive under other circumstances, but the first part of this long syllable is obscured because a part of the time of pronunciation is occupied by the recovery of the voice after its fall attendant on the pronunciation of the preceding short syllable. The effect would be to make the syllable short in sound, even though the time of a long syllable were actually given to it. Thus we see that the whole tendency of the method of delivery which characterized the stage would be to shorten and weaken unaccented syllables, and the prosody of the drama gives abundant illustration of this characteristic.

In the epic the tendency is the opposite. Here we have a relatively even flow of speech. This is true of the epics of all languages, and is exemplified by the method adopted by the most effective readers of epic verse. If the epic writers had been at liberty to avail themselves of poetic license, they would doubtless have desired to shorten syllables rather than to lengthen them. Their Greek models abounded in short syllables, and to gain the same effects they would have been much aided by being able to employ a larger number of dactyls, but it was not a matter of choice but of law. Consequently we do not find the shortening of a single syllable in Vergil, if we regard the perfect *-erunt* as representing the original quantity.

The contrast between the tendencies of the drama and of the more formal kinds of poetry is well illustrated by the difference in treatment of a syllable with a short vowel before a mute and liquid. The drama does not employ such a



syllable as long, whereas the other forms of verse often lengthen it.

The ictus also in dramatic and epic verse was treated in harmony with the difference in the character of the verse. As it was the aim of the drama to emphasize the essential part of words, there would be a tendency to have the ictus fall on the same syllable as the main accent; whereas in the more formal kinds of poetry, in order to produce a more even flow, the opposite tendency prevailed. The drama would tend to lay but a slight stress on the ictus when it did not conform to the word-accent. Accordingly it is more difficult to trace any direct influence of the ictus on the prosody of the drama than it is on other forms of verse.

That the word-accent is the main accent in verse receives support from the principle governing accent in pause-elision. It is the word-accent and not the ictus which is avoided in the second syllable of pause-elision. This elision may occur either in the arsis or the thesis of the foot.<sup>1</sup>

Let us illustrate the method of reading pause-elision in Vergil by reference to Dante and Milton; and at the same time one point in the similarity of the structure of their verse will be brought into clear relief. In *Paradise Lost* Milton abandoned his earlier method in the use of an extra syllable before a pause and adopted the method of Vergil and Dante.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The very fact that there is the tendency in some verse to have the ictus correspond with the word-accent, while in other verse there is the opposite tendency, suggests that the ictus has an appreciable force. Again the lengthening of short syllables in the arsis implies a certain amount of stress inherent in this syllable. Although the ictus is only one element of the verse which contributes to the lengthening, yet that it is an element is illustrated by the fact that in upwards of 75 cases of lengthening in Vergil all occur in the arsis.

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to see how closely Dante's usage in regard to pause-elision corresponds to that of Vergil. As the second syllable in pause-elision in the *Divina Commedia*, Dante uses: (1) words not accented on the first syllable; (2) sentence enclitics, such as *e, il, O*; (3) words which have but a light sentence-accent, if any, such as *ove, onde, alla, intra, anco, altro, io, hai, era, una, ecco*. I have also noted the two following exceptional cases:

*Purg.* xxxi, 71 Per udir se' dolente, alza la barba.

The imperative *alza* may be compared to the similar use of the imperatives in Horace, *Sat.* i, 5. 12, and ii. 3, 236.

*Inf.* viii, 44 Baciommi il volto, e disse: "Alma sdegnosa.



this regard, it would seem evident that these cases are parallel with such as the following : *Aen.* i, 48 :

bella gero. et quisquam numen Iunonis adorat.

The term *elision* is a convenient one to apply to this phenomenon whether in Vergil, Dante, or Milton. No line of demarcation can be drawn in Milton between the cases cited above in which there is a marked sense-pause and such a vowel combination as *th' Almighty*. It would seem clear that Milton regarded the latter as elision from the fact that he omitted the vowel in writing (Bridges, *Milton's Prosody*, p. 50).

Let us compare Milton's earlier use of the extra syllable before a pause with his later method. I desire to emphasize the fact that it is not simply the absolute length of a syllable which makes it long or short to the ear, but its method of utterance and its relation to the following pause. The ear and the eye have their own laws, and these are not in all cases the laws of mathematics. Discussions of prosody do not always appear to have given sufficient weight to this principle. L. Müller (*Hor. Sat. und Epist.* p. xxvi) goes so far in the opposite direction as to justify the introduction of a caesura after a preposition in composition on the ground that it is *tnesis* for the ear only.

Milton's earlier method is illustrated by the following :

*Comus* 66 To quench the drouth of Phoebus; which as they taste.

The light pronunciation with low pitch which must here be given to the extra syllable, would tend to make it blend with the pause to such an extent that it would count rather as a part of the pause than of the verse proper. This use of the extra syllable involved a method of pronunciation which was more in harmony with the spirit of the drama than with that of epic poetry. In *Paradise Lost* the extra syllable is used in connection with a pause only when the syllable before the pause ends in a vowel, and the following syllable begins with a vowel and is unaccented; or we may say that the hypermetrical syllable is replaced by elision. The first syllable with its falling tone and diminishing sound blends

with the pause, and the following unaccented syllable rises from the pause and completes the verse-syllable. If a consonant intervened, the effect of unity would be broken. With the verse-type in mind, the two syllables produce the effect of one verse-syllable, and the pause does not prevent this any more than a caesura destroys the unity of the foot. The reason for the unaccented syllable as the second part of the elision is readily felt. There would not be the effect of one verse-syllable if the elements forming it were in a different pitch, especially if the first ended in a low pitch and the second began with a high pitch.

It is more essential even in English with its strong stress-accent that the pitch of the two syllables in elision be the same than that the quantity or stress should be similar. This may be seen from such lines as the following:

x, 86 Of high collateral glory ; Him thrones and powers.  
 xii, 582 Deeds to thy knowledge answerable ; add faith.

In the case of these lines the verse-syllable is more affected by a rise in the pitch of the second syllable than by increased stress.<sup>1</sup>

When there is no sense-pause the second syllable may be accented :

ix, 1082 And rapture so oft beheld ; those heavenly shapes.

Here the two syllables form one continuous sound with the upward glide, or rising pitch, and thus form one verse-syllable.

I have assumed that the rule which is observed in regard to accent in pause-elision shows that the pause was to be observed in reading.<sup>2</sup> The conviction that the sense-pause in elision should in some way be recognized has often been expressed. For example, Corssen (*Aussprache* II<sup>2</sup>, 781) says that pause-elision is only for the poet and the reader, "auf

<sup>1</sup> As a rule in English, as in many languages, pitch and stress increase together, but they do not necessarily correspond. Cf. Sievers, *Phonetik*, § 658, 245; § 259, 246.

<sup>2</sup> The reason for the unaccented syllable in pause-elision cannot be the same as in elision in which the first part is the ultima of an iambic word. In the latter case the unaccented syllable is used in the second part of the elision in order that the characteristic syllable of the iambic word may not be obscured.



der Bühne kann sie nicht gesprochen und gehört worden sein." This also appears to be the view of Kühner, though it is somewhat differently expressed. Professor Humphreys (*Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* X, p. 40) would pronounce both vowels in pause-elision in Greek, but would not observe the pause. He holds the view that in other cases the elided vowels were suppressed.

The failure to recognize the sense-pause in elision has led to all manner of difficulties in regard to the caesura.<sup>1</sup>

It has given rise to the theory of a "latent caesura" which in reality is no caesura, and has even resulted in the placing of the caesura after a preposition in composition (L. Müller, *Hor. Sat. u. Epist.* p. xxvi).

From what has been said of accent in relation to the pause-elision in Milton, it will appear that I regard harmony in the pitch between the syllables as the essential element.<sup>2</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Elision in the diaeresis of the pentameter is regarded as a defect (Plessis, *Métrique*, 112). Yet Catullus has fifteen cases (*Class. Rev.* XV, 362). The fact that this elision was discarded by later poets does not prove that it was a defect, any more than the fact that Vergil has a larger percentage of elisions than the later writers shows his inferiority in this respect.

<sup>2</sup> Greek verse as a rule avoids a marked sentence-accent on the second syllable in pause-elision, and this accent is indisputably one of pitch. The same general principle applies to the Greek, as has been illustrated in the case of the Latin, though the Greek does not conform so strictly to the rule. We may illustrate the Greek usage by a reference to Soph. *Antig.* and *Oed. Tyr.* We have such cases of the accented short vowel in the second syllable of pause-elision as the vocative *ἄναξ* and the imperatives *ἄγετε* and *ἴτω*. We have noted that the Latin and the Italian display a greater freedom in the use of the vocative and the imperative than in other forms of nouns and verbs. The Greek does not seem to make so marked a distinction between the short and the long syllable in relation to the accent as does the Latin.

In the case of the long syllable in the second part of pause-elision, we find in frequent use such words as have as a rule only a secondary sentence-accent, such as: *οὐτ', εἴτ', ὥστ', εἶ, οἶα*, etc.

The most exceptional examples of pause-elision are the following: the vocative *ὄναξ* found in *Antig.* 563; *Oed. Tyr.* 286, 304, 852. The imperative *τοῦθι* *Oed. Tyr.* 346, 1022.

*Antig.* 305 εὖ τοῦτ' ἐπίστασ', ἄρκιος δὲ σοι λέγω.

755 εἰ μὴ πατήρ ἦσθ', εἶπον ἄν σ' οὐκ εὖ φρονεῖν.

*Oed. Tyr.* 222 νῦν δ', ὕστερος γὰρ ἄστὸς εἰς ἄστούς τελέω.

249 ἐπέυχομαι δ', οἴκοισιν εἰ ξυνέστιος.

527 ἠὐδᾶτο μὲν τὰδ', οἶδα δ' οὐ γνώμη τινα.

interpretation of the rule of accent in pause-elision in Latin, which seems to me to grow out of the nature of the case, emphasizes that element of the accent which our best ancient authorities consider its essential characteristic. Even though we do not concede that they were correct, yet their statements seem clearly to imply that they interpreted *accentus* to be pitch-accent like the Greek. (Cf. *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* XXXV, 65 ff.; Vendryes, 35; Sievers, *Phonetik*<sup>5</sup>, § 570, 216.)

The second syllable in pause-elision in Latin seems to allow an increase in stress rather than a rise in pitch. The second syllable is often such a word as the pronoun *hic*, and it is used in some cases even when emphasis falls on it, as in Verg. *Ecl.* i, 13. We do not, however, find that the pronoun could be replaced by a noun. The natural inference is that this pronoun, which is usually a sentence-enclitic, has the low tone of an enclitic, and that emphasis does not add so much to the pitch as to the stress.<sup>1</sup>

It seems to me that some evidence in relation to the pitch may be derived from elisions which occur at the end of a question.<sup>2</sup> Though we may not be able to prove in any given case that the Romans used the rising inflection, yet in certain cases the probability would be in favor of the rising inflection, in others of the falling. The question arises whether there is the tendency to have an accented syllable in the second part of the elision, when, owing to the question,

In the two lines from the *Antigone* the exceptional character of the elisions is in harmony with the agitation of the speaker; in the three last lines the weakness of the first syllable of the elision is to be taken into account. Cf. footnote on *-que*, p. 93.

The Homeric poems show greater freedom of usage in regard to pause-elision than does later Greek verse. In Homer even accented nouns are not infrequently found, as: *Il.* i, 104; ii, 775, 807, 842; *Od.* i, 429; iv, 261.

<sup>1</sup> The tendency to admit the imperative in pause-elision in preference to other forms of the verb is naturally explained by the relatively low pitch which characterizes the imperative. Horace has the following examples of this use of the imperative: *esto, accipe*, and *aufer* (p. 86); in the *Oed. Tyr.* *τοῦ* is thus twice employed (p. 106); one of the most exceptional cases in Dante is the imperative *alza* (p. 102); Milton also presents at least one striking example (p. 105).

<sup>2</sup> No trace of the influence of pitch can be discovered in phonetics (Vendryes, *op. cit.* 39).

the first syllable would naturally have the rising inflection. Let us consider that case of elision in Persius which would seem to be the most exceptional of all when considered simply in relation to the general rule of pause-elision :

iii, 7 unus ait comitum. "verumne? itane? ocius adsit.

The rising inflection would seem to be natural in *verumne* and *itane*. Such an interpretation would explain the accented long vowel of *ocius* in pause-elision. *Itane* probably has at least as prominent an accent on the first syllable as on the second. Here, as often, Persius imitates the form and spirit of comedy, and the normal accent of *itane* when elided, as it is in this case, would be on the first syllable in Plautus (*Amer. Journ. Phil.* XIV, 313). For *tántane* see Probus K. IV, 145.

Catullus 77, 1, 2 Rufe, mihi frustra ac nequiquam credite amice  
(frustra? immo magno cum pretio atque malo).

As in this case there is no means of indicating the question except by the tone of the voice, the rising inflection may be assumed. The accent of *immo*, which would otherwise be exceptional in pause-elision, is explained by the high pitch of the preceding syllable. The following cases of pause-elision seem somewhat similar: Hor. *Sat.* i, 3, 20; i, 4, 126, 137. Such pause-elisions as these, even when the pitch of the two parts corresponds, is more marked and more abrupt than the normal form. In elisions with the low tone in both syllables, the effect of the pause is produced by the fall and rise of the voice, even though the actual pause be but slight. When the syllables in elision have the high pitch, the contrast between the sound and the pause is very marked. Accordingly in the more formal kinds of poetry we do not find elision used with a question which seems to require the rising pitch. The similarity in pitch may also be an element in such cases as *Aen.* ix, 427 me me (adsum . . . , and Persius i, 111 euge! omnes. The accent on the ultima of *euge* is as strong as on the first syllable (Donat. K. IV, 371).

The accent of Latin stands in marked contrast to that of English, in which the stress is strong and is the main element,

while the pitch is not fixed but free, and is a subordinate and variable quantity. In the Latin the element of pitch certainly seems to approach in importance the element of stress, even though it is not here claimed to be the most important element, as is implied in our ancient authorities. In the Romance languages pitch is a more marked element of accent than in the Teutonic languages. This may be attributed in part to their inheritance from the Latin and in part to climatic influences (Hempl, *German Orthography and Phonology*, § 248, 168). Some of the characteristics of the Latin accent may be illustrated by the French accent. We draw the inference from the relation of the accent to the second syllable in pause-elision in Latin that the important words in a sentence, such as nouns, have a higher pitch than unimportant and dependent words, and that long syllables have a higher pitch than short syllables. Distinct traces of these characteristics of the Latin pronunciation may be seen in the French. Viëtor (*Elemente der Phonetik*<sup>5</sup>, § 148, 305) says in reference to the French, "Im Satz trifft der höchste Ton gern die stärksten und längsten Silben."

The principle that the long accented syllable should be avoided in pause-elision appears to be more fundamental in the Greek and Latin than in the Italian and English, in which the element of pitch is less prominent. Tasso shows great freedom in the use of the accented syllable in pause-elision, and Milton in his earlier period did not recognize as essential the principle which prevailed in the Latin and which he afterward followed.

I have shown that a prominent accent is avoided in the second syllable of pause-elision in the more formal kinds of Latin verse. I have shown too that this principle is one of broad application and that it is carefully observed by Dante in his *Divina Commedia* and by Milton in his epics, and that Greek verse, although characterized by greater freedom of construction, does not disregard it. The difference between the treatment of pause-elision, and elision in which the elided words are closely connected in thought, clearly shows that there was a difference in the method of reading the two kinds



of elision. As the principle which underlies the two types of elision in Vergil, Dante, and Milton is precisely the same, it naturally follows that the same method of reading applies in the case of the three authors. There is entire agreement in regard to the way in which the pause-elisions should be read in Dante and Milton, and consequently the method of reading Vergil is thereby clearly indicated.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Additional light is thrown on the exceptional cases of pause-elision by a study of the drama. I shall consider elsewhere in the near future pause-elision in the drama and other phenomena of elision.

The suggestion has been made to me, while this was passing through the press, that the Vergil passage (*Aen.* v, 681) discussed on p. 93 ff. may be explained by assuming that *udb sub rōbore* may have been the common accentuation in prose in these stereotyped phrases, adjective, preposition (unaccented), noun; and that there would be a tendency to assimilate the accent of these expressions to that of pronominal phrases, such as *quibūscum hominibus*, and that accordingly the difference in accent of the two types would be but slight. However, the following considerations seem to me to militate against this view: (1) The use of *cum* as an enclitic proper seems to be limited to pronouns, and we are hardly justified in assuming that it may stand in the same relation to an attributive adjective. (2) If *sub* stands in the relation of enclitic to *udo*, it cannot be assumed that the accent of the penult of *udo* would be affected (cf. *ἄλλως πως*). It is a question how far even the inseparable enclitic affects the accent of the word to which it is attached. (3) Prepositions show a tendency to coalesce with the noun which follows rather than with a preceding modifier of the noun. Prepositions in Greek are as a rule proclitic. This tendency may be illustrated in Latin by the caesura of such lines as the following: *Aen.* x, 212 *spumea semifero sub pectore murmurat unda*; cf. v, 525; *Ecl.* i, 8 (cf. *A. J. P.* XXV, p. 415). (4) Elision often occurs in similar phrases, as *Aen.* v, 129 *frondenti ex ilice*, and it does not seem in harmony with Vergil's method in the use of elision, even when the elided words are closely connected in thought, to elide a strongly accented syllable before an unaccented syllable. Such accentuation tends to produce hiatus (cf. *A. J. P. l. c.* p. 273). (5) The relation of the word-accent to the short syllables of the dactyls occurring in the second and third feet is also an important consideration. I hope to show elsewhere that the rule of the accent in the case of these short syllables is very definite. For my present purpose I desire to point out that, when the first of two short syllables is a final syllable of a word of two or more syllables, the second short syllable of the dactyl has an accent and is usually the penult of a dissyllabic word (cf., for the corresponding usage in comedy, Klotz, *Grundzüge*, p. 255).

*Aen.* vi, 460 ff. *invitus, reginā, tū'o de litore cessi.*  
*sed me iussā dē'um, quae nunc has ire per umbras,*  
*per loca sentā sī'tu cogunt noctemque profundam,*  
*imperii egerē sū'is; nec credere quivi.*

The accent *udb de* would be most exceptional in this part of the verse and would seem to me to mar the rhythmical flow of the passage.

## VI.—Notes on the Bucolic Diaeresis.

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THE object of this paper is twofold: (1) to discuss the appropriateness of the name 'bucolic' as given to the diaeresis at the end of the fourth foot in dactylic hexameter, and (2) to examine the use of this pause by the Homeric poet from the standpoint of the connection of thought.

Marius Victorinus tells us (p. 114 K.) that this pause received the epithet 'bucolic' because of its frequent use by the bucolic poets. This statement is somewhat misleading. The Alexandrian poets generally (Aratus, however, uses it less than Homer) showed a fondness for it, and if all the genuine extant idylls of Theocritus be compared with the *Hymns* of Callimachus and the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius, it will be found that the diaeresis in question, at least when regarded as a pause in the sense, was used more frequently by both the latter poets. It is rather in the bucolic *poems* that its use abounds. A word ends with the fourth foot in 74 per cent of the verses of these poems, and there is a pause in the sense sufficient to warrant the use of at least a comma in 22 per cent (Kunst, *de Theocriti versu heroico*, Leipzig, 1887, p. 54), as compared with 19 per cent for the *Hymns* and 20 per cent for the *Argonautica*. But even in the bucolic idylls we do not find the most frequent occurrence of the bucolic diaeresis. In the 134 hexameter verses of the *Epigrams* of Callimachus (ed. Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, Berlin, 1882) there are but ten in which a word does not end with the fourth foot, and 60 per cent of the verses have a pause in the sense here. Furthermore, at times the Homeric poet uses the diaeresis quite as frequently as Theocritus does. In K 149-154, N 161-166, and  $\nu$  209-214 there is at least a slight pause in sense at the end of the fourth foot for six consecutive verses. In  $\Omega$  81-101 a word ends here in

every verse. In N 682-697 half of the verses have a mark of punctuation at the same place. The lament of Andromache for Hector, Ω 725-745, a literary unit comparable in length with the ninth idyll of Theocritus, shows a word-ending at the bucolic diaeresis in 95 per cent of the verses, and a pause in sense in 33 per cent. It is clear, therefore, that this diaeresis is not used most frequently in the bucolic poems, and hence the epithet 'bucolic' is not justified on this ground.

But the fondness of Theocritus for this pause is indicated also, as Fritzsche has shown (*Theocrits Eidyllen*, Leipzig, 1857, pp. 12, 41, 44), by the way in which he used it. *Anaphora* is often found after the bucolic diaeresis, the last two feet of the verse echoing the thought of the first four, e.g. :—

*Id.* i. 66-67 : πᾶ ποκ' ἄρ' ἦσθ' ὅτε Δάφνις ἐτάκετο, πᾶ ποκα, Νύμφαι ;  
ἦ κατὰ Πηνειῷ καλὰ τέμπεα, ἦ κατὰ Πίνδῳ ;

Other passages which show the poet's use of the pause to produce this and other kinds of rhetorical balance are :—

i. 64 (cf. 127), 80, 100-101, 105-106 ; ii. 15-16 ; iv. 31 ; v. 14, 104, 112-114, 122-124 ; vii. 3-4, 24, 57, 71-72, 78, 84, 105 ; ix. 7-8, 33-34. Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* viii. 7-8.

These verses make it clear that the bucolic poet intended to emphasize the importance of this pause in his bucolic idylls. But this use of the diaeresis cannot be regarded as an innovation on his part. Theocritus did only what Homer had done before him. A careful reading of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* with this subject in mind will reveal scores, if not hundreds, of verses in which the bucolic diaeresis is employed to produce a rhetorical effect. The following will serve as examples :—

B 90 αἱ μὲν τ' ἔνθα ἄλις πεποτήγεται, αἱ δέ τε ἔνθα ·  
I 381 οὐδ' ὄσ' ἐς Ὀρχομενὸν ποτινίσσεται, οὐδ' ὄσα Θήβας  
γ 109 ἔνθα μὲν Αἴας κείται ἀρήμιος, ἔνθα δ' Ἀχιλλεύς,  
θ 488 ἦ σέ γε μούσ' ἐδίδαξε, Διὸς πάις, ἦ σέ γ' Ἀπόλλων ·  
ψ 67-68 αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς  
ᾤλεσε τηλοῦ νόστον Ἀχαιῶδος, ᾤλετο δ' αὐτός.

I have noted the following verses in which anaphora occurs after the pause at the end of the fourth foot :—

A 142, B 90, 363, 507, I 381, K 170, Λ 776, N 131 (Π 215), 308, 738, Ξ 234 (P 635, 713), O 714, Π 12, P 85, 431, Σ 472, 536 (Ω 530, δ 102, λ 303, Σ 159, Ω 10), Ω 408 (λ 175, ρ 577), α 24, γ 109, δ 821, θ 488, μ 105, ν 203 (cf. Theoc. i, 80 quoted above), χ 47, ψ 68, ω 291, θ 322 (cf. Theoc. i, 66), τ 563, A 395, K 84, 174, 445, Ω 47, 221, ο 84, 168, π 100, υ 297, φ 197, ξ 103 (cf. Theoc. i, 67 quoted above), E 751 (Θ 395, λ 525), K 109, A 93, 548, B 202, E 521, 817 (N 224), N 513, P 20, 367, T 262, β 26, Ω 157 (186), γ 127, δ 690, ε 104 (138), ξ 192, θ 563, ι 108, 122, π 203, φ 108, E 827, Θ 7, π 302, σ 416 (υ 324), Σ 102, 185, θ 298, μ 77 (434), γ 96 (δ 326), K 422, T 306, ξ 82, 94, π 27, β 273.

A striking use of anaphora after the bucolic diaeresis is found in γ 429–435. Nestor is preparing to sacrifice to Athena on the morning after the arrival of Telemachus, and sends one of his sons for the heifer, another for the smith, and another to summon the companions of Telemachus from the ship. The narrative continues :—

ὡς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἐποίπνου. ἦλθε μὲν ἄρ βουῖς  
 ἐκ πεδίου, ἦλθον δὲ θοῆς παρὰ νηὸς εἴσης  
 Τηλεμάχου ἕταροι μεγαλήτορος, ἦλθε δὲ χαλκεὺς  
 ὄπλ' ἐν χερσὶν ἔχων χαλκήϊα, πείρατα τέχνης,  
 (ἄκμονά τε σφῦράν τ' ἐνποῖόν τε πυράγρην,  
 οἰσὶν τε χρυσὸν εἰργάζετο· ἦλθε δ' Ἀθήνη κτλ.

The repetition of ἦλθε three times after the bucolic diaeresis is certainly more than accidental. Perhaps Theocritus was influenced by these verses when he wrote (*Id.* i, 80–81) :—

ἦνθον τοὶ βῶται, τοὶ ποιμένες, ῥπόλοι ἦνθον,  
 πάντες ἀνηρώτων, τί πάθοι κακόν. ἦνθ' ὁ Πιρήπος κτλ.

Similar is the anaphora in τ 172–177 :—

Κρήτη τις γαί' ἔστι μέσῳ ἐνὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ  
 καλὴ καὶ πείρα, περίρρυτος· ἐν δ' ἄνθρωποι  
 πολλοὶ, ἀπειρέσιοι, καὶ ἐννήκοντα πόλεις.  
 ἄλλη δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσα, μεμιγμένη· ἐν μὲν Ἀχαιοί,  
 ἐν δ' Ἑτεόκρητες μεγαλήτορες, ἐν δὲ Κύδωνες κτλ.



Other kinds of rhetorical balance are illustrated by the following passages:—

Λ 404-405, Ν 301-302, 742-743, Τ 365-366, Φ 464-466, Χ 485-486, Ψ 321, 323, 326, 621-623, γ 11-12 (cf. Theoc. i, 100-101), λ 4, 20.

These are some of the verses which may be cited to show that the bucolic poet has no claim to originality when he uses the pause at the end of the fourth foot to produce a rhetorical effect. Thus from this standpoint also, the epithet 'bucolic' has no real justification.

Two facts already noticed have an important bearing on the theory of the origin of the hexameter. Metricians have stated that the hexameter of the bucolic poets is composed according to its origin, not like the heroic hexameter, of two tripodies, but of a tetrapody and a dipody (Rossbach, *Theorie der musischen Künste*, 3d ed. III, 2, p. 51; Gleditsch, in von Müller's *Handbuch*, II, 3, p. 121). The evidence from the poems themselves which is given in support of this theory is, first, the predominance of the pause at the end of the fourth foot in the bucolic poems (Rossbach, *l.c.*), and, second, the frequent use of anaphora after the pause (Gleditsch, *l.c.*). But if the Homeric poet sometimes uses this diaeresis more frequently than does Theocritus, and employs anaphora after it in a similar way, the same argument applies to a considerable percentage of the verses of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Either these Homeric verses are derived from the union of a tetrapody with a dipody, or else the bucolic hexameter in respect to origin is the same as Homer's verse.

It remains to examine the use, aside from that already considered, which the Homeric poet makes of this pause. We can do this most readily, perhaps, by comparing the bucolic diaeresis with the main pause of the verse. The similarity between the caesura of the third foot and the pause at the end of the verse scholars have pointed out from various standpoints. Hiatus and the *syllaba anceps* are allowed before this caesura in the same way as at the close of the verse, but not to the same extent. Monosyllables which cannot stand

at the beginning of the verse are not found immediately after the pause, and, likewise, monosyllables which are not found at the end of the verse do not immediately precede the pause (La Roche, *Wiener Studien*, XVIII (1896), p. 3). Professor Seymour has shown (*Harvard Studies*, III (1892), pp. 91-128) that there is a strong tendency in the Homeric poems to make the thought complete with the end of the verse, and that to a considerable degree this is true of the pause in the third foot. The poet treated the verse as a thought-unit as well as a metrical unit, and he regarded the half-verse as a thought-unit also, although to a less extent. The first half-verse states the essential facts of the narrative; the second half merely adds picturesque details and is often parenthetical. The second half-verse oftentimes may be omitted for successive verses without disturbing the narrative. Finally, there are a very large number of tags suited to follow the caesura of the third foot (*Transactions Am. Phil. Assoc.* XVI (1885), pp. 30-40).

Let us now test the pause at the end of the fourth foot by each of these six principles: (1) hiatus, (2) *syllaba anceps*, (3) position of certain word-forms, (4) tendency of the pause to separate the essential part of the narrative from the picturesque and often purely parenthetical, (5) possibility of omitting the feet which follow the pause for successive verses without disturbing the narrative, and (6) the existence of numerous verse-tags which are suited to follow the pause.

It has already been established that in regard to the first three the pause at the end of the fourth foot is, in *kind*, like that in the third foot, just as the latter caesura in the effect produced resembles the end of the verse, although less extensively. (For hiatus, see van Leeuwen, *Enchiridion*, p. 79; for *syllaba anceps*, Christ, *Metrik*, p. 195; for position of certain word-forms, La Roche, *l.c.*, and *Zeitschrift für die öster. Gym.* XLVI (1895), p. 588.) It is the purpose of this part of my paper to show that in respect to the last three principles, that is, in the influence of the pause on the connection of thought, the bucolic diaeresis has a force similar in kind to that of the caesura of the third foot.

I. The first four feet of the verse carry the burden of the narrative; the last two feet add unessential but picturesque details, or repeat in slightly different form an idea which has already been expressed, the *clausula* being often entirely parenthetical. The material at command is so abundant — nearly 3000 verses — that only the briefest indication can be given, together with a few examples, of the ways in which this principle is illustrated.

For convenience I have divided the material into five groups, basing the division on the form of the *clausula*.

GROUP A. The last two feet of the verse consist of a word or brief clause joined to the preceding four feet by a coördinate conjunction which is contained in the *clausula*. This is the largest group and consists of more than 1000 verses. The following are taken almost at random:—

- Δ 26 πῶς ἐθέλεις ἄλιον θεῖναι πόνον | ἦδ' ἀτέλεστον,  
 δ 387 τὸν δέ τ' ἐμόν φασιν πατέρ' ἔμμεναι | ἦδὲ τεκέσθαι.  
 I 334 ἄλλα δ' ἀριστήεσσι δίδου γέρα | καὶ βασιλεῦσιν·  
 E 735 ποικίλον, ὃν ῥ' αὐτῆ ποιήσατο | καὶ κάμε χερσίν·  
 A 497 ἠερίῃ δ' ἀνέβη μέγαν οὐρανὸν | Οὐλυμπόν τε.  
 Γ 59 Ἐκτορ, ἐπεὶ με κατ' αἴσαν ἐνείκεσας | οὐδ' ὑπὲρ αἴσαν,  
 Θ 459 ἦ τοι Ἀθηναίη ἀκέων ἦν | οὐδέ τι εἶπεν,  
 β 220 εἰ δέ κε τεθνηῶτος ἀκούσω | μηδ' ἔτ' ἔοντος,

In these verses it is clear that the *clausula* is not essential to the narrative. It merely repeats a previously expressed thought in a different form. Take for example A 62-64:—

- ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ τινα μάντιν ἐρείομεν ἢ ἱερῆα  
 ἢ καὶ ὄνειροπόλον, καὶ γάρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διός ἐστιν,  
 ὃς κ' εἶποι ὅτι τόσσον ἐχώσατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων,

Here both the *clausula* of vs. 62 and the whole of vs. 63 are in a way parenthetical. As far as the burden of the narrative is concerned the clause beginning ὃς κ' εἶποι (vs. 64) might as well have followed immediately after ἐρείομεν, *e.g.*:—

- ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ τινα μάντιν ἐρείομεν, ὃς τέ κε φαίη  
 ὅττι τόσον Δαναοῖσιν ἐχώσατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων,

To show in another way that the poet could dispense with these brief clauses when the narrative demanded it, the following pairs of verses may be cited:—

- Γ 67 νῦν αὐτ', εἴ μ' ἐθέλεις πολεμίζειν | ἥδ' ἐμάχεσθαι, and  
 Λ 717 ἀλλὰ μάλ' ἐσσυμένους πολεμίζειν. | οὐδέ κε Νηλεὺς κτλ.  
 ω 335 δῶρά, τὰ δεῦρο μολῶν μοι ὑπέσχετο | καὶ κατένευσεν. and  
 I 263 ὄσσα τοι ἐν κλισίῃσιν ὑπέσχετο | δῶρ' Ἀγαμέμνων,

GROUP B. The clausula consists of an appositional phrase. To this group belong the familiar tags, *ποιμένα λαῶν, ἰσθόθεος φῶς, δια θεάων*, and many others. These are too well-known to require further comment. The verses number about 300.

GROUP C. The last two feet contain a brief simile introduced by *ἥυτε, ἴσος* (*ἴσα, ἴση, ἴσων*), *ὥς* (postpositive),—53 verses, *e.g.*:—

- A 359 καρπαλίμως δ' ἀνέδν πολίης ἀλός | ἥυτ' ὀμίχλη,  
 E 438 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὸ τέταρτον ἐπέσσαντο | δαίμονι ἴσος,  
 ζ 309· τῷ ὄ γε οἰνοποτάζει ἐφήμενος | ἀθάνατος ὥς.

It may be remarked here that *ἥυτε* introducing a comparison is found more frequently (22 times) immediately after the bucolic diaeresis than in all other positions in the verse together (15 times). The comparison is sometimes expanded in the following verses, *e.g.*, Δ 243–245, φ 48.

GROUP D. A participle or participial phrase fills out the verse after the bucolic diaeresis, adding some unessential but picturesque detail. It is often parenthetical. This is a large class, including more than 500 verses.

- B 167 βῆ δὲ κατ' Οὐλύμποιο καρῆνων | αἶξασα,  
 © 543 οἱ δ' ἵππους μὲν ἔλυσαν ὑπὸ ζυγοῦ | ἰδρώοντας,  
 η 340 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ στόρεσαν πυκινὸν λέχος | ἐγκονέουσαι,  
 A 450 τοῖσιν δὲ Χρῦσης μεγάλ' εὔχετο | χεῖρας ἀνασχῶν·  
 A 586 τέτλαθι, μήτηρ ἐμή, καὶ ἀνίσχεο | κηδομένη περ,  
 φ 413 ἐτράπετο. Ζεὺς δὲ μεγάλ' ἔκτυπε | σήματα φαίνων.  
 γ 118 εἰνάετες γάρ σφιν κακὰ ράπτομεν | ἀμφιέποντες  
 παντοίοισι δόλοισι, μόγισ δ' ἐτέλεσσε Κρονίων.

The translation of Butcher and Lang: "For nine whole



years we were busy about them, devising their ruin with all manner of craft," gives the *thought* of the poet but not his manner of telling the story. This would be, perhaps, as follows: "For nine years we were devising their ruin, busily, with all manner of craft, and scarce did the son of Kronos bring it to pass." The last two feet of verse 118 and the first half-verse of 119 are alike added thoughts. The first amplifies the bare statement of the fact, and, while it suggests *παντοίοισι δόλοισι*, it is not essential and might have been omitted.

X 412 λαοὶ μὲν βα γέροντα μόγῃς ἔχον | ἀσχαλόωντα  
ἐξελθεῖν μεμαῶτα πυλάων Δαρδανιάων.

For the simple statement of fact neither *ἀσχαλόωντα* nor *πυλάων Δαρδανιάων* are essential.

P 408 πολλάκι γὰρ τό γε μητρὸς ἐπέιθετο | νόσφιν ἀκούων,

Ameis-Hentze take *μητρὸς* with *ἀκούων*. But it is simpler to construe it with *ἐπέιθετο* and regard *νόσφιν ἀκούων* as parenthetical. For this use of the genitive of the person from whom the information comes, with *πυθάνομαι*, cf. κ 536-537:—

μηδὲ εἶαν νεκύων ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα  
αἴματος ἄσσον ἴμεν, πρὶν Τειρεσίαο πύθέσθαι.

"until Teiresias tells thee."

Ω 82 ἔρχεται ὠμηστῆσιν ἐπ' ἰχθύσι | κῆρα φέρουσα.

The Ameis-Hentze edition (followed by Professor Clapp) says this is the only occurrence of *φέρουσα* with *ἐπί* and the dative, the simple dative being the usual construction. The order of words, however, would make it easier to construe *ἐπ' ἰχθύσι* with *ἔρχεται*, and to regard the last two feet of the verse as parenthetical. For the use of *ἐπί* with the dative after a verb of motion, cf. E 327:—

νηυσὶν ἐπι γλαφυρῆσιν ἐλαυνέμεν.

The phrase *κῆρα φέρουσα* is not found parenthetically elsewhere in the Homeric poems, but we find a collocation of



The adjective *σιγαλόεντα* is used 22 times (7 times in the *Iliad* and 15 times in the *Odyssey*), always at the end of the verse. It is a 'standing epithet,' and is employed as such in this verse, even though it is not strictly applicable to the garments in question. The poet wishes the clause to end with the verse, and this adjective fills the last two feet suitably both as to meter and sense. There is certainly no emphasis on the adjective.

η 34 ff. νησὶ θοῆσιν τοί γε πεποιθότες | ὠκείησιν  
λαΐτμα μέγ' ἐκπερώωσιν, ἐπεὶ σφισι δῶκ' ἐνοσίχθων·  
τῶν νέες ὠκείαι ὡς εἰ πτερόν | ἤε νόημα.

Here are two 'standing epithets,' equivalent in meaning, in the same verse. Compare I 683, where, however, there is not the same tautology: —

νῆας ἐνσέλμους ἄλαδ' ἐλκέμεν | ἄμφιελίσσας.

That *ὠκείησιν* (-άων) is used as the 'standing epithet' after the end of the fourth foot in place of the dative (genitive) of *ἀμφιέλισσα* which would not suit the meter, is seen in Θ 197, ι 101. In the passage in question of course the epithet is the more suitable because of the miraculous swiftness of the Phaeacian ships, and it suggests vs. 36. The adjective is not emphatic. This position is not one of emphasis as has been indicated by the verses already discussed, and as Professor Goodell has shown (*Transactions*, XXI (1891),

χέσσαν,\* κολλητοῖσιν, κουριδίω, κουροτέροισιν, κυανέησιν, κυανοχαίτης, κυδαλίμοιο, κυδιάνειραν,\* κυλλοπόδιον, λαχνήεντα, λειριέντα, λευγαλέω, ληιβοτείρης,\* μειλιχίοισιν, μητιέντος,\* μιλοπάρῃοι,\* μυλθέντα,\* νηπυλοῖσιν,\* ὄβριμοεργόν, ὄβριμοπάτρη, οἶνοπέδοιο,\* οἶνοποτήρας,\* οἰοπόλοισιν, οἰσύνησιν,\* ὄκριέντα, ὄκρυέντος,\* ὄλβιδάμοιο,\* ὄμφαλέςσαν, ὄξυέντα, ὄπλοτεράων, Οὐρανίωες,\* οὐρανομήκης,\* παιπαλοέσσης, παυροτέροισιν, πενταέτηρον, πετρήεσσαν, πευκαλίμησιν, πευκεδανόιο,\* πηγαιμάλλω,\* πιδηέσσης,\* ποιήεσσαν, ποιητοῖσιν, ποικιλομήτην, ποντοπόροιο, πορφυρέοισιν, πουλοβοτείρη,\* πυροφόροιο, σιγαλόεντα,\* τευχίεσσαν,\* τερμιέντα,\* τερπικέρανος, τετραθέλυμον,\* τετραφάλῃον,\* τηλεδαπάν, τιμήεντος, τριγλώχινι, ὑλακώμοιο,\* ὑλήεσσαν, (ὑμετέροισιν), ὑψηλῆσιν, ὑψικάρῃοι,\* ὑψικόμοιοισιν, ὑψικετῆεις,\* ὑψιπέτηλον,\* ὑψορόφοιο, φοινικέσσαν, χαλκοσφώνω,\* χαλκοβάρεια, χαλκοκορυστή,\* χαλκοπαρήου,\* χαλκοχιτώνων, χειμερίησιν, χειροτέροισιν, χρυσοπεδίλου,\* ὠκείων, ὠκυπόδεσσαν, ὠκυπόροισιν, ὠλεσίκαρτοι,\* ὠμοφάγοισιν.

p. 6.) So the note on Ω 539 in the Ameis-Hentze edition (followed by Professor Clapp) seems too strong:—

παίδων ἐν μεγάροισι γονὴ γένητο κρείόντων,

“κρείόντων: d. i. die nach Peleus Tod die Herrschaft übernehmen konnten: *die Herrschaft zu erben*, mit Nachdruck am Ende des Satzes.”

If we compare the Homeric use of these long, picturesque adjectives after the end of the fourth foot with their use in the literary epic, the difference is marked. In Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica*, Book i, there are but six of these adjectives at the end of the verse in agreement with a preceding noun.<sup>1</sup> According to the law of averages Homer would have used about 50. In the first 1000 lines of the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus there is not a single case of an adjective used in this way.<sup>2</sup> The reason is not far to seek. The composer of the literary epic had no objection to ‘the sense variously drawn out from one verse to another.’ But the Homeric poet preferred a pause in the sense at the end of the verse, and as he had often stated all that was essential in the first four feet he used the adjective as one of a number of devices for filling out the last two feet.

A comparison of groups of verses like the following will make it clear that the burden of the narrative would have been just as complete if the epithet had been omitted, and that the poet did leave out the adjective when the last two feet were needed to complete the sense, or when he wished to begin a new clause at the bucolic diaeresis:—

- (a) Δ 65 πᾶς δ' ἄρα χαλκῶ  
 λάμφ' ὥς τε στεροπὴ πατρὸς Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο.  
 Κ 153 τῆλε δὲ χαλκὸς  
 λάμφ' ὥς τε στεροπὴ πατρὸς Διός. αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' ἦρωσ κτλ.
- (b) Π 574 ἐς Πηλῆϊ' ἰκέτευσε καὶ ἐς Θέτιν ἀργυρόπεζαν.  
 Ω 74 ἀλλ' εἴ τις καλέσειε θεῶν Θέτιν ἄσσον ἐμεῖο,  
 Ω 83 εὔρε δ' ἐνὶ σπῆϊ γλαφυρῶ Θέτιν, ἀμφὶ δέ τ' ἄλλαι κτλ.

<sup>1</sup> Homer never uses an adjective of this kind in agreement with a noun in the following verse (La Roche, *Wiener Studien*, XIX (1897), pp. 169, 170).

<sup>2</sup> *λοχέαιρα*, *κυανοχαίτης*, *ἐννοσίγαιος*, and the adjectives in I 179, 280 are used as nouns.



- (c) O 371 εὐχετο, χεῖρ' ὀρέγων εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀσπερόεντα·  
 Ω 97 ἀκτὴν δ' ἐξαναβᾶσαι ἐς οὐρανὸν ἀιχθήτην,  
 Θ 364 ἦ τοι ὁ μὲν κλαίεσκε πρὸς οὐρανόν, αὐτὰρ ἐμὲ Ζεὺς κτλ.

These are typical, not isolated cases. Taken together they form one of the indications, which it is the purpose of this part of the paper to point out, that in a considerable number of his verses the Homeric poet regarded the end of the fourth foot as a proper stopping-place. A new sentence or clause might be begun here, or, if he chose to continue the same clause to the end of the verse, he had in stock a number of words and phrases by which no new point was added, but the thought was beautified or explained.

II. The second characteristic of the bucolic diaeresis which marks it as similar in kind to the main caesura in its influence on the connection of thought is the fact that for successive verses it is possible to omit the last two feet without disturbing the narrative, *e.g.*: —

M 131 τὼ μὲν ἄρα προπάροιθε πυλάων (ὑψηλάων)  
 ἔστασαν ὡς ὅτε τε δρύες οὔρεσιν (ὑψικάρῃνοι),  
 αἶ τ' ἄνεμον μίμνουσι καὶ ἕτερον (ἤματα πάντα),  
 (ῥίξῃσιν μεγάλῃσιν διηνεκέεσσ' ἀραρυῖαι·)  
 ὃς ἄρα τῷ χεῖρεσσι πεποθότες (ἦδ' ἐβίηφιν)  
 μίμνον ἐπερχόμενον μέγαν Ἄσιον (οὐδὲ φέβοντο).

E 472 “Ἐκτορ πῆ δὴ τοι μῖνος οὔχεται, (ὃ πρὶν ἔχεσκες);  
 φῆς που ἄτερ λαῶν πόλιν ἐξέμεν (ἦδ' ἐπικούρων)  
 (οἶος, σὺν γάμβροισι κασιγνήτοισί τε σοῖσιν·)  
 τῶν νῦν οὔ τιν' ἐγὼ ιδέειν δύναμ' (οὐδὲ νοῆσαι),  
 ἀλλὰ καταπτώσσοισι, κύνες ὡς (ἀμφὶ λέοντα).

III. The tags which are suitable to follow the bucolic diaeresis are very numerous. Here again there is so much material that only a brief indication of its character can be given.

(a) All the most prominent divinities and many heroes whose names consist of not more than three syllables have epithets of such length and quantities that the name and epithet together just fill the last two feet of the verse.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> μητίετα Ζεὺς, εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς, εὐρύοπα Ζῆν, πότνια Ἥρη, Πάλλας Ἀθήνη, Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων, Ἄρτεμις ἀγνή, ὄβριμος Ἄρης, χάλκεος Ἄρης, δῆδον Ἄρηα, θούρον

(b) In more than five per cent of the verses of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* the subject, predicate nominative, object, or substantive modifier in an oblique case, with or without a preposition, just fills the last two feet of the verse. This class contains many familiar tags; e.g. θυμὸς ἀγῆνωρ, ὄβριμον ἔγχοσ, νηλεί χαλκῶ, ἐν μεγάροισιν.

(c) Some tags are used in several cases: —

N. πατρὶς ἄρουρα	νηὺς ἐνέργωσ	
G. πατρὸσ αἰῆσ	νηὸσ εἰσῆσ	οἶο δόμοιο
D. πατρίδι γαίῃ	νηὶ μελαίνῃ	ῶ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ
A. πατρίδα γαίαν	νήα μέλαιναν	ὄνδε δόμονδε χαλκοβατῆσ δῶ, ὑψερεφῆσ δῶ

The results of this examination of the use by the Homeric poet of the bucolic diaeresis, if accepted, will tend to weaken the argument for the origin of the hexameter which is based on the likeness of the caesura of the third foot to the pause at the end of the verse. For the same argument may be urged for the derivation from tetrapody and dipody<sup>1</sup> since the poet's treatment of the bucolic diaeresis differs in degree only from his treatment of the pause in the third foot.

It is not the purpose of this paper, however, to discuss the origin of the hexameter, but, in concluding, to raise the query whether it may not be conducive to a better appreciation of the poems to reason in the reverse direction? Instead of arguing from the use of the pauses to the derivation of the hexameter, may it not be more profitable to try to understand better the bearing of the musical or metrical pauses on the meaning and artistic effect of the verse? The poet's chief pause in the sense, as well as in the rhythm, is at the end of the verse. Next comes the caesura of the third foot, and after that in order of importance, the bucolic diaeresis. The treatment of these pauses is the same in kind. The

\* Ἀρηα, οὄλον Ἀρηα, δῖ Ἀφροδίτη, ὠκέα Ἴρισ, φαίδιμοσ Ἐκτωρ, ὄβριμοσ Ἐκτωρ, Ἐκτορι δῖψ, Ἐκτορα δῖον, δῖοσ Ἀχιλλεύσ, ὠκῆσ (without πῶδασ) Ἀχιλλεύσ, φαίδιμοσ Ἀτασ, δῖοσ Ὀδυσεύσ.

<sup>1</sup> See the article by E. von Leutsch in *Philologus*, XII (1857), p. 25 ff.

pauses are used to divide the thought into units sufficiently short to be easily apprehended by the minds of those for whom they were composed, by the sense of hearing alone, and without the necessity for repetition as in the case of poems which are meant to be read. The burden of the narrative comes first in a whole verse, or a half-verse, or four feet. Then may follow in a whole verse, or the second half-verse, or the last two feet, the unessential but picturesque or explanatory part, without which, as Professor Seymour has observed, 'we should have prose, not poetry.' By the use of decided pauses in the sense at these (and other) metrical stops in varying combinations monotony was avoided.

VII. — *Donatus's Version of the Terence Didascaliae.*

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THOUGH forty years have now elapsed since Dziatzko first wrote on the Terence Didascaliae,<sup>1</sup> his treatise is still the most accurate and complete on this subject. Later writers have done little more than point out his errors in minor points, some of which he admitted. But the great value of his discussion should not blind us to the fact that our knowledge of the Didascaliae is still unsatisfactory in certain respects. It is my conviction that Dziatzko, both in his original papers and in his later writings, committed certain errors which have never been clearly recognized. Moreover, he himself admitted the existence of certain difficulties for which he could find no satisfactory explanation. The following paper, therefore, has been written partly to controvert certain views still generally accepted on the authority of Dziatzko, but chiefly to explain, at least in part, the difficulties for which no one as yet has been able to account.

The Didascaliae are found in three well-defined recensions: first, the famous Bembinus manuscript of Terence, containing Didascaliae for all the plays except the *Andria*; secondly, the whole body of later, or  $\gamma\delta$  Mss, which also have lost the Didascaliae of the *Andria*; and, thirdly, in paraphrases by the early commentator Donatus,<sup>2</sup> such paraphrases forming part of the *praefationes* to the commentaries which exist for all the plays except the *Hautontimorumenos*. In form, and usually in content, these three sources are in such close agreement as to demonstrate their ultimate common origin. Material differences, however, in the information given by the three recensions render it difficult to determine with certainty

<sup>1</sup> *Rhein. Mus.*, XX (1865), pp. 570-598; XXI (1866), pp. 64-92.

<sup>2</sup> The writer accepts the paraphrases as the work of Donatus and believes them free from serious changes by later hands. See p. 155 f.



the readings of the latest common original. The study devoted to this subject by a long line of scholars has produced a text which is doubtless correct in most respects, but the origin and significance of many of the points of difference have never been understood. The need of a satisfactory explanation is obvious, for almost without exception the basis of every appeal from the accepted text has been the discrepant information given by the different sources.

Differences in the three recensions can be sharply classified according as they are due, or are not due, to the repetition of plays. From statements in the life drawn from the Didascalie of the *Eunuchus*, it is known that the original Didascalie were more complete than they are in any of our sources. Other evidence shows that they contained information not only about the first performances of the several plays, but also, to some extent, at least, about subsequent repetitions. In the process of transmission, ancient scribes, like modern editors, tried to drop references to any reproductions of the plays, and to preserve those relating to their first appearance. This tendency was not always strong enough to reduce the Didascalie to items about single performances. It failed almost completely in the *Hecyra*, doubtless because of the peculiar history of this play. Perhaps the best example of information about more than one performance is found in the names of four aediles given by Donatus for the *Andria*. The name of a third aedile in the *praefatio* to the *Hecyra* is sometimes similarly explained. This is also the easiest way in which to account for the name Mummius, a third consul, apparently, given for the *Eunuchus* by all the later Mss. Finally, it is only by the theory of the repetition of plays that we can understand why two *domini gregum* are named instead of one. In attempting to restrict the Didascalie to information about the original performance, scribes failed to see that one *dominus gregis* was in charge of a later repetition. Believing that the second name represented an actor (possibly the *prologus*) in the original troupe, they retained both names.

In several instances it is apparent that scribes blundered,

excluding information about the first performances, and keeping that about later presentations. Thus the Bembinus gives the *ludi* of the *Eunuchus* as the *Romani*, and both the Bembinus and Donatus give the *ludi* of the *Phormio* as the *Megalenses*. The same is true of the information given by the Bembinus about the aediles for the *Eunuchus*, both consuls for the *Phormio*, and one consul for the *Hautontimorumenos*. In this way also we can account for the fact that all sources name two *domini gregum* each for the *Eunuchus* and *Adelphoe*, but no two of the sources agree in both names. At least three *domini gregum*, it is believed, were named in the original *Didascaliae* of these two plays.

The theory sketched above accounts for all differences in the *ludi*, or festivals at which plays were presented, the aediles or others under whose auspices the plays were given, the *dominus gregis*, or head of the troupe of actors, and the consuls, whose names served the usual purpose of dating the performances. But these are only four of the nine items of information found in any complete *Didascalia*. In sharp contrast with these are the remaining five items, variations in which cannot be explained by the theory of later repetitions. These items are the titles, in which the poet and his plays are named in a varying order, the *modulator*, or composer of the music, the *tibiae*, or pipes used in accompanying the *cantica*, the author of the Greek original, and the numeral denoting the chronological place of each play in the series. There is no obvious reason why the reproduction of a play should have changed the order in which the poet and the play were named. Nor can such a theory account for Donatus's omission of the *modulator* of the *Adelphoe*, or for his naming Apollodorus instead of Menander as the Greek writer of the *Hecyra*. It is true that attempts have been made to extend the theory of repetitions to differences in the *tibiae* and the numerals, but this is an error. The intimate connection between the instruments and the general character of a play, a connection to which the united testimony of the ancients bears witness, forbids the thought that the pipes were changed in different performances. Simi-

larly, the numerical place of each play was fixed by its first performance, and it is difficult to see how it could have been affected by any number of repetitions. For these reasons the extension of the theory of later reproductions to differences in the *tibiae* and the numerals is rightly rejected by most scholars.

How then are variations in the five items named above to be explained? There have been numerous attempts to answer this question, but in general no one has suggested anything better than arbitrary changes. Such an explanation is satisfactory only in case we can find some motive for the changes. A motive does appear in the case of the numerals and the relative order of the names in the titles, but none has yet been found for changes in the other three items. Even in the two items where we can see some reason for the changes, not all scholars accept the explanation. It is manifest, therefore, that in the three items where no such reason presents itself there is room for much wider differences of opinion.

Variations in the order in which the poet and the play are named are found only in the Bembinus and the *praefationes*, the later codices throwing little or no light on the controversy about the *pronuntiatio tituli*. In this respect Donatus differs from the Bembinus in the *Adelphoe* and *Eunuchus*, and this would doubtless be true of the *Hautontimorumenos* also, if we had the commentary on this play. On the *Andria*, *Phormio*, and *Hecyra* they were presumably in accord. Whether one accepts or rejects the tradition about the *pronuntiatio tituli*, he must admit that in the titles there have been arbitrary changes. Most scholars, accepting the Bembine chronology as essentially correct, insist that the changes were made by Donatus or a predecessor. The few scholars who with Donatus make the *Adelphoe* the second of the plays must regard the copyist of the Bembinus or a predecessor as responsible for the precedence of the poet's name in the Didascalia of this play. Probably all would admit that differences in this respect are dependent upon differences in the chronology of the plays. In other words,

changes in the titles were coeval with or subsequent to changes in the numerals.

On the authors of the Greek originals the only variation in the sources relates to the *Hecyra*. The later Mss have lost this portion of the Didascalia, but the Bembinus names Menander, while Donatus, apparently with some hesitation, names Apollodorus. Here, it is evident, there has been either an accidental or an arbitrary change. Most scholars accept the authority of Donatus, but both this point and the nature and reason of the change are still a subject of controversy.

The only *modulator* named by the Didascaliae is Flaccus, the slave of Claudius. His name is given by all the sources except the Bembinus for the *Phormio*, and Donatus for the *Adelphoe*. The former omission is due to the loss of the major portion of the Didascalia, but Donatus's failure to name the *modulator* of the *Adelphoe* cannot be so explained. No one, so far as I have been able to discover, has ever offered any reason for the omission.

So far as the manuscript sources give the *tibiae* for the several plays, they are in agreement, hence the usual belief that this would apply to the *Phormio* also, if the Bembinus had the Didascalia of this play intact. On this point Donatus is in harmony with the manuscript sources in the *Hecyra* alone, differing from them in the *Eunuchus*, *Phormio*, and *Adelphoe*. The first attempt to account for these striking differences was by Salmasius, who suggested that in the *Adelphoe* there may have been a change of *tibiae* in the course of the performance, and hence that the differences are only apparent, being really due to defective information in each of the sources. The same explanation was advanced by Boeckh for the *Phormio* and *Adelphoe*. This theory, suggested by the Didascalia of the *Hautontimorumenos*, which, as is now well recognized, had a change of instruments during its performance, cannot be accepted as the true explanation. If the Didascaliae of two or three plays have suffered omissions in the manner suggested, such omissions were no accident, but were designed to exclude what was



regarded in each case as the pipes used in a reproduction of the play. But if they were intentional, it ought to have been the second set of pipes in every instance, and not the first, that was omitted. According to this theory, therefore, the sources ought to be in harmony even after the omission. Again, why should such omissions have taken place in the *Didascaliae* of two or three plays, but have failed in the *Hautontimorumenos*? For these reasons the theory of Salmasius and Boeckh must be rejected.

Before Dziatzko's time so far were scholars from explaining variations in the *tibiae* as given by the sources that they were at a loss which of the latter to follow. Gysar preferred the pipes named by Donatus for the *Eunuchus*.<sup>1</sup> Wilmanns, admitting his inability to account for the differences, followed Donatus on the *Eunuchus* and *Adelphoe*, the  $\gamma\delta$  codices on the *Phormio*.<sup>2</sup> Both Gysar and Wilmanns reached their decisions entirely upon subjective grounds. Subsequent scholars almost without exception reject the authority of Donatus on the three plays named above, but their reasons for so doing are not satisfactory. Usually they insist that the changes were not made by Donatus, but by some later person. Dziatzko admits both possibilities. Scheidemantel ascribes them to that convenient scapegoat, a *magistellus*,<sup>3</sup> Rabbow, in the *Eunuchus* and *Adelphoe*, at least, to one of the two excerptors of the genuine Donatus commentary, or to some one who revised and corrected one of the two sets of excerpts.<sup>4</sup>

Most scholars connect the variations in the *tibiae* as given by the paraphrases more or less closely with the discussion of the *tibiae* in the *tractatus de Comoedia*, viii, 11 (Wessner). But admitting the close relationship which must exist between the passage named and the remarks on the *tibiae* in the *praefationes*, this proves nothing about the reason for the changes. If, as assumed by Kohl, and, with some hesitation, by Dziatzko, Donatus wrote both the paraphrases and

<sup>1</sup> *Sitzungsber. d. phil.-hist. Cl. d. kaiserl. Akad. zu Wien*, 1855, p. 377.

<sup>2</sup> *De didasc. Terent.*, p. 44 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Quaestiones Euanthianae*, p. 39.

<sup>4</sup> *Neue Jahrbücher f. Phil. u. Paed.*, CLV (1897), p. 324 f.

the passage in the *tractatus*, it is useless to try to explain changes in the former by the latter. Both alike need explanation. Equally open to objection is the theory of those who hold that some one subsequent to Donatus changed the *tibiae* to suit their characterization in the *tractatus*. This explanation is based upon the fact that the pipes are characterized in nearly identical language in the *tractatus* and the *praefationes* to the *Eunuchus* and *Adelphoe*. It disregards the fact that the *tibiae* of the *Phormio* paraphrase, without characterization in any way, are not those given by the Mss,<sup>1</sup> and (if Reifferscheid and Wessner are right in bracketing *Sarranae* in the *tractatus*) are not mentioned at all in the latter. The adherents of this theory assume that the passage in the *tractatus* was written prior to the remarks in the *praefationes*. But with equal right one might assume the opposite. Either is a point which cannot be assumed, but must be proved before it can be incorporated in any theory.

Whatever views scholars have expressed on the authorship of the changes, all at last fall back upon Dziatzko's explanation, even though its author acknowledged that it did not satisfy him. Dziatzko argued that the characterization of the *tibiae* was wrong, and this was his principal reason for rejecting the pipes named in the *praefationes* of the *Eunuchus*, *Phormio*, and *Adelphoe*. With hesitation he offered the theory that Donatus had ideas of his own about the appropriate *tibiae* for the different plays, and set these forth in the *tractatus*, afterwards changing the Didascaliae of three plays according to the views he had expressed. This theory was given manifestly only because its author was unable to suggest a better one. It neglected a third possibility which I shall attempt to establish: namely, that Donatus, finding the *tibiae* already changed in his manuscript, was led into errors in both the *tractatus* and the *praefationes*.

<sup>1</sup> This disagreement goes far toward refuting Rabbow's theory that the *Eunuchus* and *Adelphoe* alone had suffered changes in the *praefationes*. Unable to explain the difference, and unwilling to abandon the theory, he seems to hold that the *tibiae* named in the paraphrase on the *Phormio* have some independent authority.

The last item to consider is the numerals, which usually appear in both the *Didascaliae* and the *praefationes*, and purport to give the chronological order of the several plays. But before any comparison of Donatus with the manuscript sources is possible, certain differences in the latter require explanation. Are these due to accidental or arbitrary changes by scribes, or do they represent independent traditions, and therefore possess ancient authority? Much depends upon the answer to this question, for any error on this point will lead to other and more serious mistakes. The differences involve directly only the *Hautontimorumenos*, for which not only the Bembinus, but also the best representatives of the  $\gamma$  family, and at least one important  $\delta$  codex, Paris. 10304, give III (or TERTIA). But the numeral II (or SECVNDA) is the reading of the Lipsiensis (L), pronounced by Kauer the best of the  $\delta$  family,<sup>1</sup> the Paris. 7903, a tenth century  $\gamma$  codex, the Riccardianus (E), a so-called mixed manuscript of the eleventh century, and a considerable number of later and inferior codices. Lastly the Victorianus (D), a  $\delta$  manuscript of the tenth century and one of the best of its class, has the numeral IV.

On the origin of the numerals II and IV in the *Didascalia* of the *Hautontimorumenos* scholars are not agreed. Dziatzko argued strongly in support of the ancient origin of both.<sup>2</sup> Karsten and Rabbow, apparently without further investigation, accept his conclusions. Hence one or the other of the two numerals is assigned to the *Hautontimorumenos* in three of the five chronologies which Karsten believed to have ancient authority,<sup>3</sup> and the numeral IV is the basis of an argument by Rabbow in support of his theory of the twofold origin of the *praefationes*.<sup>4</sup> Most editors of this play give the numeral II in the *Didascalia*, usually justifying this act by an appeal to the reading of E, L, Paris. 7903. Fabia and Torchiana are about the only scholars who have rejected the independent origin of both numerals. Torchiana seems to regard them as merely variants of the read-

<sup>1</sup> *Zeitschr. f. d. österreich. Gymn.*, LII, p. 988.

<sup>2</sup> *Rhein. Mus.*, XXXIX, p. 339 ff.      <sup>3</sup> *Mnemosyne*, XXII, p. 179 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Neue Jahrbücher f. Phil. u. Paed.*, CLV, p. 331.

ing given by the great majority of better codices.<sup>1</sup> Fabia holds the same opinion about the numeral IV, but follows Dziatzko's earlier suggestion that II (or *SECUNDA*) is a correction more or less ancient designed to harmonize the numerical order with the order of consulships.<sup>2</sup> Such divergent views show that the arguments thus far adduced are not decisive. After reviewing these arguments, therefore, I propose to bring forward new evidence in the hope of ending the controversy.

Dziatzko, the first to write on this subject, held that II (or *SECUNDA*) was read in the archetype of the  $\delta$  family, its source being some ancient manuscript independent of our codices. Neither of these positions can be proved correct. Evidence, not conclusive, it is true, but still very strong, indicates that both are incorrect. The first seems to be supported by L, which is alone of the better  $\delta$  codices in this respect. It is opposed by Paris. 10304, which has III, and by D, which has IV, a reading which, if corrupt, came almost certainly from III, not from II. Dziatzko did indeed appeal to the evidence of E, but this was due to his erroneous belief in the close relationship of this manuscript with the  $\delta$  family. In the order of plays, the division of scenes, and usually in its text, E clearly betrays its origin from the  $\gamma$  family. To a limited extent it has been under the influence of  $\delta$  codices, but this does not warrant the conclusion that it is essentially a  $\delta$  codex itself. Since it can throw no light on the archetype of the  $\delta$  family, Dziatzko's conclusion rests upon L alone, and this is overbalanced by other valuable manuscripts of the same family.

But even if the archetype of the  $\delta$  family, in common with the other classes of Mss, did make the *Hautontimorumenos* the third of the plays, is it not still possible that the readings II and IV have come down from ancient times through independent recensions? Such a theory is extremely improbable. Dziatzko was not disturbed by the fact that these numerals are assigned to other plays in the same manuscripts, but

<sup>1</sup> *Quo tempore P. Terenti fabulae primum actae sint*, p. 35, adn. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Les Prologues de Térence*, p. 35, n. 1.



Fabia and Torchiana justly regard this as a serious objection to the theory. Why, they might have asked, have these ancient codices altered the numeral of the *Hautontimorumenos* alone? Why did they not change those also of the *Eunuchus* and *Phormio*? Why did they not supply the missing numerals for the *Hecyra* and *Adelphoe*, or the missing Didascalia for the *Andria*? These are points on which a scribe might well have consulted other codices, but there was no reasonable ground for his doing so in the case of the *Hautontimorumenos* alone, for which a numeral was already given.

Dziatzko's theory, despite its evident weakness, is still generally accepted. Fabia and Torchiana have commanded little or no support. This is doubtless due to their failure to show how the variant readings originated. In the conviction that they are right and Dziatzko wrong, I shall try to account for the variants. To make it easier for the reader to follow the argument, part of the Didascalia of the *Hautontimorumenos* is given below exactly as it appears in Paris. 7899 (P), representing the majority of better codices, and in Paris. 7903 and the Lipsiensis (L), representing the variant II (SECUNDA). It is unnecessary to give anything for the Riccardianus (E), since, except for the division into lines, its Didascalia is identical with that in Paris. 7903.

DIDASCALIA OF THE HAUTONTIMORUMENOS.

PARIS. 7899 (P).		PARIS. 7903.		
MODOS FECIT	FLACCVS CLAVDI	GRECA	MENANDRI	PRIMA
ACTA	PRIMA	ACTA	SECUNDA	MODOS
TIBIIS	INPARIBVS	FECIT	FLACCVS	CLAVDI
DEINDE	DVABVS DEXTRIS	TIBIIS	DVABVS	DEXTRIS
GRAECA EST	MENANDRI			
FACTA	III			
LIPSIENSIS (L).				
	MODOS	FECIT	FLACCVS CLAVDI	TIBIIS
INPARIBVS	DEINDE	DVABVS	DEXTRIS	GRECA MENANDRI
				FACTA II

Dziatzko believed in the existence of some connection between the version of L and that of E, Paris. 7903, basing this view in part on the presence of the same numeral, in part on the omission of the words ACTA PRIMVM (PRIMA OR

PRIMO) in both, the omission being somewhat more extensive in E, Paris. 7903. At first glance these parallels seem to contain decisive evidence of some connection, but a closer scrutiny discloses some differences which are rather strange in versions apparently closely related. E, Paris. 7903 have an unusual order of items, while that in L is entirely normal, they have ACTA, not FACTA, as in L, and the numeral is the written word SECUNDA, not the symbol II. Moreover, the lacunae are by no means similar, for while L omits the words ACTA PRIMO, the word PRIMA is found in both E and Paris. 7903. In fact, the two versions, apart from the numeral, resemble each other only in points wherein they resemble the version of any other manuscript of this play. The differences suggest that the two are really independent of each other, and this is shown to be true by the very evidence upon which Dziatzko relied.

First, it is necessary to point out a striking parallel in the Didascalía of E, Paris. 7903 for the *Hautontimorumenos*, and that of all classes of later Mss for the *Eunuchus*. By the oversight of an early scribe the name of the *modulator* of the *Eunuchus* lost its usual position next before the *tibiae*. The same scribe, in all probability, noted the omission of this item only after he had written the numeral. At this point he inserted the reference to the *modulator*, which appears, therefore, after the numeral and next before the consuls. This is the order in which the several items appear in the Bembinus. The error cannot be ascribed to the copyist of this manuscript, but was made by some predecessor, for the  $\gamma\delta$  codices preserve evidence of the same peculiar disorder. In some common ancestor of these an evident attempt was made to correct the order, for the item on the *tibiae* was removed to a position following the *modulator*. That it was so removed can scarcely be doubted. If it is restored to its usual position, the disorder is precisely like that in the Bembinus.

Such is Dziatzko's explanation of the unusual order of items in the Didascalía of the *Eunuchus*.<sup>1</sup> But so far is he

<sup>1</sup> *Rhein. Mus.*, XX, p. 582, and Anm. 9.

from explaining the unusual order in which E, Paris. 7903 give the items for the *Hautontimorumenos*, that he nowhere refers to it as in any way peculiar. Now this disorder is in every respect identical with that of the *Eunuchus* Didascalía in the  $\gamma\delta$  codices. In the *Eunuchus* the disorder must be ascribed to accident, but such an accident a second time in the same items of another play seems extremely improbable. The thought suggests itself that the two may have some connection, and this is confirmed by certain points in which the Didascalía of E, Paris. 7903 for the *Hautontimorumenos* differs from that of the other Mss for this play, but resembles that given by them for the *Eunuchus*. These are the omission of EST in the reference to the Greek author, the use of ACTA instead of FACTA, and the form of the numeral SECVNDA instead of II. The preservation of PRIMA and the use of MODOS FECIT instead of MODVLAVIT preclude the thought that E, Paris. 7903 really derived this part of the *Hautontimorumenos* from the *Eunuchus*. But the extremely close resemblance renders it practically certain that the scribe of a codex from which E, Paris. 7903 are descended recast this portion of the Didascalía of the *Hautontimorumenos* on the pattern of that of the *Eunuchus*.

What was the ground which prompted this act and the consequent change in the order of items? The answer is found in the item on the *tibiae* as given by E, Paris. 7903. The preservation of the word PRIMA shows that the omission of the words INPARIBVS DEINDE was accidental, for no scribe would have kept the one word if he had deliberately dropped the other two. The form of the Didascalía in P, found also in other Mss of the  $\gamma$  family not only for the *Hautontimorumenos*, but also for the *Eunuchus*,<sup>1</sup> shows how easily such an accidental omission came about. The item on the *tibiae*, including the words ACTA PRIMA, occupies three lines. After some scribe had written TIBIIS, his eye, we must suppose, fell upon DVABVS DEXTRIS in the next line, which he wrote, and then, without noticing his error, proceeded to the item on the Greek author. But the omission of the first set of *tibiae* left

<sup>1</sup> See p. 142.

the meaning of ACTA PRIMA utterly obscured. To the next scribe these words could refer only to the number of the play, and hence were at hopeless variance with the item FACTA III in its usual place below. In his bewilderment he turned to the *Eunuchus* for comparison, and observing the different order of items, he reduced the Didascalie of the *Hautontimorumenos* to the order found in the earlier play. This brought together the seemingly contradictory statements about the number of the play, an inconsistency which no scribe could be expected to tolerate. Which was he to choose, or how was he to remove the difficulty? The answer to this question must have sorely puzzled him. He had strong grounds for doubting the authenticity of the words FACTA III, which otherwise he surely would have accepted. Not only did he have the words ACTA PRIMA, but the Didascalie of the other plays gave no evidence that III was the proper numeral. The *Phormio*, the last play in his manuscript, was numbered fourth, showing that the plays were not arranged in chronological order. Hence the position of the *Hautontimorumenos* lent no support to the numeral III, but may well have been another ground for suspecting its genuineness. Whatever his reasoning may have been, in despair of solving the riddle, and well knowing that the *Eunuchus* was assigned the second place, the scribe compromised between ACTA PRIMA and FACTA III and wrote ACTA SECUNDA for the *Hautontimorumenos*. Unwilling, however, to omit entirely the first of the two items, he added the word PRIMA as a variant probably above the word SECUNDA. In both E and Paris. 7903 it follows the item on the Greek author, in the former being written in the margin.

The Lipsiensis (L), as noted above, except in the numeral, has none of the characteristics of E, Paris. 7903. For this reason it seems scarcely possible that the two versions are in any way connected. The reading FACTA II in L might be regarded as an example of the errors frequent in copying numerals. But the omission of the words ACTA PRIMO indicates that in all probability the numeral has been emended upon grounds very similar to those which operated in E,



Paris. 7903. In L there was no omission of one set of *tibiae* to obscure the meaning of ACTA PRIMO, but still the scribe was unable to understand these words. Believing them to denote the number of the play, he followed about the same process of reasoning as the scribe in the case of E, Paris. 7903, and compromised upon FACTA II, a form of this numeral, it should be remarked, which appears only here in the Didascaliae, the written word being used elsewhere.

The Victorianus (D), with the numeral IV, offers a simple problem. Except in this single particular, its Didascaliae for this play is in no way unusual. The form in which the item is given — FACTA IVM IVNIO, *i.e.*, *facta IV.*, *M. Junio* — suggests some confusion of the numeral with the following initial. Torchiana regards the numeral as only a case of ditto-graphy from IVNIO.<sup>1</sup> But since the number of strokes in III and IV is the same, Dziatzko was probably right originally in explaining the latter as a mere copyist's error.<sup>2</sup> It is noteworthy that elsewhere in the Didascaliae the form of this numeral is IIII, not IV. Since so easy an explanation is available, there is no excuse for ascribing importance to a reading found in a single manuscript.

In the assignment of numerals to the several plays, only two attempts of ancient scholars or grammarians to fix the chronology are to be recognized.<sup>3</sup> One of these has come down in the better Mss, the other, devoid of all reason, as we shall see, in the *praefationes* of Donatus. The agreement of the two in the numbering of the *Andria*, *Phormio*, and *Hecyra* has naturally led scholars to believe that one chro-

<sup>1</sup> *Quo tempore P. Terenti fabulae primum actae sint*, p. 35, adn. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Rhein. Mus.*, XX, p. 575.

<sup>3</sup> The well-known verse of Volcatius Sedigitus in the life in which he mentions the *Hecyra* as the sixth of the plays, often wrongly interpreted to mean the chronology, is shown by the context to refer to its inferiority to the other plays in merit. Yet such evidence determines the place of the *Hecyra* in two of the five chronologies which Karsten, *Mnemosyne*, XXII, p. 178 ff., believes to have ancient authority. Four of these are made up by piecing together parts from different sources or supposed sources. The only one which ever existed is the third, which gives the chronology of the Mss, for strangely enough Karsten fails to give that of Donatus.

nology was the basis of the other.<sup>1</sup> Why, then, do they disagree on the other three plays? The Mss assign the second place to the *Eunuchus*, which Donatus makes the third of the plays. Similarly the Bembinus ranks the *Adelphoe* as sixth, while Donatus, not without hesitation, gives it second place. Finally, the Bembinus makes the *Hautontimorumenos* the third of the plays, and this was true also of the archetype of all the later codices, but the first five places are assigned in the *praefationes*, leaving only the sixth place for this play.<sup>2</sup> Why these divergences? With few exceptions scholars now hold that Donatus's disagreement with the Mss is due to changes in the numerals designed to harmonize the chronological order with an alphabetical order of plays. This view finds some ground for changes, which in effect were entirely arbitrary. Beyond question it is correct in most respects.

Such are the two groups into which variations in the information given by the different sources can be classified, the first covering four items in which differences are due to the later repetition of plays, the second including five items in which differences cannot be so explained. The two groups show some striking and significant contrasts. In the four items where differences are due to the repetition of plays, no two of the sources are in close agreement, the variations being greatest between the Bembinus and the  $\gamma\delta$  Mss. In the five items of the second group, the manuscript sources, so far as they give the information, are in essential agreement. It is Donatus in every instance who preserves the peculiar and usually doubtful information. Secondly, his variations from the Mss are, with a single exception, confined to the *Eunuchus*, *Phormio*, and *Adelphoe*, for save on the Greek author of the *Hecyra*, the three sources are practi-

<sup>1</sup> In the case of the *Phormio* the agreement is only apparent, not real. See p. 146 f.

<sup>2</sup> With Fabia and Torchiana, I cannot accept Umpfenbach's suggestion, *ed. crit.*, *Praef.* p. XL, that the *Hautontimorumenos* was originally the fifth play, the *Hecyra* the sixth in the Donatus order, a theory suggested by the order of plays in  $\delta$  codices. If a commentary on the *Hautontimorumenos* ever existed, it was lost because it came last in the manuscript.

cally in accord about this play. It is clear that such differences as can be accounted for by the theory of the later reproduction of plays are due to a number of persons. There is no evidence, on the other hand, that the changes preserved by Donatus alone were made by more than one person, for it is scarcely credible that different persons would have confined themselves to changes in three plays. There is ground, therefore, for suspecting that changes in items coming under the second group were made by one person, in conformity with a definite plan, and for a definite purpose.

The key to the problem is found in the numerals denoting the chronological order of the several plays. Reference has been made above to the common view that the variant numerals in the Donatus *praefationes* are due to changes designed to make an alphabetical order of plays appear to be also the chronological order. This view I accept with a slight modification which has reference to the manner in which the change was effected. It is obvious that the easiest expedient was the simple change of the numerals. But this was not necessarily the way in which the work was done. The same object could have been achieved by the transfer of the items containing the numerals from one play to another. Now it is by this theory that I propose to explain nearly all the variations preserved by Donatus alone. For there is evidence that the items on the chronological order of the plays were not the only ones transferred, those on the composer of the music and the *tibiae* being included with the numeral in each case. In the manuscript followed by Donatus these three items had been removed from the *Hautontimorumenos* to the *Eunuchus*, those displaced in the *Eunuchus* had been transferred to the *Adelphoe*, the items from the *Adelphoe* found a place in the *Phormio*, and the circle was completed by using the items from the *Phormio* to fill out the Didascalia of the *Hautontimorumenos*. Coincident with these transfers, changes were made in the titles wherever necessary in order to give the name of the comedy precedence in the first two plays, the name of the poet in the last four.

To facilitate a comparison of Donatus with the manuscript readings on the points of difference, the necessary portions of the Didascaliae of the four plays named above are given below. The Donatus paraphrase in each case is followed by the readings of the Bembinus and the later or  $\gamma\delta$  codices for the same play. The order of plays is that given above. Each paraphrase, therefore, can easily be compared with the manuscript sources of the same play immediately below, and with those of another play immediately above, to which, I hold, it really belongs. For the sake of perspicuity the essential portions of the paraphrases are printed in bold-faced type. The manuscript versions are given exactly as they appear in the Bembinus and in some one of the best representatives of the later codices, except that trivial mistakes by scribes have been disregarded.

COMPARISON OF DONATUS'S PARAPHRASES AND THE  
MANUSCRIPT SOURCES OF THE DIDASCALIAE.

**HAUTONTIMORUMENOS.**

**Donatus.**

No paraphrase of the Didascalia of this play is preserved.

**Bembinus.**

INCIPI	HEAVTONTIMORVMENOS	TERENTI		
GRAECA	EST	MENANDRV	.....	.....
.....	.....	MODOS	FECIT	FLACCVS
CLAVDI	ACTA	PRIMVM	TIBIS	INPARIB.
DEINDE	DVAB.	DEXTRIS	FACTAST	TERTIA

$\gamma\delta$  Mss.

P. TERENTI	HEAVTONTIMORVMENOS
.....	.....
MODOS FECIT	FLACCVS CLAVDI
ACTA	PRIMA (PRIMO — $\delta$ Mss)
TIBIHS	INPARIBVS
DEINDE	DVABVS DEXTRIS
GRAECA EST	MENANDRI
FACTA	III

**EUNUCHUS.**

**Donatus.**

*Haec . . . nuncupata est Eunuchus fabula et est palliata Menandri  
vetus, . . . item modulante Flacco Claudi tibiis dextra et sinistra ob*



*iocularia multa permixta gravitati. . . . Haec edita tertium est et pronuntiata 'Terenti Eunuchus' quippe iam adulta commendatione poetae ac meritis ingenii notioribus populo.*

## Bembinus.

INCIPIT		EVNVCHVS		TERENTI
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
TIBIS	DVABVS	DEXTRIS	GRAECA	
MENANDRV		FACTA	SECVNDA	
MODOS	FECIT		FLACCVS	

## γδ Mss.

EVNVCHVS	INCIPIT (δ Mss)
.....	.....
GRAECA	MENANDRI
ACTA	SECVNDA
MODVLAVIT	FLACCVS CLAVDI
TIBIIS DVAB.	DEXTRIS

## ADELPHOE.

## Donatus.

*Haec fabula palliata Adelphe. . . . Est igitur Menandri. . . . Modulata est autem tibiis dextris, id est Lydiis, ob seriam gravitatem qua fere in omnibus comoediis utitur hic poeta. . . . Hanc dicunt ex Terentianis secundo loco actam etiam tum rudi nomine poetae itaque sic pronuntiatam 'Adelphoe Terenti,' non 'Terenti Adelphe,' quod adhuc magis de fabulae nomine poeta quam de poetae nomine fabula commendabatur.*

## Bembinus.

INCIPIT	TERENTI	ADELPHOE		
GRAECA	MENANDRV	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	MODOS	FECIT
FLACCVS	CLAVDI TIBIS	SERRANIS	TOTA	FACTA VI

## γδ Mss.

.....	.....	.....	INCIPIT	ADELPHOE
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
FLACCVS	CLAVDI	TIBIIS	MODOS FECIT	
GRAECA	MENANDRI	SARRANIS	FACTA	

## PHORMIO.

## Donatus.

*Hanc comoediam manifestum est prius ab Apollodoro sub alio nomine, hoc est 'Επιδικαζόμενον, Graece scriptam esse quam Latine a Terentio Phormionem. . . . modos faciente Flacco Claudi tibiis Serranis tota. . . . Editaque est quarto loco.*

**Bembinus.**

INCIPIT	TERENTI	PHORMIO	
.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	GRAECA	APOLLODORV
EPIDICAZOMENOS	FACTA EST	III	

**γδ Mss.**

	INCIPIT	PHORMIO	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	MODOS	FECIT	FLACCVS	CLAVDII TIBIS
IMPARI BV S	TOTA(M)	GRAECA	APOLLODORI	EPIDICAZOMENOS	FACTA IIII

Since we have no commentary by Donatus for the *Hautontimorumenos*, the *Eunuchus* paraphrase is the first to be considered. Measured by the *tibiae* and the numeral, Donatus's information about this play is utterly inconsistent with that given by the other sources. The numeral assigned to the *Eunuchus* in the paraphrase is that given to the *Hautontimorumenos* in the Mss. If it came to the *Eunuchus* by transfer from the *Hautontimorumenos*, is there any reason to suppose that it carried other items with it? Since the composer of the music was the same for both plays, we can get no evidence from this source. At first glance also Donatus's remark about the *tibiae* of the *Eunuchus* seems to have no connection with the manuscript item for the *Hautontimorumenos*. But it is admitted by all authorities on this subject that the words *dextra et sinistra*, like the somewhat similar *dextris vel sinistris* in the *praefatio* to the *Andria*, are only a comment on the true reading, and that in the *Eunuchus* the comment has displaced the original item. It is further agreed that *dextra et sinistra* can refer only to *tibiae impares*. But this is the first half of the manuscript reading in the Didascalía of the *Hautontimorumenos*. What then has become of the *tibiae duae dextrae*? They have been deliberately omitted, and this act is easily explained. The *Hautontimorumenos* is the only comedy of Terence in which there was a change of instruments in the course of the performance. The analogy of the rest of the plays might have suggested the omission of one of the two sets of pipes, but a better reason appears in the well-recognized tendency

of scribes to restrict the Didascaliae to information about first performances. Now whether one reads PRIMVM with the Bembinus, or PRIMO with the  $\delta$  codices,<sup>1</sup> the two sets of *tibiae* seem to refer to different performances of the play rather than to different parts of the same performance. The latter, or true explanation, was first recognized by Salmasius,<sup>2</sup> but was first given definite expression by Boeckh less than one hundred years ago.<sup>3</sup> But if the erroneous view was held by a long line of Terentian scholars in modern times, it is altogether probable that it was held also by early editors and copyists. One of these, very likely the person responsible for the rest of the changes, believing the second set of *tibiae* to represent a reproduction of the play, omitted this part of the item. It is significant that it was the second set of *tibiae*, not the first, that was dropped. The omission probably explains also Donatus's failure to use the word *tota* in the paraphrase on the *Eunuchus*. This word was manifestly impossible in a Didascalia referring to two sets of pipes. After the omission of one set and the transfer of the other, there was no reason to insert a word the use of which elsewhere was not understood. It is true that the Mss also fail to give the word *tota* in the Didascalia of the *Eunuchus*, but evidence of this, as will be shown below, seems to be found in the paraphrase on another play. Except in one

<sup>1</sup> It seems strange that all editors of Terence and writers on the Didascaliae have followed the Bembinus on this point, disregarding PRIMA, the reading of the  $\gamma$  family, and the only one which is not ambiguous or even misleading. With it obviously is to be understood *fabula*, of which it is a modifier in the common idiomatic partitive sense. Terence himself has an exact parallel in *Ad. prol. v. 9*, in *prima fabula*, and possibly another in *Hec. prol. II, v. 31, primo actu placeo*. Kohl, *Didasc. Ter. explic.*, p. 35, explains PRIMA as a correction of PRIMVM by some one who recognized the meaning of the item and tried to remove the ambiguity to which it was subject because of the reading PRIMVM. But there is no evidence that the item was understood until in modern times. Much more probably PRIMA is the original and correct reading. Even with it, the item was sometimes supposed to refer to different performances, not to different parts of the same performance. Some one with this view emended PRIMA to PRIMVM, the version given by the Bembinus; another person changed it to PRIMO, the reading of the  $\delta$  Mss.

<sup>2</sup> *Historiae Augustae Scriptores* VI, vol. II, p. 827.

<sup>3</sup> *Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, III (1810), p. 168.

possible point, therefore, Donatus's paraphrase for the *Eunuchus* was based on a Didascalia identical for the items in question with that given by the Mss for the *Hautontimorumenos*. Moreover, the possible exception, the omission of one set of *tibiae*, is easily explained.

We now come to a still more striking parallel. Assuming that in Donatus's manuscript a transfer of three items had been made from the *Hautontimorumenos* to the *Eunuchus*, what was the fate of those which had lost their rightful place in the latter play? The numeral belonging to the *Eunuchus* in the manuscript sources is assigned to the *Adelphoe* by Donatus. That this result was produced by an actual transfer, and not by a simple change of the numeral, seems to be shown by the *tibiae*, those named by Donatus for the *Adelphoe* being named by the Mss for the *Eunuchus*. Equally significant is Donatus's failure to give certain information. The Mss have the word *tota* in the Didascalia of the *Adelphoe*, and name the composer of the music. Donatus has nothing on either point. His failure to use the word *tota* is easily explained by the omission of this word in the manuscript version of the *Eunuchus* Didascalia, an omission referred to above. His failure to name the composer of the music was for a different reason. I have already described the blunder of some early copyist by which the composer of the music for the *Eunuchus* lost his usual place in the Didascalia, and was named after the numeral and before the consuls. Donatus has no trace of this in the paraphrase on the *Eunuchus*, but does in that on the *Adelphoe*. The transfer of items from one play to another was made solely to change the chronology, and never included anything following the numeral. Adhering to his usual practice, the author of the changes did not include the *modulator* in the transfer from the *Eunuchus* to the *Adelphoe*. Donatus, finding no information on this point, naturally gives none for the *Adelphoe*. On coming to the *tibiae*, the case of which he elsewhere construes with his paraphrase of the words *MODOS FECIT*, he found it necessary to add a verb in order to give them grammatical construction. The word chosen — *modulata est*, evidently a true passive,



not a deponent—is at variance with his own usage in the *Hecyra*. The fact that he names the *modulator* of the *Eunuchus* in the usual place, and fails to give that of the *Adelphoe*, shows that the *modulator* was usually included in the transfer. In most cases this could be done without leaving any traces of the change, but if it be admitted that it happened in one case, it can scarcely be doubted that it was the intention in all. Every point, therefore, in which Donatus varies from the Didascalía of the *Adelphoe* is explained by the Didascalía of the *Eunuchus*.

The fate of the items dislodged from the *Adelphoe* is next to be considered. From the analogy of the plays already examined, it might be supposed that this play, the sixth according to the Bembinus, gave part of its Didascalía to the *Hautontimorumenos*, which Donatus seems to have regarded as the sixth of the plays. The want of the commentary on the *Hautontimorumenos* prevents any direct test of this theory, but other evidence indicates that it is incorrect. The true test is rather to be found in the *tibiae*. Those given by the Mss for the *Adelphoe* are the *Sarranae*, a kind assigned by Donatus only to the *Phormio*. Why, then, does the commentator, in common with the Mss, make the *Phormio* the fourth, not the sixth of the plays, as the theory of a transfer of items seems to require? The agreement, I hold, is accidental. Scholars have always made the mistake of attaching undue importance to Donatus's remarks on the chronological order of certain of the plays, while rejecting his evidence about others. No one trusts the commentator in regarding the *Hautontimorumenos* as the last of the plays, and few accept him in assigning the second place to the *Adelphoe*. Scarcely any one, however, has ventured to deny his authority when, in harmony with the conventional chronology, he names the *Eunuchus* as the third of the plays. In point of fact Donatus possesses no more authority on the *Eunuchus* than on the other two plays named above. There is no ground for believing that he possessed an independent source of information about the chronology of the plays. Rather he depended upon the numerals in the Didascalíae,

but in his manuscript these had been changed to suit the position occupied by each play in an alphabetical sequence. If the commentator was grossly deceived about these plays, we have a right to demand evidence that his information about the *Phormio* had a sounder basis. No such evidence exists, for his apparent agreement with the Mss and the conventional chronology is due solely to the accident which makes this play, with the orthography *Formio*, the fourth in the alphabetical series. Whatever the numeral may originally have been, therefore, the result was bound to be the same. It is very doubtful, however, whether any numeral was included in the transfer of items from the *Adelphoe* to the *Phormio*. Since both the  $\gamma$  and the  $\delta$  families of Mss have the word FACTA, but have no numeral, we may assume that the archetype had the same defect. Since the separation of these two recensions took place in early times, all authorities agreeing that it came in the period between the third and the fifth centuries, the loss of the numeral must have been very early. It may well have occurred before the alphabetical order of plays was made. If this was true, the author of the transfer of items from one play to another found none in the *Adelphoe*, and could have felt no prickings of conscience in arbitrarily adding one for the *Phormio* to suit his general plan.

It remains to consider the disposition of the items ousted from the Didascalia of the *Phormio*. Since the manuscript sources have a numeral for this play, it is obvious that in the transfer to another play a change in the numeral was necessary. No evidence, therefore, can be gained from this source. Nor can positive evidence be found in the *tibiae*, for it is clear that the *praefationes* to neither the *Andria* nor the *Hecyra* contain the *tibiae* dislodged from the *Phormio*. There remains but one play, the *Hautontimorumenos*, which had lost to the *Eunuchus* part of its Didascalia. The theory suggests itself that the deficiency was made good by inserting the corresponding items from the *Phormio*, with an arbitrary emendation of the numeral IIII to VI to suit the place of the *Hautontimorumenos* in the new order. If this was

done, the circle of transfers is complete. In the lack of a commentary on the *Hantontimorumenos*, direct evidence in confirmation of this suggestion is impossible, but indirect evidence presently to be cited indicates that it is correct.

The results of the foregoing discussion may briefly be summarized. The sources have been compared with reference to their agreement or disagreement on the *modulator*, the *tibiae*, the use of the word *tota*, and the numerals of the plays. In three *praefationes*, therefore, there are twelve points on which to compare Donatus with the Mss. Out of these twelve points Donatus gives no information on three, he differs from the Mss on five, and he apparently agrees with them on four. By the theory here proposed, four of the five points of difference are fully explained, and in the exception, the *tibiae* of the *Ennuchus* paraphrase, the difference is partly explained, and is otherwise easily accounted for. Again, by the theory of a transfer of items we can understand why Donatus omitted two of the three points of information which he fails to give. Here, too, the exception, the failure to use *tota* in the *Eunnchus* paraphrase, is in no way opposed to the theory. Lastly, three of the four points of apparent agreement between Donatus and the other sources on the same plays contain evidence neither for nor against the theory, since the information is identical in different plays. The fourth point is the numeral of the *Phormio*, which, as was shown above, is not an instance of real agreement, but is either an arbitrary emendation or, more likely, an arbitrary addition. In seven, therefore, of the twelve points of comparison, the theory is fully supported by Donatus's information or by his failure to give any information, and it is not opposed by the other five. In other words, if we should transfer Donatus's paraphrases on the four points in question back to the plays to which they seem originally to have belonged, the commentator would differ from the Mss only in naming one set of pipes for the *Hantontimorumenos*, and in making the *Adelphoe* the fourth of the plays. Both exceptions have been fully accounted for. In every other point he would agree with the other

sources in the information he gives, and the reason for his failure to give certain information would be evident. The facts, therefore, completely support the theory advanced in this paper. For this reason I venture to believe that the parallel between Donatus and the manuscript sources on different plays is no mere coincidence and without significance. It rather points clearly to an actual transfer of portions of the *Didascaliae* of four plays in the manner I have indicated.

This conclusion finds support in a number of considerations general in character. First, the items which were transferred, except in one point, are always found together in the *Didascaliae*. The exception concerns the place of the Greek writer, who is usually named in the Mss after the *tibiae* and before the numerals. But the Bembinus is not consistent in this respect. On the *Eunuchus* and *Phormio* it seems to agree with the later codices, though the mutilated condition of the *Phormio* *Didascalia* may conceal the original order of items. But in the *Hautontimorumenos* and *Adelphoe* the Bembinus names the Greek writer immediately after the title, and this holds true also of the Ambrosianus of Plautus in the *Didascalia* of the *Stichus*. The proper place of the Greek writer among the other items is a point upon which scholars disagree, but the Ambrosianus and, in part, the Bembinus support the earlier position, and because of their age they have great weight. Moreover, the natural place for this item seems to be next after the title. Possibly the transfer to the later position was due to the common misconception or misunderstanding of the meaning of *tota* in the item on the *tibiae*. In the *Hautontimorumenos*, where *tota* could not be used, no such transfer had been made before the writing of the Bembinus. It is certainly possible, therefore, not to say probable, that the author of the changes in the *Didascaliae*, living as he did in the second or third century, found the Greek writers named after the titles in all the plays. If this was the case, the items transferred always stood together, and it is easy to see how a numeral when transferred to another play could have carried with it the adjacent items.



A second argument is found in the fact that it is on only three plays that Donatus differs widely from the Mss. With these the *Hautontimorumenos* would doubtless be included if we had the commentary on this play. Save on the Greek writer of the original, Donatus is in almost complete accord with the other sources on the *Hecyra*, and this exception is easily explained.<sup>1</sup> In the case of the *Andria* no direct comparison is possible, but it is certain that there would be no disagreement on the number of the play. For the *tibiae* of the *Andria* the *praefatio* is our only source. It is an interesting fact that Donatus's disagreement with the other sources on the pipes of all the plays except the *Hecyra* has not led any one seriously to challenge his information about the *Andria*. If he gives its *tibiae* correctly, we may assume that on the *Andria* as well as the *Hecyra* he is trustworthy, just as he is untrustworthy on the other three (or four) plays. What is the reason for the difference? This fact has been observed by others, but no one has ever explained it. By the theory advanced in this paper it is easily accounted for. The numerals of the *Andria* and *Hecyra* mark the positions of these two plays in both the chronological and the alphabetical orders, hence both retained their original places when the new order of plays was made. For this reason their *Didascaliae* were not disturbed. With the remaining four plays the conditions were wholly different. In order to force agreement between the chronology and the alphabetical order, a transfer of numerals was made. In the *Phormio* this act was needless, for its numeral was already appropriate to both orders. But, as will presently appear, the position of this play in the manuscript followed by the author of the new order caused its numeral to be overlooked, so that it was included with the other three. In the transfer of the numerals, the author of the new order saw fit to include the adjacent items. For this act no satisfactory reason appears, but this is no valid objection to the theory. No one can deny that numerals have been changed on arbitrary grounds, an act which must be ascribed to the gross stupidity or the moral obliquity

<sup>1</sup> See p. 154.

of the agent. Such a person would not hesitate to include other items with the numerals if this was suggested by convenience. It would increase his guilt only in degree, not in kind. He would not hesitate, therefore, if for any reason, such as the division into lines in the *Didascaliae* he was using, it seemed easier to transfer the numerals with the preceding items rather than alone.

Lastly, the transfer of items was not executed in haphazard fashion, but in conformity with a definite, though very simple plan. The freedom of the *Andria* and the *Hecyra* from such changes was due, as was explained above, to the fact that in the new or alphabetical arrangement these two plays retained the positions they had occupied in the original order. But it is easy to go further and to determine the positions originally occupied by the other four plays. The numerals alone seem to point to a manuscript like the Bembinus, in which the sequence was designed to be purely chronological. But since the numeral of the *Phormio* paraphrase is open to the gravest suspicion of having had no manuscript basis, the *tibiae* are a surer source of evidence, and these identify the original order of plays as that found in codices of the  $\gamma$  family. To assist in making this point clear, the several ways in which the plays are arranged are given below:

## ORDERS OF THE PLAYS OF TERENCE.

BEMBINUS.	$\gamma$ CODICES.	DONATUS.	$\delta$ CODICES.
<i>Andria,</i>	<i>Andria,</i>	<i>Andria,</i>	<i>Andria,</i>
<i>Eunuchus,</i>	<i>Eunuchus,</i>	<i>Adelphoe,</i>	<i>Adelphoe,</i>
<i>Hauton.,</i>	<i>Hauton.,</i>	<i>Eunuchus,</i>	<i>Eunuchus,</i>
<i>Phormio,</i>	<i>Adelphoe,</i>	<i>Formio,</i>	<i>Phormio,</i>
<i>Hecyra,</i>	<i>Hecyra,</i>	<i>Hecyra,</i>	<i>Hauton.,</i>
<i>Adelphoe.</i>	<i>Phormio.</i>	<i>(Hauton.).</i>	<i>Hecyra.</i>

The fourth of the methods of arranging the plays, that of the  $\delta$  family, is given only for completeness and later reference. In spite of the different positions it gives two plays, it betrays the same origin as the Donatus order. The latter, as is shown by the exemption of the *Hecyra* paraphrase from the scheme of transfers, is the original alphabetical order. In

seeking for the basis of this order, the arrangement found in  $\delta$  codices may be disregarded. Turning to the Bembinus and the  $\gamma$  codices, to discover which of these two methods of arrangement served as the basis of the new order, it is necessary only to see how the transfers of items were made. The *Andria* is first in all orders, and since its numeral was appropriate to this position, it retained its place in the new order. The same was true of the *Hecyra* in the fifth place. The *Adelphoe* was advanced to the second position in the alphabetical order, and to make it appear to have been the second also in order of composition, the numeral from the *Eunuchus* with the adjacent items was inserted in its Didascalia. Similarly the *Eunuchus* was made the third play, and its Didascalia was filled out with items from the *Hautontimorumenos*. In both the *Adelphoe* and the *Eunuchus*, the Didascaliae received items from the plays which occupied corresponding positions in the manuscript serving as the basis of the new order. Thus far this manuscript had the order of plays found both in the Bembinus and in the  $\gamma$  family. The fourth play determines which of these orders was used. If a manuscript like the Bembinus had been used by the author of the transfers, he would have made no changes in the *Phormio*, which in the Bembinus already occupies the fourth place. When we find, therefore, that the *Phormio* in the new order received items from the *Adelphoe*, we can hardly doubt that the latter play was fourth in the original order. But this is the position it occupies in the  $\gamma$  codices. The *Hautontimorumenos*, as the sixth play in the new arrangement, had its Didascalia completed by the insertion of items from the *Phormio*, the sixth play in the original. Since the *Adelphoe* in the fourth place and the *Phormio* in the sixth are found only in  $\gamma$  codices, it seems clear that a member of this family was the basis upon which the new order was made. The author of the new order must have regarded the arrangement of plays in his manuscript as chronological, as indeed it is intended to be in all but two plays. His failure to note the exception in the *Phormio* and *Adelphoe* was most natural, especially if the Didascalia of the latter play had no numeral,

leaving the *Didascaliae* of the *Phormio* as his only means of discovering the truth. Since the *Phormio* was sixth in his manuscript, he might easily at first have overlooked its numeral. After finding it, or even if he observed it at first, he may have doubted its authenticity.

All these peculiar conditions attaching to the groups of items give evidence completely in harmony with that derived from a comparison of the separate items in the different sources. I maintain, therefore, that the manuscript followed by Donatus had suffered a series of interchanges in the *Didascaliae* of four plays. To explain these the theory of chance is utterly untenable. A conscious hand, working in accord with a definite plan, must be recognized.

The conclusion stated above and the facts brought out in the discussion have an important bearing on a number of interesting questions. First, from this source we get new light on the work of Donatus. It is necessary to acquit the commentator of all responsibility for the changes in the *Didascaliae*, a charge often brought against him because he happens to preserve them. With a single exception these changes are due to one person, in all probability the person who first reduced the plays to an alphabetical order. After this order was established there was no reason for such extensive and radical emendations. That Donatus was not the author of the new order and the consequent changes in the *Didascaliae* is shown by the fact that he sometimes questioned the information given by his manuscript. He did not indeed reject the numeral *SECUNDA* in the *Didascaliae* of the *Adelphoe*, but it is clear that he doubted its accuracy. It has been suggested that he found no numeral in the *Didascaliae* of this play, or that he had another source of information, but both suggestions are needless. The plan followed in altering the *Didascaliae* to suit the new order of plays required that every play should have a numeral. Without any other source of information Donatus had the best of reasons for suspecting the numeral of the *Adelphoe*, and would have been very stupid if he had not seen that this play, brought out at the second attempted performance of the



*Hecyra*, could not have been the second in order of production, if the *Hecyra* was the fifth. Unable to change the numeral of the *Adelphoe* alone, and unequal to the task of correcting the chronology of all the plays, yet he clearly expressed his suspicion in the words *Hanc dicunt ex Terentianis secundo loco actam*. The same scruple appears in every reference to the Greek writer of the *Hecyra*. In the *praefatio* to this play he gives information in harmony with a number of passages in the commentary in which Apollodorus is mentioned as the author of the Greek original. Why, then, does he speak with hesitation both in the *praefatio* and in the *Auctarium* to the life?<sup>1</sup> In all probability he found the play assigned to Menander in the Didascalía, as it is in the Bembinus. Forced to choose between the Didascalía and the sources of the commentary, he rejected the former, but with a feeling of doubt which appears every time he mentions this subject. It seems certain, therefore, that the new order of plays and the changes in the Didascalíae were prior to Donatus. The commentator was so unfortunate as to use a manuscript of this sort, and through his adherence to it was led into gross blunders on many points. This is particularly true of the *tibiae*, which, as given by his manuscript, he had no reason to doubt. As a consequence, his attempt to characterize the different kinds of *tibiae* according to the plays in which they were used was marked by inevitable errors. For these he should not be too severely censured, for the material at his disposal precluded any accurate results. In general, judging from the paraphrases alone, Donatus was not a man of much learning, but he used faithfully the material at his command, and deviated from his sources with misgivings, and only when no other course was possible. He surely does not deserve the oft-repeated charge that he made reckless and arbitrary changes because of preconceived ideas.

<sup>1</sup> As Fischer, *De Terentio . . . quaestiones selectae*, p. 18 f., remarks, a further reflection of Donatus's hesitation on this point appears in the *praefatio* to the *Phormio*. The words *manifestum est* indicate Donatus's feeling of relief at finding a play assigned to Apollodorus both in the Didascalía and in citations of the Greek original by older commentators.

If the changes in the *Didascaliae* were made before Donatus's time, we can scarcely doubt his authorship of the paraphrases. However widely the information given by him varies from the other sources, it is so completely explained by the theory of a transfer of items as to forbid the thought that its origin was due to different persons, or to some one later than Donatus. For many years it has been the fashion to deny that the commentator wrote parts, or in some cases, any part, of certain works which have come down under his name. This view may be justified in the first of the two treatises, that usually entitled *de Fabula*, which preserves strong evidence of its origin, in part at least, from Euanthius. It is possible also, or even probable, that the commentary, conceded to be in its present form a compilation of two sets of excerpts from the original Donatus commentary, may have matter added by the excerptors, the compilers, and possibly others. But it is easy for one to go too far in refusing to credit Donatus with other works besides that entitled *de Fabula*, or in applying the theory of a compilation of two sets of excerpts. There is no adequate reason for doubting that Donatus wrote at least the essential and substantial portions of most of the works under his name. Even if it is difficult to distinguish the true work of Donatus from that of others in the commentary, this is not necessarily true of the other works. Both of these remarks apply especially to the life and the *Auctarium*. They stand in the same relation to the commentary on Terence as the life of Virgil did to the commentary on this author. Without any evidence against them, we must suppose that both are in substantially the form in which they were left by Donatus. The same I believe to be true of the *praefationes*. Rabbow, it is true, does try to show that those of the *Eunuchus* and *Adelphoe* had a different source from those of the other three plays, holding, apparently, that one set of excerpts was the source of the two *praefationes*, the other of the remaining three. This theory is based in part on Donatus's variations from the Mss in the paraphrases. But in these, as I have shown, the *Phormio* must be included with the *Eunu-*

*chus* and *Adelphoe*, not with the *Andria* and *Hecyra*. If this is done, Rabbow's theory breaks down. Whatever the vicissitudes through which the *praefationes* have passed, there is no evidence of any serious changes. It is clear that none were made in the paraphrases. Even the many instances of language in the *praefationes* similar to that in the treatise *de Comoedia*, the life, or the *Auctarium* are not necessarily due to insertion from these sources by later hands. More probably Donatus wrote the language in question in both places. The best example of this is perhaps the references to the Greek author of the *Hecyra* explained above, but there is no reason to doubt that most of the other instances are to be accounted for in the same way. A similar parallel between the *praefationes* of the *Eunuchus* and *Adelphoe* and the *Ars* of Donatus is pointed out by Smutny.<sup>1</sup>

A second result of the conclusion reached in this paper is the removal of nearly all uncertainty about the text of the *Didascaliae*. The evidence of Donatus, if rightly viewed, so far from differing from the other sources, really confirms them. It seems certain that the latest common ancestor of all the sources made the *Adelphoe* the sixth, not the second of the plays in order of composition. In view of the hesitation with which Donatus refers to this point, it is strange that so many scholars have accepted his statement and have wasted their ingenuity in attempting to defend it. Incidentally it has also been made clear, I think, that the archetype ascribed the Greek original of the *Hecyra* to Menander, not to Apollodorus. This, of course, does not prove the *Mss* right and Donatus wrong. More probably Donatus gives the correct information, though he rejected the *Didascalia* and gave the preference to the sources of his commentary. The naming of Menander in the archetype may have been due to an early copyist, who, under the influence of the preceding plays, mechanically wrote the name of the same Greek author. Lastly, the variations in the *tibiae*, which have always baffled explanation, are now fully accounted for. It is true that scarcely any one since the publication of

<sup>1</sup> *Diss. Phil. Vindob.* VI, p. 104 f.

Dziatzko's papers has followed Donatus on the *tibiae*, but so long as his variations remained unexplained, grounds for the preference accorded to the manuscript readings were not entirely convincing.

A third, and perhaps the most important, result achieved in this paper is the discovery of new evidence about the history of the text of Terence. From this study of the paraphrases and *Didascaliae*, it appears that the new or alphabetical order of plays was based upon a  $\gamma$  order, and so presumably upon a  $\gamma$  codex; that the  $\delta$  order is not the original alphabetical order, but has suffered an interchange of position between the last two plays; that the  $\delta$  family has derived its *Didascaliae* not from a manuscript similar to that used by Donatus, but from a manuscript of the  $\gamma$  family; and that, in part at least, the  $\gamma$  recension was the basis of the  $\delta$  recension, not *vice versa*, and is, therefore, the older of the two. All these points are more or less directly opposed to the theories set forth by Leo and Dziatzko, who agreed in substance, though differing in details. I have elsewhere expressed the conviction that these theories are opposed to the facts, and are, therefore, utterly untenable.<sup>1</sup> This view is confirmed by the results reached in this paper. But since limitations of space prevent any adequate presentation of this subject here, for the present I content myself with pointing out above the most general application of my results to the question of the manuscript tradition. At some time in the future I hope to return to this subject, and, in connection with this and other sources of evidence, to indicate what I conceive to be the true history of the text of Terence.

<sup>1</sup> *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XIV, p. 171 f.



VIII.—*Plautine Synizesis. A Study of the Phenomena of Brevis Coalescens.*<sup>1</sup>

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THE purpose of the present paper is, first, assuming the real existence of Plautine synizesis, to indicate more clearly, through a discussion of syllable values, its probable nature; secondly, to establish the fact of its actual existence, if possible, to the exclusion of any other hypothesis; thirdly, to investigate the laws and limitations to which it is subject. In view of the doubts which have prevailed in some quarters upon the subject of early Latin synizesis, this may seem to some too large an undertaking, but, fortunately, it will not be necessary for me to discuss these questions in reliance upon my own unaided resources. Many Plautine scholars have made just and careful observations upon this general subject, and even those who have advocated erroneous views, notably Müller and Skutsch, have often contributed something of real value to the discussion. Hence it will be my task chiefly to collect and to harmonize the important single facts which my predecessors in this field have already pointed out.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *D. M. et perpetuae memoriae GUILIELMI ELISHAE PETERS, praeceptoris sui carissimi in Universitate Virginiensi, viri in fabulis Plautinis maxime versati sacrum esse voluit pietissimus auctor.*

<sup>2</sup> Bibliography: Ritschl, *Proleg.* cap. xii; Spengel, *Einleitung zu Andria*, § 8; C. F. W. Müller, *Plaut. Pros.* 456 ff.; L. Müller, *Res Metr.*<sup>2</sup> lib. iv (279 ff.); Leppermann, *De correptione iamb. ap. Pl.*, Münster, 1890 (unfortunately, L's statistics upon synizesis and non-synizesis forms are in part extremely inaccurate); Bömer, *De correptione iamb. Terent.*, Münster, 1891 (a careful dissertation); Abraham, *Stud. Plaut.*, *Neue Jahrb. f. Phil.* XIV, 204 f.; Nilsson, *Quomodo pronomina, quae cum subst. coniunguntur, ap. Pl. collocentur*, Lund, 1901; Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.* 323; Havet, *De Saturnio*, 32, 79 f.; Gleditsch, *Metr.*<sup>3</sup> 258, 295; Skutsch, *Sat. Viadr.* 135 ff.; Audouin, *De Plaut. anapaestis*, Paris, 1898, p. 69 f., 121, 228; Ahlberg, *De proceleusmaticis antiquae poesis Lat.* I, 85 ff.; Lindsay, *Introduction to the Captivi*, 26 ff.; Neue, II<sup>3</sup>, 366 ff., 377 ff., etc.; Thurneysen, *K.Z.* XXX, 499 f.; Bronisch, *Die oskischen i- und e- Vocale*,

I. QUANTITATIVE VALUE OF SYLLABLES. CHARACTER OF  
PLAUTINE SYNIZESIS.

That the prosody of Plautus is different in many respects from the prosody of the Augustan poets, is universally admitted to be true, yet, in spite of our earnest efforts to draw a clear line of demarcation between the usage of the earlier and that of the later period, we are in constant danger of bringing to the study of Plautine verse a set of conceptions based upon the familiar Augustan prosody, and a vocabulary of metrical terms unconsciously colored by their adaptation to the Augustan use. This traditional vocabulary, which we are under the necessity of using, is often also quite inadequate and quite inexact, and, in view of the unfortunate associations with which some of these terms are almost indissolubly connected, their use often increases our perplexity and embarrassment. No one of the ancient metrical phenomena seems to me more inadequately named than that which I propose to discuss in the present paper, viz. early Latin synizesis, since the term 'synizesis,' as is well known, is employed in several quite different senses and is often applied to quite disparate phenomena; before I enter fully upon the discussion of this question, however, it will be best to give another and an even more striking illustration of the inadequacy of our common metrical terms as applied to Plautine prosody.

**The Problem of Ille.** — It is important to recognize that the *system* of quantitative measurements employed by Plautus is different in several respects from the quantitative system of Augustan poetry. I do not mean to imply by this that either one of the two systems is less good or less genuine than the other; on the contrary, both systems seem to me to be based as a whole upon the most genuine and substantial foundation possible, viz. a definite and original sense of quantity on the

Leipzig, 1892; Sturtevant, *Contraction in the Case Forms of deus, is, and idem*, Chicago, 1902; Engelbrecht, *Wien. Stud.* VI, 236 ff.; Brock, *Quaest. gramm.*, Dorpat, 1897; Hodgman, *Harvard Studies*, IX, 151 f.; Christ, *Metr.*<sup>2</sup> 30 ff.; Corsen, *Ausspr.* II<sup>2</sup>, 744 ff.; Skutsch, *Épés*, Göttingen, 1903, p. 108 ff.; etc.

part of those who used the Roman language.<sup>1</sup> But I mean that the two systems differ somewhat in the solution of certain practical problems of exact measurement, such as must confront every form of quantitative speech. An apt illustration of this fact is afforded, as it seems to me, by the treatment in Plautus of those dissyllabic pronouns and conjunctions, which, according to the grammarians, are without the "high tone" (*fastigium*, cf. Keil, VII, 360, 10), viz. *ille*, *inde*, *immo*, *nempe*, etc. As is well known, *ille* not only has the value of three morae (— ∪) in Plautus, but also at times the value of two morae (∪ ∪), but Skutsch has shown in his *Plaut. Forsch.* that the latter value belongs to the pronoun, only when it is dissyllabic and does not suffer elision of the final syllable; monosyllabic *ill*[*e*], *ill*[*a*], etc., have invariably the value of two morae (—). In view of these facts, Skutsch maintains that the conclusion is certain that the ultima of *ille*, *immo*, *nempe*, etc., was often totally suppressed by syncope in the rapid pronunciation of colloquial speech, and he offers us the following "mathematical demonstration" of the correctness of this view (*Plaut. Forsch.* 40): —

<i>Nempe</i> before consonants has the value of	. .	2 morae
The first syllable has the value of	. . . .	2 morae
The second syllable has the value of		
	. . . .	0 mora

Such a solution of the problem appears at first sight most attractive, and, in the case of *nempe*, it has been accepted as a correct solution by a very large number of Plautine scholars; yet, in my judgment, the proposed solution is very far from being really convincing. Since, however, I propose to discuss the question of these pronouns more fully elsewhere, only the general character of my criticism need be indicated here.<sup>2</sup> Professor Skutsch's argument appears to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* XXXV, 50 f.; *A.J.P.* XXV, 425 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For this reason I do not dwell here upon the fact that many other pronouns, such as *nēquis*, *nēqua*, *quisquis*, *hocin*, *omnis*, etc., should be added to the list given by Skutsch, nor upon the fact that the pronominal word-orders cannot be easily changed for the colloquial language, and hence would quickly develop

me to involve two very doubtful assumptions: (1) The assumption that the syllable *nemp* has precisely the same value and the same pronunciation, whether it belongs to the dissyllable *nempe*, or to the monosyllable *nemp*[*e*]. Such a supposition would be obviously incorrect, for example, if applied to the English sentence; for in our own language the dissyllable *manly* and the monosyllable *man* have quite different relations to accent and quantity (cf. Dabney, *Musical Basis of Verse*, 32). (2) The assumption that, in the verse of Plautus (which closely conforms to actual speech), all of the syllables can be properly divided into those of one, and those of two morae respectively.

This last consideration is a fundamental one, and has to do with the essential difference which exists between Plautine and Augustan prosody. For, however regular the usage of the Augustan poets may be, it is not certain that, in the earlier period, either one of the syllables of *nempe* had normal value. Thus final short syllables, especially final syllables in *-e*, may well be shorter in many cases than the normal short, as is shown by the fact that they suffer actual syncope in a limited number of cases, and in many cases they are treated, by preference, with elision (Langen, *Philol.* XLVI (1887), 419; Lindsay, *L.L.* 203). It is even more certain that the long penult of toneless pronouns and conjunctions is shorter than the normal long of a penultimate syllable. Let us suppose then that the penultimate syllable of *nempe* has the value of  $1\frac{2}{3}$  morae, instead of 2 morae, and that the ultima has the value of  $\frac{2}{3}$  of a mora, instead of 1 mora. Would not these assumed values account equally well for the metrical usage of Plautus? The dissyllable *nempe*, which would really have the value of  $2\frac{1}{3}$  morae, could still be always treated as two shorts, and the monosyllable *nemp*[*e*], which would really be worth only  $1\frac{2}{3}$  morae, would still constitute, in actual usage, a long. And even if this explanation should be rejected for the single word *nempe*, it is evident

the use of any metrical license for which a genuine ground once existed. Further, in any complete discussion, the question would arise why the supposed syncope does not apply to all well-worn words alike, such as *esse*, *saepe*, *curre*, etc.



that it would remain highly probable for *ille, inde, immo, nēquis*, etc.

It may perhaps be said that, in this discussion of the value of *nempe*, we are taking refuge in mere verbal quibbles, and that all syllables have, in practice, the value either of one or of two morae. On the contrary, the assumption that early Latin prosody had definitely accepted a sharp division of syllables into those of one and of two morae, is not only, in my judgment, wholly unwarranted, since so rigid a scheme of the syllables confessedly involves many artificial and adventitious elements (cf., for example, Victor Henry, *Comp. Gramm.*, Engl. transl., 85), but is also distinctly negatived by the extensive phenomena of the Iambic Law. As is well known, this question of syllable values was discussed by the ancient theorists, and gave rise to a division into two schools. One of the two schools, it is true, the *metrici*, recognized only long and short syllables, that is, syllables of one and two times, but the more scientific school, founded by Aristoxenus and called the *rhythmici* (or *musici*), held that many both of the long and of the short syllables differed from each other in quantity, and they expressly recognized in speech *syllabae longis longiores*, syllables longer than the long, and *syllabae brevibus breviores*, syllables shorter than the short. Cf. Marius Victorinus, i, 8: *nam musici non omnes inter se longas aut breves pari mensura consistere, siquidem et brevis brevior et longa longior dicant posse syllabam fieri. metrici autem, . . . neque brevior et longior, quam natura in syllabarum enuntiatione protulerit, posse aliquam reperiri.*<sup>1</sup> No doubt it is true that, apart from the phenomena of elision<sup>2</sup> and from the occasional cases of *natural* synizesis

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Quint. ix, 4, 84, and for a collection of numerous other references to the doctrine of the *rhythmici*, v. Goodell, *Chapters in Greek Metric*, 6 f., and Christ, *Metr.*<sup>2</sup> 77 f.

<sup>2</sup> The elided syllables (so called) were in nearly all cases too short to be definitely measured or to be taken into account metrically, but no one supposes that they were always completely expelled, and were always left entirely unpronounced; at least, this was not the case with Roman elision. Hence we may safely assert that, even if it were necessary to explain the final syllable of *nempe* — the one word — as neglected in the metre, it would not certainly follow that

in Greek (*v. p.* 167), this doctrine of the *rhythmici* is not of such manifest practical importance in Greek poetry, but it is of the greatest practical importance in early Latin versification; for the early dramatic poets, as is now generally recognized, composed primarily by their ear, and according to their general rhythmical feeling, rather than in obedience to a body of precise metrical rules. Their language, it is true, was quantitative, and the weak expiratory accent which it possessed was a wholly insufficient basis for verse, yet this language had not yet fully adapted itself to the somewhat conventional measurements of quantity prescribed by the *metrici*. Hence, whatever favorite phrase or formula we may adopt, whether we choose to call it "Law of Iambic Shortening," or employ some other name, it is always in reality and in the last analysis the doctrine of the *rhythmici* which we invoke. This fact has been made fairly plain by W. Christ in his extended article, *Die Gesetze der plautinischen Prosodie*, *Rhein. Mus.* XXIII (1868), 559 ff.; and, although many forms of statement employed by Christ in 1868 are now inadmissible, and many of his suppositions are quite untenable in the light of more recent study, yet the rhythmical doctrine to which he appeals still remains highly instructive and substantially correct.

We may then justly claim that the spoken language of Plautus's time possessed syllables which cannot be properly assigned the exact value either of one mora or of two, and without attempting to be over-precise, we may, for the purpose of convenient classification, distinguish the following four classes of syllables: I. 'Heavy' longs (*syllabae longis longiores*), *i. e.* those long syllables which (except in the first foot of a hemistich) are rarely shortened in dialogue metres through the agency of the Iambic Law, — in other words, those syllables of substantives, verbs, and many adverbs which bear the primary tone; cf. also syllables other than final, which contain a diphthong or naturally long vowel, etc.

it was wholly suppressed in pronunciation, and in this way suffered absolute syncope. According to metrical theory, such an assumption would not be necessary; see below, p. 164 f.

II. Long syllables which are lighter in various degrees than the foregoing, and which are often shortened by the Iambic Law, — in other words, unaccented long syllables, including the long penultimate syllables of conjunctions, prepositions, and pronouns. (For the frequent shortening of the latter, see Ahlberg, *De corrept. iamb.* 66 ff.) III. Short syllables of normal value. IV. Exceptionally short and rapid syllables, which have less than the value of one mora, including those which are diminished in value almost to the point of vanishing (*syllabae brevibus breviores*). This last class is of special importance for the purposes of the present study, and hence requires more detailed discussion.

**Syllables of Diminishing Value.** — In general, there are very many diminishing syllables in Plautus, some initial, some medial, and some final, which are at least as rapid and as fugitive as the final syllable of *nempe*. Thus Leo has shown (*Forsch.* 267 ff.) that the final syllables of *enim*, *nimis*, *satis*, *magis*, *potis* are exceptionally weak and very rarely placed under the metrical accent, cf. the monosyllabic forms *sat*, *pot(e)*, *mag(e)*; still earlier Schrader had shown in his well-known study (*De partic. -ne prosodia*, 30 f.) that the final syllable of *potin* is never placed under the ictus, that of *satin* very rarely, and so on. Again, we may illustrate this weakness chiefly from medial syllables. The Plautine language possesses the doublets *purigo* and *purgo*, *iurigo* and *iurgo*, *creduas* and *credas*, *mavolo* and *malo*, *spreverit* and *sprerit*, *audiverat* and *audierat*, *cognoverit* and *cognorit*, *face* and *fac*, *siet* and *sit*, *laudarier* and *laudari*, *dextera* and *dextra*, *periculum* and *periclum*.<sup>1</sup> We may freely admit that in Plautus these are, for the most part, actual doublets; yet it is evident that,

<sup>1</sup> This list includes doublets of two kinds, first, those like *iurigo* and *iurgo*, *cognoverit* and *cognorit*, in which the shorter forms are actually derived from the longer; and secondly, those like *periculum* and *periclum*, *creduas* and *credas*, *siet* and *sit*, *laudarier* and *laudari*, in which the two forms are independent of each other and possess a different origin. Only the first class of cases is strictly pertinent here, but, for convenience, I have enumerated as doublets all the related word-forms which were at the disposal of the poet. For an example of *voverat* actually written for *vbrat* (Saturnian verse-close), see *CIL.* I, 541, 7, and cf. Havet, *De Sat.* 236.

shortly before this time and even during the whole Plautine period, such shortened forms as *cognorim* or *purgo* still retained very largely in actual speech the diminishing syllable (e.g. *cogn<sup>o</sup>erim*),—a syllable having the value perhaps of one half or one fourth of a mora. Moreover, the usage of Terence shows that many of these weak syllables (especially when a long vowel preceded, cf. Spengel on *Ad.* 304; Schrader, *l.l.*, 13 ff.) had diminished still further by his time; for Terence is here somewhat more strict than Plautus, and, in general, knows only the forms *cognorim*, *malo*, *fac*, *laudari*, etc.; in only one position in the verse does he admit the use of the long forms *sprēverit*, *amāverat*, *face*, *siet*, *laudariet*, *dextera*, *periculum*, viz. in the verse-close,<sup>1</sup> and it is evident that in this position he is strongly influenced by metrical convenience or necessity.<sup>2</sup> In other words, so great is the demand in the final foot for iambic words and for words ending in an iambus that, in this place, the poet assigns, and the reader expects him to assign, the value of a full mora to syllables which are too short to be often counted at all elsewhere (for additional examples, see below, p. 179). This license is justified, however, by the fact that it rests upon a *metrical convention* which is thoroughly well known to the reader, and it is possibly also somewhat relieved by the further fact that all quantities, both long and short, tend to be heard more distinctly in the verse-close than elsewhere (cf. in part, Cic. *de Or.* iii, 50, 192).<sup>3</sup>

The ancient rhythmical theory of extraordinary short and fugitive syllables applies of course equally well to the verse of other than the classical nations. Thus, in our English accentual poetry we often find the light second vowel sup-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Engelbrecht, *Stud. Terent.* 76 ff.; Stange, *De archaismis Terent.* 33 f.; Lindsay, *Class. Rev.* VI, 87 ff.; Brock, *l.l.*, 75 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lindsay, *Class. Rev.* VI, 89: "In other words, Plautus tends to treat the use of the expanded forms (*periculum*, *poculum*, etc.) as a license, only to be resorted to in cases of metrical necessity."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ramain, *Études sur les Groupes de Mots*, Paris, 1904, p. 202: "Les doubles formes, lexicologiques ou prosodiques, ne sont pas usitées indifféremment: c'est ainsi que *evenat*, *siet*, *fūerit* sont réservées exclusivement pour le dernier pied." Cf. also Exon, *Hermathena*, XIII, 568.



pressed in such dissyllables as *never* (written also *nev'r*), *seven* (*sev'n*), *heaven*, *power*, etc., and in Shakespeare also in *jewel*, *being*, *seeing*, *playing*, cf. also *trac(e)lled*, *rememb(e)red*, *threat(e)ned* (Abbott, *Shakespearian Gram.*, § 470); conversely, Shakespeare sometimes pronounced as dissyllables some of our present monosyllabic words, such as *fire* (written also *fier*), *dear*, *fear*, *hour* (*ib.*, § 480). A close parallel to the Terentian usage of *mēō*, *amavērat*, *pericūlum* is afforded by the termination *-tion*, which is rarely dissyllabic in the middle of a line, but is frequently so treated at the end of a line (*ib.*, § 479), *e.g.*:

That shall make answer to such questions.

*2 Hen. VI*, i, 2, 80.

These three lead on this preparation.

*Cor.*, i, 2, 15

But

I'll raise the preparation of a war.

*Ant.*, iii, 4, 26.

Compare also the negligible syllables in the following lines from *Hamlet*:

Ay, thou poor ghost, while mem(o)ry holds a seat, i, 5, 96; And leads the will to desp(e)rate undertakings, ii, 1, 104; Remorseless, treach(e)rous, lech(e)rous, kindless villain, ii, 2, 609; The undis-cov(e)red country from whose bourn, iii, 1, 79; And with the incorp(o)ral air do hold discourse, iii, 4, 118.

**Synizesis.** — Apart from the phenomena of elision, the most perfect illustration of the occurrence of negligible syllables in O. Lat. is afforded by those cases in which two contiguous vowels, belonging to different syllables, are pronounced in immediate succession either in the same word, or in case of elision, in two different words, *e.g.* *mēō*, *meam ūxorem*.<sup>1</sup> Quite similar are the cases where the two vowels belong to differ-

<sup>1</sup> The second case is of course usually termed *synaloepha* (so-called elision), but it would be a faulty and pedantic analysis that would admit in the present case any difference of principle between the two examples cited above; see below, pp. 178, 202 f. Besides, the best authorities, both ancient and modern, do not attempt to distinguish sharply between *synizesis* and *synaloepha*; cf. Hephaestion, p. 10 W; Scholia A, p. 120 W; L. Müller, *R.M.*<sup>2</sup> 279 ff.

ent and originally independent parts of a compound, as in *coërce*, *coëmissæ*, *coëgi*, *deösculer*, *dehörtari*, *prehendo*, etc. (cf. Klotz, *Grundz.* 140; C. F. W. Müller, *Pl. Pros.* 451 ff.<sup>1</sup>). These phenomena are usually grouped under the name of synizesis, but as I have already pointed out (p. 159), the use of this name cannot be considered fortunate. To classical scholars the term 'synizesis' is chiefly associated with certain poetical artifices, certain metrical licenses, which dactylic poets like Homer and Vergil have freely used in order to adapt words of a difficult kind — especially cretic words like *ναυτέων* or *aurcis* — to the exigencies of the hexameter verse, and, although the ancients sometimes defined the term naturally and scientifically — as, for example, Scholia A upon Hephaestion, p. 119 W., where it is implied that, in *θεοί* for *θεοί*, the *ε* is *naturally* so weak as to be scarcely audible — yet the artificial sense has always predominated in the use of the term; cf. Christ, *Metr.*<sup>2</sup> 28, § 37.<sup>2</sup> Hence there can be little ground for wonder that so conscientious a student of Plautus as C. F. W. Müller has put it on record (*Pl. Pros.* 456, n. 1) that he considered *all* Roman synizesis artificial and of Greek origin, and there can be little doubt that he was largely led by this view of the subject to substitute iambic shortening as an explanation for all supposed cases of synizesis in Plautus. Before we undertake, then, to prove the reality of Plautine synizesis or to explain its laws, we must clearly differentiate this synizesis of the living speech and of the preferred rhythm from certain other phenomena which possess a wholly different character, and owe their origin to a widely different line of development.

A. The phenomena which we propose to discuss are quite different from the synizesis of Greek origin (*Synizesis Grae-*

<sup>1</sup> Here, as in every other part of the present subject, authorities differ about the proper *name* for the phenomena. C. F. W. Müller, for example, rejects the term 'synizesis,' and compares the method of procedure to elision between independent words.

<sup>2</sup> In the passage of Scholia A cited above, the natural and artificial elements are strangely mixed, e.g. *τὰς κακομετρίας ἀφαιρεί τῶν στίχων (artificial) . . . δισύλλαβον ὑποκλέψασα (natural) διὰ τὴν χρεῖαν (artificial) . . . καὶ γέγονε θεοτρόπον τινά (natural).*

*canica*, L. Müller, *R.M.*<sup>2</sup> 283, 325 ff.), which was first introduced by Catullus and his contemporaries into Roman epic poetry, and which may best be illustrated by the familiar Vergilian examples *aurēis* (*Aen.* i, 726), *alvēō* (*ib.*, vi, 412), *Eurysthēō* (*ib.*, viii, 292). I may point out just here, by way of anticipation, one important and striking difference which exists between Vergilian and O. Lat. synizesis. The latter is chiefly connected with the weakening of an initial syllable in words which begin with an iambus, e.g. (*e*)ōs, (*e*)āmus, *t(u)ām-rem* (but cf. *ēxĕāmus*, *aūrēō*), while the former assumes the weakening of a medial syllable in polysyllabic words, e.g. *aūrēō*. This treatment of the initial syllable of iambic words in O. Lat. is probably to be explained on the well-known principle of *the preferred rhythm of a language*; in other words, the ear of the Roman people originally preferred the fierce energy (γοργόρης) of the trochaic rhythm to the comparative tameness of the iambic movement, and this national preference for the trochaic rhythm made itself felt in word-forms, wherever the conditions were otherwise favorable, as in (*e*)āmus, *ēxĕāmus*, *ādfūt*, *aūrēō*, etc. Greek synizesis, on the other hand, although doing no actual violence to this principle, does nothing to promote it, and hence stands in no close relation to distinctive Roman tendencies or the cadences of Roman speech. Yet widely as the Greek and the Roman forms of synizesis differ in these respects, they are both subject at certain points to the same limitations (see p. 202).

B. The phenomena which we discuss are wholly different in character from the treatment of vowel *i* and vowel *u* as consonant *i* and consonant *u* respectively, in such a way as to make the preceding short syllable long by position, e.g. *āvnyum* (Enn. *Ann.* 91 M.), *insīdyantes* (*ib.*, 443 M.), *ābyete* (Verg. *Aen.* ii, 16), *tēnvia* (*id.*, *Geor.* ii, 121), *consily[um]* (Hor. *C.* iii, 4, 41); for other examples, see L. Müller, *R.M.*<sup>2</sup> 299 ff.; Christ, *Metr.*<sup>2</sup> 32. According to L. Müller (*l.l.*, 283, 301), this hardening of *i* and *u* is confined to epic and lyric poetry, where it is due almost wholly to metrical necessity (*extrema necessitate*), and its use was never admitted in Latin iambic

and trochaic metres. In fact, as many metricians recognize, this phenomenon is not, properly speaking, synizesis at all, and it is not subject to the strict laws which we shall find always observed in Plautine synizesis (p. 178).

The consonantization of vowel *i* and vowel *u*, as we have seen, is wholly unknown to Latin iambic verse. An entirely different treatment of these weak vowels is occasionally found both in O. Lat. iambic and dactylic verse, and consists in their total suppression (so far as concerns the metre), in cases where they stand in inner hiatus. This usage is rare, but is thoroughly well attested, and, unlike synizesis, it is subject to no special restrictions. Examples are: *evenat*, *advenat*, *pervenat*, etc. (Pl.), *monerim* (Pacuv.), *augura* (Accius), *progen(i)e[m]* (CIL. I, 38), *or(i)undi* (Lucr.), *oper(i)untur* (Laeivius); see L. Müller, *R.M.*<sup>2</sup> 289 f.; Christ, *Metr.*<sup>2</sup> 32; Klotz, *Grundz.* 140; Lindsay, *L.L.* 465, 506.<sup>1</sup> For a similar use in Greek poetry, cf. Christ, *Metr.*<sup>2</sup> 30, 29; L. Müller, *l.l.*, 289. Under this head belong also the very rare cases in Plautus of trisyllabic *me[ō] animo*, *su[o] aliquem* cited below (p. 203). Cf. also Pl. *Per.* 100:

Terréstris té c(o)ěpulónus cómpellát tuós.<sup>2</sup>

We have seen that both the synizesis which is imitated from Greek usage and the hardening of *i* and *u* are artistic devices which are employed to introduce difficult words into special kinds of verse. The question remains whether there was, in such word-forms as were named above (*meō*, *meām*, *eō*, etc.), a *natural* synizesis characterizing the living speech, and somewhat similar to the pronunciation which is almost

<sup>1</sup> Most of these forms are well attested, but Plautine *evenat*, *pervenat*, have little Ms authority, and are sharply called in question by Exon, *Hermathena*, XIII, 138 f. The suppression of vowel *i* in these forms also seems, however, the most probable solution. A different explanation is possible also for some of the other examples cited above; a case of suppression that should be added to the list is *periero*, which, according to Professor Warren's probable derivation in *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* XXXII, 112 f., represents *periuero* (reduced from *periuovero*); cf. Walde's *Lexicon* (appendix), which accepts this explanation in part.

<sup>2</sup> A numeral placed *below* the line denotes a foot of *iambic* verse; *in* the line, a foot of *trochaic* verse.



universally admitted as the normal and regular one for *dēin*, *dēinde*, *prōinde*, *prōut*, *quōād*, *dēhīnc*, etc.<sup>1</sup> In spite of the objections raised by some Plautine scholars, such as C. F. W. Müller, Havet, and Skutsch, I believe it certain that there was in many such word-forms<sup>2</sup> a weakly uttered syllable in hiatus, which, in comparison with the much longer adjacent syllable, appeared to diminish greatly and to fall sensibly below the value of a mora. It was therefore nearly always neglected in the middle of a verse, and was freely allowed the value of a mora only through the conventions of the verse-close. This so-called synzesis occurs in connection with the short vowels *e*, *i*, and *u*, all three of which (especially *i* and *u*) readily tend to assume a semi-vocalic character.<sup>3</sup> Yet in the O. Lat. phenomena these vowels have not become consonants, but remain slight and weakly uttered vowel sounds. This appears from the fact that elision con-

<sup>1</sup> C. F. W. Müller (*l.l.*, 451), as has already been noted, rejects *dēinde*, *prōinde*, etc., and supposes a species of elision between the two parts of the compound word, e.g. *d[e]inde*, etc. From the list of words given above, I have omitted the dissyllabic *ēidem* (*īdem*), *ēisdem* (*īsdem*), also the somewhat less frequent *ēadem*, *ēisdem*, etc., of Augustan poetry (L. Müller, *l.l.*, 297, 322), because these latter may seem to some capable of a different explanation.

<sup>2</sup> Of course, the synzesis here described does not apply to *all* the case-forms of *meus*, etc., nor to elided forms under all conditions; cf. pp. 178, 201 f.

<sup>3</sup> Ritschl seems to be very nearly correct in saying (*Opusc.* II, 600 f.) that the whole conception of O. Lat. synzesis rests upon the semi-vocalic character of the two sounds, *i* and *u*—a statement which I wish, however, to interpret in the sense that *i* and *u* are half-vowels, and not full vowels, in these words. Of course, in the words which show synzesis, *e* sometimes represents an original *i*, and we find the spelling *ianus* (for *eamus*) in Inscr., *iam* for *eam* (acc. sing. fem.) in Mss of Varro (Neue, II<sup>3</sup>, 381) and in the grammarians, initial *i*- in all the Oscan forms of the demonstrative pronoun *is* (Bronisch, *l.l.*, 97), etc. Yet, in reality, all the forms just named and especially, for example, the O. Lat. form *mius* (which is attested by the grammarians and, according to Lindsay, *L.L.* 21, by some of the derivative Romance forms, but which is needlessly explained away by Sommer, *Lat. Lautlehre*, 446), seem to show rather the general tendency of *ĭ* in hiatus to become close *e* and so approach the sound of *i*; for numerous examples of this tendency, see Lindsay, *L.L.* 19 ff.; Seelmann, *Ausspr.* d. Lat. 187 f.; note further Vergilian *miis*, attested by Quint. viii, 3, 25, according to a probable conjecture (Mss *mus*), and *ium* on a Luceria inscr., *CIL.* IX, 782. On the part played by the half-vowels *i* and *u* in synzesis, cf. also Corssen, *Ausspr.* II<sup>2</sup>, 767; Ahlberg, *De procel.* I, 86.

stantly occurs before monosyllabic (*e*)*ūm*, (*e*)*ō*, etc., e.g. *Tri.* 197 *iuxtāque (e)am cūro*. Further, the weak vowel is wholly suppressed in the quasi-phonetic spelling of Ennius, i.e. *sis*, (abl. pl.; cf. the double forms *suāvium* — which at times was doubtless very nearly *sūāvium* — and *sāvium*<sup>1</sup>), and in the vulgar forms *do*, *dae*, *quattor*, *des*, *quescas*, etc.; note also its loss in the compound forms *ecc-um*, *ecc-am*, etc., while the consonantal *i* of *iam* gives rise to the trisyllabic compounds *nunc-iam*, *etiā*, etc. Although a total suppression of the vowels *e*, *i*, and *u* does not ordinarily occur in O. Lat. synizesis, it would yet be more nearly correct to say that we have their suppression under certain conditions, than it would be to say that we have their consonantization. For, as we have already seen, the tendency in O. Lat. was rather to suppress vowel *i* and vowel *u* than to fully consonantize them; cf. O. Lat. *ābicio*<sup>2</sup> with Augustan *ābyicio* (Vendryes, *L'intens. init.* 266 f.), and similarly *tenia* and *abete* would possibly be nearer the O. Lat. colloquial pronunciation in some respects than *tēnvia* and *ābyete*.<sup>3</sup>

To sum up: The vowels in question have not lost the musical quality by virtue of which they are vowels, and have not degenerated into the consonantal lack of tone. They are vowels in the true sense of a sound that has tone, but they are slurred or faded tones.<sup>4</sup> We may still further illustrate

<sup>1</sup> For numerous cases of the loss of post-consonantal *u* before the accent, in vulgar Latin, see Lindsay, *L.L.* 268.

<sup>2</sup> One should rather say occasional O. Lat. *ābicio*; for Exon's convincing study (*Hermathena*, XIII (1904), 129 ff.) shows clearly that *ābicio* is an exceptional scansion in O. Lat., and its occurrence not wholly free from doubt in any case.

<sup>3</sup> It must be remembered, however, that the consonantal character of *j* and *v* does not appear to have been fully developed in O. Lat. (cf. Lindsay, *L.L.* 45), and it is probable, on the whole, that O. Lat. *j* and *v* were half-vowels (*i*, *u*) rather than spirant consonants (*y*, *w*). Thus, according to one view (cf. Lorenz on *Mo.* 642), synizesis takes place not only through *h*, as in *nūh'īl*, *prēhēndo*, but also through *j*, e.g. in *hūiūs*, *quōiūs*, *ēiūs*; but, in any case, it is clear that *j* assumes a vocalic character in these words, cf. *conctus* from *coionctus*.

<sup>4</sup> A number of our editions of Plautus and Terence fall into the inaccuracy of describing vowel *i* and vowel *u* in synizesis as consonants. Thus Hallidie, in his edition of the *Captivi* (London, 1891, xliii), says expressly: "Another form of contraction is caused by the vowel *i* being pronounced as the consonant *i* (*y*). This method of pronunciation is adopted by the Augustan poets in such words as

the value of O. Lat. *meo* by three pronunciations of the English word *immediate*, which are all in use at the present time: (1) Careful speakers make it a word of four syllables, viz. *immē' di-āt*. (2) Careless or unlearned people reduce it to three, viz. *immē'jūt*. (3) Between these two extremes there is a pronunciation *immē'jē-ūt*, in which the syllable *jē* is greatly weakened in pronunciation, and the word is reduced almost to a trisyllable; O. Lat. *meō* may be best compared with this third or intermediate pronunciation. Professor Fay (*Most.* xiii) also aptly compares the dissyllabic pronunciation of *bounteous*, *plenteous*, *radiant*, *happier*, and the like, in our current hymns. In conclusion, I wish to quote the admirable account of synizesis, which is given by Spengel (*Eiul. zu Andria*, xxxi): "Die Zusammenziehung zweier Vokale innerhalb eines Wortes beruht auf Unterordnung des kurzen Vokals unter den folgenden langen, wodurch beide ein Zeitmass bilden, wie in der Musik ein kurzer Vorschlag durch das Anlehnen an eine lange Note die selbständige Messung im Takt verliert. Um das einsilbige *tuis*, *deos*, u. a. richtig auszusprechen, dürfen wir nicht auf die erste Silbe den Ton legen, noch auch beide Silben gleichmässig betonen, sondern der möglichst kurz gesprochene erste Vokal lehnt sich als Vorschlag an den lang und voll gesprochenen Hauptvokal an."<sup>1</sup>

*abiete*." Similarly Wagner in his *Aulularia* (p. 62) and Ashmore in his *Adelphoe* (p. lxxvii) state that the synizesis forms are to be pronounced *myis*, *dyō*, *dyes*, *dye*, *dyūs*, *yōs*, *fwisse*, etc. Even Lindsay writes somewhat loosely (*L.L.* 439), "When *e* is followed by a long syllable, it passed in unaccented usage into *y* by synizesis, e.g. *ēo*, *ēos*." (Lindsay, however, expresses the view elsewhere (*L.L.* 22) that the double forms *vinea* and *vinia*, *balteus* and *baltius*, etc., are to be explained by the tendency to give a vowel in hiatus the close sound rather than by the tendency to change *i* and *e* in hiatus into consonantal *i* (*y*).) On the other hand, Professor Fay (*Most.* xiii) aptly describes synizesis as "quasi-elision between impinging vowels of the same word"; and little exception can be taken to the definition given in Allen and Greenough's *New Latin Grammar* (§ 642), "the running together of two vowels without full contraction." With Fay's description, compare Consentius (Keil, V, 403), who cites as an example of a vowel elided between a consonant and a vowel Vergilian *d(u)odena* (*Geor.* i, 232), which was, however, probably read by Vergil *dīōdēna* (cf. p. 199).

<sup>1</sup> Spengel (*l.l.*, xxxii) also compares the Romance derivatives, e.g. according to his view: Ital. *so* from *sc(i)o*; Span. *dos* from *d(u)o*, *d(u)os*; Ital. *fosse* from



## II. RELATION OF SYNIZESIS TO IAMBIC SHORTENING. LAW OF BREVIS COALESCENS.

### Points of Similarity. The Roman Quantitative Problem. —

Many Plautine scholars have refuted C. F. W. Müller's attempted substitution of iambic shortening for synizesis in the case-forms *meo, tuo, deo*, and the like, and have shown the extreme improbability of this hypothesis. In the present section I shall attempt to offer additional proof of this conclusion, but it seems desirable first to point out that those critics who have advocated iambic shortening in these forms have directed attention to an important and a curious series of facts which their opponents had entirely overlooked. It is to this somewhat vague treatment of synizesis on the part of its professed advocates, and especially to their neglect to inquire into the ultimate cause of the phenomena in question, that the vitality of Müller's theory seems largely due,<sup>1</sup> and it therefore becomes important to explain clearly the problem of synizesis and to interpret the real meaning of the phenomena before we attempt a formal refutation of iambic shortening. Our first inquiry must be whether the great body of Plautine synizesis forms can be reduced to a law; for it is no real solution whatever to say, as is usually said, that synizesis occurs in "a limited circle of words and word-forms" (Brix, *Einl. zu Trin.* 20), or that it occurs in "certain words in very common use" (Fairclough, *Intr. to Andria*, lxi). The possibility of slurring the half-vowels *i (e)* and *u* in pronunciation being given (p. 170), we are called upon to explain

dissyllabic *fuisse*; Ital. *di* from monosyllabic *die, dies*, etc. On the pronunciation cf. also Bömer, *ll.*, 43: "Duas vocales pronuntiatas esse . . . ita, ut utriusque sonus audiretur," and Leppermann, *ll.*, 10: "Duae vocales una syllaba simul pronuntientur sed non in diphthongum coniunctae." Corsen also (II<sup>2</sup>, 752) aptly describes the half-vowel *u* in synizesis as 'ein zwischen *v* und *u* schwebender Mittellaut von unmessbar kurzer Dauer,' and in his general discussion (II<sup>2</sup>, 744 ff.) he makes very effective use at times of the rhythmical doctrine of the 'verschwindend kurzer Vocal.' If at other times he has clearly misused and perverted this doctrine, the underlying conception is none the less one of real value for the student of ancient metric.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Stolz's somewhat hasty acceptance of this theory of Müller and Skutsch, Müller's *Handb.* II<sup>8</sup>, 2, 34; cf. also Gleditsch, *Metr.*<sup>3</sup> 258.



why this slurring occurs in the dialogue metres in *meō*, *deūm*, *eūm*, *eā*, *diē*, *diū*, but does not occur in *aūreō*, *filiō*, *grātīs*, *līnteūm*, *pōsteā*, *ānteā*, *prīdiē*, *interdius*;<sup>1</sup> why it occurs in *sciō*, *fuī*, *eāt*, *eāmus*, *eōdem*, but never in *nēsciō*,<sup>2</sup> *ādīfuī*, *ēxēāt*, *trānscēāt*, *prōdeāt*, *ēxēāmus*, *ēxēūntem*, *ēxēūndum*, *īntr(o)cūndi*, etc.;<sup>3</sup> why it occurs in *fuērunt*, *puēlla*, *puēr*,

<sup>1</sup> Ahlberg seems to think of this problem, when he writes of *deus* (*Procl.* I, 95): "Quoniam hoc subst. non nisi in certis collocationibus verborum encliticam vim habet, . . . synzesis non adest in versibus his." Cf. below, pp. 177, 193 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Except in the peculiar locutions *nescio quis*, *nescio quid*, etc. Of the two scansions which are metrically possible in such cases, viz. *nesc(i)ō-quis* and *nesciō-quis*, the former only should probably be admitted for O. Lat., but whether we assume the process of shortening or of synzesis, the task of explaining its applicability to the *trisyllabic* word *nescio* is equally difficult in either case. In discussing these locutions, it is necessary to assume that the analogy of the simple verb *sciō* has in some way made itself felt, probably in the first case through the *interrogative* locutions *sc(i)ō-quis* and *scin-quis*; for the latter, which is usually overlooked, see Schrader's note and citations, *De -ne prosodia*, 21, n. 1. Luchs's study (*Hermes*, VI, 264 f.) of the *indefinite* locution *nescio-quis* and its peculiar metrical treatment is well known, but Schrader's note shows that he is mistaken in entirely rejecting, and that the editors are mistaken in emending, the occasional occurrence of the peculiar scansion *nesc(i)ō-quis* in the case of the *interrogative* locution also, viz. *Ba.* 795; *Tri.* 880; *Pacuv. tr. fr.* 294; *And.* 734 (accepted by Spengel, *Einl.* xxxii). Finally, Luchs denies that the indefinite locution ever has the full scansion *nēsciō-quis*, but even this conclusion may perhaps be doubted, v. Seyffert, *Bursian's Jahresb.* 1894, 262, who accepts the reading of B, *nēsciō-quem*, in *Men.* 407 (marked corrupt in ed. min.). In O. Lat. a rigorous distinction cannot be drawn between the *interrogative* and the *indefinite* locutions. — Since writing the above, I have become convinced that the assumption of synzesis in *nesc(i)ō-quis* is improbable, and that the usual value of the indefinite is much rather *nesciō-quis*, with shortening due to the addition of the enclitic *quis* (cf. Stolz, Müller's *Handb.* II<sup>3</sup>, 2, 55; Skutsch, *Ép̄as*, 136). The indefinite has, however, occasionally the original value *nesciō-quis* (cf. *siquidem* and *sīquidem*), while the *interrogative* has sometimes *within the verse* the same value as the indefinite, viz. *nesciō-quis*.

<sup>3</sup> A single apparent exception occurs in the case of the compound *perduellis*, which is always *trisyllabic* in Pl., but in this case it is evident that the synzesis of the simple form *duellum* has become so regular as finally to create a new word (*dūello* only *Am.* 189, cf. Müller, *Pl. Fr.* 236, 264); and Müller (*l.l.*, 237) is undoubtedly correct in his view of this particular word, viz. that it does not involve the coalescence of two vowels, but was pronounced in O. Lat. *duellum* (later *bellum*). The locution *nescio-quis*, which may also seem an exception, has already been discussed. The isolated *quattuor* of *Mo.* 630 (*quattuor*, ed. min.; *quattōr*, Schöll in ed. mai., cf. *quatt(u)or* *Enn. A.* 90, 609 M.) does not concern us closely; for it occurs in the first foot, which may have the free-

*eāmus, eā, eūm, eō*, cf. *aīs* (*āin*), but never in *fūērīnt, pūēri* (cf. Ritschl, *Proleg.* clxiv), *ābēamus, rēdēamus, intērēa, sēd-ēum, ād-ēum, āb-ēo, quīd-āīs*.<sup>1</sup> These marked differences in treatment appear at first sight somewhat perplexing and difficult of solution, but I am indebted to the kindness of my colleague, Professor M. Anstice Harris, for the valuable suggestion that the explanation must be sought in the preference of the Roman language or of all the Roman γένος διπλάσιον metres for a particular rhythm.<sup>2</sup> On the whole, much might be said in favor of the thesis that the fierce aggressiveness, the sharp energy of the Roman national character, which created a thoroughgoing system of regressive accentuation, also inclined the Romans to prefer rhythms like the trochaic, which begin with the arsis; cf. above, p. 168, and Christ, *Metr.*<sup>2</sup> 208 f.<sup>3</sup> Yet the principle of the preferred rhythm has in Latin a simpler and a more obvious application in the well-

dom of the γένος ἴσον, cf. *Ba. 1204 filiī* (anap. sept.). Much less do the reduced forms of *hūius, illius*, etc., belong here; for these were probably *huis, illis* (Luchs, *Studem. Stud.* I, 319 ff.). Ritschl (*Proleg.* clxiv, n.) admitted synizesis in *anteā* and *postēā*, but the few and doubtful examples have long ago been corrected; hence it is unnecessary to explain *anteā* and *postēā* as separable *composita* in these cases, i.e. *ante eā, post eā*. The separable prepositional *composita* of the value  $\_ \cup \_$ , e.g. *a-suo, ex-tuis, ad-suam, ex-ea*, etc., when they stand detached from a substantive, are more frequently full forms, i.e. *dsuō, éxtuis*, and similar to the verbal *composita* *éxēd, néscid*. Since, however, prepositional *composita* of this kind retain many of the characteristics of their component parts, they also freely exhibit the contract forms, but by no means so frequently as the simple proclitics *suō, suām, tuīs*, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Havet, *De Saturnio*, 32, quotes *quid āīs* from the verse-close, *Eu.* 654, but the verse is one which all the editors agree in regarding as corrupt and emend in some form (Fleck. and Dzi.: *qui<sup>8</sup>d āīs*).

<sup>2</sup> My indebtedness for helpful suggestion and aid is much greater than appears in this brief acknowledgment, and if I have been successful in avoiding at this important point the somewhat narrow traditional view of the phenomena under discussion, it is largely due to the fact that I have been generously assisted by Professor Harris's critical judgment and clear insight into the fundamental principles of rhythm. For the influence of the preferred rhythm upon English word-forms in the loss or retention of weak syllables, see Hempl's study "Learnèd and Learn'd," *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* XII, 318 ff.

<sup>3</sup> According to Roppenecker, *De emend. cantic. Plaut.*, Freising, 1894, p. 19, the Latin language in the time of Plautus was less suited to ascending rhythms, i.e. the iambic and especially the anapaestic.

known difficulty which the Romans experienced both in their prose and in their poetry in pronouncing an iambic word or iambic word-beginning, when the latter occurs in certain combinations that frequently arise in the continuous sequence of the sentence. Fortunately, it is not necessary to investigate afresh those combinations of syllables which the early Romans pronounced with difficulty; they are precisely those which lead to the well-known phenomena of iambic shortening, and they have therefore often been carefully investigated and conveniently tabulated. I need only remark that the difficulty of pronouncing these syllable-groups was connected in ordinary or unrhythmical prose with a certain position of the *word-accent*, and numerous modifications in word-forms were thus assisted by word-accentuation; on the other hand, in rhythmical prose and in poetry, where the word-accent was replaced by a *metrical accent* (largely similar in kind, cf. *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* XXXV, 52), changes in word-forms were produced also by the latter. Hence poetry has at its disposal both series of modified word-forms, but such is the constitution of iambic and trochaic verse that the effects of the rhythmical accent are usually only a continuation of the effects which the word-accent tends to bring about in common speech, and only rarely run counter to the latter, e.g. the pretonic syncope seen in *m(e)um gnátum* may be produced equally well by the rhythmical accentuation *m(e)úm gnatúm*. In the present discussion, however, the legitimate operation of both accents will be recognized.

The difficult quantitative combinations which the Latin language seeks to escape by the use of iambic shortening are conveniently enumerated by Dziatzko-Hailer (*Einl. zu Phormio*, 51) as follows: (1)  $\cup \_ \_ \_$ ; (2)  $\cup \_ \_ \_ \cup$ ; (3)  $\_ \_ \_$ . It is universally recognized that in all these sequences it is the presence of the short syllable which constitutes the disturbing element, and that the pronunciation of this syllable, e.g. in the sequence  $\cup \_ \_ \_$ , makes it difficult to give the immediately following long its proper value, when the voice is hastening to the second and accented long; hence this short syllable is properly called a *Brevis Brevians*,



but in the γένος διπλάσιον the *Brevians* is of necessity regularly restricted to an initial syllable, if the verses of this γένος are to be readable and its rhythm to be kept distinct from the rhythm of the γένος ἴσον. The vocal organs experience, of course, precisely the same difficulty in pronouncing the particular sequences named above, whether the vowel of the first syllable is separated from the vowel of the following by a consonant or not, but the method of removing the difficulty is different in the two cases. The language must, of course, in dealing with each case, follow the line of least resistance, and, in the case of the half-vowels *i* (*e*) and *u* in hiatus, all ancient usage, both linguistic and metrical, proclaims that the least and the simplest modification consists in the slurring of these sounds.<sup>1</sup> Hence the original sequences are modified as follows through the law of *Brevis Coalescens*, as it may be termed: I.  $\cup \_ \_$  is changed to  $\_ \_$ : *Hec.* 185 d(i)es ést; *Tru.* 324 d(i)u quám; *Cur.* 240 l(i)eni óptumúmst; *Tri.* 197 (e)am cúro; *Poe.* 104 eas pérdidít; *Mi.* 246 e<sup>4</sup>x (e)a míles; *Am.* 1004 m(e)o me áequomst; *Ci.* 80 s(u)am-rem o<sup>3</sup>btinére; *Cap.* 130 s(u)i-gnáti; *Ep.* 702 t(u)i-gna<sup>4</sup>ti. The foregoing changes are brought about properly by the word-accent (which is here, as it happens, reinforced by the verse-accent), but the verse-accent alone may continue the work of prose, e.g. *Au.* 299 s(u)am-rém (in prose: s(u)ám-rem); *Mi.* 736 qui<sup>1</sup> d(e)orúm. II.  $\cup \_ \cup \cup$  is changed to  $\_ \cup \cup$ : *Cu.* 671 m(e)am-rem ágere; *Cap.* 363 t(u)o véteri. III. (a)  $\cup \_$  is changed in actual speech to  $\_$ , both quantity and accent uniting to reduce the weak half-vowel, as in (e)ósdem, d(e)órum, by a species of pretonic syncope. (b)  $\cup \_$ , or rather  $\cup \_$ , is changed to  $\_$ , that is, in cases like déos, involving the weakly uttered half-vowels, quantity prevails over an unstable accent, and produces d(e)ós (cf. *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* XXXV, 58 n.),<sup>2</sup> while in other and far

<sup>1</sup> For the relation of vowel and consonant *i* and *u* in Skt., cf. Whitney, *Skt. Gramm.* 55 ff., 129; Corssen, II<sup>2</sup>, 768.

<sup>2</sup> There is a quite unnecessary outcry on the part of many against 'synizesis in the arsis,' and Skutsch (*Sat. Viadr.* 144) and Ahlberg (*De procel.* I, 93 ff.)



more numerous cases like *meum-gnatum*, the iambic dissyllable loses the accent entirely through proclisis (see below, p. 193): *Ba.* 124 d(e)órum; *Poe.* 1422 (e)a<sup>4</sup>mus; *Cur.* 220 l(i)éne; *Ep.* 338 qu(i)éto; *Am.* 549 d(i)e<sup>3</sup>s ut; *Cap.* 881 (me)u<sup>3</sup>m qui gnatum; *Am.* 827 t(u)a<sup>1</sup>m-rem cúret; *And.* 385 ex (e)á-re; *Men.* 81, *Poe.* 1338, *Ad.* 959 m(e)á-quidém sententiá; *Cap.* 987 véndidísti m(e)o<sup>7</sup> patrí; *Ep.* 582 f. quae patrém | T(u)o<sup>1</sup>m vocás; *As.* 878 t(u)o<sup>5</sup>m virúm conspéxerís; *Tri.* 192 cúres t(u)ám fidém; *Cur.* 702 dícam m(e)a<sup>6</sup>m sententiám; *Cap.* 867 t(u)o a<sup>1</sup>rbitrátu. In examples like the following the verse-accent continues the effects of the word-accent: *Mo.* 1120 t(u)i<sup>2</sup>-gnatí sodálem (in prose: t(u)i-gnatí); *Ps.* 120 t(u)óm tangám patrém; *Am.* 126 m(e)ó<sup>4</sup> possém patrí; *Mi.* 723 d(i)u<sup>6</sup> vitám.

The law of *Brevis Coalescens* may be stated then as follows for the γένος διπλάσιον and the γένος ἡμιόλιον: An iambic sequence of syllables, if initial, *i.e.* if forming a single word or a word-beginning, has the value of a single long, in case

have concluded too hastily that 'Synizese in der Hebung ist ein Unding.' Undoubtedly, considerable importance should be attached to Latin word-accent, but it should not be converted into a fetish, nor should the dogma be promulgated that the word-accent in its theoretical form must prevail under all phonetic conditions (see below, p. 193 ff.); compare the treatment of the accented or 'arsis' syllable in the contracted forms, *di, dis, is, nil, dest, sis* (for *suis*), and in the synizesis forms *dein, dehinc, proin, proit, quoid*, also in *Iovem, bis* for O. Lat. *Diovem, dnis* (Paul. Fest. 46, 6 Th.). The argument against synizesis in the arsis is stated by Gleditsch (*Metr.*<sup>3</sup> 258) as follows: "In zweisilbigen Wörtern wie *eos, tuos* und in dreisilbigen wie *eorum*, wenn sie den Iktus auf der ersten Silbe tragen, wie *Trin.* 238 *éos cupit, eos cónsectátur*, erscheint es viel natürlicher an Kürzung der zweiten Silbe in *eos* zu denken und die Wörter pyrrhisch zu messen als Synizese anzunehmen. Vgl. ebd. 295 *měō modo et.*" Unfortunately this argument involves a manifest *petitio principii*, when it boldly assumes that there is a full and complete 'first syllable' in *eos, tuos*, etc., while, in fact, it is evident that if we have the prose accents—particularly in case of the proclitic pronouns—(*e*)*ds-cupit* (or even (*e*)*os-cúpit*), (*e*)*os-cépit*, the verse-accent (*e*)*ds-cupit*, (*e*)*ds-cepit* follow naturally; for a fuller statement of my views, see below, p. 185. Especially unfortunate is the example *měō modo* (*Tri.* 295), in view of *quomodo, eomodo, eiuomodí, quoddámmodo, illomodo*, etc. Similarly, Ahlberg's chapter on Synizesis is a valuable one, but his theory of synizesis in the thesis, *e.g. m(e)os sine*, but iambic shortening in the arsis, *e.g. sine mēōs*, breaks down

the former of the two syllables contains the half-vowel *u* or *i*, or the similarly pronounced *e*, in hiatus.<sup>1</sup> This law enables us very largely to see why 'monosyllabic' *sc(i)o*, *m(e)o* do not occur in verse-closes, except at the end of the anap. oct. and anap. dim. ac., which conclude with the ictus (— ′).<sup>2</sup> These contracted forms could not in any case occur in verses which end with an iambus (iamb. trim., troch. sept.), where metrical convention has given the half-vowel the full value of a mora, but they might be expected on first thought to occur in verses which end in a trochee (iamb. sept., troch. oct.)<sup>3</sup> e.g. *placét*<sup>7</sup> *m(e)o* like *placet mi*, *Mo.* 175. Yet even here we see that the O. Lat. poets never treated *meo* as a genuine monosyllable and never placed it at the end of a metrical sentence as such; in short, the quasi-monosyllabic pronunciation requires an accent to follow the slurred word in an immediate sequence either of the sentence or of the verse (as *placét m(e)o sí*), and not to follow it, for example, at the beginning of another line. Cf. the absence of *fac* and *nil* from early verse-closes, and Skutsch's former view, *Forsch.* 57.<sup>4</sup> For further discussion of this question, see below, p. 208.

completely, as he himself sees (*l.l.*, 104), when it is applied to O. Lat. *n(ih)il* and *n(ih)ilu[e]*. This theory also breaks down completely when applied to the verse of other Latin poets who do not admit shortening, e.g. Enn. *A.* 151 M. (Lucr. iii, 1023) *lúmina sí oculís*; Auson. *Sap. prol.* 29 *pronántiáre s(u)ás solént senténtiás*; Terentianus Maur. 1609 *vim s(u)ám tuetur*. Cf. also Seyffert's criticism of this theory, *Berl. philol. Wochenschr.*, 1900, 1611 ff.

<sup>1</sup> In anapaestic cantica (the γέρος ἄσπον), it is perhaps possible, as was formerly assumed by Ritschl and Spengel, that synizesis, like iambic shortening, is applied to other than initial syllables, e.g. to *aur(e)o*, *fil(i)o*, but the discussion of this question does not fall within the limits of the present paper, and is of less importance, since the anapaestic rhythm does not accurately represent the spoken language.

<sup>2</sup> But in these repeatedly, e.g. *Ba.* 1153 *facito út faciás. || Taceás. tu tuóm facito* : *égo quod díxi haud mútabó*, a verse in which Müller (*Nachträge*, 55) seeks in vain to find a flaw. There is some reason, however, to doubt the admissibility of synizesis in the close of the anap. oct.; see below, p. 207, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> About 1520 verses in all.

<sup>4</sup> "So erklärt sich . . . das Fehlen einsilbiger Formen dieser Worte am Versende. Die lautlichen Bedingungen für die Synizesis sind eben nur im Satz zu-

**Points of Dissimilarity. Word-Forms and Complexes.** — We have seen the basis of similarity which exists between synizesis and iambic shortening; there are also fundamental differences between the two. The most important of these differences are the following: (1) Since synizesis is a much easier and much simpler modification than iambic shortening, slurred forms are proportionally in much more frequent use than shortened forms.<sup>1</sup> (2) Slurred forms ending in the diphthong *ae* and in *s* preceded by a naturally long vowel are very freely used, while shortened forms are rare in the case of these endings.<sup>2</sup> (3) Slurring is most freely applied to a large class of words and word-complexes, which, on account of their accental relations, only rarely and exceptionally admit shortening. The third point of difference is the one which I propose chiefly to discuss, and its extent may best be shown by an enumeration of the different *classes* of words to which synizesis is *freely* applied:

(1) Iambic words, e.g. *meae, eī, quoī, duos, trium, quia,*<sup>3</sup> *iō*

sammenhange gegeben." — I cannot say whether the dramatists always retain the full form at the end of a complete sentence, *i.e.* when there is a change of speaker, but my examples clearly show that this is their regular usage: *Au.* 154 in rem hōc tūamst.; *Mer.* 485; *Tri.* 197, etc.

<sup>1</sup>According to the quite inaccurate statistics of Leppermann (*l.l.*, 78), in forms of declension, the synizesis forms are at least three times as frequent within the verse as the non-synizesis forms (a very decided underestimate; cf. below, p. 183); on the other hand, the forms without shortening are nine times more frequent in Pl. and nearly six times more frequent in Ter. than the shortened forms. Skutsch (*Sat. Viadr.* 135) has attempted to explain away the significance of these facts by the special plea that two vowels in immediate contact are particularly conducive to iambic shortening. *We have, however, in Latin the principle "vocalis ante vocalem corripitur," not the principle "vocalis post vocalem corripitur"; otherwise we might expect to find in Pl. abēamus, abēundum, abiēre, abiēsses, abstinūsses, accipiēmur, accubiūsti, acquiēscam, adveniēntem, dhēnus, allēnus, etc.*

<sup>2</sup>According to Bömer (*l.l.*, 41) synizesis forms in *ae* and in *s* are one and a half times as frequent within the verse as non-synizesis forms, while, on the other hand, forms in *ae* and *s* without shortening are seven times more frequent than shortened forms; cf. also Lindsay, *Journal of Philology*, XXI, 206.

<sup>3</sup>*I.e.* when the ultima is elided before a long vowel: *Mer.* 543 qu(i)a<sup>6</sup> ūxor rārist, cf. *Mi.* 1278 qu(i)a<sup>1</sup> aedis, and Leo's note *ad loc.*; so also in later poetry: Terentianus Maur. 1090 quia<sup>1</sup> ēt variis pedibus loquimur sermone soluto; Venant. *Miscell.* ii, 15, 8 filius ut dicant quīast creātura dei, cf. L. Müller, *R.M.*<sup>2</sup>, 323.



(*Ps.* 703), *deūm*,<sup>1</sup> *deām*, *dīēs*,<sup>2</sup> *liēn* (always),<sup>3</sup> *viā*, *Creō*, *fuī*, *sciō*,<sup>4</sup> *eō*, *queō*, *beō*, *diū*, *eō* (adv.), etc. (Words of the same

<sup>1</sup> See Abraham, *Stud. Plaut.* 204 f. The nom. sing. in Pl. is of course always *dēū* (Abraham is clearly mistaken in assuming *dēus*, see below, p. 201); the short vowel is also always preserved in hiatus (*dēūm*, *Cap.* 865) or in elision before a short vowel, and may be preserved in elision before a long vowel, e.g. the phrase *prō dēum atque hominū fidēm* occurs three times in trochaic and once in iambic verse (*Cu.* 694; *Ep.* 580; *And.* 246; *Hau.* 61), while *pro d(e)um atque hominū f.* occurs once in iambic (*Hec.* 198). An absolute metrical proof of the contract-forms is afforded by *Phor.* 764 *sed pér-deos atque hominēs*, where *pér-dēōs atque* is no more possible than *filīās atque* would be (cf. *A. J. P.*, XXV, 262, 417); similarly, *Cap.* 727, *Mi.* 541, *Tri.* 520 *per-deōs atque hómīnes*; cf. *Cas.* 336 *ad-deōs minoris*. Pl. retains the full forms *dēōs*, *deūm*, *de[um]*, *deorum*, *deō*, exclusive of two cases in the verse-close and of two in cretic and bacchic verse, only six times against seventy-three cases of the contract forms. This extreme weakening of the short vowel, which is even more pronounced than that of the proclitics *meo*, *tuo*, is evidently due in part to the trite use of the word in oaths, adjurations, and emotional language in general (cf. the reduction seen in the English *odd's death*, *'s death*, *wounds*, etc.). Upon the difficult problem of *di* and *dis*, the sole O. Lat. forms of the nom. and abl. pl., I shall not venture to express an opinion; Sturtevant is correct (*LL.*, 20) in viewing these forms as absolute monosyllables, and rejecting this value for *deūm*, *deō*, etc., but quite contrary to his assumption (p. 33), all these dissyllabic forms of *deus* were verging towards monosyllabic pronunciation in the time of Pl.; for the late and vulgar forms, *dō*, *dac*, cf. p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> According to Gellius (x, 24, 1) the compound *diequinti* was pronounced in the Republican age '*secunda syllaba correpta*,' but Lindsay (*Journal of Philology*, XXI, 205) justly suspects that 'synizesis of the first two syllables was the real influence at work here'; cf. *d(i)e se'ptimī Men.* 1156, but *hōc-diē crástini, Mo.* 881. The present statement of Gellius is quite similar to that other tradition mentioned by the grammarian Priscian (Keil, III, 511, 20), which our Latin grammars accept so confidently, viz. that O. Lat. genitives of the second decl., like *tūgūri* (the standard example), are to be accented on the penult. But, as a matter of fact, Priscian probably had no trustworthy information upon this subject, since the form, though sometimes retained in poetry (L. Müller, *R.M.*<sup>2</sup> 442), had passed out of actual use centuries before his time, and he had consequently never heard the pronunciation in question; it is noteworthy that Pl. never uses a proceleusmaticus like *sed ingēni*, *sed auxiliī*, and if a vestige of true tradition had reached Priscian, instead of Nigidius Figulus's *differentiae causa* example (*Valēri* and *Vūleri*), he would have known that the republican accentuation was both *tūgūrium* and *tūgūri*.

<sup>3</sup> According to the grammarians (e.g. Priscian, Keil, I, 149, 7), Pl. used, after the analogy of *liēn*, a singular *riēn* instead of *\*rēn*. Whether he used this form also in the pl., and *rēnēs*, *Cu.* 236, represents *r(i)ēnēs*, cannot easily be determined.

<sup>4</sup> In Pl. apparently only *sciō* and *sc(i)ō*; similarly the grammarians noticed that Vergil does not shorten the final *o* of verbs, and hence, according to Char-



quantitative value are *also subject to I. Shortening*, except, as a rule, those which end in *ae* or in *s*.)

(2) Tetrasyllabic words and word-complexes of the same quantitative value as *voluptātem*, *i.e.*  $\cup - \underline{\quad} -$ , *e.g.* *eōrūndem*, *eāprōpter* (*And.* 959), *liēnosus* (*Cas.* 414), *diērectus*, *(e)andēmrem*, *(e)o-pācto*, *(e)ā-caūsa*, *m(e)um-frātre*m, *m(e)ā-caūsa*, etc.; cf. also *(o)agmenta*, *(o)emisse*, etc. (*Also subject to I. Shortening.*)

(3) Trisyllabic words and word-complexes of the value of a *bacchius* ( $\cup \underline{\quad} -$ ), *e.g.* *eamus*,<sup>1</sup> *deorum*,<sup>2</sup> *tuorum*, *duobus*, *eosdem*, *eorum*, *eumpse suo*pte, *fuisse*, *puella*, cf. *duellum* (p. 174, n. 3), *liene* (*Cur.* 220), *diēbus* (*Poe.* 1207), *creatos* (*Cic. Agr.* ii, 31, acc. to Zielinski, *Clauselgesetz in Ciceros Reden*, 175), *quiesce* (*Mer.* 448), *quierintne* (*Per.* 78), *quicto* (*Ep.* 338), *Heauton* (*Heau.* prol. 5), *Biarci* (*CLE.* 1602, 1), *m(e)āmrem*, *(e)āmrem*, *m(e)ām-spem*, etc.; cf. also *d(e)orsum*, *s(e)orsum*, *(o)egi*, *(o)erce*, etc. (*Not usually subject to I. Shortening.*)

(4) Tetrasyllabic words and word-complexes of the value  $\cup \underline{\quad} \cup \cup$ , *e.g.* *Cl(e)ostrata* (always), *Diespiter* (*Poe.* 869), cf. late *D(i)arrytos*, *CLE.* 107, 4 ('the well-watered country,' written also *Zaritus*), *duodecim* (*Ep.* 675), *diūtius*, *diūtinus*,<sup>3</sup>

*sius* (Keil, I, 16, 9 ff.), some of them wished to pronounce: *nunc sco* quid sit: *amor* (*Ecl.* viii, 43). But this usage in Vergil is very doubtful, since, except in a very limited number of cases (*isdem*, *eosdem*, *io*, *deinde*, etc.) the classical poets rejected the early synzesis as vulgar, and cultivated speech introduced *scō*, *dūō*, etc., instead; cf. p. 199.

<sup>1</sup> Of the twenty-three certain cases of *(e)dmus* cited by Müller (*Pl. Pr.* 271), fifteen occur in the first and fifth feet of troch. sept., where, acc. to Ahlberg (*Iamb. corrept.* 34), an accent *ēdmus* is tolerated in a few cases; four cases (*Cur.* 670; *Mi.* 78; *Poe.* 1162, 1342) are cited from an iambic first foot, where *ēdmus*, acc. to Ahlberg, is not tolerated; four occur within the verse where *ēdmus* is extremely unlikely, viz. *Ep.* 157, *Men.* 422 *ea<sup>3</sup>mus*, *intro*; *Poe.* 1422 *āge sis*, *ea<sup>4</sup>mus*; *St.* 622 *ea<sup>7</sup>mus*, *tu*. Since the total number of occurrences of the word is only thirty-one, it is impossible to assume twenty-three cases of *ēdmus*; cf. Lindsay, *Caplivi*, 28.

<sup>2</sup> *D(e)ōrum* without elision occurs three times in the first and fifth feet of troch. sept. (*Ep.* 675; *Men.* 217; *Mi.* 736), once in an iambic first foot (*Am.* 45) and twice within the verse, viz. *Ba.* 124 *d(e)ōrum*; *Att. Trag. Prael.* 7 *d(e)ōrum*; *dōrum* occurs twice: *And.* 959; *Hau.* 693. It is clear that, out of eight cases of the unelided word, we cannot assume six cases of *dōrum*.

<sup>3</sup> In later pronunciation the *i* (like the *u* in *duō*) was fully restored in these words, *i.e.* *dīūtius*, *dīūtinus*, *dīūturnus*, and after this restoration the Augustan

*m(e)ā-quidem*, *m(e)ūm-quidem*, *(e)ō-modo*; cf. also *m(e)ūm-patrem*, *m(e)ūm-virum*, *m(e)ām-fidem*, *m(e)āē-domi*, *m(e)ā-manu*,<sup>1</sup> etc.; cf. *d(o)addito*, *d(o)actio*, *a[v]unculus*. (Not usually subject to *I. Shortening*.)

(5) Many other word-complexes and phrases beginning with an iambic sequence, e.g. *m(e)ō-periclo*, *m(e)ō-sodali*, *m(e)ae-sorōri*; cf. *d(e)artuatns*, *d(e)asciari*, *d(e)osculari*. (Also subject to *I. Shortening*.)

The wide differences which separate synizesis and iambic shortening will be made clear by a careful examination of the classes marked (3) and (4) above. The two processes, however, again came together in the following class of *composita*:

(6) Whenever a short monosyllable precedes an iambic word, and, through its collocation, receives the word-accent neither shortening nor slurring is admitted in the *trissyllabic compositum* thus formed, the anapaestic character of which is sustained by the rhythm both of prose and of verse, e.g. *sēd-ubī*, *quīs-homō*, *quīd-agō*, *āb-erō*;<sup>2</sup> *sēd-ēunt*, *āb-ēs*, *tīb(i)-ēnm*, *quīd-āum* *aūt*, cf. *sēd-ēidem* (*Mi.* 758), etc. For further discussion of these *composita*, see p. 206 f.

**Statistics of Synizesis.** — According to the only trustworthy statistics which we possess, viz. those of Bömer, *l.l.*, 41, the unelided iambic case-forms of *deus*, *duo*, *meus*, *tuos*, *suos*, and *is*, treated with synizesis, are at least nine times as

poets, in view of the peculiar difficulty of these word-forms, appear to have adopted the negligent pronunciation with iambic shortening, i.e. *dīūtūrnus* (cf. *dūōdēni* for *duōdēni*) and even *dīūtius* (from *dīūtius*, cf. *vidēlicet* from *vīdēlicet*), see the examples cited by L. Müller, *R.M.*<sup>2</sup> 431; in the time of Pl., however, the *i* was too weakly pronounced in these words to serve as a *Brevis Brevians*, cf. *dudum* from \**diudum*. For other discussions of the vexed problem of *diutius*, cf. Solmsen, *Studien z. lat. Lautgesch.* 191 ff., Ahlberg, *De procel.* I, 99 ff., and esp. Fleckeisen, *Neue Jahrb.* CI (1870), 69 ff. The correct view is suggested by Stolz in the second edition of Müller's *Handb.* (II<sup>2</sup>, 2, § 40, 4).

<sup>1</sup> *Meū-quidem*, *eō-modo* are certainly accented as single words; for the restricted sense in which alone we have word-complexes accented *m(e)ūm-patrem*, etc., see below, p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the particle *ideō*, which is found with shortened *o* perhaps first in Martial (i, 1, 4).

frequent within the verse as the non-synizesis forms.<sup>1</sup> We have already seen that a chief reason why slurred forms are proportionally so much more frequent than shortened forms is the slighter modification which is involved in the slurring pronunciation, but there is also another reason to be assigned for the great wave of synizesis which in O. Lat. swept over the case-forms just named. In the case of *deūm*, an explanation may perhaps be found in the trite use of this noun; in the case of the proclitic and weakly accented pronouns, the regular synizesis is clearly due to the thoroughgoing effects of a species of pretonic syncope in the spoken language, e.g. *(e)ō-modo*, *t(u)ām-rem*, *t(u)om-frātre*m, etc. Before I proceed, however, to exhibit the full effects of this approximate 'syncope' upon the pronouns, I wish to state the logical grounds which cause me to deny the possibility of the same word-form admitting both synizesis and shortening.<sup>2</sup> First, in a very large number of cases of dimoric *deo*, *meo*, and of trimoric *eamus*, *deorum* synizesis may be absolutely proved; the question remains whether we are justified in concluding from these numerous cases the presence of synizesis in all. I hold that we are reasonably justified in this conclusion, and that words in which a short syllable is *usually* weakened indefinitely in pronunciation are not likely to have an entirely different pronunciation in which this short becomes so predominant and so clearly enunciated as to assist in weakening a following long. In short, a *Brevis Coalescens* is not likely also to be a *Brevis*

<sup>1</sup> The result is obtained as follows : Omitting 4 synizesis forms of *dies*, *die*, *via*, which are less often slurred, there are 147 synizesis forms of unelided iambic words in Terence. Bömer computes 66 non-synizesis forms, but from these we must subtract 5 cases at end of hemistich, 11 cases of *dies*, *die*, *via*, and 34 cases of the *trisyllabic* groups *sed-ēō*, *ab-ēō*, *in-ēō*s, cf. *intēr-ēō*s, etc.; these last are recognized by Bömer himself as cases that stand apart. Hence the non-synizesis forms of dissyllabic *eo*, *deo*, etc., reduce to 16. Bömer's figures do not include occurrences of *i*, *ei*, *is*, *eis*, *di*, *dis*, nor of dat. sing. *ei*. For statistics of the metrical inscriptions, see Hodgman, *Harvard Stud.* IX, 151 f. My own unfinished statistics for two plays of Plautus confirm Bömer's results.

<sup>2</sup> Lindsay, *Captivi*, 26 f., suggests that *ēō* ('go'), *mēām* and *sūist* are the preferable scansions in verses that he would scan as iamb. monom. (*Cas.* 715),

*Brevians*, and a syllable that is habitually slurred seems little more likely to act as a *Brevians* than a syllable that is 'elided,' e.g. the *e* in *dic(e) hunc*. In a period when the initial syllable of *deo* was usually weakened in pronunciation, it is evident that it could regain its full value only through the usage of careful speakers, but these latter would be likely to pronounce *dĕō*, and the pronunciation *dĕŏ* would probably not exist at all. These general considerations reach the highest degree of cogency in the case of the pronominal forms, which have become through proclisis either wholly oxytone, as *ĕŭm*, or very largely so, as *mĕŭm*; see my "Studies in Accent," *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* XXXV, 40.<sup>1</sup> A possible objection must be answered here, which is implied in the views expressed by Skutsch, *Berl. philol. Wochenschr.*, 1894, 265 f. In this discussion Skutsch appears to have no very clear conception of the extent of the proclisis of these pronouns, but he admits that in the cases (which he evidently regards as few in number) in which *meo*, *suo*, were proclitic or enclitic, the first vowel, through the loss of its accent, might perhaps be consonantized; in all other cases, however, the first vowel must, he holds, remain accented and retain its

glyconic (*Cur.* 155), and choriambic tetr. (*Cas.* 629) respectively, but since the metre of all these lines is doubtful in the extreme, these examples have no cogency whatever, and even if it could be shown that Pl. had employed the scansion *mĕām*, *sŭist* in glyconic and choriambic lines, this fact would have little bearing upon his usage in ordinary metres, but would require to be explained through the prosodical license *dialysis* or *diaeresis*, just as Lucretius, in dactylic verse, scans *sŭadeo*, *dissolŭensque*, etc. (L. Müller, *R.M.*<sup>2</sup> 308).

<sup>1</sup> The cases of oxytone *ĕām*, *ĕās*, etc., in the third foot of the senarius, may be cited here in full: *Tri.* 794 *ĕās* resĭgnatās sĭbĭ; *Ci.* 568 *ĕām* suam *ĕsse*; *Tru.* 85 *ĕŏ* nunc cŏnmentāst; *Tri. arg.* 6 *ĕī* det; *Mi.* 484 *ĕām* modo ōffendĭ; *ib.* 97 in sĕrvitŭtĕm āb *ĕŏ*; *Turp. com. fr.* 130 *ĕās* minŏris; *And.* 442 *ĕām*-rem; cf. also the double-iamb. verse-close: *Men.* 880 ātque *ĕām* meāē. Similarly, we find two cases of oxytone *mĕŏ*, *tŭaē* in the third foot: *Tru.* 656 Mārs *mĕŏ* perĭratŭs patrĭ; *Poe.* 1103 *filiāē tŭaē* sĭnt āmbae. More frequent cases do not occur for the reason that these forms do not admit elision before them as is always conventionally the case with *ĕām* in the third foot, and especially because synizesis is the customary use in this place, e.g. *And.* 880 et s(u)ĭ volŭntatĕm patrĭs; *Am.* 31 m(e)ĭ patrĭs; *Cap. prol.* 50 s(u)ŏ sĭbĭ.



full value.<sup>1</sup> In other words Skutsch would perhaps admit synzesis in *Tri.* 192 cúres t(u)ám-fidém, but he would reject it in *Ps.* 631 m(e)a<sup>3</sup>m qui fúrcillés fidem; he would perhaps admit it in *Cap.* 1024 m(e)u<sup>5</sup>m-patrém vocáriér, *Ep.* 582 f. patrem | T(u)-o<sup>1</sup>m-vocás, *ib.* 487 m(e)um-gnátum, but would reject it in *Ps.* 120 t(u)óm tangám patrém, *Cap.* 881 m(e)u<sup>3</sup>m qui gnátum, etc. Unfortunately, however, for this and for all similar *a priori* distinctions, actual speech does not have its various usages neatly labelled and carefully pigeon-holed in separate compartments, in the manner which this view seems to presuppose; on the contrary, through the effects of analogy, such usages are often greatly confused and intermingled. I do not need, however, to enter here into any detailed discussion of the principles involved, but shall simply cite the much more complete and much more important views expressed by Skutsch himself in another place. For the narrow view of proclisis implied in the present passage is wholly inconsistent with the generous and thoroughgoing proclisis justly demanded for *illúm*, *istúm*, *ipsúm* in the *Plaut. Forschungen*. Thus in the latter work, while pointing out that these accentuations originally arose in certain cases of proclisis like *illúm-pätrem*, *illúm-vídet*, *illám-rem*, etc., Skutsch recognizes in the clearest manner possible that the oxytonesis in question has been indefinitely extended in the actual Plautine language, and may be used in any collocation whatever, as in *illúm frätrem*, *illúm cērñit*; see esp. *Forsch.*, 137, 132 ff. This view of a developed oxytonesis is undoubtedly the correct one both for *illúm* and for *meúm*.

**Pretonic Syncope with 'Rem.'** Definite Metrical Proof. — A definite metrical test of the extent of pretonic 'syncope' may be made by observing the pronouns when they immediately precede *res*; for it is well known that, in this position, they form with *res* a single word, *i.e.* *omném-rem*, *tantám-rem*, *aliás-*

<sup>1</sup>"Wo *meo*, *suo* pro- oder enklitisch waren . . . , da konnte der erste Vokal, seines Accents verlustig, konsonantisiert werden; wo aber das Wort betont blieb, . . . musste die erste Silbe Tonträgerin und folglich der Vokal voller Vokal bleiben."

res, *ipsá-re*, *illám-rem*, cf. *CIL*. I, 206 (*Lex Iulia Munic.*, 45 B.C.) 44 *eamrim*, *eare*, *ib.* 161 *caires*; see further my article in *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* XXXV, 39, and also G. Romain, *Études sur les groupes de mots*, Paris, 1904, pp. 151, 161, 176. I have examined for this purpose all the occurrences in the dramatists of the single case-form *rem* (acc. sing.), when immediately preceded by *meam*, *tuam*, *suam*, and of the twenty-six cases which actually occur, I find that twenty-two cases, occurring in iambic or trochaic verse, show pretonic syncope; the text or kind of verse is uncertain in two cases (*Au.* 134; *Tri.* 139), but appears also to yield the syncopated form, and in two cases only, one in iambic, one in anapaestic, verse (*Poe.* 659; *Per.* 781), are the full forms retained. The *γένος διπλάσιον*, which closely represents actual speech, therefore shows pretonic syncope to be more than twenty times as frequent as the original iambic form. The accent *tŭám-rem* would of course be possible in a few cases, but not in many, e.g. in the dramatists the accent *malám-rem* is certain in twenty-eight of the thirty occurrences of this locution, while *mälám-rem* occurs once in anapaests (*Ps.* 234) and once in a corrupt passage (*Tru.* 937). On the other hand, when *tuam* precedes *rem* but is separated by intervening words, synizesis occurs in only half the cases (contrast *Poe.* 1083; *Tru.* 965; *Tri.* 139(?) with *Mer.* 1011; *Ps.* 253; *Tri.* 621), but this low ratio is accidental and is quite unusual in other cases. The examples of *meam-rem* in the dramatists are as follows: *Am.* 827 t(u)a<sup>1</sup>m rem cúret; *Au.* 134 ut(í) t(u)ám rēm (bacch., acc. to ed. mai.); *ib.* 299 s(u)am rém periísse; *Cap.* 632 m(e)a<sup>1</sup>m rem nón curés; *Cas.* 89 non míhi licére m(e)ám<sub>3</sub> rem; *Ci.* 81 nón potést s(u)a<sup>3</sup>m rem; *Cu.* 671 m(e)am rem ágere; *Mer.* 48 válide s(u)ám<sub>3</sub> rem; *ib.* 454 s(u)a<sup>5</sup>m rem esse aéquomst; *Mi.* 951 t(u)a<sup>2</sup>m rem cúra; *ib.* 1117 t(u)ám<sub>4</sub> rem túte agás; *Per.* 513 ad m(e)a<sup>3</sup>m rem; *ib.* 781 itaqué mēam rém (anap. oct.); *Poe.* 675 t(u)ám<sub>3</sub> rem tú ages; *ib.* 659 áge[re] tŭám<sub>4</sub> rem: occasióst; 679 t(u)ám<sub>3</sub> rem, | ádulescéns, loquí; 750 épticávi m(e)ám<sub>3</sub> rem;

*Ps.* 496 m(e)<sub>3</sub>ám rem sápio; *Ru.* 1399 tun m(e)a<sup>3</sup>m rem símulas; *Tri.* 139 s(u)<sub>3</sub>ám rem mélius gésserít (so ed. mai. after Hermann; Mss: s(u)<sub>3</sub>ám meliús rem gésserít); *ib.* 327 s(u)a<sup>5</sup>m rem tráctavít; 1083 quoi t(u)a<sup>5</sup>m rem; *Phor.* 467 álios t(u)a<sup>2</sup>m rem; *Ad.* 771 ac t(u)<sub>1</sub>ám rem; *Caecil. com. fr.* 46 m(e)a<sup>3</sup>m rem iam ómnem; *Enn. tr. fr.* 220 s(u)a<sup>2</sup>m rem béne gessére.

Similarly we have synizesis in the case-forms *m(e)ae-res* (nom. pl.), *m(e)as-res* (acc. pl.) three times: *Phor.* 820; *Tri.* 269 (anap.); *ib.* 446; — in a fourth case, *Ci.* 719, the scansion is doubtful: egó<sub>5</sub> tibi m(e)<sub>6</sub>ás res, or ego t<sub>5</sub>íbi m<sub>6</sub>éás res. Finally, we may take a case-form of the same word where Latin accent-laws would allow us to use shortening, *i.e.* *meis rebus*. Three cases occur, always with dimoric pronoun: *Cap.* 968; *Cas.* 938 (dactylic); *Tri.* 446:

Bonís tuis rébus m(e)<sub>3</sub>ás-res ínridés malás.

Shall we then accept always *m(e)ás-res*, *t(u)ás-res*, but decide to scan *túís rébus* with shortening? Shall we accept always *m(e)órum*, *(e)ámus*, but admit with shortening *měš*, *ěúnt*? Scarcely, I think, unless we are prepared at the same time to give up all belief in the existence of phonetic laws and the regularity of phonetic processes. Still another word-group may be mentioned here. It is well known that the phrase *dí vostrám fidem* has acquired an accent of its own (*Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* XXXV, 39, and O. Brugman, *De iamb. senario*, 30) and it is quite evident that the abbreviated phrase *t(u)ám-fidem*, used in invocation of a single god, is similarly accented, *e.g.* *Au.* 692 Iunó Lucína, t(u)<sub>3</sub>ám fidem; *Cu.* 196 t(u)a<sup>1</sup>m fidém, Venus. We find also *apúd-m(e)as*, after the model of the familiar *aputme*, *aputvos*, on the monument of Caecilius (*CIL.* I, 1006, 2): hospés gratúm est, quom apúd meas réstítítei sédes (saturnian), where *apud mēās*, like *apud fōrūm*, *sine mōdō* (*A. J. P.* XXV, 417) would be inadmissible.

Definite metrical proof of synizesis is also afforded by examples like the following of *eā-re*, *eam-rem* (I quote only a few of the numerous cases): *Men. prol.* 37 Syracúsas de (e)<sub>3</sub>á-re

rédiit; *Am.* 1087 de (e)a<sup>1</sup>-re sígna; *Au.* 799 (e)a<sup>1</sup>-re répu-  
diúm; *Phor.* 444 quid de (e)á-re; *And.* 385 ex (e)á-re quíd  
fiát; *Ep.* 565 i<sup>8</sup>lle (e)am-rem ádeo; *Mer.* 926 (e)a<sup>1</sup>m-rem núnc  
exquírit.<sup>1</sup> The dative (e)i-rēi is inseparable in Pl., and always  
dissyllabic, the only doubtful case being *Men.* 234 (Seuffert,  
*Stud. Pl.* 25, n. 17). Similarly *Am.* 1023 quómo<sup>2</sup>do? || Eo<sup>2</sup>  
modo, ut; cf. *quomodo, omnimodo, nullomodo*, etc., and *Trans.*  
*Am. Phil. Assoc.* XXXV, 48, n. 1. Since the demonstrative  
pronouns are proclitic in general (*ib.* 36 ff.), I may cite also  
*Per.* 194 (e)a<sup>5</sup> fidé; cf. also *Mer.* 74 atque (e)ā pecúnia; *Poe.* 2  
ex (e)á tragoédia; *Cu.* 551 (i)i<sup>5</sup>s tabéllis. Inadmissible would  
be both the dactylic word *éx-ěä* and the dactylic foot (— ∪ ∪)  
before the diaeresis in *Mi.* 246 né titubét, si (ex)quíret e<sup>4</sup>x  
(e)a | míles;<sup>2</sup> cf. also *Tri.* 742 ex (e)á; *And.* 719 vérum  
ex (e)ó nunc mísera. The full iambic forms of *is* are rarely  
used within the verse, and are not even very freely placed in  
the verse-close (*Tri.* 405; *Ci.* 611; *Men.* 86; *Mer.* 719, 766,  
869, etc.). Finally, the weak vowel is perhaps lost entirely in  
the compounds *eccum* (from *ecce eúm*), *eccam*, *eccos*, *eccas*, and,  
through analogy, this loss is extended even to the new forma-  
tion *eccā* (fem. sing. and nom. pl.), although in the simple we  
have only *ěä*, or, at the most, (e)a in elision before a long  
vowel.<sup>3</sup>

Definite proof is also given by the word-groups which  
*quidem* forms with possessive pronouns, and which are quite  
similar to those which it forms with the dissyllabic personal  
pronouns, *i.e.* *mihĭ-quidem* and *mihĭ-quidem*, *tibĭ-quidem* and  
*tibĭ-quidem* (but not *mihī quidem*, *tibī quidem*). *Quidem*,  
when joined to a dissyllabic word, has of course no power of

<sup>1</sup> Apart from the very frequent *composita äd-ěam-rem, öb (proptēr) ěam-rem*,  
— cf. *hĭc-ěam-rem* (*Au.* 201),— the full acc. *ěam-rem* occurs in Pl. only in bacch.  
verse (*Mo.* 88; *Cap.* 502), and once in iambic (*Ru. prol.* 19, cf. *Ter. And.* 442).

<sup>2</sup> Similarly Bömer, *l.l.*, 42, quotes two verses from Terence in which the forms  
*t(u)ā* and *t(u)īs* are necessary in order to avoid a dactylic foot before the diaere-  
sis: *Phor.* 1016 nám neque néglegéntia<sup>4</sup> t(u)a | néque; *ib.* 543 nón triúmpho,  
ex náptiis t(u)is | sí.

<sup>3</sup> Stowasser's derivation of *eccum* from *ecc<sup>3</sup> hum* is, however, usually accepted  
at present, and may well be correct, especially as *cum* is not really monosyllabic.



shortening it; hence, *méŭmquidem* — the scansion which Luchs inadvertently adopts in his discussion (*Comment pros. Pl. I*, 16 ff.) — is impossible as a regular verse-accentuation in the place of *meúm-quidem*. Luchs cites four examples in which the possessive has trimoric value (e.g. *měã-quidem hércle caúsa*, *Men.* 727; *Ru.* 139; *Poe.* 573; *Ru.* 737), but twenty-two cases of dimoric value: *m(e)úm-quidém*, *Tru.* 963; *m(e)úm-quidem édepol*, *As.* 190; *m(e)ó-quidem ánimo*, *Au.* 478; *Ba.* 102; *Cas.* 570; *Cu.* 499, 514; *Men.* 200; *Mer.* 314; *Poe.* 232; *Ru.* 1038; *Au.* 539; cf. *Ba.* 394;<sup>1</sup> *m(e)ã-quidém senténtiá*, *Cas.* 563; *Men.* 81; *Poe.* 1338; *m(e)ã-quidem*, *As.* 275; *Men.* 1029; *Per.* 537; *Tru.* 560; *t(u)ã-quidem*, *Men.* 792; *s(u)ám-quidem*, *Mo.* 894. A similar accent is shown by the *composita* which the possessives form with *sibi*, *mihi*, e.g. *suõ-sibĩ*, *meã-mihĩ*; cf. the references given in my article *A.J.P.* XXV, 407, and also Ribbeck, *Com. Frgm.*<sup>2</sup>, *Coroll.* xxxiv. Thus we find fully *sũõ-sibi*, *Cap.* 81, and even in the nom. sing. *tuós tibi sérvos*, *Ba.* 994, although the accents *meús*, *tuós* are otherwise almost entirely unknown. The usual scansion, however, is *s(u)õ-sibĩ*, *m(e)ã-mihĩ*, e.g. *Tru.* 698; *Cap. prol.* 46, 50; *Per.* 81; *Poe. prol.* 57, 487; *As.* 825; *Am.* 269; cf. *Ad.* 958, etc.

**Further Illustrations from Possessive Pronouns.** — It seems necessary at this point, even at the risk of repeating former statements and of making my discussion seem needlessly diffuse, that I should fully explain the inferences which I draw from the facts mentioned in the previous section. The argument which is based upon the occurrence in the *γένος διπλάσιον* of twenty-two cases of tetramoric *tuam-rem* to one case of pentamoric *tũãm-rem* may be stated as follows: Whatever occurred in tetramoric *tuam-rem*, was evidently very acceptable to the dramatists; for they used the results of the process with the greatest freedom. It is true that they have these words in other arrangements, and that *tuam . . . rem* occurs seven times, *rem tuam* ten times (including six

<sup>1</sup> Of doubtful correctness is the scansion of ed. min. *Ep.* 111 e<sup>3</sup>s *m(e)õquidem ánimo*.

cases in the verse-close), and *rem . . . tuam* eleven times (in verse-close only), yet *tuam-rem* remains 'the regular and the preferred order, and it is clear that the dramatists have made no special effort to separate the two words by a very free use of tmesis-forms, such as they sometimes employ for metrical convenience, e.g. in the case of *manu emittere, animum advortere, magno opere, quapropter*.<sup>1</sup> We have seen, however, that the process cannot be shortening (p. 187); hence, two conclusions follow: (1) The process employed is synizesis. (2) The frequency of its occurrence shows that synizesis was a favorite use of common speech. It is clear also that the approximate pretonic syncope which is seen in the phrase was first produced through the prose accent *t(u)ám-rem*, but after this syncope was once definitely produced in the spoken language, it became possible to employ also the verse-accent *t(u)am-rém*, without affecting in any way the result. On the other hand, when *meam* stood last in the prose sentence, as in *curo rem meam*, there could be no slurring, but only the full pronunciation of the form, e.g. *měám*, in this non-proclitic position, and this remained the case also at the close of a metrical sentence.

Before I enter upon the discussion of other cases of slurring in the sentence, it will be necessary to speak briefly of the position of the possessive in O. Lat., and especially of its position with nouns denoting relationship, since I shall draw my illustrations chiefly from nouns of this class. In classical prose, the possessive is usually placed after its substantive, but, for greater emphasis, may be placed before it (Albrecht, *De adiectivi collocat.*, Marburg, 1890, p. 8 ff.). Nilsson, however, in his careful study, *Quomodo pronomina ap. Pl. et Ter. collocentur*, Lund, 1901, p. 13 ff., has shown that this rule does not hold good for O. Lat., and that while the possessive has really no preferred or definite position in O. Lat., yet, like the adjective, it tends to retain its original position

<sup>1</sup> Or in the case of *verumtamen* (Seyffert, *Bursian's Jahresh.* 1894, 317), *nemo homo* (Asmus, *De apposit. collocat.* 21), *quidem hercle* (Kellerhoff, *Studem. Stud.* II, 64), etc.

immediately before the substantive.<sup>1</sup> This is especially true with nouns denoting relationship (*pater, mater, gnatus, filius, frater, vir*, etc.), both in cases where the expression of the possessive is necessary for clearness, and even in cases where it is quite superfluous (Nilsson, *l.l.*, 28, 15, 31).<sup>2</sup> Hence, when we take into account the influence of the verse-close in often favoring the postpositive possessive, as in *fratrem meum, gnatum meum, mater mea*, it seems probable that in O. Lat. the possessive more frequently preceded nouns of relationship. In any case, for a typical sentence, such as 'I saw my son,' it will be sufficient, for the purpose of this discussion, to consider three principal positions: (1) *meum gnatum vidi*,—the original position, which is still largely retained in O. Lat., and is especially fitted for emphasis; (2) *gnatum meum vidi*,—the more usual position in classical prose, which is well-established also in O. Lat.; (3) *gnatum vidi mēum*,—a position almost exclusively poetical, and employed chiefly for metrical convenience (Nilsson, *l.l.*, 9, 41 ff.).

<sup>1</sup> Omitting the vocative case, and omitting *noster, voster*, the possessive, according to Nilsson, immediately precedes in 1023 cases in Pl. and Ter., immediately follows in 895 cases. For the traditional position of the possessive before its subst., cf. Delbrück, *Syntakt. Forsch.* III, 35, § 9.

<sup>2</sup> With nouns denoting relationship, the *unemphatic* pronoun, according to Nilsson (*l.l.*, 28, 31), precedes in some 215 cases, follows in some 232 cases (*l.l.*, 35, 36). I may add some statistics of my own: The possessive immediately precedes the case-forms *gnati, gnato, gnatum* in twenty-two cases, immediately follows in nineteen, sixteen of the latter being in verse-closes. The poss. precedes the case-forms *patris, patri, patrem, patre* in thirty-three cases, follows in seven cases, where the disproportion is partly, but by no means wholly, due to the avoidance of the diiambus. The poss. precedes the case-form *uxorem* in six cases, follows in twenty-two, twenty of the latter being in verse-closes. As is implied in these figures, metrical convenience is an important factor in determining the position of the poss.—Interesting in this connection is the explanation given by Köhm, *Alllateinische Forsch.*, Leipzig, 1905, p. 128 ff., of the phonetic problem *gnatus-natus*. It is well known that in O. Lat. the *g* is regularly retained in the substantive, but lost in the participle. According to Wessner's review in *Berl. philol. Wochenschr.*, 1906, 843 f., Köhm has shown that the possessive was regularly expressed with the substantive *gnatus* and usually preceded it; "so entstand eine eng verbundene Wortgruppe, in der *gn* zum Inlaut wurde, so dass es sich hier ebenso erhielt wie in *prognatus, ignotus, cognomen* u. dgl." Köhm's statistics for the use of the possessive with *gnatus, pater*, etc., I have not seen.

Both the first and the second examples cited above present a difficult quantitative sequence ( $\cup - \angle$ ), but we have already seen in our discussion of *tuam-rem* that synizesis is a favorite usage; hence, if phonetic laws and phonetic processes have any meaning, the slurred pronunciation naturally arises in common speech both in *m(e)um gnatum* and in *m(e)um vidi*, and after this pronunciation has once been established in prose, we may freely accent in verse *m(e)um gnatum*, *m(e)um vidi*. Further, although the difficult sequences that produce synizesis, viz.  $\cup - \angle$ ,  $\cup - \cup$ , do not occur in every phrase that contains an iambic possessive, it is clear that they occur in the great majority of cases. The question of sentence-accent in its relation to the possessives requires perhaps to be more fully explained. We should not, in any ordinary case, speak of such a sentence as *meum gnatum vidi* as containing three distinct accents. While the word *meum* has no doubt an accent when pronounced alone, yet in its ordinary unemphatic use in the sentence such a pronoun has little appreciable separate accent, except in those cases where it receives one through forming part of a word-group (e.g. *tuam-rem*).<sup>1</sup> Thus the grammarians never weary of stating that pronouns, conjunctions, and prepositions ordinarily have the grave accent; cf. Schöll, *De acc. linguae Lat.* 169 ff., and especially the straightforward and wholly credible account of Audax, Keil, VII, 360: non omnes partes orationis aequales sunt. nam nomen et verbum

<sup>1</sup> Similarly, adverbs like *male, bene, cito, modo*, pronominal adverbs like *ibi, ubi*, pronouns like *ego, mihi, tibi, sibi*, conjunctions like *tamen, enim*, prepositions like *apud*, have their final syllable shortened in speech not so much in consequence of their own accent, which, in most of their uses, is usually not an appreciable one, but through the force of the accent of some neighboring word with which they are grouped in sentence-phrasing, e.g. in collocations like *benefictum, ibi video, tibi consulo, apud villam*. Of course, after such subordinate words have been shortened in common speech, they may be used to form a resolved arsis, and so freely receive the metrical accent upon the first syllable, e.g. *tibi, bene, male* (these latter adverbs, for example, showing in the Romance languages not only tonic forms like Ital. *biene*, Fr. *bien* and *mal*, but also atonic forms like Ital. *bene*, Fr. *ben* and *mal*). In this whole question of the shortening of iambic words through sentence-phrasing, I cannot refrain from expressing my agreement with Lindsay's admirable discussions (*L.L.* 210; *Captivi*, 30 ff.),



et participium inter partes omnes excellunt; cetera his appendices videntur. nam et pronomen subiacet nomini, et verbo servit adverbium. coniunctio quoque et praepositio ad clientelam maiorum partium pertinent. hae ergo partes, quae appendices sunt, sic maioribus copulantur, ut . . . proprium fastigium perdant, non omnes dumtaxat, sed pleraeque. A similar view is held by modern students of the possessive, e.g. Nilsson, *l.l.*, 12: "Hoc dubium non est, quin pronomina possessiva, nisi vis peculiaris adderetur, perparva vocis intentione pronuntiata sint." In short, I am at a loss to see how, in the Latin sentence, one can ever get a very appreciable accent upon the first syllable of an iambic pronoun in any of its ordinary and unemphatic uses, that is, the usages which constitute the great bulk of its occurrences in the sentence, and precisely the same lack of accent, which has made the long penult of *ille, nempe, nēquis*, a half-long, has caused the short penult in hiatus of *mco, tuo, eo*, to become a negligible short. The early history of the possessive forms in Latin points to the same conclusion. For the original O. Lat. forms *tovos* and *sovos* were reduced to *tuos, suos* 'wegen der häufigen tieftonigen oder enklitischen Stellung,'<sup>1</sup> as Stolz (*l.l.*, 33, 101) observes; and, as in this case only the atonic forms remained in use,<sup>2</sup> so it is reasonable to suppose that O. Lat. pronunciation, in further reducing iambic forms of the possessives, took into account only their chief or atonic use.<sup>3</sup>

and from pointing out how great an advance is here made upon such earlier explanations of the iambic law, as e.g. that of Brix, *Einl. zu Trin.* 15 ff., which mentions only the difficulty of pronouncing single iambic words, or that of Havet, *De Saturnio*, 26 ff., which needlessly assumes the existence of initial intensity. See also the excellent remarks of Skutsch (*Sat. Viadr.* 128 f., *Épés*, 128) upon the causes of iambic shortening, which as a rule depends much more on the accent of the adjoining word and, consequently, upon sentence-accent than upon the accent of the iambic word itself. *Thus the accent of the iambic word alone is as a rule insufficient either to cause shortening or to prevent slurring.*

<sup>1</sup> With Lat. *tovos* and *tuos*, cf. Oscan *súvad* and *suvēls*, Umbrian *touer* and *tuer* (Buck, *Gramm. of Osc.* 140); for examples of O. Lat. *tovos, sovos*, cf. Lindsay, *L.L.* 428.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sommer, *Lat. Lautlehre*, 449: "die unbetonte Form *suos*."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Seelmann, *Ausspr. d. Lat.* 187: "Der ganzen latinität gemein ist der zug, betontes  $\ddot{E}$  oder  $\epsilon$  vor vocalen zu  $\epsilon$ , unbetontes zu halbvocalischem  $i$  werden

A possible objection must be noticed here. In addition to the frequent proclitic possessive, there is of course the occasional emphatic possessive, seen in such a sentence as '*m̄eum gnatum, non t̄uom* (or *n̄on-tuom*) *vidi*,' and this emphatic or accented possessive is represented in the Romance language by Fr. *mien*, Ital. *mio*, Span. *mio*, *tuyo*, *suyo*, while the atonic forms are represented by Fr. *mon*, *ma*, Ital. *mo*, *ma*, Span. *mi*, *tu*, *su*.<sup>1</sup> Certainly it must be said that no emphatic possessive, no emphatic *deum* or *scio* or *f̄ui* originally had its first syllable unaccented and slurred,<sup>2</sup> yet after the slurred sentence-

zu lassen. Hierher gehören die bekannten parallelenformen in der declination vom deus meus und vom pronomen is. Inschriftlich z. b. MIEIS CIL. I, 38; DIO *ib.* Iun. 4; DIA *ib.* IX, 4178; TIVDOSI *ib.* X, 6936 . . . Selbst das betonte secundäre *̄* war so flüchtiger natur, dass es ungeschrieben, vielleicht auch ungesprochen bleiben konnte, cf. THVDOSIO Rossi 519 (403 n. Chr.), DO CIL. VII, 181, 751; DAE *ib.* 234, 273."

<sup>1</sup> Professor C. C. Marden, whom I have consulted, kindly informs me that atonic *mi* is derived by the best authorities (Cornu, Menéndez Pidal) from O. Span. *mie*, *mia*, and so from an original dissyllabic *meum*. It is interesting to find that the tonic forms of early Spanish and Portuguese show a development somewhat similar to that of the O. Lat. pronoun; for Professor Marden kindly calls my attention to the fact that in O. Span. poetry, until the second half of the thirteenth century, *mio* was very frequently used in proclitic positions with monosyllabic value, e.g. *m̄io cid*, etc., and that O. Port. *mia* also occurs sporadically as *m̄ia*; see Cornu, *Romania*, XIII, 307 ff. There is also evidence to show that Span. proclitic *mio* was pronounced *m̄iō*, the slurring resulting in a rising diphthong. In Italian poetry, the hiatus vowels not only of *io*, *mio*, *tuo*, *lui*, *dio*, but of *obbl̄io*, *eroi*, *cortesia*, etc., are regularly slurred, *except at the end of the verse* (Blanc, *Gramm. d. ital. Sprache*, 867 f.); cf. the Latin usage in the case of verses which end in an iambus.—Gröber (*A.L.L.* I, 221) would limit the diphthongal pronunciation in Romance to accented vowel + *i* or *u*, e.g. *c̄ui*, *t̄ui*, *f̄ui*, *m̄eum*, *deum*, and the loss of the first vowel in Romance to unaccented vowel (in proclitic and enclitic use) + *a*, e.g. *m[e]am*, *m[e]as* (on the tonic and atonic Romance forms of the possessives, cf. also Meyer-Lübke, *Gramm. d. roman. Spr.* II, 108; III, 775). There was synizesis then in Romance, but it did not obey precisely the same laws as in O. Lat. The difference is by no means surprising, since the sentence rhythm of Romance was in part quite different from that of O. Lat.; cf. the principle of binary accentuation as seen in *imp̄er̄at̄orem* (Riemann and Gölzer, *Grammaire Comparée*, I, 84; Havet, *Métr.*<sup>4</sup> § 498). I fear that Exon forgets this difference of period when he proposes (*Class. Rev.* 1906, 31 ff.) the accentuation *ex̄ōn̄er̄atus* for O. Lat., which is disproved both by the O. Lat. principle of recession and by the absence of proceusmatici like *sed̄ ex̄ōner̄at̄us*.

<sup>2</sup> This statement is true, however, only if by 'emphatic' is meant 'the most

forms *m(e)um*, *d(e)um*, *sc(i)o*, *f(u)i* had once become established in the great majority of cases in consequence of the weak use of the possessive, the trite use of *deum*, the parenthetical use of *scio*, the atonic use of the substantive verb, and the like, then even the emphatic forms ceased at this stage of the development to be *méum*, *déum*, *scío*, *fúi*, and easily became *m(e)úm*, *d(e)úm*, *sc(i)ó*, *f(u)í*,<sup>1</sup> both in common speech and in verse, e.g. *Cas.* 89 non míhi licére m(e)ám rem mé solum út voló | Loqui; *Cap.* 632; *Mi.* 951, 1117; *Poe.* 675, etc.; *Cap.* 879 m(e)u<sup>3</sup>m(ne) gnátum? || T(u)o<sup>5</sup>m gnatum ét geniúm meúm. Since, however, in writing verse — often even in writing accentual verse like our own — little account is taken of logical emphasis (cf. Christ, *Metr.*<sup>2</sup> 61), and a fair compromise between rhythmical and rhetorical accent is left almost entirely to the reader, we are as likely to find in such cases the verse-accent *t(u)om gnátum* as *t(u)óm gnátum*, e.g. *Ru.* 1071 qui<sup>5</sup> t(u)om pótiust quám meúm? 1063 álienón prius | Qua<sup>1</sup>m t(u)o dábis orátiónem? See also the examples of this kind collected by Nilsson, *l.l.*, 1, who rightly concludes that the question of the coincidence of rhythmical and logical accent is one that yields no results.<sup>2</sup>

Some statistics of usage may be given. Where the possessive immediately precedes the case-forms *gnatum*, *gnati*, *gnato*, it is quasi-monosyllabic in nineteen cases, dissyllabic in three (*Cap.* 976; *Ps.* 1072; *And.* 535). Synzesis occurs quite as naturally, but not so frequently, when the possessive follows its substantive but precedes some other accented word: *St.* 274 patrí | S(u)o nún<sub>1</sub>tium; *Hau.* 402 patrém

emphatic'; for, since the sentence determines the relative importance of the accents of individual words, any emphatic word may be slurred from the first, provided a still more emphatic word stands in immediate proximity to it. For the influence of the sentence-accent in the slurring of paroxytone substantives and verbs, such as *deo*, *die*, *scio*, see more fully the supplement to the present article, which will appear in *Classical Philology*, II, No. 5.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the weakening seen in atonic *simus* (Mar. Victor. 9, 5 K.) for *sumus*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. examples (discussed *A.J.P.* XXV, 270) like *Men.* 1085 f. Nón egó || Át egó; *Mo.* 364 (twice) ét ego ét tu; *Cap.* 623, 981 aút ego aút tu, where the metrical treatment is unified, and see the striking collection of examples in Müller's *Nachträge*, 126 f. Lindsay, *Cap.* 366 f., and Ritschl, *Proleg.* ch. xvi, are not sufficiently cautious at this point.

t(u)om vīdi; *Hec.* 516 viró m(e)o re<sup>s</sup>pondébo. As has already been stated (p. 192), the possessive usually precedes *pater*, and there can be little doubt that in the nom. sing., when a pyrrhic pronoun is prefixed, *méu(s) pater* was usually pronounced under one accent, according to the preferred rhythm (rhythmic grouping)  $\cup\cup, \cup\text{—}$  (*A.J.P.* XXV, 160, 260, n. 1; cf. also Lindsay, *Captivi*, 369, and the frequent *mé(um) erum*, etc.). In the case of the iambic possessive, however, an accent *méúm patrem* arises much less easily, and it is not clear that any regular word-order exists in the case of the possessive;<sup>1</sup> the assumption of a recessive accent, however, is wholly unnecessary, since syncope is produced equally by the original accent *meum pátrém*. It is quite probable that the accent recedes freely upon quasi-monosyllabic *m(e)úm*, but, in any case, the verse-treatment is *m(e)úm-patrém*, never *meum pátr(em)*. Thus the dramatists have *m(e)úm patrém*, *m(e)ó patri*, *m(e)í-patris*, *m(e)ó-patré* with synizesis thirty-

<sup>1</sup> Nor is *patrem meum* a traditional word-order in O. Lat.; hence I agree thoroughly with Wallstedt, who in his good article, *Zur Betonung des Possessivums*, Lund, 1906, concludes from the usual avoidance of *pátrém-meum*, *mānú-meá*, etc., in verse-closes that such phrases were not regularly accented as single words; for a similar hint, cf. *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* XXXV, 49. (I may add that Wallstedt (p. 27 ff.) evidently accepts all the results of my own special articles, although the criticism made on p. 28 shows that in part he misunderstands my actual views; thus I do *not* deny the existence of an actual but less usual accent *quod fácis*, etc., cf. *A.J.P.* XXV, 411 ff.; for coalescence in pronunciation, he should see *ib.* 160 ff.) As further confirming Wallstedt's conclusions, I should like to point out that *spondaic* words, followed by the possessive, are not allowed in the inner feet or in the critical feet of iambic verse, *i.e.* we do not find *fratrém-meum* nor *fratrém-meum*, as we should most certainly do, if *meum* were regularly enclitic. Especially may one object to the word-group *volúptás-meá*, which is so often confidently assumed (Klotz, *Grundz.* 92; Lindsay, *Capt.* 367); this accent could only arise from a usual word-order, but the usual order with the vocative case, in fact the *invariable prose order*, is *mea voluptas* (cf. *mi pater*, *mi patrone*, etc.), which Pl. retains 12 times, using *voluptas mea* 7 times only for metrical convenience (cf. Ferger, *De vocativi usu Pl.*, Strassburg, 1889, p. 17). For the well-known rule of order with the vocative, see Ferger, *l.l.*, 18, 14 (*e.g.* "pronomina, si per metrum licet, ante vocativum ponuntur, neque nisi metro repugnante vocativus praecedit"), and Nilsson, *l.l.*, 12, 34. In fact, *volúptás*, *moléstáé*, with accent on the *ultima* were probably not much more displeasing to a Roman ear than *rēgnúm*; much harsher seems the rare accentuation of the *initial* syllable, as in *dédisse*, *bíbisti*.



three times, *mēum patrēm* without synizesis only once (*Ba.* 380).<sup>1</sup> This thoroughgoing synizesis is by no means wholly due to the avoidance of the double iambus; for, in the order *patrēm meūm*, *patri meō*, they employ the diiambus five times (*Men.* 747, 750; *Tri.* 280; *St.* 10; *Cap.* 1012), and the treatment with elision, e.g. *patri me(o)∟*, twice (*Cap.* 318, 377). Phrases like *mēum-patrēm* do not, however, occur in verse-closes, since they almost never occur without synizesis in any case, and also because the group-accent *m(e)ūm-patrem* arises only through synizesis; cf., however, *Naev. tr. fr.* 13 quin *mĕā-manū | Moriāre*, where the correction of R<sup>3</sup> (*mea mōri-aris<sup>5</sup> manū<sup>6</sup>*) seems unnecessary. Similarly the dramatists have *m(e)ūm-fidem* six times and *m(e)ūm-virum* nine times, always with synizesis; in the opposite order the diiambus *virūm suōm* occurs perhaps *St.* 284. The influence of metrical convenience or of a preferred rhythm in giving value to the weak vowel is well seen in *meām-sentēntiam*, which shows synizesis six times, non-synizesis twice, and in *ād-mĕām-sentēntiam*, which retains its full form twice (*Au.* 383; *Poe.* 1126).

My conclusion is that thoroughgoing synizesis is certain in *meo*, *suo*, *fui*, *deo*, *diu*, and occasional synizesis in *scio*, *die*; and I accept fully the views of Götz and Schöll (ed. min. *fascic.* II, vi): “non *mĕō*, *sūō* sim. probamus, quod non una re firmari putamus,” and of Corssen, *Ausspr.* II<sup>2</sup>, 750: “Die Meinungsäusserungen von C. Müller über die Synizese stehen im Widerspruch zu den Lehren der Grammatiker, zu dem Zeugnis der lateinischen Schrift, zu den Lautgesetzen der lateinischen Sprache.” (Cf. Leppermann, *l.l.*, 81.)<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I omit entirely *Trag. fr. inc. inc.* 216 (*sūūm patrēm*), because of its uncertain date. The citations for synizesis are as follows: *M(e)ūm patrēm*: *Cap.* 238, 1024, 1032; *Ep.* 349, 374; *Men.* 736; *Mer.* 787; *Mo.* 979; *Tri.* 1178; *Phor.* 874; *Pacuv. tr. fr.* 139. — *M(e)ō patri*: *Am.* 144; *Ba.* 685, 731, 734; *Cap. prol.* 21, 237, 588, 923, 979, 987; *Mer.* 80, 631, 954; *Hau.* 259; *Hec.* 820, 865. — *M(e)l patris* (final *s* making position): *Am.* 31; (*Mo.* 1125); *Eu.* 1048; *Phor.* 788. — *M(e)ō patre*: *Ba.* 931; *Men.* 1079; *Hau.* 823.

<sup>2</sup> It will be observed that it is quite possible to treat Plautine synizesis, as I have in fact treated it throughout this whole section, in entire dependence upon the teachings of the *metrici* respecting the value of syllables, since they have, in

**Later Usage.** — The use of synizesis had been very extended in O. Lat., but a complete change of attitude took place in the later literary language. A more precise system of pronunciation was accepted both by writers of verse and of rhythmical prose, and a consistent body of theoretical principles was formulated. Hence the Augustan poets sought to reduce both shortening and slurring within the narrowest limits possible, and to confine these processes to a limited circle of words. But of the two processes they naturally viewed with much greater toleration that which involved the actual shortening of syllables; as refined and tasteful artists, they could not but regard the frequent slurring of syllables as vulgar and incorrect. Hence while they admitted (at least theoretically) the consonantization of the vowels *i(e)* and *u*, they rejected almost entirely the slurring of these sounds, and preferred, through a strengthened pronunciation of the first vowel, to introduce *sciō*, *nesciō-quis* (Cat. 6, 4; Hor. *C.* iii, 24, 64), *dīō*, *dīūturnus*, *dīūtius*, etc., in place of O. Lat. *sc(i)ō*, *nesc(i)ōquis*,<sup>1</sup> *dvō* or *d(u)ō* (cf. Gk. *δυώδεκα* and *δώδεκα*),<sup>2</sup> *d(i)ūtius* (cf. *d(i)ūdum*); cf. also the introduction of the forms *dēi*, *dēis* in this period (Sturtevant, *l.l.*, 21), and the restoration of *nihil*, *prehendo*, *hercule*, *mhercule* in place of O. Lat. *nil*, *prendo*, *hercle*, *mehercle*. Moreover, the poets of the empire, such as Seneca, Martial, Juvenal, and Statius, followed the guidance of analogy and the trend of careful pro-

fact, provided for exceptionally short syllables through the prosodical figure Synizesis. For this reason some of the preliminary remarks contained in the first section of this paper seem to me now somewhat unnecessary, although the ancient metricians may be justly criticised for not distinguishing more clearly between the natural and the artificial forms of synizesis.

<sup>1</sup> But see above, p. 174, n. 2 (end); to examples of the restored vowel should be added the frequent *dīellum* of Horace (*C.* iii, 5, 38; 14, 18, etc.).

<sup>2</sup> According to Studemund, *A.L.L.* III, 550 f., *dvō* is very nearly *dvō* in the dramatists, that is, in the nom. masc., where it is the sole form, Pl. allows it to end an iambic line (*dīō*), but in the acc. masc., where the form *dvōs* also exists, he treats it as a monosyllable (*dvō*) and uses the form *dvōs* instead at the end of a line. From this use it is probable that *duo* was more nearly one syllable than two in Plautus's time; cf. also Lindsay, *L.L.* 411. There are two exceptions to the rule, *i.e.* two cases of acc. *dīō* in verse-closes: *Ep.* 187; *Ps.* 1000. An original *dīō*, which would not admit synizesis, is improbable; cf. late *duō*.

nunciation, as it existed throughout this entire period, when they resolved the synzesis-diphthong *ui* in *cui*, *cuiicumque* (earlier *quoui*, *quouiicumque*), and *huic* into *cūi*, *cūicumque*, and *hūic*; see examples in L. Müller, *R.M.*<sup>2</sup>, 318 f.; Neue, II<sup>3</sup>, 454. Hence, after the period of Lucilius, Lucretius, and Varro (cf. L. Müller, *l.l.*, 546), we find only those forms freely slurred by the dactylic poets which present especial difficulty in hexameter verse, e.g. *eidem* (dat. sing.), *eodem*, *caedem*, *eosdem*,<sup>1</sup> and of other slurred forms we find only a few isolated examples, viz.: dat. sing. (*e*)*i* regularly in Cicero's *clausulae* (Zielinski, *Clauselgesetz*, 176),<sup>2</sup> and once in Catullus (82, 3), *m(e)is* (Sen. *Troad.* 191), *s(u)āpte* (*id. Agam.* 250), (*i*)*ō* (Cat. 61, 124 ff.; Mart. xi, 2, 5),<sup>3</sup> *v(i)ētis* (Hor. *Epod.* 12, 7, — dactylic), (*I*)*āle* (*id. C.* iv, 2, 2 — sapphic; cf. L. Müller, *l.l.*, 307), *S(u)ēvo* (Prop. iv, 2 (3), 45), etc. Similarly, there is reason to believe that the more dignified poets entertained some prejudice against the forms of the pronoun *is*, on account of their frequent slurring, and although they accepted fully the contract forms *di*, *dis*, *īdem* (nom. pl.), *īsdem*, they seem to have especially avoided the nom. and abl. pl. of *is*.<sup>4</sup> According to Meader-Wölfflin, *A.L.L.* XI, 373, dissyllabic *ei* and *eis* are represented in the poets only by the group-form *īn-ēs*, Manil. ii, 744,<sup>5</sup> and whether monosyllabic *i* and *īs* were allowed at all, is a question still under discussion (Meader, *Latin Pronouns*, 23).

In the remains of popular poetry, however, and in later poets like Terentianus Maurus and Ausonius (L. Müller, 322), colloquial synzesis forms occur much more freely, and it is evident from late inscriptional forms like *so*, *tis*, *quescas*, etc., that they were always retained in vulgar Latin, although the distinction between consonant and vowel *i* and *u* probably

<sup>1</sup> All the examples are collected by Skutsch, *Γέρας*, 148.

<sup>2</sup> Dat. sing. *ei* was almost as much a monosyllable in Priscian's time as *huic* and *cui*; cf. Keil, III, 10, 2 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Munro, *Criticisms and Elucidations of Catullus*, Cambridge, 1878, 135 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. L. Müller, *l.l.*, 297.

<sup>5</sup> Similarly trisyllabic *eidem* and *eisdem* are represented only by the rhythmical groups *sēd-ēidem*, Pl. *Mi.* 758 (Sturtevant, *l.l.*, 25), and *dāt-ēisdem*, Juv. xiv, 30 (L. Müller, *l.l.*, 297).

became more marked as time went on.<sup>1</sup> Especially well known is the late Latin tendency for *di*, when followed by a vowel, to assume the spirant sound of *y* (Lindsay, *L.L.* 49, 84), and to be written at times *z* or *d*, e.g. *des CIL.* V, 6244; *2(es)*, *ib.*, 1667; *do*, *dae* (Schuchardt, *Vok. des Vulgärlat.* II, 463; III, 289; Bücheler, *Lex. It.* vii; Seelmann, *Ausspr. d. Lat.* 187); cf. Oscan *zicolom* for \**dieculom*. The beginnings of this tendency, especially in hiatus before a long vowel, may be recognized in a few O. Lat. words, e.g. *Jūturna* from *Diūturna*,<sup>2</sup> *Iovem* from O. Lat. *Diovem*, and, to a limited extent, also, in the Plautine scansion *d(e)o*, *d(e)ae*, *d(i)e*,<sup>3</sup> *d(i)erectus*, *D(i)espiter*, *d(i)u*, *d(i)utinus*, *d(i)utius*, *d(i)udum*; cf. also the scansion *dvellum*, *d(u)o*, *d(u)odecim*, *d(u)im*, and the tendency of *du* in some of these forms to pass into *d*, and later, into *b* (Stolz, Müller's *Handb.* II<sup>3</sup>, 2, 82).

### III. ADDITIONAL PRINCIPLES OF SYNIZESIS.

In the preceding section the vague term synizesis has been more exactly defined through the law of *Brevis Coalescens*. It remains to state very briefly, as the limits of the present article require, a few additional facts which are simple corollaries of this law, but which, in several cases, have a bearing upon the general subject of classical synizesis and the limitations to which it is subject.

(1) **Two Short Vowels Preserved Intact.** — Word-forms in which two short vowels come together, e.g. *měŷ(s)*, *měă*, *fűerit*, are not subject to synizesis, except in those cases where the second short vowel is elided before a following long vowel, and an iambic sequence results, as in *Mo.* 98 *m(e)ă*, *haud áliter*. Hence it is scarcely necessary to discuss seriously the assumption of wholly unnecessary and gratuitous syni-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. L. Müller, *R.M.*<sup>2</sup>, 308: "Contra in illis, quae sunt *tuus*, *suus*, cum initio valde fuisset exili sono littera eadem, corroboratast sensim."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Bull. d. ist. arch.* 1871, 136 f. The two forms, however (like *Diāna* and *Iāna*, *Diānus* and *Iānus*), are perhaps connected only by popular etymology; cf. Stolz, *Hist. Gramm.* 305. For the treatment of *di* in hiatus in the Pelignian dialect, cf. Lindsay, *L.L.* 49.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *dibus*, *CIL.* VI, 25540, for *dičbus*.



zesis forms such as *myūs*, *myā*, *yā*, or such as *tūōs*, *mēūs*, *mēā*, *ēā*;<sup>1</sup> such strange and abortive forms are rejected at the present day by all careful critics (*e.g.* Lindsay, *L.L.* 439, 426; Ahlberg, *De procel.* I, 88 ff., 154), and, in accordance with Spengel's well-considered views (*Einl. zu Andria*, xxxi, n. 3), synzesis is confidently restricted to those cases in which a short vowel is 'subordinated' to a following long one.<sup>2</sup> Thus, with reference to the supposed form *mēūs*, *eu* is not a regular Latin diphthong, but is of secondary origin in *seu*, *neu*, and the result of reduction from *sive*, *neve*; even in the case of genuine compounds, *neutiquam* is pronounced *nyutiquam*, *nēūter* is regularly a trisyllable (Consentius, Keil, V, 389, 28), etc. A similar disproof might be given of the other supposed combinations also, which in no case involve the contraction of qualitatively similar vowels such as is seen in *nēmo*, *dēsse*, *dēbeo*, *nīl*, *cōnesto*, etc. Further, *pūri*, Lucr. iv, 1026, does not represent *pūēri*, as L. Müller supposes (*R.M.*<sup>2</sup> 298), but must be referred to the adj. *pūrus*, as Munro has shown;<sup>3</sup> *pūērtiēm*, Auson. *Prof.* 10, 17, is not to be explained as a case of synzesis, but is a proceleusmaticus used in place of a dactyl, since resolution of the arsis is sometimes allowed in both the early and the late hexameter, *e.g.* Enn. *A.* 267 M. *cāpitibu(s)*; *CIL.* I, 542 *fācilia fāxseis*; cf. Priscian, Keil, II, 14; Christ, *Metr.*<sup>2</sup> 145; Exon, *Hermathena*, XIII, 157 f. Finally, it may be added that examples of iambic *mēūs*, *tuōs*, with final *s* making position, are excessively rare in the dramatists, *e.g.* *Hau.* 219 non út mēūs, qui (Fleck.: non út mēūst, qui).

<sup>1</sup> These last are retained in Neue, II<sup>3</sup>, 371 ff., no doubt through lack of careful revision.

<sup>2</sup> Similarly the Augustan poets do not admit synzesis in the case of two short vowels unless the second is long by position or by pause, *e.g.* Verg. *Ecl.* vi, 30, *Orph(e)ā*, where the short *a* is lengthened by pause; cf. also L. Müller, *Einl. zu Sat. des Horaz*, xxvii, § 3. Hence *dein* and *proin*, which always show synzesis, occur only before consonants (Skutsch, *Forsch.* 87 ff.; Birt, *Rhein. Mus.* LI, 267 f.).

<sup>3</sup> Similarly it is almost sheer wantonness for L. Müller to interpret *pūrē* as *puere* in Lucil. xxvi, 83 M., where Marx now reads (xxvi, 662): *laūtum e mēnsa pūrē cāpturús cibúm*.

(2) **Synizesis in Cases of Elision.**—Synizesis occurs both when the iambic sequence is contained in a single word, as in *tuō*, and when, as the result of elision, it is contained in two words, as in *t(u)o a'rbitrātu*, *Cap.* 867 (for numerous other examples, see C. Müller, *Pl. Pr.* 457 ff.). In the first class of cases, the use of synizesis is relatively more frequent, and occurs with the possessives, as we have seen, about nine times as frequently as the dissyllabic measurement. In cases of the second class, however, where a small fragment of the 'bruised' vowel is doubtless retained in pronunciation and intervenes between the two syllables of the iambic sequence, the employment of synizesis is only twice as frequent as the dissyllabic measurement; thus *m(e)o*, *t(u)o*, *s(u)o arbitrātu* occur in *Pl.* twelve times, *mĕo arbitrātu* occurs six times; *m(e)am uxorem* occurs seven times, *mĕam uxorem* four times. The examples of supposed *mĕa ūxor*, which are cited by Ahlberg, *De corrupt. Pl.* 70, should be read *m(e)a ūxor*, as is necessary in *Am.* 522 *m(e)a u<sup>4</sup>xor*. For *qu(i)a* in elision, cf. p. 180, n. 3.

(3) **Principle of C. F. W. Müller: Total Elision of Synizesis Forms not Allowable before a Short Syllable.**—Müller correctly observed (*Pl. Pr.* 457 f.) that a combination like *meo ānimo* is necessarily always read as tetrasyllabic in early Latin verse; since then a combination like *meo ārbitratu* may always, or almost always, be conceivably pentasyllabic, *i.e.* read as *mĕo ārbitratu*, he concluded that the supposed monosyllabic forms never suffer 'total elision,' and are therefore never really treated like monosyllabic forms in any particular. Müller's conclusion, however, is manifestly lacking in logical cogency, and is not warranted by his premises. For he was only warranted in concluding with certainty that these forms do not suffer 'total elision' before a short vowel.<sup>1</sup> This latter is undoubtedly the case, for the vocal organs experienced no special difficulty in pronouncing the sequence *mĕo*

<sup>1</sup> Compare the careful observations of Bömer, *l.l.*, 43, in refutation of Müller's view: "Maximam offensionem huiusmodi vocabuli synaloepe cum brevi vocali habebat . . . Synaloepe cum longa vocali minus erat insueta. Loci, quales sunt *mĕa Antiphila*, *mĕo ārbitratu*, etc., saepius inveniuntur."

*ānīmo*, and hence had no occasion to seek a special relief. Nevertheless a few apparently well-attested cases (cf. Hauler, *Einl. zu Phor.* 56, n. 6) before a short vowel are found in the whole drama, viz. *St.* 39 *pól m(eo) animo ómnis* (anap. dim.); 275 *núnc m(eae) erāe nūntiábo*; *Tri.* 724; *Mi.* 262; *Poe.* 1070; *Cap.* 666; *Cas.* 542<sup>6</sup> (?); *Titin. tog.* 40; *Hec.* 238 (Umpf. and Dz., following A). These examples may either be rejected entirely in view of their extreme rarity (Skutsch, *Sat. Viadr.* 143; Ahlberg, *De procel.* I, 91),<sup>1</sup> or they may be considered as evidences of the close approach of *meō* to a genuine monosyllabic pronunciation, or—the most probable solution in my judgment—they may be interpreted, like Lucretius's *or(i)undi*, simply as cases of the total suppression of a weak semivowel in hiatus; cf. p. 169 above.

(4) **Doubtful Existence of Monosyllabic Stem \*SO-**.—The statement is commonly made on the authority of Festus that, in addition to the usual forms of the possessive, there existed in O. Lat. the forms, *sām*, *sōs*, *sās*, *sīs*, etc., and that these latter were freely used by Ennius. Comparative grammarians have been dubious about identifying these O. Lat. forms with the synzesis-results *s(u)ām*, *s(u)ōs*, and have preferred to connect them with the I.-Eur. monosyllabic stem \**suō-*, Skt. *svá-s*, Gk. *σφό-s*, etc.; cf. Stolz, *Müller's Handb.* II<sup>3</sup>, 2, 137; Lindsay, *L.L.* 426; Sommer, *Lat. Lautlehre*, 445, § 279.<sup>2</sup> They have thus been led tacitly to assume the existence in historical Latin of \**sōs* and \**sā* in the nom. sing. as well as of *sām*, *sās*, *sōs* in the oblique cases. Unfortunately for this

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Skutsch, *Tépas*, 111.

<sup>2</sup> Very many scholars, however, as L. Müller, *R.M.*<sup>2</sup> 322, 297, and Neue, II<sup>3</sup>, 366, 369, 371, are content to accept the explanation *sīs* (Enn., Lucr.) = *suīs*; *sō* *CIL.* V, 2007) = *suō*; *meīs* (*CIL.* I, 38), i.e. *mīs* = *meīs*; *tīs* (*Inscr. Or.* 4847) = *tuīs*; cf. also Lindsay, *LL.*, 268, and Sommer, *LL.*, 446. The particular identifications just named are, in my judgment, undoubtedly correct. The Plautus Mss also sometimes indicate the monosyllabic pronunciation of the dat.-abl. pl. *meīs* by the orthography *mieis*, *miis*, or *mis*; for examples, cf. Neue, II<sup>3</sup>, 366, and Sturtevant, *LL.*, 35. In addition, we find in the vulgar language not only the barbarous form *suobus* (dat.-abl. pl.), but also *sybus* (*CIL.* VI, 26896). The latter is probably not formed after *sibi*, as Stolz (*Müller's Handb.* II<sup>3</sup>, 2, 134) suggests, but after *sis*; cf. *dibus* (*CIL.* VI, 214), formed after *dis*.

hypothesis, we find only the latter forms ascribed to Ennius, and certainly there is no trace whatever of the forms \*sōs, sǎ in the dramatists; for had they been in colloquial use, the Plautine plays would have been filled with examples like the following: *út sōs-āmicus dicerét, ut sōs erus auferát, út ma-repōscam mūnerá, út sa-dēpendit*, cf. *út (e)ǎ dixit*, etc. In other words, at the very point where the monosyllabic possessive stem might demonstrate its independent existence, no traces of it are found either in Ennius or in Pl.<sup>1</sup> I am led, however, to the conclusion that if the alleged literary (not vulgar) forms *sām, sās* were used by Ennius, they cannot be certainly identified with the synizesis-forms *suām, suās*, which are not absolute monosyllables, nor can they be certainly referred to Ennius's well-known attempt to introduce phonetic or quasi-phonetic principles in the writing of Latin words, as Édon, *Écriture du lat. populaire*, 82, would refer them. Yet, with the exception of the abl. pl. *sās*<sup>2</sup>—an undoubted synizesis form—which is itself probably only quasi-phonetic, but is warranted by the analogy of *dīs, īs, mieis, miis, mīs, tīs* (vulgar), these alleged forms are very poorly attested and seem likely to have arisen from a palpable misinterpretation by Festus (repeated later by *Sch.* on Per. i, 108) of Enn. *A.* 102 M: *Virginēs nam sibi quisque domi Romanus habet sas*. In commenting on this passage, Verrius Flaccus had expressly explained O. Lat. *sās* (from the demonstrative stem \*so- \*sā) as used in place of *eas*,<sup>3</sup> as indeed the

<sup>1</sup> The above statement should be put more strongly; for the only monosyllabic forms which would come directly from the I.-Eur. stem \*s<sub>h</sub>ǎ, viz. the forms *sōs* and *sōm*, are the missing ones. Cf. Sommer, *LL.*, 445: “\*S<sub>h</sub>ǎ- musste nach § 94, 2, lateinisch in allen Formen, wo ǎ auf *h* folgte, zu *sō-* werden; diese Gestalt wurde dann durchs ganze Paradigma durchgeführt.”

<sup>2</sup> Enn. *A.* 141 M.: *Postquam lumina sis oculis bonus Ancus reliquit*; cf. *Lucr.* iii, 1023.

<sup>3</sup> *Fest.* 476, 17 Th.: *sas* Verrius putat significare eas teste Ennio qui dicit, etc., . . ., cum suas magis significare videatur. With the exception of this misinterpreted passage, Festus quotes no actual verses of Ennius for the alleged monosyllabic possessives *sam, sas, sos*, but we find the quasi-monosyllabic form spelled *suos*, in the Mss of Festus, 324, 17 Th., Paulus, 325, 6, and Nonius, 158, 20: (Dis) *Poeni soliti suos sacrificare puellos* (*A.* 233 M.); cf. also Lindsay, *L.L.* 429. — Verrius's interpretation of *sas* as *eas* in the passage quoted above is accepted also



sense requires, but Festus evidently misunderstood the meaning of the verse, and was thus led to ascribe to Ennius false *possessive* forms *sas*, *sos*, *sam*, etc.; for a similar view, see L. Müller's note *ad loc.*

(5) **Retention of a Pair of Shorts through Logical Analogy.** — I have already spoken of the absence of slurring in anapaestic groups like *sĕd-ĕi*, *ab-eis*, *in-eisdem* (p. 183). It should be further noted that the monosyllabic forms *ī* and *īs* had apparently not established themselves in all uses in the time of Pl., e.g. they were not in use after a short monosyllable, and there are no well-attested cases in the drama of *sed ĭ* (*dīcunt*), *ab ĭs* (*vēniunt*), with iambic shortening. At a later period, however — probably first in the Ciceronian age — the simple forms and the group-forms of *is* and *idem* became more fully assimilated; thus compare Pl. *Mi.* 758, *se<sup>1d</sup> (e)idēm*, with Hor. *C.* iii, 2, 27, *sūb ĭsdem*, and Manil., *Astron.* iii, 73, *sēmp̄er ut (e)idēm* (dat. sing.). Owing to a tendency, which is not consistently carried out, to interpret Ms *iis* as *īs*, the ed. min. gives here at times un-Plautine forms, but *quid-iis* (Mss), or *quid-eis* is necessary *Poe.* 167, and *ut-iis* (Mss), or *ut-eis*, should be read *Am.* 68; *Men.* 972; *Ru.* 647, etc., as well as *in hīs* (CD), *Ps.* 1109 (ed. min.: *in is*); of very doubtful scansion are *Mo.* 862, *Ps.* 1111, and the scansions of the ed. min., *sed ĭ*, *neque ĭs*, could only be defended as a license of anap. verse.<sup>1</sup> In short, at this period all the group-forms of *is* were trisyllabic like *sĕd-ĕō*, and the intrusion of a dissyl-

by Lachmann (on *Lucr.* vi, 1067) and by Vahlen in his second edition of Ennius (Leipzig, 1903), who explains: "virgines, nam sibi quisque *eas* domi Romanus habet, reddi non possunt." Skutsch (*Γέρας*, 144; Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopäd.* VI, 2625) attempts to explain *sas* as the possessive pronoun in this passage, but characterizes this use of the word as an arbitrary and tasteless invention of Ennius in imitation of Homeric *ōs* ('eine Erfindung des Ennius . . . willkürlich . . . krass'). This supposition, which confessedly does little honor to Ennius, is also quite unnecessary; it had been put forward before by L. Müller (*R.M.*<sup>2</sup> 322), but was afterwards definitely abandoned by him. On the other hand, L. Müller explains *sis* as a genuine synizesis form.

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, of the seven necessary cases (inclusive of *Men.* 972) in the drama of *dissyllabic* nom. pl. m. and abl. pl. of *is*, which are cited by Sturtevant, *l.l.*, 24, one is the fourth foot of the senarius, two are verse-closes, and four are trisyllabic groups.

labic form like *ab-īs* was not permitted; similarly all the group-forms of *idem* were tetrasyllabic like *sēd-ēōdem*, and a trisyllabic form was not allowed. In the same way we must explain the striking fact pointed out by Engelbrecht (*Wien. Stud.* VI, 236 ff.), that, while the simple verb *eo* and the compounds of *eo* with a long preposition show only the contract forms before *s*, e.g. *īsti* (*Tri.* 939), *īsse* (*ib.* 944), *exīssem* (*Ru.* 534),<sup>1</sup> yet, in the case of the compounds with a short preposition, the verse of the dramatists often requires and always admits the full forms with double *i*, e.g. *ābīisti*, *abiisse*, *abiissem*, *obiisti*, *subiisti*, *adiisti*, *rediisti*, *periisti*, *intērīisti*; cf. *adiese* and *adiesent* (*CIL.* I, 196, 7 f.) in the *S. C. de Bacchanalibus* of 186 B.C. This is the special peculiarity in the early treatment of these forms which Brock (*l.l.*, 78) seems to regard as inexplicable, and it is evident that in the second century B.C. the short *i* in hiatus of these forms was preserved from contraction by a psychological cause, that is, by the sense of logical analogy. The perfect of the simple verb is inflected *īī*, *īsti*, *īit*, and thus a single short *i* is lost by contraction before *s*; a pair of shorts, however, has become closely associated in the Roman mind with the perfect forms *ābīi*, *ābīisti*, *ābīit*, etc., and, in view of this strong association, the loss of one of the pair, as in the contract form *abīsti*, would make the form seem incongruous, and would seriously obscure its connection with the remaining forms of the perfect. Therefore logical analogy forbids the usual contraction to take place, or, to speak more accurately and to adopt the language which is suggested by Exon's admirable discussion of similar linguistic processes (*Hermathena*, XIII, 145 ff.), the contraction actually takes place, and the incongruous form *interīsti* is produced, but the sense of analogy immediately awakes, and a 'special sound-law' arises, in virtue of which *i* is retained before *is*, after a short prefix, as in *interīisti* (*interieisti*, *CIL.* I, 1202).<sup>2</sup> 'Special sound-laws,' however, often find special difficulty in maintaining themselves

<sup>1</sup> The only exception is *vēnīisse* (*St.* 232; *Ps.* 1090), which should perhaps be written *venivisse*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also, for the quantity of the second *i*, Marx, *Hilfsbüchlein f. Ausspr.*<sup>8</sup> 10.

fully, and forms like *abiīsti*, *abiissem*, which were doubtless in exclusive use in the second century B.C., were compelled, in the following century, to yield a portion of their territory.<sup>1</sup> It should be added that this rhythmical epenthesis, this tendency to retain *i*, exists in a less degree in all verbs beginning with a short syllable, notably in *petiīsti* (cf. Verg. *Aen.* ii, 25 nos abiisse rati et vento petiisse Mycenae), but the great number of the compounds of *ire* with short prefix caused analogy to be most strongly felt, and uniformity to be longest maintained, within this single group.

(6) **Question of Synizesis in Verse-Closes.**—As we have already seen (pp. 165, 195, n. 1), the principle of metrical regularity excludes a contract form like *m(e)ó* from the close of all verses which conclude with an iambus.<sup>2</sup> Similarly the contract dative *mi*, which, unlike *m(e)o*, is a perfect monosyllable, and occurs as such in all periods of the language (L. Müller, *R.M.*<sup>2</sup> 296), is allowed, so far as I am aware, only in verses which close with a trochee, e.g. *Mo.* 175 (troch. oct.); *ib.* 871 (bacch. tetr.). The exclusion of synizesis forms also from the close of verses which end with a trochee ( $\angle \cup$ ) is easily understood (p. 179). Synizesis is not, however, necessarily excluded from verse-closes of the form  $— \angle$ , and some certain examples are cited by Audouin (*l.l.*, 69, 121, 228) from the diaereses of anapaestic verse, in which a resolved thesis such as *tūōm* would be extremely unusual, e.g. *Ba.* 1153 (p. 179, n. 2); *ib.* 1157 *níl sum. istúc iam pridem sc(i)ó* (cf. Klotz, *Grundz.* 210, n.); *ib.* 1086; etc. Several possible cases (uncritically arranged) are also cited by Audouin from full anap. verse-closes, the best supported of which is *Ci.* 700 *híc concñlium f(u)ft* (marked corrupt in ed. min.). We

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Neue, III<sup>3</sup>, 435 ff., 465 ff., 472.

<sup>2</sup> I reach at this point the same conclusions as Ahlberg, *Procel.* I, 92, but on wholly different grounds. It should be noted also that Pl. does not allow the shortened forms *potin(e)*, *viden(e)* at the end of verses which close with an iambus (Seyffert, *Berl. phil. Wochenschr.* XVIII, 1577), and Dz. in his critical note suspects the one case of this kind in Terence (*And.* 476); we find the shortened form, however, in verses which conclude with a trochee, e.g. *And.* 299 *atque aúdin?*

are warranted in concluding that the synizesis forms are as well attested in such hemistich-closes and even in such verse-closes as we have a right to expect in view of the difficulties attending the identification of anap. verse.<sup>1</sup> Whether the gen. sing. *rei* in *Men.* 764 (siét r(e)i, bacch. tetr.) should be considered a case of synizesis in the close is very doubtful; the *gen. sing.* form is elsewhere always dissyllabic in Pl. (Maurenbrecher, *Hiat.* 156, n. 2; Leo, *Forsch.* 323 f.), but, in view of its monosyllabic use by Terence, it is by no means certain that it is an absolute dissyllable.<sup>2</sup>

(7) **Specimen Verses.** — I may quote finally several verses which will serve to illustrate the various usages discussed in this paper. It will be observed that in general only metrical necessity or convenience leads to the employment of *měť*, *měō* within the verse :

*Cap.* 740: Peric[u]lum vítae m(e)aé t(u)o stát pericūló.

*St.* 540: Dŭ(ae) ěrant, quási nunc m(e)aé sunt. ě(ae) ěrant d(u)óbus núptae frátribús.

*Poe.* 366: Méus ocellus, m(e)úm labéllum, méa salús, m(e)um sáviúm (*i.e.* s(u)áviúm).

*Tri.* 329: Dé-měó: nam quód-tŭómst m(e)umst, ómne m(e)úmst autém tŭóm.

*Cas.* 614: M(e)am istúc transíre uxórem ad úxorém tŭám.

*Cap.* 628: F(u)istin líber? || Fŭ(i). || Enim véro nón-fuit, nugás agit.

**Summary.** — The results of the present study may be summed up as follows: Precisely that sequence of syllables and that position of the accent which produces iambic shortening in the case of vowels separated by a consonant has

<sup>1</sup> Skutsch (*Γέρας*, 131) needlessly rejects *sc(i)o* in the hemistich-close quoted above. On the other hand, it does not seem quite certain that O. Lat. synizesis can occur in a full anap. verse-close, such as that of the anap. oct., where it would be due entirely to the metrical accent. In the close of a full sentence we do not expect *mos f(u)it*, but rather *f(u)it mós*.

<sup>2</sup> Acc. to Seyffert, *Stud. Pl.*, 25 f., only twice does gen. *rěĩ* fill any other foot than the last, viz. *Ru.* 487; *Ad.* 644. It is therefore somewhat similar to *nihil*, which never fills a whole foot in Pl., and never fills any foot except the last in Ter. and the metrical inscrr. Both these examples are instructive in their bearing upon the free admission of *měō* in the verse-close, and its rare use elsewhere.



given rise to O. Lat. synizesis in the case of vowels which stand in hiatus. This synizesis does not occur in verse-closes, since it is excluded from some closes by the conventions of the verse, and from others by the accentual conditions. Definite metrical proof of the extent of synizesis is afforded by word-groups like *t(u)ám-rem*, which show almost invariably a species of pretonic syncope. Finally, synizesis occurs most frequently in proclitic and enclitic words like the possessive pronouns or the substantive verb, which usually have little appreciable accent of their own, but it is also freely admitted in the case of those words which possess the ordinary intensity of tone, because these latter are themselves often subordinated in the sentence and placed beside words of still greater force and weight.<sup>1</sup> From such beginnings as these, synizesis is free to develop even in the case of strongly accented words.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller discussion of this point, see the supplement to the present article in *Classical Philology*, II, No. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Addenda*:

P. 168. — While synizesis is distinct from the hardening of *i* and *u* into full consonants, yet it is often the preliminary stage to such hardening and to the consequent loss of these sounds, cf. Corssen, II<sup>2</sup>, 754; Stolz, Müller's *Handb.* II<sup>3</sup>, 2, 32.

P. 194, n. 2. — See also especially Skutsch, *Forsch.* 136, n. 1.

P. 204, n. 2 (end). — Compare also O. Lat. *hibus* for *hīs*, *ībus* for *īs*.

IX. — *The Title of Caesar's Work on the Gallic and Civil Wars.*

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It is noteworthy that the two editors, Nipperdey and Meusel, who in the last century contributed most to the criticism of the text of Caesar, adopted forms of the title of the Gallic War which are not only unlike but inconsistent with each other; and a third form is presented by Du Pontet, the editor of Caesar's text in the Oxford *Bibliotheca*, who combines elements that appear in the title as printed by the other two.

Nipperdey considers that the correct designation of Caesar's Civil and Gallic Wars taken together is *commentarii*, each separate book being a *commentarius*, with the characterizing part of the title in the ablative; the title-page of his large edition has *C. Iulii Caesaris commentarii cum supplementis A. Hirtii et aliorum*, while at the beginning of the Gallic War we find *C. Iulii Caesaris de bello Gallico commentarius primus*. Meusel discards the word *commentarius*, plural as well as singular, adopting as the general title of the Gallic War *C. Iulii Caesaris belli Gallici libri VII*, and as the title of the first book *C. Iulii Caesaris belli Gallici liber primus*; he substitutes *liber* for *commentarius*, and has the genitive of *bellum Gallicum* in place of the ablative with *de*. Du Pontet uses *commentarii* as a common designation of the Gallic and Civil Wars, but *liber* of the individual books; at the beginning of the first book he has *C. Iuli Caesaris commentariorum de bello Gallico liber primus*.

To trace the variant forms of the title down from the *editio princeps* to the present time might be of interest in another connection, but no light would thus be shed on the question what title Caesar himself gave to these works. The cause of

the diversity lies farther back; the manuscript transmission of the title is hopelessly corrupt.

To begin with the codices of the *a* class, in the Moissac manuscript which, as the other good codices of the same class (with possibly a single exception), contains only the eight books of the Gallic War, this work is ascribed to Suetonius. The text of the Gallic War is preceded by a Latin version of a part of the Antiquities of the Jews by Josephus; the title of the Caesarian work immediately follows the subscription of the other, thus:

IOPPINI QVI ET IOSEPHI LIBER X  
IVDAICE ANT QVITATIS EXPLICIT

INCIPIT LIBER SV  
ETONII TRANQVILLI  
VICTORIARVM  
GAI IVLII CESARIS  
MVLTIMODARVM  
BELLI GALLICI

INCIPIT DE TRIMODA OMNIS  
GALLIAE DIVISIONE

All this occupies a little less than a quarter of a page of the manuscript, which is written in a characteristic hand assigned by Châtelain (*Paléographie des Classiques lat.* I, p. 13) to the eleventh century; it fills out the greater part of the space left in the second column (each page being written in two columns) after the last sentence of the text of Josephus, and a new page is begun with the first word of Caesar's text, *Gallia*, which is provided with an elaborate initial letter. There is, however, no good reason to doubt that the title is of the same age as the rest of the manuscript.

The Amsterdam codex (Bongarsianus) has a double title: INCIPIT LIBER GAI CESARIS BELLI GALLICI IVLIANI DE NARRATIONE TEMPORVM; then, in red, INCIPIT LIBER SVETONII. The text of this manuscript in general agrees with that of the Moissac codex; the second part of the title, *Incipit liber*

*Suetonii*, is probably derived from the common ancestor of the two codices, which is designated by Meusel as  $\chi$ . The parent codex very likely had the fuller form which we find in the Moissac manuscript, which was abbreviated in the Amsterdam codex to make room for the long first part of the title ascribing the work to Caesar, this being borrowed, as we shall see, from a manuscript of the other group of the  $a$  class, and inserted as a correction.

The other group of  $a$  manuscripts, best represented by Cod. Paris. Lat. 5763 (designated as B by the editors) and Cod. Vatic. 3864, assign the Gallic War to Caesar; the parent codex from which they were derived, designated by Meusel as  $\phi$ , evidently had as title *INCIPIVNT LIBRI GAI CAESARIS BELLI GALLICI IVLIANI DE NARRATIONE TEMPORVM*. From this form evidently came the first part of the title in the Amsterdam codex, *Incipiunt libri* being changed to *Incipit liber* to accord with the second part of the title, *Incipit liber Suetonii*, derived from  $\chi$ .

The manuscripts of the  $\beta$  class show less variation in the form of the title; the lost codex to which their origin is traced apparently had *INCIPIVNT LIBRI GAI IVLII CAESARIS BELLI GALLICI DE NARRATIONE TEMPORVM*.

With this last form before us it is possible to understand how the awkward *Iuliani* may have found its way into the title as it appears in the second group of manuscripts in the  $a$  class. Without entering into the question of the relative value of the  $a$  and  $\beta$  readings in constituting Caesar's text, we may suppose that a scribe or reader of a manuscript in the line of transmission between the archetype and the  $\phi$  group had before him, either in his own manuscript or in another to which he had access, the title *libri Gaii Iulii Caesaris belli Gallici de narratione temporum*; that this seemed to him ambiguous or defective, because it does not necessarily assign the war as well as the literary work to Caesar; that he was familiar with the use of the adjective *Iulianus* with definite reference to Julius Caesar, as, for example, *de Bello Afr.* 15 *equites Iuliani*, *ibid.* 78 *turmas Iulianas*, *Cic. Phil.* xiii, 31 *vectigalia Iuliana*; that he



therefore corrected the title in his manuscript so as to read *libri Gaii Caesaris belli Gallici Iuliani de narratione temporum*, intending to convey the meaning, 'the books of Gaius (Julius) Caesar concerned with the recountal of the events of the Gallic War waged by Julius (Caesar)'; and that the manuscript thus corrected transmitted the changed title to its descendants. Such an explanation seems less improbable than that suggested by Hauler (*Wien. Stud.* XVII, p. 128), which accounts for *Iuliani de narratione temporum* as originating in a misunderstanding of the title CRONICA IVLII CAESARIS and the opening words of a fragment of the Cosmography of Aethicus Hister thus attributed to Caesar in Cod. Paris. suppl. 685; the same fragment immediately follows the eighth book of the Gallic War in Cod. Vatic. 3864.

As the beginning of the text of the Civil War is lacking in all the manuscripts, we find preceding this work a title of the simplest character, as INCIPIT LIBER PRIMVS BELLI CIVILIS. In the Ashburnham Codex appears DE BELLO CIVILI. INCIPIT LIBER NONVS (*Philologus*, XLV, p. 214); the first book of the Civil War (including Books i and ii of the current editions), immediately following the eighth of the Gallic War, is here reckoned as the ninth of the *Corpus Caesarianum*. In a manuscript in the British Museum (Addit. 10084, identified by Holder with Lovaniensis) the subscription of Book viii of the Gallic War and the title of the first book of the Civil War read as follows (cf. Châtelain, *op. cit.* p. 30): *C. Caesaris pontificis maximi ephemeris rerum gestarum belli gallici lib. VIII. expl. feliciter. Iulius Celsus Constantinus v.c. legi tantum. Incipit liber nonus*. Little help may be expected from this source for the solution of our problem.

Nor do the subscriptions of the other books yield much of value. The word *liber* constantly appears, but *commentarius*, so far as I am aware, only at the end of Book vii of the Gallic War, in certain manuscripts of the *a* class, as B: *Iulius Celsus Constantinus v. c. legi commentarius Caesaris liber septimus explicit*. The references to the revision of Julius Celsus Constantinus and of Flavius Licinius Firminus Lupicinus

(at the end of Book ii) raise interesting questions, but contribute no evidence bearing upon the authenticity of any part of the title. A detailed analysis of the subscriptions would be a waste of labor.

Whether the title *libri Gaii Iulii Caesaris belli Gallici de narratione temporum* descended from the archetype (X) into the  $\alpha$  as well as the  $\beta$  manuscripts and in some codex in the line of descent to the  $\chi$  group of the former class was replaced by a title attributing the Gallic War to Suetonius; or whether the first title was confined to the  $\beta$  class and was thence carried over, in a corrected form, to some codex in the line of descent to B and the other manuscripts of the  $\phi$  group, there replacing a title, previously common to the  $\alpha$  class, in which Suetonius was named as author; or whether, finally, the confusion in the forms of the title as they appear in the manuscripts is to be explained in some other way, — it is not necessary, so far as our present problem is concerned, to inquire. It will be sufficient to observe that a title so un-Caesarian in both choice of words and manner of expression cannot possibly have come from the hand of the author. We are therefore justified in adopting another line of approach in order to ascertain, first, whether there is any evidence tending to show that Caesar published his Gallic War anonymously; and in the second place, whether, in case the evidence seems to indicate that it was provided with a title from the beginning, we are able to determine, with any degree of probability, what that title was.

If, as has frequently been assumed, Caesar wrote the Gallic War primarily in order to justify his career of conquest before his fellow countrymen, he might well have thought that something was to be gained by anonymous publication; for if a document containing a favorable view of one side of a controversy can be circulated without a knowledge of its source, it is more apt to be received without prejudice and so to carry greater weight than if it is known to have emanated from a conspicuous partisan. Furthermore, on the supposition that the work was intended to be circulated without the name of the author, we have an adequate explanation of the studied

self-repression of Caesar the writer in always using the third person when referring to Caesar the commander, a circumstance which in later times facilitated the circulation of the work under the name of Suetonius. On the other hand, though by the middle of the first century B.C. the book trade in Rome had begun to be well organized, — the references in Cicero's letters are sufficient proof, — if an author not wishing to avail himself of the services of professional copyists and booksellers had prepared a work for private distribution he would, as Dziatzko suggests (*Ausgewählte Kapitel des antiken Buchwesens*, p. 158), probably have sent the transcripts with a personal note or greeting to the recipients and would not have provided such gift copies with a formal title even though he had had no intention of concealing the authorship. The existence of early manuscripts of the Gallic War without a full title is conceivable, then, upon either of two hypotheses: that of anonymous publication, and that of private distribution; in the latter case, as there was nothing corresponding with our copyright laws, copies might begin to be multiplied and offered for sale as soon as a bookseller should be able to get permission to transcribe one of the gift copies.

We know nothing of the circumstances and manner of composition of the Gallic War except what may be gleaned from internal evidence and from the statement of Hirtius in the preface to Book viii, that Caesar wrote his 'commentaries' with great ease and rapidity. According to the current view the work was composed in the winter of 52–51 B.C., and began to be circulated within a few months thereafter; the place of writing was Bibracte, where, as we learn from the closing chapter of Book vii, Caesar had resolved to spend the winter after the fall of Alesia. At Bibracte, his headquarters, the military records would be available in case he should wish to refresh his memory in regard to details; and though he heard cases there (viii, 4, 2), it might be presumed that he would be better able to command leisure for writing than when in the field or even when sojourning in Cisalpine Gaul. Nevertheless his winter in Bibracte was not unbroken. He could have been at most only a few weeks in camp when

he again took the field, on the last day of December, 52 (viii, 2, 1); since the date as given is according to the unreformed calendar, the real date must have been considerably earlier, probably in the first week of December according to our reckoning. Having chastised the Bituriges into complete submission, 'on the fortieth day' he was back in Bibracte. But after a sojourn of only eighteen days in camp (viii, 4, 3) he started out again, probably in the first half of February, 51, by our reckoning, and became involved in a series of operations which kept him occupied in various parts of Gaul till the end of the summer of 51.

In the winter of 51-50 B.C. Caesar established himself in Nemetocenna in Belgium, where, as we may understand from the narrative of Hirtius (viii, 49), not being disturbed by the necessity of campaigning, he was free to devote himself to the problems of civil organization and administration in anticipation of his departure from the country in the not remote future.

That the Gallic War left Caesar's hands before he went into winter quarters in the fall of 51 seems clear, not merely by reason of the oft-quoted favorable reference to Pompey in the seventh book (chap. 6), but also because he did not include the military operations of that year. While the fall of Alesia formed a literary as well as a military climax, the operations of the year 51 were nevertheless important enough to deserve treatment in any account of the campaigns in Gaul that was intended to be authoritative and complete. It would be easier for us to find time for Caesar to do the writing in the winter of 51-50 than in that of 52-51, and at least Holmes is of the opinion (*Conquest of Gaul*, p. 172) that, in view of Caesar's attitude of conciliation and politic forbearance toward Pompey, the sixth chapter of the seventh book might have been penned as late as the year 50. But for a man of Caesar's energy, literary training, and power of concentration, the composition of the Gallic War could have been no great task. The events narrated fall within the comparatively short period of seven years. They had been a part of his life—he had analyzed situations, formed plans, directed movements,



secured results; in a word, he had that perfect understanding of his subject which no one else had or could ever attain. The work contains some forty-five thousand words, which would about equal the amount that a good newspaper writer, collecting his material from various sources and averaging fifteen hundred words a day, would hand in as "copy" in thirty days.

The more frequently the seven books of the Gallic War are read through in succession, the more irresistible will become the conviction that they were written under one impulse, that they could not have been composed at considerable intervals and put forth separately. Had they been written at the end of the year 51 or in 50, it is difficult to understand why Caesar should not have planned to add another book; and had he included in his design a book devoted to the events of the year 51, it is still more difficult to understand why he should not have been able to take three or four days to finish the task which he had so nearly completed. The explanation of Nipperdey (edition, p. 4) that he stopped at the end of Book vii because he was interrupted in the midst of writing by the beginning of the civil war, seems far-fetched. From the statement of Suetonius about the composition of the *de Analogia*, *Anticatones*, and *Iter* (*Div. Iul.* 56; quoted p. 227) as well as the reference in Cicero's *Brutus* (253) to the preparation of the former work *in maximis occupationibus*, it is evident that Caesar wrote when the spirit moved him and did not wait for a favorable opportunity, for leisure and quiet, to finish what he had begun.

More probable is the supposition that, elated over the capture of Alesia, which he considered the decisive blow of the long struggle, appreciating better than his contemporaries the strategic value of his military operations, and understanding also what effect a better knowledge of them would produce at Rome, Caesar felt moved to write, and commenced the composition of the Gallic War in Bibracte shortly after he had gone into winter quarters there in the fall of 52; that, composing rapidly, he had completed a good part of the writing when he left camp, in December, to ravage the country

of the Bituriges; that after returning from this expedition, during the eighteen days spent in Bibracte, he either finished the work or brought it so near to completion that he was able to finish it while campaigning in the earlier months of 51. If there was a break in the composition caused by the strenuous expedition against the Bituriges, we might hazard a guess that it came at the end of Book iv; for the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth books seem to be less neatly joined than the corresponding parts of the other books.

In camp, however, whether at Bibracte or at Nemetocenna, the conditions were far from favorable for the composition of a finished historical work such as that of Thucydides, with which Caesar must have been familiar and of which he was perhaps a sympathetic reader. Burdened with executive duties, civil as well as military, when he essayed the task of composition he did not set before himself as an aim the writing of history, as in earlier life in composing orations he must have held in mind an ideal of oratory; rather he turned, as was natural under the circumstances, to the method of the annalists and attempted to set forth, in the simplest and most direct way, the events of each year in their chronological order, adding, however, such explanations as seemed to be needed. Fortunate from the beginning of the work in his perspective, which led him with unerring judgment to exclude irrelevant detail, a master of language in respect to conciseness as well as elegance of expression, he under such conditions, probably without realizing it himself, produced a literary masterpiece of the first rank. Regarding leisure as an indispensable condition of the writing of history, Caesar would probably have found himself in accord with Cicero (*de Leg.* i, 9): *historia vero nec institui potest nisi praeparato otio nec exiguo tempore absolvi.*

We are now in a position to understand how Cicero in the *Brutus* (262) could say that Caesar wished merely to furnish historical writers with a store of material on which they might draw, and could at the same time feel justified in lavishing unstinted praise upon the 'commentaries' as an example of

historical writing: Tum Brutus: 'Orationes quidem eius (Caesaris) mihi vehementer probantur; compluris autem legi; atque etiam commentarios quosdam scripsit rerum suarum.' 'Valde quidem,' inquam, 'probandos; nudi enim sunt, recti et venusti, omni ornatu orationis tamquam veste detracta. Sed dum voluit alios habere parata, unde sumerent, qui velent scribere historiam, ineptis gratum fortasse fecit, qui volent illa calamistris inurere; sanos quidem homines a scribendo deterruit. Nihil est enim in historia pura et illustri brevitatem dulcius.'

Strikingly similar is the statement of Hirtius (viii, *praef.* 4, 5): Constat enim inter omnes nihil tam operose ab aliis esse perfectum quod non horum elegantia commentariorum superetur. Qui sunt editi ne scientia tantarum rerum scriptoribus deesset, adeoque probantur omnium iudicio, ut praerepta, non praebita, facultas scriptoribus videatur. Notwithstanding the allusion in the earlier part of the preface to Caesar's writings treating of the Civil as well as those relating to the Gallic War, Hirtius seems here to have only the latter in mind; the bitterness of feeling toward Caesar, after the subduing of the Pompeian party, rendering a fair judgment of him and his works impossible on the part of a large body of citizens, not to mention the criticism of Asinius Pollio obviously referring to the Civil War (Suet. *Div. Iul.* 56; cf. Hor. *Od.* ii, 1), would make *probantur omnium iudicio* inapplicable to any 'commentaries' except those of the Gallic War; and possibly in *praerepta, non praebita facultas scriptoribus* we may catch an echo of a bon mot of some friend of Caesar's who epigrammatically expressed the contrast between the modest purpose and surpassing merit of that work. However that may be, from the references near the end of the preface to personal intimacy with Caesar and direct knowledge of events we can see that Hirtius was in a better position even than Cicero to judge what was Caesar's aim in writing. The agreement between Cicero and Hirtius in their appreciation of Caesar's *elegantia* has been pointed out by Woelfflin (*Arch. f. lat. Lex. und Gram.* VIII, pp. 142-143).

This understanding of Caesar's purpose, to prepare a collection of historical facts rather than a formal history, is confirmed by the irregularity in the size of the different books, to which Birt directed attention in his well-known work (*Das antike Buchwesen*, pp. 339-340). The lengths of the books of the Gallic War are computed by Birt in lines as follows :

Book i.	1431	Book v.	1299
Book ii.	707	Book vi.	903
Book iii.	638	Book vii.	2073
Book iv.	813	Book viii.	1246 (incomplete)

The first book is thus seen to be more than twice as long as the second, while the third is only about half as long as the fifth, and one-third the length of the seventh, this in turn containing more than twice the number of lines in the sixth book. So wide a departure from well-understood conventions regarding the relative size of the books of a prose work, in the case of a writer so sensitive as Caesar was to literary form, is only explicable on the ground that, having adopted the annalistic method of arranging his material, he rigidly adhered to the plan of grouping all the events of each year in a single book, excluding from consideration any such arrangement of the matter of the whole work as should make possible a symmetrical division into books of the normal size. Hirtius, though writing a supplement to Caesar's work, thought it best, as he tells us, to abandon Caesar's plan of presenting the events of each year in a separate 'commentary,' and treated the events of two years (51 and 50) in a single book of moderate length because those of the second year needed only brief mention (viii, 48, 10): Scio Caesarem singulorum annorum singulos commentarios confecisse; quod ego non existimavi mihi esse faciendum, propterea quod insequens annus, L. Paulo, C. Marcello consulibus, nullas res Galliae habet magno opere gestas. Ne quis tamen ignoraret, quibus in locis Caesar exercitusque eo tempore fuissent, pauca esse scribenda coniungendaque huic commentario statui. In this passage Hirtius not only has *commentarios*, as in the preface,



referring to Caesar's work, but also uses the singular, *commentario*, instead of *libro*, when speaking of his addition.

We may now return to the question whether it is probable that Caesar either published the Gallic War anonymously or, having prepared it for private circulation, had only a comparatively small number of copies made for his friends, these copies not being provided with a regular title, but passed from hand to hand with the understanding that the work was Caesar's. To both alternatives a negative answer may safely be given. The language of Hirtius (p. 220) leaves no room for doubt that in his view the Gallic War, though not perhaps a history in the technical sense, was intended for general circulation as a literary work; and the words *qui sunt editi* imply that it was published, as books were ordinarily published at that time.

Let us assume for a moment that Caesar thought of putting forth the Gallic War anonymously; must he not have perceived that the frequent and convincing presentation of the motives of Caesar in connection with the operations of Caesar would stamp the work as his own in the face of any possible denial? Besides, he was too wise to resort to indirect methods when the employment of a direct method would better accomplish results; and while on the one hand the Gallic War was too serious a piece of composition to have been designed merely for the information or gratification of friends, in view of the trend of affairs at Rome it was on the other hand obviously to Caesar's interest to secure for the work immediately the largest possible circulation, and to lend to it the prestige of his name. The argument *ex silentio* is rarely of weight; yet one is tempted to remark that if the authorship of a work by so prominent a man appearing in a period of controversy had for any reason been a matter of doubt, it is singular that there is no evidence of a break in the literary tradition regarding the authorship till the beginning of the fifth century. It is not improbable that more than one copy of the Gallic War was sent from camp into Italy; but whether the friends receiving presentation copies were few or many, we may be sure that the work was at

once made accessible to the general public under the name of the author, its distribution being in every way encouraged and facilitated by Caesar's supporters. For while it was in reality, as in appearance, a dispassionate and authoritative narrative of events, it answered the purpose of a political pamphlet, being put forth at a time when the significance of the events treated was beginning to be fully appreciated in their bearing upon momentous issues affecting the existence of the Republic, when on the part of all, partisan and opponent alike, there was the keenest desire for information in regard to Caesar as well as affairs in Gaul. If then the Gallic War from the beginning must have had a title, we may next inquire what that title was.

The language of Cicero in regard to Caesar's 'commentaries' in the passage of the *Brutus* already quoted (p. 220) is so complimentary as to persuade Nipperdey that at the time of writing it he could not have seen the Civil War (edition, p. 5): 'Quod iudicium Ciceronem facturum fuisse, si iam tum libri de bello civili editi fuissent, incredibile est. In hoc enim bello tradendo certum est alia omnia requisisse Ciceronem, quam ut Caesaris narratio calamistris inureretur.' Nipperdey apparently overlooked the fact that in 46 B.C., the year of the publication of the *Brutus*, there was a temporary reconciliation between Caesar and Cicero, who in the address of thanks for the pardon of Marcus Marcellus in the autumn of that year expressed in glowing terms his admiration of Caesar's clemency and other good qualities, manifesting a disposition to judge him in all things without prejudice, as witness the following words (*pro Mar.* 31): Ingratus est iniustusque civis, qui armorum periculo liberatus animum tamen retinet armatum, ut etiam ille melior sit, qui in acie cecidit, qui in causa animam profudit. The sincerity of Cicero's feeling toward Caesar at this time, as Tyrrell and Purser have shown (*Correspondence of Cicero*, V, pp. xiv-xix) is revealed in his letters. However, on other grounds it is probable that the Civil War was not published until after Caesar's death, and by *commentarios* we may believe that Cicero meant the seven books of the Gallic War.

In this passage of the *Brutus* Cicero is either using the word *commentarios* as a descriptive term to characterize a work, known under some other name, in such a way that the reference will be plainly understood by his readers, or else he is quoting it as a title or part of a title. With regard to the significance of *commentarius* in Cicero's writings there is generally no uncertainty.

In the same *Brutus* we find *commentarii* used of records of the pontifices, perhaps a compilation of decrees or resolutions (55 ex pontificum commentariis); of other records, possibly family records (60 in veteribus commentariis, 72 in antiquis commentariis); and a neuter form *commentarium* (sc. *volumen*), of a summary of the points or heads of a speech amplified in delivery (164 Ipsa illa censoria contra Cn. Domitium conlegam non est oratio, sed quasi capita rerum et orationis commentarium paulo plenius). In a letter of Caelius to Cicero written in the year 50 B.C., *commentarius* is applied to a collection of memoranda relating to important events in the city which was sent to Cicero in Cilicia for his information (*ad. Fam.* viii, 11, 4 Quam quisque sententiam dixerit, in commentario est rerum urbanarum; ex quo tu, quae digna sunt, selige; multa transi . . .); while in the *Philippics* the plural is used of Caesar's papers, documents and memoranda found after his death, both those that were really Caesar's (i, 2 nihil tum, nisi quod erat notum omnibus, in C. Caesaris commentariis reperiebatur) and those that Antony was accused of having forged (v, 11 Decreta falsa vendebat, regna, civitates, immunitates in aes accepta pecunia iubebat incidi. Haec se ex commentariis Caesaris, quorum ipse auctor erat, agere dicebat), and in a letter of Antony the singular occurs referring to a purpose or promise of Caesar expressed in a memorandum (*ad Att.* xiv, 13, A. 2 Quamquam videor debere tueri commentarium Caesaris). In a letter to Luceius (56 B.C. *ad Fam.* v, 12) Cicero urges a full treatment of the events of his consulship in the historical work upon which Luceius was then engaged, offering, if he will undertake to do this, to furnish for the purpose *commentarios rerum omnium*, which can be nothing else than a col-

lection of notes and memoranda, the plural implying that these would be classified and arranged in series for convenience of reference.

These instances, and others that might be cited, illustrate the freedom with which the word *commentarius* was used in Caesar's time to designate sources or collections of material which a writer or speaker might utilize; the transition is easy to the use of the term in relation to literary works.

In 60 B.C. Cicero and Atticus, working independently, each finished about the same time an account of the events of Cicero's consulship, written in Greek. To both works the term *commentarius* was applied (*ad Att.* i, 19, 10 *Commentarium consulatus mei Graece compositum misi ad te*; ii, 1, 1 *Is mihi litteras abs te et commentarium consulatus mei Graece scriptum [i.e. by Atticus] reddidit*), and Cicero gives also the Greek name of his book as *ὑπόμνημα*. The precise character of these works cannot now be determined. In the letter last cited Cicero notes their similarity in respect to matter, humorously remarking that had he seen Atticus's book first he might have been accused of stealing. Nevertheless he criticises the style of Atticus, in a way that reminds us of the characterization of the style of Caesar's 'commentaries' in the *Brutus*: *Quamquam tua illa — legi enim libenter — horridula mihi atque incompta visa sunt, sed tamen erant ornata hoc ipso, quod ornamenta neglexerant, et, ut mulieres, ideo bene olere, quia nihil olebant, videbantur*; by contrast he jestingly speaks of his own book (*liber*) as perfumed and painted, but he adds that he sent a copy to Posidonius, — *ut ornatus de iisdem rebus scriberet*. It cannot be doubted that Cicero thought of *commentarius* as a part of the Latin form of the title of his book as well as Atticus's, even though in another letter he condenses the title into two words (*ad Att.* i, 20. 6 *De meis scriptis, misi ad te Graece perfectum consulatum meum*). He had a high ideal of the literary quality of history as distinguished from annals, as shown by the rambling but instructive passage in the *de Oratore* (ii, 51–58); and we shall probably not go astray if we suppose that he adopted *ὑπόμνημα*, *commentarius*, as a part



of his title because he designed the tract to be primarily a source book for Posidonius and other Greek writers; how anxious he was that his deeds should be commemorated in the writings of others is evident from the letter to Luceius. The Greek Commentary was put into circulation so promptly that Atticus saw a copy at Corfu before he received from Cicero the carefully corrected presentation copy intended for him; and this was followed by the naïve request that if he liked it he should see that the work be well circulated in the Greek cities (*ad Att.* ii, 1. 2): Tu, si tibi placuerit liber, curabis ut et Athenis sit et in ceteris oppidis Graeciae.

Cicero makes reference also to *commentarii* (= ὑπομνήματα) of several Greek philosophers, as Aristotle, Cratippus, and Zeno; but he himself gives a clue to his conception of the significance of the term in such cases in the *de Finibus* (v, 12) De summo autem bono quia duo genera librorum sunt, unum populariter scriptum, quod ἐξωτερικόν appellabant, alterum limatius, quod in commentariis reliquerunt, non semper idem dicere videntur. From this we may understand that the *commentarii* were more technical books, containing perhaps outlines of lectures and similar material intended primarily for the use of the writer and his pupils and friends (cf. Madvig's *de Fin.*<sup>3</sup>, Excursus vii).

It seems evident that *commentarius* used by Cicero as a characterizing term would be referred to an assemblage of material lacking in literary quality. Since precisely this quality is predicated of the *commentarii* of Caesar, and since the term had already come into use in titles (p. 225), we may, I think, conclude that *commentarii* was a part of the title of the Gallic War as the work was known to Cicero, who was writing the *Brutus* within six years at most after it was published. Hirtius, as already noted, is consistent in the use of *commentarii* when referring to the same work.

Suetonius uses *commentarii* of both the Gallic and the Civil Wars (*Div. Iul.* 56): Reliquit et rerum suarum commentarios Gallici civilisque belli Pompeiani. Nam Alexandrini Africique et Hispaniensis incertus auctor est; alii Oppium putant, alii Hirtium, qui etiam Gallici belli novissi-

mum imperfectumque librum suppleverit. After quoting from Cicero and Hirtius, *de commentariis Caesaris*, and recording the criticism of Asinius Pollio, he adds: Reliquit et de Analogia duos libros et Anticatones totidem, ac praeterea poema quod inscribitur Iter. Quorum librorum primos in transitu Alpium, cum ex citeriore Gallia conventibus peractis ad exercitum rediret, sequentes sub tempus Mundinensis proelii fecit; novissimum, dum ab urbe in Hispaniam ulteriorem quarto et vicesimo die pervenit. Though Suetonius uses *liber* as a descriptive term when referring to Hirtius's supplement to the Gallic War, it is not easy to see why, even with the passages of Cicero and Hirtius before him, he should consistently have used *commentarii* of Caesar's Gallic and Civil wars and *libri* of the other works of Caesar, unless consciously or unconsciously reflecting a difference in the titles of the works as they were known to him.

As a part of the title of the Gallic War *commentarii* must have been preceded by the name of the author in the genitive case, and followed by some word or phrase limiting its meaning; for the concept 'source book' or 'memoranda' suggests the question, "Of what?" We should expect to find the limiting word, if a noun, in the genitive. Aulus Gellius, to be sure, speaking of a family record (xiii, 20, 17) has *laudationes funebres et librum commentarium de familia Porcia*; but here *commentarium* is an adjective agreeing with *librum*, which is regularly used with the name of a work in the ablative, and elsewhere he not infrequently has a genitive, as in *commentariis lectionum antiquarum*, referring to a work by Caesellius Vindex (vi, 2, 1; xx, 2, 2); *commentariis harum noctium*, speaking of his own work which he professed to regard merely as a collection of excerpts (xviii, 4, 11); and *carum omnium rerum commentarios*, of the writings of Aristotle (xx, 5, 6). Cicero, Hirtius, and Suetonius, all have a genitive limiting *commentarii* referring to the works of Caesar; and this genitive will give us a clue to the remaining part of our title.

Cicero, in the *Brutus*, has *commentarios quosdam rerum suarum*; Hirtius, near the beginning of his preface, *Caesaris nostri commentarios rerum gestarum Galliae*; and Suetonius,

as we have seen, writes *rerum suarum commentarios Gallici civilisque belli Pompeiani*. While we know less about the sources and literary methods of Suetonius than we should like to know, it is, nevertheless, safe to say that his cast of mind was that of a grammarian rather than of a historian. In the case of one of Caesar's orations he took the pains to consult several copies (*Div. Jul. 55 in quibusdam exemplaribus invenio . . .*) in regard to a doubtful point; and it may be taken for granted that he had a first-hand acquaintance with the Dictator's other works. But if, as one familiar with the usage of some modern editors might assume, the titles of the Gallic and the Civil War in Suetonius's manuscripts were *commentarii Gallici belli* and *commentarii civilis belli*, why do we have *rerum suarum* in his descriptive phrase thrust into the construction between *commentarios* and *belli*? The answer is plain: he is using *rerum suarum*, as Cicero did, for *rerum suarum gestarum*, but he is not copying Cicero, because he writes with much more detail than Cicero does in the passage of the *Brutus* which he quotes in this connection; he is adapting the title *C. Iuli Caesaris commentarii rerum gestarum*, quoted by Hirtius as *Caesaris commentarios rerum gestarum*, so that it will form a part of a sentence and fit into his narrative. But what of *Gallici civilisque belli Pompeiani*?

The point of view of the student to whom the events of the end of the Republic appear in a distinct and colorless perspective is very different from that of a Roman of Caesar's time. Looking back upon the conquest of Gaul as an accomplished fact, we think of the Gallic War as a single series of operations, just as we think of the American Revolution, which lasted nearly as long, or even of the Thirty Years' War, though the impression of unity is perhaps less distinctly felt in the English designation of the last than in the German, *der dreissigjährige Krieg*. But there is nothing in Caesar's work to warrant the view that he would have used *Gallicum bellum* or *bellum Gallicum* as a part of his title.

The operations of Caesar in Gaul were directed against many peoples, differing as widely as Aquitanians from Galli, Galli from Germans, and Belgians from Britons. We are,

therefore, not surprised to notice that, in addition to the frequent employment of *bellum* in common idioms, he uses the word to designate a single campaign or definite and decisive movement against a particular enemy; when more than one campaign is thought of, he has the plural. Thus we find *bellum Helvetiorum* (B.G. i, 30, 1) of the campaign against the Helvetians; *Ariovisti bellum* (v, 55, 2) of the campaign against Ariovistus; *duo maxima bella* (i, 54, 2) of the campaigns against the Helvetians and against Ariovistus viewed as a single season's work; *bellum Venetorum* (iii, 16, 1), and *Veneticum bellum* (iii, 18, 6; iv, 21, 4) of the conquest of the maritime states; *Germanicum bellum* (iv, 16, 1) of the annihilation of the Usipetes and Tencteri; *Britannicum bellum* (v, 4, 1) of the second expedition to Britain; *bellum Treverorum et Ambiorigis* (vi, 5, 1) and *bellum Ambiorigis* (vi, 29, 4) of the operations against the Treveri and Ambiorix; *Gallica bella* (iv, 20, 1 quod omnibus fere Gallicis bellis hostibus nostris inde subministrata auxilia intellegebat) of all the campaigns of the first three years and the early part of the fourth; also, and especially to be noted, *Gallica bella* admitted by the editors in two passages of the Civil War where the reference is to all the campaigns in Gaul reckoned together: (iii, 2, 3) *Atque eae ipsae copiae hoc infrequentiores imponuntur, quod multi Gallicis tot bellis defecerant*; and (iii, 59, 1) *Erant apud Caesarem equitum numero Allobroges II fratres . . . quorum opera Caesar omnibus Gallicis bellis optima fortissimaque erat usus*. The singular *Gallicum bellum* occurs in one passage (B. G. v, 54, 4): . . . *ut praeter Haeduos et Remos, quos praecipuo semper honore Caesar habuit, alteros pro vetere ac perpetua erga populum Romanum fide, alteros pro recentibus Gallici belli officiis, nulla fere civitas fuerit non suspecta nobis*. The services referred to were rendered in the campaign of 57; their character may be inferred from the details given in Book ii, 3-6. There is no evidence that any help was received from the Remi in any other campaign prior to the latter part of the year 54, the period treated toward the end of Book v; 'the Gallic campaign' is then the campaign of the year 57, which is so designated to distinguish it from



the campaigns against the Helvetians and Ariovistus in 58 and the various operations of the years 56, 55, and 54.

The operations recorded in the Civil War, though widely extended, were in reality directed against a single enemy, and here, if anywhere, one might expect to meet with the singular *bellum* covering the entire series. But the campaign in 49 against Afranius and Petreius in Spain is called *maximum bellum* (iii, 47, 5); in Curio's address to his soldiers before Utica we find *Africum bellum* (ii, 32, 13), and at the end of the work, *bellum Alexandrinum* (iii, 112, 12). In the light of these passages it seems necessary to conclude that when in the third book Caesar writes *confecto bello* (as 57, 5) and *bello perfecto* (18, 5), he has in mind not the civil war as a whole, but the operations against Pompey in 48, on the east coast of the Adriatic and in Thessaly, which culminated in the battle of Pharsalus. Nor does he use *civile bellum* in such a way as to reflect the comprehensive signification required for a title. In one of the two passages in which the phrase is found, though the text is in an unsatisfactory condition, the reference is clearly to a state of civil war (ii, 29, 3); in the other (iii, 1, 4 *qui se illi initio civilis belli obtulerant*), the thought is of the breaking out of hostilities between citizens, 'at the commencement of civil strife,' rather than of the civil war as a historical unity; in *ante bellum* (iii, 1, 2) the sense more nearly approaches that of *bellum* in titles. Caesar seems to avoid the use of *civile bellum*, as he sought to avoid the war itself; so in the letter in which he tried to persuade Cicero, after hostilities had commenced, to remain neutral, mild phrases are used instead (Cic. *ad Att.* x, 8, B. 2): *Postremo, quid viro bono et quieto et bono civi magis convenit quam abesse a civilibus controversiis? . . . neque tutius neque honestius reperies quicquam quam ab omni contentione abesse.* In the Civil War *civilis dissensio* also occurs (i, 67, 3; cf. iii, 1, 3).

When Caesar wrote the Gallic War the events of the civil war were yet in the future. Still, apart from the evidence furnished by an examination of his usage, we may well question whether he would have thought it expedient to use *bellum*

in the title of this work, even in the plural. His appointment in Gaul, as in the case of other proconsuls, included civil as well as military functions; and, though in his administration deeds of war overshadowed and obscured the deeds of peace, it must be remembered that his career of conquest had been sharply criticised and even viewed with alarm at Rome. He was not so lacking in tact as to characterize the work in which he gave to the Roman people an account of his stewardship by a term exclusively, to some offensively, military. A chief distinction of the Gallic War as a narrative of events at the same time truthful and favorable to the author, lies in the skill with which Caesar the writer unobtrusively leads the reader, step by step, to see how Caesar the proconsul, in order to protect the interests which Rome already had in Gaul, was obliged to carry the work of conquering on from one stage to another until the whole country was subdued. The case is still stronger against the use of *civile bellum* as a part of the original title of the Civil War; even Hirtius in his preface avoids a phrase of so unpleasant associations, and instead has *civilis dissensio*, though he does not hesitate to speak of the Alexandrine and African "wars" both separately and together (Mihi ne illud quidem accidit, ut Alexandrino atque Africano bello interessem; quae bella . . .).

But with *rerum gestarum* in the title of the Gallic War, there was no need of *Gallici belli* or another phrase to define the scope of the work more closely. Caesar uses *res gestae*, as also *res gesta*, with almost a complete blending of noun and verb concepts to express a single idea, as *B.C.* ii, 31, 3 Quasi non et felicitas rerum gestarum exercitus benevolentiam imperatoribus et res adversae odia concilient! *Ibid.* iii, 106, 3 Sed Caesar confisus fama rerum gestarum infirmis auxiliis proficisci non dubitaverat aequae omnem sibi locum tutum fore existimans; *B.G.* v, 47, 4 Labienus interitu Sabini et caede cohortium cognita . . . rem gestam in Eburonibus perscribit. An indication of the content of *res gestae* in Caesar's mind is given in the same speech of Curio, previously quoted (*B.C.* ii, 32, 5): An vero in Hispania res gestas Caesaris non audistis? duos pulsos exercitus? duos superatos

duces? duas receptas provincias? haec acta diebus XL, quibus in conspectum adversariorum venerit Caesar? The associations of the phrase in these passages are military, except in so far as the allusion to the recovery of the two provinces may imply civil reorganization. More clear is the extension of *res gestae* to civil administration in various passages of Cicero, as in *Pis.* 72 *res gestas consulatus mei*; in the Marcellus, *res tuae gestae*, spoken in the laudation of Caesar, and including not only his military successes (4, 5) but also his plans for the rehabilitation of the state (25 *omnium salutem civium cunctamque rem publicam res tuae gestae complexae sunt*; *tantum abes a perfectione maximorum operum, ut fundamenta nondum quae cogitas ieceris*), seems almost like an echo from the title of his work, a play upon words by no means unpleasing to him to whom the speech was addressed; still Cicero uses the phrase frequently elsewhere, and none was more fitting. How *Gallici belli* came to be added to the title after Caesar's time involves the consideration of the formation and history of the *Corpus Caesarianum*, a subject that will be touched upon later.

In the quotation from Curio's address in the last paragraph the field of Caesar's operations is designated by *in Hispania*. Does *Galliae* in Hirtius's *Caesaris commentarios rerum gestarum Galliae* reflect a geographical designation in the original title? I think not; for if Caesar had added *in Gallia* to his title it would have been more natural for Hirtius to use this than the difficult *Galliae*, the authenticity of which has been questioned, though on insufficient grounds (cf. viii, 48, 10 *res Galliae gestas*). When the Gallic War was published no word was needed to indicate the field of operations, known to all and besides defined in the opening sentences of the first book; and Caesar was not the man to waste words, least of all in a title. Hirtius, having completed a supplement to the Gallic War and bridged the gap between it and the Civil War, was obliged in some way to distinguish the books of the former from those of the latter.

In the fragments of the work of Sempronius Asellio preserved by Aulus Gellius (v, 18) the difference is pointed out

between *annales* and *res gestae* as species of historical composition; and it is probable that *res gestae* appeared in the title of his work, at least in the copy from which Gellius made excerpts (cf. Gell. ii, 13, 2; iv, 9, 12; xiii, 22, 8), though he is cited a few times by the grammarians with the title *historiae*. In Caesar's youth then the distinction was already made that in the composition of *res gestae* it was not enough to tell what was done, *sed etiam quo consilio quaque ratione gesta essent*. It is a fair inference from the words of Gellius (ii, 13, 3 Is Asellio sub P. Scipione Africano tribunus militum ad Numantiam fuit resque eas, quibus gerendis ipse interfuit, conscripsit), that the *res gestae* of Asellio, dealing with events of which he had personal knowledge, contained an autobiographical element. The forerunner of Caesar in this species of composition, however, was not Asellio but Sulla. The title of Sulla's memoirs has been restored by Peter with good reason as *commentarii rerum gestarum* (*Hist. Rom. Rel.* p. cclxxviii); and Plutarch at least believed that Sulla intended the work to be a source book rather than a history, as is indicated by the surprising statement in his *Lucullus* (i): 'Ο δὲ Λούκουλλος ἤσκητο καὶ λέγειν ἰκανῶς ἑκατέραν γλῶτταν, ὥστε καὶ Σύλλας τὰς αὐτοῦ πράξεις ἀναγράφων ἐκείνῳ προσεφώνησαν ὡς συνταξομένῳ καὶ διαθήσοντι τὴν ἱστορίαν ἄμεινον.

The designation of Caesar's books relating to the Gallic War as *commentarii rerum gestarum* was not only appropriate but had the support of literary precedent. From the brevity and directness with which he was wont to express himself, it might be inferred that in the title of the exemplar prepared for the copyists he would have given his own name as *Caesaris* rather than in full. Outside the circle of personal friends however, such a use of the name might have seemed to smack of presumption; it is safer to conclude that the original title was:

C. IVLI CAESARIS COMMENTARII RERVM GESTARVM

There yet remain the questions of the designation of the individual books; of the loss of the original title and the origin of those found in the manuscripts, as well as of



the secondary titles used by Suetonius; and as bearing upon the choice of a title, the point of view of both Greek and Roman writers with reference to the place of personal narrative in relation to other forms of historical composition. The limitations of this paper make it impracticable to follow out these or other lines of inquiry here; but it may be worth while to outline what may be considered as on the whole a not improbable explanation of the way in which the titles of both the Gallic and the Civil Wars came to be as they are.

## I.

Caesar wrote the seven books of the Gallic War rapidly, arranging the material by years and numbering the rolls (*volumina*) I to VII as he finished them, so as to indicate the order; referring back when necessary to preceding portions of the work by memory, and using indefinite references (as *ut* or *ut ante* or *ut supra demonstravimus*, *ut* or *ut supra demonstratum est*) instead of the more definite references ordinarily used by writers who make a greater labor of composition and write more deliberately. Thus Hirtius, referring to Caesar's Book vii, has *superiore commentario* (viii, 4, 3; 30, 1; 38, 3).

Avoiding the use of definite references, he had no occasion to employ in his text a word referring to an individual book; had he done so, we may suppose that, consistently with his use of the plural *commentarii* and with the usage exemplified by Hirtius, he would have chosen *commentarius* instead of *liber*, and that this word would have been supplied by him with the numeral adjective had he thought it necessary to designate the separate books by formal inscriptions (as *commentarius tertius*) instead of the simple numbers.

## 2.

At some time between the end of the year 48 and March of 44 (probably after July, 46), encouraged by the reception of his *commentarii* i-vii, and desiring for many reasons to put into circulation a summary of the events of the Civil War from his own point of view, Caesar undertook to continue the work;

though harried and worn and interrupted, he succeeded in completing (probably by dictation) two rolls, of which the first contained an account of the events of the year 49 and included Books i and ii, as the work is divided in modern editions, while the second treated the events of 48, being Book iii of the editions. It may be that he expected at some future time to write an account of the events of 51 and 50; but the battle of Pharsalus, as the fall of Alesia, marked a climax and turning-point of his fortunes, and taking up first that which was most important, he commenced the first of the new rolls with the negotiations at the beginning of January, 49, from which the course of events led rapidly and naturally to Pharsalus and Egypt; circumstances did not permit him to carry the narrative beyond the beginnings of the Alexandrian War. The two rolls that were finished may have been numbered X and XI, space being left in the enumeration for two other rolls covering the events of 51 and 50; or possibly they were numbered VIII and IX to follow immediately the first series.

After Caesar's death either his trusted friend Cornelius Balbus, to whom he had committed the charge of important interests when absent from Rome, or Aulus Hirtius, obtained possession of the two finished rolls. Balbus, desiring out of regard for Caesar's memory not to allow them to be published without a presentation, from Caesar's point of view, of the events immediately preceding and following those of 49 and 48, persuaded Hirtius to fill out the missing portions of the *commentarii* (*B.G.* viii, *praef.* 1, 2).

## 3.

Hirtius, troubled by ill health and pressed by many affairs, nevertheless found time to finish and send to Balbus, with a dedicatory preface, an account of the events of the years 51 and 50, so bridging the chasm between the old *commentarii* and the new; the final revision and transmission to Balbus of the latter part of his work, continuing his narrative to the death of Caesar, may have been prevented by his own death, only a year after that of the Dictator.

The *commentarius* covering the events of 51 and 50 was viewed by Hirtius as something interjected into the writings of Caesar (*praef.* 3 qui me mediis interposuerim Caesaris scriptis); either Hirtius or Balbus (probably the latter) arranged in order a copy of the first seven *commentarii*, the interjected roll of Hirtius, and the two new rolls left by Caesar, so as to make an orderly collection of the whole as follows:

ROLL	YEAR	AUTHOR
I-VII	58-52	Caesar
VIII	51 and 50	Hirtius
IX	49	Caesar (Books i and ii of the Civil War as it appears in the editions)
X	48	Caesar (Book iii of the Civil War in the editions)

All these were included under the general title *C. Iuli Caesaris commentarii rerum gestarum*; the question of the authorship and addition of the Alexandrian, African, and Spanish Wars need not be raised here. The eighth roll had a special inscription, in which the word *commentarius* and the name of Hirtius appeared; traces of this special inscription, in a corrupt form, are found in certain manuscripts, as are also traces of the original numbering of the books.

## 4.

Strabo knew Caesar's *commentarii* (*ὑπομνήματα*) as only a single work; he refers to the Gallic War under the general title (*iv, 1 οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὁ θεὸς Καίσαρ ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν εἴρηκεν*). But the subject-matter was so sharply differentiated that the rolls composing the work naturally came to be reckoned in two groups, those relating to the Gallic War and those relating to the Civil War. Livy in his own work recognizes a similar grouping of the books relative to the Samnite Wars (*x, 31, 10*). To the readers of a work written in rolls the grouping of books related in subject-matter was even more a matter of convenience than with us, who use a different kind of volume.

The two groups of Caesar's *commentarii* were probably offered for sale separately by the booksellers. By the time of Suetonius the division of the work into two parts was so generally recognized that to his adaptation of the title, *rerum suarum commentarii*, he added as exegetical secondary titles *Gallici civilisque belli Pompeiani*, the adjective *Pompeiani* being added to indicate that Caesar's own books on the Civil War, as distinguished from the continuations mentioned in the next sentence, covered only the struggle with Pompey. The continuations known to Suetonius were apparently the same as those which we have; they were probably arranged as they appear in the Ashburnham manuscript, the Alexandrian War being numbered XI, the African War XII, and the Spanish War XIII.

## 5.

The thirteen rolls of the Caesarian corpus in their proper order were copied into a manuscript of the ordinary codex form, each roll being of course reckoned a separate book (*liber*). This codex, or an early descendant, became badly worn. The parts which suffered most were the first page, the last page, and the page containing the opening sentences of Book ix, to which, as the beginning of the Civil War, those looking at the manuscript would turn more frequently than to any other part between the two covers. At last the leaves on which were these pages became loose and disappeared; thus were lost the first page containing the title, which was usually put on the first page of a codex (Aug. *Ep.* 40, 2, *Corp. Script. Eccl. Lat.* XXXIV, 2, p. 71; cited by Dziatzko, *Ausg. Kapitel des ant. Buchwesens*, p. 179), a leaf containing the end of Book viii and the beginning of Book ix, and one or more leaves with the end of the Spanish War. Of the origin of other lacunae it is not necessary here to speak.

## 6.

From this mutilated codex came at least three descendants to all of which titles were supplied:

a. In one copy, by an error easily explicable, the new title



assigned the work to Suetonius; descendants of this exemplar, or the exemplar itself, were used in the fifth century by Orosius (cf. vi, 7, 2 and *Jahresberichte des phil. Vereins zu Berlin*, 1885, pp. 154-156) and Apollinaris Sidonius (*Ep.* ix, 14, 7 *opera Suetonii = opera Caesaris*).

*b.* In another copy, though the work was recognized as Caesar's, *Ephemeris Gaii Iulii Caesaris* or *C. Iulii Caesaris* was supplied as a title by some reader of Plutarch's life of Caesar (22 ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐν ταῖς ἐφημερίσι γέγραφεν) or a similar Greek source now lost; this manuscript or a descendant of it was used by Symmachus in the year 396 (*Ep.* iv, 18, 5 *Sume ephemeridem C. Caesaris decerptam bibliotheculae meae, ut tibi muneri mitteretur*).

*c.* In the third copy, which was in the line of descent to the archetype of all existing manuscripts, *libri Gaii Iulii Caesaris* was supplied as a general title, and then *de narratione temporum belli Gallici*, or something similar, was added as a secondary title of Books i-viii; hence came the form of the title which appears in the  $\beta$  manuscripts. As the beginning of Book ix had disappeared, one of the scribes who copied from the archetype (X) or from the princeps of the  $\beta$  class, noticing that this book commenced a new subject, supplied a form of *bellum civile* as a title, divided the book into two parts, numbering these as Books i and ii of a separate work, and changing the number of Book x to iii; hence the division of the Civil War as it is found in most manuscripts.

## 7.

The variant forms of the titles of Caesar's work found in the manuscripts and in the early editions may all be explained as arising in part from the acquaintance of scribes and editors with more than one manuscript, and in part from attempts to restore the ancient title from literary sources.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

THIRTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

HELD AT ITHACA, NEW YORK, DECEMBER, 1905

ALSO OF THE SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE

Philological Association of the Pacific Coast

HELD AT THE SAME TIME IN

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA



MEMBERS IN ATTENDANCE AT THE THIRTY-SEVENTH  
ANNUAL MEETING (ITHACA, NEW YORK).

Hamilton Ford Allen, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.  
Andrew R. Anderson, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.  
Louis F. Anderson, Whitman College, Walla Walla, Wash.  
R. Arrowsmith, New York, N. Y.  
Frank Cole Babbitt, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.  
Floyd G. Ballentine, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa.  
J. W. Basore, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.  
Paul V. C. Baur, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.  
Charles E. Bennett, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.  
Clarence P. Bill, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.  
Haven D. Brackett, Clark University, Worcester, Mass.  
Demarchus C. Brown, Butler College, Irvington, Ind.  
Carleton L. Brownson, College of the City of New York, N. Y.  
Henry F. Burton, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.  
Donald Cameron, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.  
Mitchell Carroll, George Washington University, Washington, D. C.  
Jesse Benedict Carter, American School of Classical Studies, Rome, Italy.  
Earnest Cary, Cambridge, Mass.  
A. C. Chapin, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.  
George H. Chase, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.  
Charles Nelson Cole, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O.  
Arthur Stoddard Cooley, Auburndale, Mass.  
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Katharine M. Edwards, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.  
Herbert C. Elmer, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.  
Robert B. English, Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pa.  
Arthur Fairbanks, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.  
Edward Fitch, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y.  
Thomas Fitz-Hugh, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.  
Harold N. Fowler, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.  
Charles J. Goodwin, Lehigh University, So. Bethlehem, Pa.  
George D. Hadzits, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.  
Elizabeth Hazelton Haight, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.  
H. A. Hamilton, Elmira College, Elmira, N. Y.  
Albert Granger Harkness, Brown University, Providence, R. I.  
Karl P. Harrington, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.  
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Joseph William Hewitt, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.  
Gertrude Hirst, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.  
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Joseph Clark Hoppin, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.  
 George E. Howes, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.  
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 George W. Johnston, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ont.  
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 Charles D. Seely, State Normal School, Brockport, N. Y.  
 Thomas Day Seymour, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.  
 F. W. Shipley, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.  
 E. G. Sihler, New York University, New York, N. Y.  
 Herbert Weir Smyth, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.  
 J. R. S. Sterrett, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.  
 Duane Reed Stuart, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.  
 Frank B. Tarbell, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.  
 Charles H. Thurber, Boston, Mass.  
 Edward M. Tomlinson, Alfred University, Alfred, N. Y.  
 Esther Van Deman, Woman's College, Baltimore, Md.  
 La Rue Van Hook, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.  
 Alice Walton, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.  
 John C. Watson, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.  
 Charles Heald Weller, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.  
 Andrew F. West, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.  
 James R. Wheeler, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.  
 Andrew C. White, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.  
 Mary G. Williams, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.  
 Harry Langford Wilson, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.  
 Willis Patten Woodman, Jamaica Plain, Mass.  
 John Henry Wright, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

# AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

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ITHACA, NEW YORK, December 27, 1905.

The Thirty-seventh Annual Meeting was called to order at 3 P.M. in the smaller auditorium of Stimson Hall, Cornell University, by the President, Professor Herbert Weir Smyth, of Harvard University.

The Secretary of the Association reported that the *TRANSACTIONS* and *PROCEEDINGS*, Volume XXXV, had appeared in September, and offered explanations and apologies for the delay in publication.

The Secretary also read the following list of new members elected by the Executive Committee<sup>1</sup>:

- Prof. Andrew Runni Anderson, Princeton University.
- Dr. Allan P. Ball, College of the City of New York.
- Prof. David H. Bishop, University of Mississippi.
- Prof. Edwin W. Bowen, Randolph-Macon College.
- Dr. Haven D. Brackett, Clark University.
- Prof. Donald Cameron, Princeton University.
- Dr. Earnest Cary, Cambridge, Mass.
- Prof. Charles Upson Clark, Yale University.
- Dr. Harold Loomis Cleasby, Amherst College.
- Prof. Robert B. English, Washington and Jefferson College.
- Prof. Mervin C. Filler, Dickinson College.
- Prof. Roy C. Flickinger, Northwestern University.
- Prof. Harold Ripley Hastings, Princeton University.
- Prof. Joseph William Hewitt, Wesleyan University.
- Dr. Carl Newell Jackson, Harvard University.
- Miss Lucile Kohn, New York, N. Y.
- Prof. William H. Kruse, Fort Wayne, Ind.
- Prof. Winfred G. Leutner, Wittenberg College.
- Prof. Richard Clarke Manning, Kenyon College.
- Dr. Mary Bradford Peaks, Vassar College.
- Prof. Charles B. Randolph, Clark University.
- Prof. Edwin Moore Rankin, Princeton University.
- Dr. David M. Robinson, Johns Hopkins University.
- Prof. Herbert D. Simpson, Lock Haven, Pa.
- Prof. La Rue Van Hook, Princeton University.
- Prof. Harry Barnes Ward, Hamilton College.

<sup>1</sup> Including two names presented to the Executive Committee at the close of the sessions.

In accordance with the vote of the Association at the last annual meeting creating the office of Assistant Secretary (see PROCEEDINGS for 1904, p. xlvi), it was

*Voted*, to amend the Constitution of the Association as follows:

AMENDMENT I. Besides the officers named in Article II, there shall also be an Assistant Secretary, to assist the Secretary during the sessions of the Association, but not to be a member of the Executive Committee.

The Treasurer then presented a report which covered the period from July 6, 1904, to December 26, 1905, the interval between meetings being in the present case of such length that the customary report by financial years (July to July) would give no indication of the resources of the Association at the time of the meeting:—

RECEIPTS.	
Balance from 1903-1904 . . . . .	\$1088.11
Sales of Transactions . . . . .	\$128.82
Membership dues . . . . .	1696.00
Initiation fees . . . . .	80.00
Dividends Central New England and Western R. R. . . . .	9.00
Interest . . . . .	48.88
Philological Association of the Pacific Coast . . . . .	169.13
Offprints . . . . .	.33
Total receipts, July 6, 1904, to December 26, 1905 . . . . .	<u>2132.16</u>
	\$3220.27
EXPENDITURES.	
Transactions and Proceedings (Vol. XXXV) . . . . .	\$1269.30
Salary of Secretary (18 months) . . . . .	450.00
Platonic Lexicon . . . . .	195.30
Phonetic Alphabet Report . . . . .	145.15
Postage . . . . .	85.81
Printing and stationery . . . . .	97.68
Freight and express . . . . .	6.80
Incidentals (including Press Clippings) . . . . .	11.71
Total expenditures, July 6, 1904, to December 26, 1905 . . . . .	<u>\$2261.75</u>
Balance, December 26, 1905 . . . . .	958.52
	<u>\$3220.27</u>

The President appointed as a Committee to audit the Treasurer's report, Professors Sihler and Fairbanks.

The Committee on the Place of Meeting in 1906 was also appointed by the Chair as follows: Professors Rolfe, Carroll, Tarbell, James R. Wheeler.

The reading of papers was then begun.

I. Neo-Platonic Demonology in Goethe's *Faust*, by Professor Julius Goebel, of Harvard University (read by title).

It is Jamblichus' description of the various apparitions of the gods and demons that furnished Goethe the colors for his own magnificent picture of the apparition of the Earth-spirit. For although we have no account of the fact that Goethe studied Jamblichus, a mere comparison of certain passages in the latter's *de Mysteriis* with Goethe's poetic description will convince us at once of his indebtedness to this book. I compare the Latin translation of Thomas Gale adjoined to his edition of *de Mysteriis*, because it is quite improbable that Goethe could have read the rather difficult Greek of the original. (A detailed comparison of Goethe's verses with passages from Jamblichus here follows in the paper.)

But we are permitted to obtain a still closer view into Goethe's workshop by examining carefully what precedes the conjuration of the Earth-spirit. It will be remembered that Faust, disgusted with the Kerker, the Mauerloch of his study, decides to flee into the wide world, not, as Scherer and others in their hypercritical wisdom fancied, to conjure up the devil in the woods, but to get into intimate touch with nature; when, as if charmed by the magic-book before him, he opens it, sees the sign of the Makrokosmos, and the magnificent vision follows. What are the signs that have this wonderful effect on Faust's mind? The answer is given by Jamblichus, according to whom these signs are *divina synthemata*, or *divina symbola*,—Faust calls them *heilige Zeichen*,—which possess the power of producing the magic effect upon the human mind, not on account of any activity of the latter, but because of the divine influence which recognizes in these symbols its image. *Nobis enim nec opinantibus divina synthemata per se opus suum perficiunt, et deorum virtus ineffabilis, ad quam diriguntur synthemata, suas in iis ultro agnoscit imagines, non quasi a nostro intellectu excitata. Quare nec principia divina antecederent a nostro intellectu ad opus excitantur (ii. 11).* We understand now why Faust says:

Umsonst, dass trocken's Sinnen hier  
Die heiligen Zeichen dir erklärt;

and again:

War es ein Gott, der diese Zeichen schrieb?

The visions which the gods, having pity on the labors of the theurgist, graciously grant the latter are described thus: *Nam beatas visiones dum speculatur anima, aliam vitam adipiscitur, alias operationes operatur, sed et sibi nec amplius esse in hominum censu videtur; nec immerito illud quidem, saepe etenim suam exiit vitam, et beatissima deorum actione commutat (i. 12).* It is for this reason that Faust exclaims:

Bin ich ein Gott?

While this *unio deifica*, thus temporarily attained by the theurgist, is essentially the work of divine grace, it may, nevertheless, be brought about by those who understand the art of theurgy, and carefully follow its rules. Jamblichus calls the disposition of the soul in which it attains the *unio deifica* (*ἔνωσις θεουργική*) *enthusiasmus*. As this enthusiasm is essentially a state of divine illumination, the art of theurgy consists chiefly in producing this illumination. The art of doing this is called: *φωτὸς ἀγωγή* or *φωταγωγή*. One of the various means of bringing



about illumination is the moonlight. I need not call attention to the beautiful poetic use which Goethe made of this feature in our soliloquy.

The faculty of the human soul, however, through which the divine light operates or the gods speak, so to say, is the *imagination*, the *φανταστική δύναμις*. Illa (illuminatio) autem circumpositum animae aetherium et splendidum vehiculum divina luce perfundit, unde ad deorum voluntatem percitae imagines divinae eam quae est in nobis attingunt phantasiam (iii. 14).

Among the means which produce illumination, and thus affect the human imagination, we find also the course of the stars, astrology. Porro astrorum cursus vicini sunt aeternis caeli motibus, non tantum loco, sed et qualitatibus et lucis radiationibus, unde nimirum ad deorum nutum et ipsi concitantur (iii. 16).

I believe that the passages just quoted not only give the reason for Faust's words:

Erkennest dann *der Sterne Lauf*,  
Und wenn Natur dich unterweist,  
Dann geht die *Seelenkraft* (vis imaginationis) dir auf,  
Wie spricht ein Geist zum andern Geist;

but they also explain, in my opinion, the much interpreted lines:

Jetzt erst erkenn ich, was der Weise spricht:  
'Die Geisterwelt ist nicht verschlossen,  
Dein Sinn ist zu, dein Herz ist tot;  
Auf! bade, Schüler, unverdrossen  
Die irdsche Brust im Morgenrot.'

That Goethe here should have interrupted the flow of passionate poetry by quoting literally the words of some author, appears to me a thought which could have occurred only to a philologist, accustomed to interlard his papers with pleasing quotations. It is far more reasonable to suppose that Goethe, in his own poetic language, gives the contents of the teachings of some philosopher. Der Weise (philosophus) is none other but Jamblichus, and the Schüler, a *φιλοθεάμων*, or, as Gale translates: veritatis theurgicae studiosus. Dein Sinn ist zu, dein Herz ist tot, is the poetic translation of Jamblichus' words: Nostra enim natura infirma est et imbecillis et parum prospicit, cognatamque habet nullitatem et unica est ei medela erroris . . . si possit aliquam divini luminis particulam haurire. And with a poetic power, infinitely greater than that of the philosopher Jamblichus, Goethe calls this breathing and drinking of the divine light *Baden im Morgenrot*. Moreover, he may have remembered that later theurgists, influenced by the cabala, believed that the true revelation of the divine light came with the dawn of the morning. Der Aufgang hat die grössten Geheimnuss, says the *Clavicula Salamonis*, and the magic-book *Arbatel* advises: Olympicos spiritus cum evocare volueris, observa ortum Solis.

2. Filelfo in his Letters, by Professor E. G. Sihler, of New York University.

Neither Voigt or Burckhardt of Germany, nor the English scholars Symonds and Jebb have been quite fair to Filelfo, one of the foremost of the Italian

Humanists. Whatever of aureole remains about their heads in the popular estimation of the historical commonplace must vanish upon an exhaustive perusing of their own literary utterances. And few things so vigorously produce in us an overwhelming sense of the profound change in our taste and in the essentials of our own classicism, so called, as such perusal.

Filelfo, however, while his availability (due to his purer Latinity) gave him that notoriety in political manifestoes, and that standing among courtiers which he shared with Bruni, Poggio, Valla, Enea Silvio, and others, — Filelfo, I say, has certain claims on our attention which still deserve our regard. His letters fully reveal the less worthy and more evanescent traits of his class, but they also contain precious data for the history of scholarship, — of sound and genuine scholarship, I mean. Columbia University Library contains a folio of date 1489, Venice, printed but a few years after the death of Filelfo, with all the abbreviations customary in the codices themselves. From this folio were taken the data of this summary.

As to the number of books itself, the arrangement in XVI is quite significant. Both of Cicero's largest collections are so transmitted; we may smile at the artificiality of the imitation if we like, still it was a deliberate one. The first letter is of date Venice, Oct. 10, 1427, this collection extending to February, 1461. It contains roughly some 891 letters, many so brief that we marvel at their insertion, but they contained data suggestive of the tastes and concerns of that century.

## I

Autobiographical: also aims and consciousness of Humanism. 'Vix primarii ipsi cives in rebus etiam maximis plus habent auctoritatis quam ipse ego' (July 13, 1432, in Florence). 'Si lapides ipsi loqui possent, omnes in meas laudes linguas solverent' (Apr. 13, 1433); 'meque ad scribendum converti totum quo non praesentibus modo, sed etiam posteris natus fuisse videar' (Mch. 1, 1440). 'Quod vero cupis pro nostrae amicitiae munere immortalitatis nomini per nos commendari, id quoque in te est' (Mch. 15, 1447).

Having some new codices from Germany, Enea Silvio is sure to have found something 'in tota tam plenae et pulverulentae bibliothecae Germaniae, (Febr. 4, 1448). Varro, Cicero, Seneca are 'nostri,' i.e. Italians (Oct. 1, 1450). To duke's secretary at Milan: 'money! otherwise I shall make contracts with other princes!' (Nov., 1451). 'Per doctrinae praestantiam in eorum cognitionem venimus, quibus Dei reddimus simillimi' (Jan. 1, 1452). Of a victory of Sforza, to be recorded in his Sforziad, b. v., 'immortalitati sum commendaturus' (1453). 'I have determined to publish ten books of letters in this year' (May 5, 1453).

At Rome (1453, July) received from the Humanist pope, Nicholas V, 500 ducats, and had to prolong his sojourn there, that the pope might complete the perusal of Filelfo's *Satyrae*: — 'nec prius mihi restituit quam totum lecitaverit.' Was knighted by King Alfonso at Capua, on Corpus Christi day at nine A.M. (1453): also received laurel crown then. His aims in culture: 'cum ipse non poetam minus quam oratorem atque philosophum profiteri debeam' (1455).

To Calixtus III (not at all a Humanist): 'You need not be jealous any more of Greek authors: why, you can read them in Latin!' (Febr. 19, 1456). Has begun to write Greek verse also: he intimates, that thus he shall outdo both Cicero and Vergil (1458). 'Quod habemus memoratu dignum, quod a Graecis

non acceperimus'—to the Greek, Cardinal Bessarion; and while pretending that it is arrogant and foolish to *vie* with the Greeks in versification, he asks the Greek prelate whether he has any book on the quantity of (Greek) syllables (1458). His motive for entering upon the writing of Greek verse: there is actually no versification among the Byzantines now: Filelfo desires to stir up his contemporaries. Have you given my Greek poem to Argyropulos? (1458). Congratulates the Humanist pope, Pius II (Enea Silvio), on his election, August 23, 1458. Pius once was Filelfo's pupil. Him Filelfo calls 'totius sapientiae et bonitatis numen' (Oct. 17, 1458). To a prelate, the cardinal-patriarch of Aquileia, he delineates the Humanist heaven: 'si cognovit rerum a se gestarum ac summae virtutis gloriam in omnem posteritatem diffusum iri' (Febr. 22, 1460).

## II

Here we will briefly set down such data as illustrate his interests or concerns with specific classic writers both Greek and Latin; particularly also with the acquisition and the copying of codices. As for the Greeks, the chief aim of most other Italians seems to have been the accomplishment of translating the greatest possible number of Greek MSS for the learning and erudition thus obtainable. The power even to read Greek script remained so rare that Filelfo regularly resorted to Greek characters (as a cipher) whenever he wished to keep things in privacy, and the typesetters even of 1489 made sad work of many Greek words or passages in the epistles of our Humanist. I have thought it best to follow merely a chronological order.

1433: undertakes to Latinize verse in Diogenes Laertius for the Camaldulensian Traversari. 1436: he gives Beccadelli's Terence to person named. Cannot lend the Lucretius, it is not his own. 1437: translating Plutarch's 'diceria' addressed to Trajan, into Latin; a matter of orthography in Gellius: refers to all the codices in Tuscany:—'qui et emendatissimi sunt et istorum omnium ut ita dicam, parentes.' A passage in Iliad: cites scholia with notes of Aristotle, Aristarchus, Porphyry. 1439: desires his own codex of Vergil and likewise that of the commentator Servius remitted to him from Bologna. 1440 to Aurispa: You are a regular trader in codices. What have *you* for sale? I have none for sale. Quintilian's *declamations* smack of Hispanitas (in this judgment Filelfo imitates Pollio on Livy). The Horace and Cicero of Victorinus (da Feltre) I have given to the man you named. I would like to see Plato's *Laws* or *Republic*, or Xenophon's *Memorabilia*. To Cyriacus of Ancona about inscriptions. A grammar point: Priscian (in primo de octo orationis partibus). F. thanks the cardinal-bishop of Como for despatching to F. the Philo recovered from Aurispa. F. promises to translate for the cardinal the life of Moses from Philo. 1441: is anxious to get at Apollonius Dycolus and Herodian (so often mentioned in Priscian). Byzantine schoolmasters knew nothing of them. 1442: I asked you, Aurispa, for a codex of Strabo to copy; you ask for a Sextus Empiricus with the same intention. Cribellus, please return my Diodorus; you have had the codex for two years. Saxolus of Prato: You want my Pollux: Aurispa has it, the harpy! Antonius Raudensis: You have written against Lactantius. What possessed you? Imitate Augustine, *i.e.* retract. 1444: Aurispa, lend me Theophrastus *περὶ φυτόων*. I have a Greek copyist ready: do not devise an evasive reply. F. enumerates



some of his translations: two bks. of Xenophon (*Mem.* I think), *Xen. de Rep. Lacedaem.*, *Xen. Agesilaus*, Plutarch's *Lycurgus* and *Numa*. Cyriacus of Ancona: These four inss. which you brought from the Peloponnesus are very valuable. Answers him also on the question what were the doctrines of the ancient philosophers on the parts of the soul (Pythagoras, Democritus and Epicurus, Stoics, Plato, Aristotle).

1446: Boethius commended, esp. in Logic: desires to have copies made of certain sections. F. will provide a copyist. 1447: would like to borrow Commentaries on Porphyry and Aristotle's *Categoris* ('*Praedicamenta*') and *περὶ Ἐρμηνείας*, for copying.

1447: I have been compelled to borrow a codex of Lactantius from another. Why do you not return the one I loaned you? I must return it to its owner.

1448: Thomasius, 'philosopher and physician': Have sent you my Latin version of Hippocrates' *de Flatibus* and *de Passionibus Corporis*: please return when read. My Macrobius' *Saturnalia* has just been brought to Milan, a codex which I lost when I lived at Vicenza, before my journey to Constantinople (1419). To Card. Bessarion: Very sorry I cannot let you have my Iliad engrossed by Theodorus Gaza. To Guarino of Verona: My Strabo? Am sorry: it is with all my Greek codices in the care of Bernardo Giustiniani in Venice (Barbaro is using them there).

1449: begs of a physician of Milan to loan F. a codex containing Celsus, both Soranus, Democritus (*sic*) Apuleius (*sic*); would like to have a copy made. I want to read those medical authors for the scholarship which they furnish.

On Augustine and Jerome: A. had the keener penetration; Jerome the better style; J. a good Greek scholar; A. less so; J. a Hebrew scholar; A. ignorant there. 1450: consoles his former pupil Perleoni, an underpaid Humanist at Genoa, with a citation from Theocritus. To the priest Cassianus: Send me my Greek codices which Victorinus (da Feltre) has loaned you. Proclus on Plato, Timaeus, Aristotle's *Dialectica* with commentaries by Alexander and Themistius, Euripides, Libri Mathematici. You have had them too long. I want my books around me. Thomasius: Send your Ptolemy. 1451: is looking for a codex of Strabo (Febr. 15). The Greeks to-day talk as Euripides and Aristophanes did, as to enunciation: of course, with this, there is grammatical and ungrammatical speech. At Aurispa's there is such a copy of the geographer Strabo: I have so heard at Guarino's. Please return my orations of Cicero: you have had them long enough. '*De anno autem pro scaenio apud Plautum: textus ille corruptus est: Nannio enim scribi oportet*' (*v.* Plautus, *Amphitr.* prol. 91). Is looking for Arrian. Why he went to Constantinople in 1419: quo Graeca sapientia factus doctor maiori vel usui vel ornamento latinae futurus essem (note the grammar). On *ae* and *ai*. I desire Pliny's *N.H.* I hear the prince (d' Este, at Ferrara) has a copy very highly emended through the labors of Aurispa and Guarino. Have you a good copyist there?

1452: those twelve comedies of Plautus brought into Italy in the last years from Germany: F. desires copy made for himself. Owner (addressed) is said to be unwilling to trust the codex to any one. Is there any Greek copyist at Rome? I find that a copy of Cicero's *Epistolae Familiares* (so F. puts it) is for sale here, in Milan, for ten ducats. This codex is 'et pulcher et novus et satis emendate scriptus.' 1453: I want my codex containing my Latin



version of two orations of Lysias, of Aristotle's *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* (really the *τέχνη* of Anaximenes). I lent you this codex in the time of duke Visconti. I made these versions when professor at Florence. (Dec. 15, 1453: first mention by F. of fall of Constantinople.) Nobody here in Milan has a copy of Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*: I have Latinized *Numa* and *Lycurgus*. 1454: Francesco Barbaro is dead in Venice: combination of Greek and Latin scholarship (as in him) *is very rare*. Get my Greek codices from his heirs.

Now (1454 sqq.) writes many letters to the rich and great in Italy and France, bespeaking money for travelling Greeks who are collecting funds for Turkish ransom. Are there any Greek codices for sale in Turin? F. wishes to employ a domestic copyist, an expert in abbreviations (notae). 1456: To Pope Calixtus III (see p. vii *fn.*). Pity that Nicholas V failed in his desire to have a version of Homer made. That pope, after fall of Constantinople, sent his envoys through all that part of Europe and Asia to buy up Greek codices. Argyropulos is among the Greeks now collecting funds for ransom. Expects a 'librarian' from Mantua, to be employed in his house at Milan. 1458: Have not been able to find any book on Greek quantities. I need a Greek copyist. He thanks new Pope, Pius II (Humanist), for a codex of Plutarch.

1460: F. has had copied for himself Porphyrio on Horace. To his son Xenophon at Ragusa in Dalmatia: Are there any ancient monuments at Ragusa? any old inss. with name of town? Keep a lookout for Greek codices. To Alamanni at Florence: F. hears that many Greek codices have reached Florence from the shipwreck of Constantinople. Find out who has that codex of Silius Italicus, once acquired at Montepulciano from the estate of a man who was secretary to Pope Martin V († 1431): 'nam codices omnes, quotquot illo exemplari exscripti sunt, depravatos corruptosque invenio.' I desire a copy made of the Latin translation of Aesop: 'nam auctor ipse perit apud Graecos.' 1461: To his faithful correspondent, Palla Strozzi, the Florentine exile (in Padua): I hear there are for sale there: Palaiphatos *περι παλαιων ιστοριων*; Cornutus *περι αλληγοριων*; Syncellus: have copies made at my expense, or send the codices for copying. In a ferocious diatribe against his minor fellow-humanist Candido Dicembre F. cites, for quantity, Donatus, Servius, Priscian; for geography he quotes Strabo, Ptolemy, Pliny *N.H.*, Polybius. We close this abstract with Filelfo's own words which he wrote for publication (as we now would say) or at least for the public: 'Unus Filelfus audet affirmare, (vel insaniente Candido) neminem esse hac tempestate nec fuisse umquam apud Latinos, quantum constet ex omni hominum memoria, qui praeter se unum idem unus tenuerit exercueritque pariter et Graecam pariter et Latinam orationem in omni dicendi genere, et prosa et versu.'

And in spite of this fanfaronade we may well accept the judgment of his biographer Rosmini: '*la sua vasta erudizione per que' tempi maravigliosa.*'

3. The Titles of Caesar's Works, by Professor Francis W. Kelsey, of the University of Michigan. This paper appears in the TRANSACTIONS.

Remarks were made by Professor Sihler.

4. Futures in *-bo* in modern Hindu Dialects, by Professor E. Washburn Hopkins, of Yale University (read by Dr. Magoun).

It will doubtless surprise the classical scholar to learn that modern Hindu (Aryan) dialects possess futures in *-bo*. They have in fact futures in *-bo* and futures in *-am*, so that, as striking parallels to *ibo* or *dabo* and *dicam*, they show *yābo*, 'I will go,' from *yā*, 'go,' and *kaham*, 'I will speak,' from *kah*, 'speak.' I hasten to add that between the Hindu and Latin terminations there is no genetic connection.

But these forms of the Hindu verb are worth noticing. They show, when their history is traced, first, that pronominal endings occur as verbal suffixes in purely Aryan verbs, and second that precise tense-meanings may develop out of a merely adjectival verbal form. The history of terminations in Greek and Latin is doubtful; the greater value attaches to a growth which can be followed back to its beginning.

For the modern material here referred to and for the earlier middle Indic *-bo* forms I am indebted to the great thesaurus of Dr. Grierson, whose *Linguistic Survey of India* is a mine of wealth to the student of modern Hindu dialects.

The forms in *-bo* are, in a word, only the latest development of adjectival forms parallel to Greek adjectives in *-τέον* plus a pronoun-ending. As *λυτέον* compared with *λυτόν* has passed from a general meaning to one prevailing gerundive, so the Hindu adjective in *-tavyā* has passed from a general adjectival (infinitive) meaning to one prevailing gerundive. In Greek itself the *-τόν* form has also the sense of the *-τέον* form: *ἀκουστόν* is 'audible'; *πρακτόν*, what 'may be done'; *τιμητός* is a man 'to be honored,' *venerandus*. In Sanskrit, the *-tavyā* form gradually receives an almost stereotyped gerundive meaning: *han-tavyā* is not merely 'about to be killed' but 'killable.' But in the earlier Vedic use, as found in (*jādm*) *janitavyām*, the sense is merely 'to be born.' At this stage no subject is needed, but when found it is in the instrumental case. But the potential note becomes pronounced very early, and this, again, is paralleled by the closely related adjectival forms in *-tva* (*tua*). Thus *kṛtāni* are things 'done,' as opposed to *kṛtvāni*, things 'to be done,' and in *yāj jādm yāc ca jāntvam*, 'going to be born,' is simply future by implication. The notion of possibility, the potential idea, comes next, as in the Greek *στυγνός*, 'hateful,' as well as 'hated,' or Latin *invictus*, 'unconquerable' as well as 'unconquered.' So (RV.) *jayātu jētvāni*, 'conquer what can be conquered,' (RV.) *nāntvāni*, 'conquerable,' (RV.) *snāt-vam* (*udakam*), 'bathable' (water). Another Greek parallel may be found in such forms as *ἄγιος*, Sk. *yajyd*, the latter being a noun as well as an adjective. So *yūjya* is not only *iunctus*, but 'a friend,' just as *πάγιος* is 'fixed,' 'firm.' Latest of all is the moral gerundive sense, *nā brāhmaṇō hīnsitavyāḥ*, AV. v, 18. 6, 'in-violate is the priest.'

The connection with the infinitive, to which the *-tavyā* form is an adjective, makes certain the indefiniteness in meaning of the Sanskrit form. Thus *kārtavyā* is 'to be done' or 'to do' (cf. the inf. *kārtave*), and the infinitive itself is used in the same way: *prā'ndhām . . . cākṣase kṛthah*, 'ye have made the blind to see'; *yād īm ūmasi kārtave*, 'what we wish to be done.'

Now when the middle Indic dialects made their future they operated in part with this verbal adjective like *-tavya*. First they took *car* or *cal*, 'go,' for exam-

ple, and using the verbal adjective to express futurity, made, with regular phonetic change, (*calitavyam*) *calidavvam* and *caliavvam*. This in turn became *caliba*, or, in Bengali, *calib*, not by any means at first a personal future, but impersonal, for any person and number. For this reason, when a Bengali had to say 'I shall go,' he added to *calib* (*eundum*) the word *ā*, which is pronounced, and often phonetically spelled, *ō*, that is, the word 'me' in the agent-case; so that *calibo* or *yābo* is Latin, *eundum-mihi*, *ibo*, *maribo* is 'I shall strike' ('to strike by me'). Here then we have a verbal ending which in reality is nothing but a personal pronoun.

In exactly the same way, *māris* is 'he struck' and the *s*, although to all appearance a verbal termination, is in reality the final reduction of the third personal pronoun, meaning 'by him,' while the first part of *māris* is a phonetic reduction of the past passive participle, *mārita*, *mārida*, *māria*, *mārya*, *māri*. In both of these cases the impersonal form was preferred, as it is in Sanskrit. So *māry-am* is 'struck by me' in the Śaurasenī form, *am* being 'by me' (in Hindī, *mārilam māridam* has the same origin). The last stage is exemplified in Rājasthānī, where the agent-case has been supplanted by the nominative. Thus *vah uṭhio*, 'he rose' (instead of *usā*, 'risen by him'). This is a recent development, showing that all sense of the impersonal origin has been lost and the verbal has at last attained to the state of a completely inflected verbal form, the nominative pronoun replacing the agent-case. So the Hindī has *hū māio*, 'I killed,' instead of 'killed by me.'

To the adaptationist, who repudiates such synthesis as un-Aryan, such a development within comparatively recent time should furnish food for reflection. On the other hand, the genesis of a tense of precise future meaning out of the indefinite (infinitive) meaning supports the view that the direction of development of meaning is toward precision. The vague and general becomes exact and specific.

But further. Future forms may serve as subjunctives. In one group of dialects the same form in one dialect is future, in another subjunctive. But this future-subjunctive is really an indicative filled out with the copula 'be.' Thus in Rājasthānī the subjunctive differs in the first person from the indicative only in adding to the latter '(I) am.' 'I go' is indicative, 'I am go' (going) is subjunctive, as in *karū* and *karū hāi* (*hāi*, 'I am'). Both future and subjunctive are expressed by *hū mārūgō*, 'I shall (or may) beat,' *hū uṭhugō*, 'I will arise'; as in the preterite *jito ha gio* (*gio*, 'went') is literally 'I (be)came alive.' But in one dialect of this group, *hū mārūgo* serves only as future, 'I shall beat' and *hū mārū hāi*, 'I am beating,' serves as subjunctive. The usual future is made with *gō*, *hū us-tah kahugō*, 'I will speak to him.'<sup>1</sup>

In all this we are reminded of the Tibeto-Burman verb (or lack of it), where there is only a verbal noun and the future is made by adding a post-positive 'for,' in the sense of 'in order to.' In Burmese we find 'gā,' 'with,' added to a stem to serve as a future-sign, just as 'with' (*ge-*) makes a German perfect. In the Lushai dialect, 'do,' *thwa*, is added to a stem to make an imperative, suggesting that in *θt*, Sk. *idhi*, we have really 'do come,'  $\sqrt{dhā}$ . In the Hindu-Kush the

<sup>1</sup> The Sanskrit scholar will observe how the 'ablative' sense has yielded to that of the locative in *us-tah*, 'him-to.' But really location in general is expressed by *tas* even in Sanskrit. Thus *itah* is 'here,' even 'to here,' as well as 'hence,' as in Śak. *ito dattadṛṣṭiḥ* is 'with look directed hither,' 'on this side.'



deliberative subjunctive is made by adding to the indicative the interrogative *a*, which, when added to a stem in *a*, makes *ā*, just as *hanti*, indicative, becomes *hānati*, subjunctive, and *bhātrati* becomes *bhātrāti*. As another example of an ending which is a word, some dialects make the subjunctive by adding *kyah*, 'perhaps,' to the indicative; thus *kuddū* is 'I strike,' and *kuddūkyah* is 'I may strike.' The passive in Yidghah is made by adding *kshiyah* to the verbal stem, and *kshiyah* is the word for 'go.' The present as a future may be illustrated by the Bhojpuri of Palaman, which regularly uses present as future, *yāi*, 'I will go,' *kahi*, 'I will say,' instead of *yaib* (*yābo*) and *kahab* (*kaham*). This indicative is the Nāipāli future. By adding *lā*, 'gone,' to the present indicative (subjunctive) a future is produced like that of Hindusthānī (with *gā*, *dekhūgā*, 'I am going [that] I see,' that is, 'I shall see'); thus *dekhūlā* is 'I shall see' in Nāipāli, but the Bhojpuri uses the same form, *dekhilā*, as a present. Eastern Maithili has here *dekhibo* (*ō*), like Bengali *-ibā* (*ō*). And what is the 'inserted *i*' in *dekh-i-bo*? It appears also in one of the Eastern Hindī dialects (called by Dr. Grierson Surgujia), where there is "a tendency to pronounce [*i.e.* insert] a final or unaccented short *i* in the preceding syllable," best illustrated by *ka-i-r* for *kar*, *ma-i-nase* for *manise*. A 'tendency' of this sort may be enough to explain the same phenomenon at an earlier date.

Hindī is analytic, Bengali is synthetic. Thus *ghara-kā* or *ghara-mā* of Hindī becomes *gharak*, etc. So in modern Aryan we have just the conditions which would have produced 'endings.' Hindī *gharak* is a combination of two words (the *kā* is reduced from *kr̥ta* in oblique form as 'for'), the latter of which has become a mere ending, but was once a separate special word with a definite meaning. Why should we doubt that in the same way it was of old quite Aryan (as it is now) to possess analytical forms reducible to synthetic combinations? Further, as regards the subjunctive *idea*, it is plain that there is no *a priori* necessity for deriving it from a volitive through a deliberative into a prospective notion, as is now generally thought to have been its course.<sup>1</sup>

5. The Relation of Accent to Elision in Latin Verse, by Professor Albert Granger Harkness, of Brown University. This paper will be found in the TRANSACTIONS.

In the discussion Professors Bennett, Radford, H. F. Burton, Fitch, Knapp, Dr. Magoun, and the author participated.

6. Some Linguistic Principles and Questions involved in the Simplification of the Nomenclature of the Brain, by Professor Burt G. Wilder, of Cornell University; read by invitation.

<sup>1</sup> On the connection of the *-avyā* forms with the infinitive, see Brugmann, *KVG.* § 809; *Gr. Gr.*, § 583. The gerundive meaning, even after it is fully established in Sanskrit, occasionally lapses back into the infinitive-potential sense. Thus in Mbh. vii. 54. 37, *yady evam etat kartavyam mayā na syād vinā prabho*, means only "if this cannot be done without me, O Lord," ('not to do'). The Sanskrit future stem is also employed to make verbal adjectives. The oldest case is *yāni karisyā kr̥nuhi*, 'do what (things) are to be done' (*kartavyāni*) RV. i. 165. 9, according to Sāyaṇa; but this may be a false reading, as is now generally assumed. Later we find *janisya* as in Rām. vii. 24. 5. 58, *na jāto na janisyo vā*, as in the older phrase *jāto janitavyo vā*.



The object of Simplification of the Nomenclature of the Brain is to render the knowledge of the structure and functions of that most complex organ more easy to advance, to record, to teach, and to disseminate among the laity.

The leading ideas of this paper were stated in an address, "Paronymy *versus* Heteronymy as Neuronymic Principles," read by me, as President, before the American Neurological Association twenty years ago. It was published in the *Transactions* of the Association, *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, vol. XII, No. 3, July, 1885, and reprints were somewhat generally distributed among contemporary neurologists and anatomists. In some respects it would have been read more appropriately before this Association. However, several members of this Association have already directly assisted me. An early colleague, Isaac Flagg, suggested *paronymy* in 1885. A later colleague, now President Benjamin Ide Wheeler, for nearly twenty years, often at the cost of interrupting his own studies, has promptly and helpfully responded to my etymologic queries. It is therefore fitting that from Dr. Wheeler should have come the proposal that I be invited to read this paper.

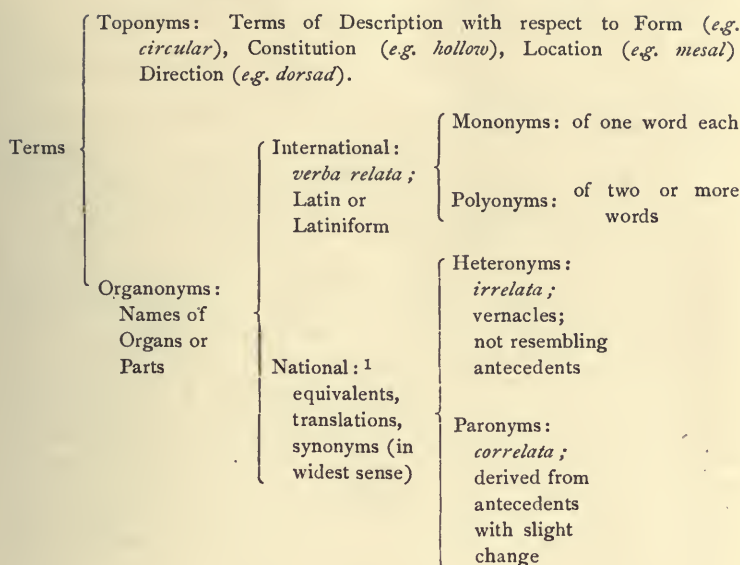
Simplification of anatomic language in general was advocated by me in 1871, and in 1880 attention was called to the special need with respect to the brain. The magnitude and difficulties of the task were not fully realized until 1884, in dealing with the neurologic portion of Foster's *Encyclopaedic Medical Dictionary*. From works and periodicals in all languages there was compiled an alphabetic list of about 10,500 names for the (at the most) 500 known parts and features of the brain.<sup>1</sup>

The need of some sort of classification of this host of terms was literally forced upon me, and there was gradually evolved a dichotomous arrangement substantially identical with the subjoined Table.

Recognition of the labors of predecessors, and acknowledgment of the coöperation of contemporaries, here and abroad, are recorded in the following papers: "Paronymy *versus* Heteronymy" (mentioned above); "Neural Terms, International and National," *Journal of Comparative Neurology*, vol. VI, pp. 216-352, Dec., 1896; "Some Misapprehensions as to the Simplified Nomenclature of Anatomy"; address, as President, before the Association of American Anatomists, Dec. 28, 1898; *Proceedings* of the Association, eleventh session, pp. 15-39; also *Science*, n.s., vol. IX, April 21, 1899, pp. 563-581. The paper last named discusses the objections and adverse criticisms that have been offered. Of these the most accessible in this country is a "Review" in *Science*, n.s., vol. VII, May 20, 1898, pp. 715-16; the printer's blunder ("chippocamp" for *hippocamp*), involving injustice to both parties concerned, was corrected by the reviewer at the end of *Science* for June 3.

<sup>1</sup> Of these more than 3000 (an average of at least six for each part) were Latin and thus ostensibly international. Many, however, were more or less completely restricted to certain countries, institutions, or writers. The Report (embodied in the B. N. A.) of the "Nomenclatur-Commission," adopted in 1895 by the Anatomische Gesellschaft, while defective in many respects and practically ignoring the previous labors of English-speaking anatomists as individuals and as committees, "buried" a large number of "dead or dying" terms; those who aim at still further improvement of neuronymy may now confine their attacks to a smaller number of names, exchanging, so to speak, the shot-gun for the rifle.

DICHOTOMOUS CLASSIFICATION OF ANATOMIC TERMS



Since 1888 I have coöperated in formulating Reports of Nomenclature Committees of the Association of the American Anatomists, the American Neurological Association, and the American Association for the Advancement of Science. In 1892, a committee of the last-named body adopted unanimously the report of a committee <sup>2</sup> (of which I was not a member) which is so clear, concise, and comprehensive that it is here reproduced with some explanatory interpolations in brackets :

a. "Terms relating to position and direction [toponyms] should be intrinsic rather than extrinsic ; that is, should refer to the organism itself rather than to the external world."

b. "So far as possible terms [of designation] should be single, designatory words [mononyms] rather than descriptive phrases."

c. "Terms derived from the names of persons [eponyms] should be avoided."

d. "Each term should have a Latin [international] form."

e. "Each term should have also a [national] form in accordance with the genius of each modern language, *e.g.*, a paronym of the [actual or constructive] original Latin form."

The Advantages of Mononyms are (1) Brevity (*caeteris paribus*) ; (2) Free-

<sup>1</sup> Of course Paronyms and Heteronyms are also either Mononyms or Polyonyms.

<sup>2</sup> The committee consisted of G. I. Goodale, chairman, J. M. Coulter, Theodore Gill, C. S. Minot, and S. H. Gage, secretary. The report was entitled "Preliminary Contribution of the American Branch of the International Committee on Biological Nomenclature of the American Association for the Advancement of Science." It gave due credit to other committees and to individuals.

dom from permutation ; (3) Less liability to diversity of abridgment and abbreviation ; (4) Capacity for simple inflection, composition and paronymization.

*Methods of obtaining Mononyms.*—1. Selection from among existing mononyms ; e.g., of *gyrus* rather than *convolutio*.

2. Adoption of words not previously used in those senses ; e.g., *porta* for *foramen interventriculare* (*Monroi*).

3. Dropping superfluous qualifiers, especially eponymic genitives ; e.g., *pons Varolii* = *pons* ; *thalamus opticus* = *thalamus*.

4. Dropping nouns of more or less general application and employing adjectives as substantives ; e.g., *corpus callosum* = *callosum* ; *dura mater* = *dura*.

5. Replacing locative adjectives by prefixes of like force ; e.g., *cornu posterius* = *postcornu*.

Some preëxisting mononyms were undesirably and needlessly long ; simile names, e.g., *trapezoides*, *olivare*, and *restiforme*, were reduced to the corresponding troponyms *trapezium*, *oliva*, and *restis*. Metaphoric diminutives were reduced to the base, since absolute size has no significance ; e.g., *vallicula* = *vallis*.

*Paronyms and Heteronyms.*—The designation of all vernacular names not resembling or related to the technic Latin terms which they translated by *heteronym*, Gr. ἑτερόνυμος, soon occurred to me. But the correlative was less easily found. The natural correlative of *heteronym* is *homonym* ; *homosynonym* also suggested itself. But the former had been used exclusively for words having different meanings, while *synonym* was restricted to equivalents in the same language. The German *Fremdwort* and its English equivalent, *loan-word*, would strictly include only such borrowed words as are wholly unchanged in the transfer ; furthermore, as words, they do not lend themselves to the formation of derivatives. When it seemed almost inevitable that a new word must be coined Professor Isaac Flagg suggested *paronym*, the base of *paronymy*, from παρόνυμος, the formation of one word from another by inflection or slight change. After it was adopted and published, another colleague, C. C. Shackford, proposed *isonym*.

*The Object of Paronymy* is to confer upon technic terms an acceptable national aspect without obscuring their essential international character. Besides the papers named above, this subject is discussed in "Some Neural Terms," *Biological Lectures*, 1896-97.

*Principal Established Methods of Anglo-paronymy.*—1. Change of pronunciation only ; e.g., *Cicero*, *thalamus*. This is also exemplified in the English pronunciation of *Paris*.

2. Slight change of the ultima ; e.g., *fibra* = *fiber*.

3. The ultima becomes a silent *e* ; e.g., *oliva* = *olive*.

4. A part of the ultima is dropped ; e.g., *chiasma* = *chiasm*.

5. The ultima is dropped from the nominative, leaving the stem ; e.g., *organum* = *organ* ; *myelon* = *myel*.

6. The ultima is dropped from the nominative, leaving less than the stem ; e.g., *programma* = *program*, not *programmat*.

7. The ultima (inflective ending) is dropped from the genitive, leaving the stem, which is longer than the nominative ; e.g., *positio* (*positionis*) = *position*.

8. Elision of the penultimate vowel and replacement of the ultima by a silent *e* ; e.g., *musculus* = *muscle*.

9. Dropping the inflected ending and replacing the antepenultimate *i* by *y*; e.g., *ovarium* = *ovary*.

10. Replacement of the ending *tia* by *ce*; e.g., *eminentia* = *eminence*.

11. Replacement of the trilateral, *rum*, by the biliteral, *er* (French *re*); e.g., *metrum* = *meter*.

12. Replacement of the diphthongs *æ* and *œ* by *e*; e.g., *cæcum* = *cecum*; *fœtus* = *fetus* (this form seems to have been used by the ancients quite as often as the other, which is apparently affected by some moderns).

13. Extreme elision and replacement; e.g., *ἐλεημοσύνη* = *eleemosyna* = *almus*, "a scanty relic of the original," constituting a paronymic curiosity.

*Limitations to Paronymy.*—Certain parts, so exposed or so vital as to have gained early and popular attention, have received in most languages vernacles or heteronyms that are brief and generally understood by other nations; such in English, are *head*, *hand*, *foot*, *heart*, and *brain*. Indeed, the use of the Latin equivalents for these impresses most persons as pedantic; *encephalon*, for example, seems altogether needless excepting as a basis for derivatives and compounds, in which latter, furthermore, it is regularly reducible to *encephal*.

A good example of the former complex condition of encephalic nomenclature and of the methods of simplification advocated by me is supplied by three extensions of the cerebral cavity and by the elevations in the floor of two of them. For the three extensions locative mononyms were found by converting *cornu anterius*, *c. posterius* and *c. medium* into *præcornu*, *postcornu*, and *medicornu*. These are likewise idionyms and enable us to dispense with synonyms and with heteronyms in various languages. As to the elevations in the *medicornu* and *postcornu*, respectively, the conditions were much less simple. Both are curved, and the fancies of the older anatomists led to the application of various troponyms.<sup>1</sup> That in the *medicornu*, the more "anterior," and (in man) the larger, was called *hippocampus major*; also *cornu Ammonis*; that in the *postcornu* (smaller in man, larger in some monkeys, and absent in most other mammals) was called *hippocampus minor*, *posthippocampus*, *eminentia digitalis*, and *calcar avis*. Each of these ental ("internal") ridges is collocated with an ectal cerebral fissure, that of the *h. major* being commonly called *dentata*, and the other *calcarina*. The first question was as to the retention of *hippocampus* for either ridge. By *ἵπποκαμπος* and *ἵπποκάμπη* the Greeks referred to some fabulous sea-monster with a head like a horse; so the French sometimes applied to the larger *cheval marin*, and the Germans, *grosses Seeferd*, even going so far as to designate a certain feature of it by *Seeferdefuss*. Like so many other heteronyms these vernacles were unacceptable and even repellent to anatomists of the opposite nationality, and neither suggests the Latin name. Few persons know the original meaning of *hippocampus*, and it is a somewhat lengthy word. Nevertheless, like some other long and more or less inappropriate names, it was apparently so fixed in anatomic literature that it seemed best to let it stand for the larger ridge. For the ridge in the *postcornu* *posthippocampus* would have been acceptable as a locative mononym; but it was undesirably long; furthermore, the collocated fissure was almost universally known as *calcarine*. So the troponym, *calcar avis*, was relieved of the useless qualifier, and became at once a mononym and an idionym. This eliminated *hippocampus minor* altogether, and warranted dropping the now

<sup>1</sup> This was suggested by Dr. B. I. Wheeler as a mononym for the phrase "metaphoric names."



needless adjective, *major*, leaving *hippocampus* likewise an idionymic, mononymic troponym. As a mononym it became subject to inflection and to conversion into an adjective, *hippocampalis*, English *hippocampal*, and this could then be applied without ambiguity to the collocated fissure. As a Latin and therefore international mononym, *hippocampus* lent itself readily to the regular methods of paronymization, and became *hippocampe* (French), *hippocampo* (Italian), *Hippokamp* (German), and *hippocamp* (English).<sup>1</sup> Each of these is, as it were, a geographic variety of the common antecedent; by its dress it is acceptable to the anatomists of that particular nationality, while yet, by its essential identity with the common antecedent, it is recognized at once by the anatomists of other nations.

*Correlated Names of Associated Parts.*—The advantages of such verbal association are obvious. The most complete example is furnished by a series that has been not inappropriately denominated a "specimen of Wilder's Volapük." A certain segment of the brain is called *Metencephalon* (Eng. *metencephal*) rather than "Myelencephalon"; its cavity, *metacelia* rather than "fossa rhomboidea"; its membranous roof, *metatela* rather than "lamina chorioidea epithelialis"; an orifice in this roof, *metaporus* rather than "apertura medialis ventriculi quarti"; and a vascular invagination, *metaplexus*. "If this be [logic or etymologic] treason, make the most of it."

Space permits the statement of only a few of the numerous questions, general and special, that have arisen in connection with my efforts at terminologic simplification.

1. Should not this and similar associations reprobate the *laissez-faire* attitude embodied in the phrase, "there is no appeal against usage," and admit the responsibility and claim the authority for guidance of the less well-informed public in desirable directions?

2. With English adjectives from Greek in *-κος* or Latin in *-icus* should not the ending be *-ic* rather than *-ical*? e.g. *chiasmatic*, *encephalic*, *myelic*, *terminologic*. I am not acquainted with any Latin adjectives in *-icalis*, the necessary antecedent; when, where, and with whom the *-al* habit commenced I know not; we say *public* rather than *publial*, and no longer say *heroical* with Thackeray, *epidemical* with St. John, or *aristocratical* and *enthusiastical* with Scott. Might not this Association set an example of titular curtailment to the other national literary and scientific bodies, and rechristen itself the American Philologic Association?

3. Does not the publication of any derivative, oblique case, or national paronym render the introducer practically responsible for the actual or potential Latin antecedent of such word in accordance with the accepted rules of derivation, inflection, and paronymy?

4. In such cases is it not incumbent upon the producer to either show the prior existence of such antecedent, or propose it as a new coinage according to etymologic precedents?

<sup>1</sup> As an Anglo-paronym *hippocamp* is strictly comparable with *angel* from *angelus*, *pericarp* from *pericarpium*, and with scores of similar cases. Yet it was adduced as an example of "Word-mutilation" ascribed to me in a Review (*Science*, n s., vol. VII, May 28, 1898, p. 716) written by an accomplished anatomist who had already collaborated upon a medical dictionary. An almost comic flavor is imparted to the criticism by the fact that the "review" itself contains more than a dozen English words differing from their Latin antecedents by the selfsame dropping of the inflected syllable.

5. Is there not, and should there not be recognized and maintained, a difference between purely literary and strictly scientific writing in respect to the employment of synonyms? *i.e.*, since, in science, specific objects and ideas are dealt with, and time is always worth saving, the reader should not be confused or his attention diverted by a variety of appellations; whereas in literature such pecilonymy may be warranted either to indicate shades of meaning or to avoid tedious repetition. The most perfect example of intentional pecilonymy known to me is the parody on "The House that Jack Built," partly reproduced (from an unrecorded source) in the article, "Anatomical Terminology" (by Prof. S. H. Gage and myself) in the *Reference Handbook of the Medical Sciences*, 1st ed., p. 529.

In urging the formulation, recognition, and application of paronymy and the other principles and methods discussed in this paper I have tried to keep constantly in mind the aphorism of Horace (*Satires*, i, 1, 106) :

Est modus in rebus; sunt certi denique fines,  
Ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.

In conclusion, I realize the fallibility of one whose training in the classics dates prior to 1860; for errors I bespeak helpful criticism; I venture to ask this Association to declare its recognition of what is involved in the linguistic side of Neuronymy, and its recommendation that individual members respond to requests for information and counsel.

On motion of Professor Sihler it was

*Voted*, that the Association accept with much pleasure the opportunity of assisting the labors of Professor Wilder in the simplification of scientific nomenclature.

7. On *Iliad* ii, 408: *αὐτόματος . . . δ' ἦλθε . . . Μενέλαος*, by Professor William E. Waters, of New York University (read by title).

Menelaus's appearance at this feast is usually supposed to be induced by sympathy for his brother; "for he knew how his brother was *toiling*." This translation, however, gives *ἐπονεῖτο* too pregnant a sense. Menelaus knew that a dinner was on, he scented it and acted accordingly, coming as a welcome guest indeed, but the parent of all subsequent *παράσιτοι*. In fact, we overlook the palpable fact that Homer handles Menelaus frequently in the *Iliad* with a sly humor. He is strong and vigorous, *ἀρηιφίλος*, shows courage and spirit as a warrior in fighting about Patroclus, but he is not so keen and bold as Ajax and Diomedes (*Il.* xvii, 18 ff.). He is mild and generous. And some of the positions in which he is put are ridiculous, as that he should fight a duel at the suggestion of his arch-enemy, Paris, that he got only the latter's helmet for his pains, and pranced about after the abduction of Paris, vainly seeking for him brought back to Helen in the sweet-scented chamber. Cf. his willingness to let Adrestos go, *Il.* vi, 37 ff.

As the same light-hearted, weak, somewhat *verspottete* (by Homer) man, Menelaus comes to the scene in *Il.* ii, 408, *ἀγαθὸς πρὸς ἀγαθοῦ ἀνδρᾶς ἐστιασόμενος*: *κοινὰ γὰρ τὰ τῶν φίλων*; cf. Bergk, *Lyr. Gr.* p. 704; Athen. i, 8a.

As to coming unbidden to a feast, two proverbs seem to have grown up, (1) *αὐτόματοι δ' ἀγαθοὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπὶ δαίτας ἴασι*, and it seems that this was the earlier,

attributed by Eustathius (*Il.* xv, 376, p. 1148) to Archilochus. Zenobius, ii, 19, in the *Paroemiographi*, attributes it to Heraclitus. The other form of the proverb, quite as early, however, runs *ἀνθρώποι δ' ἀγαθὸν δειλῶν ἐπὶ δαΐτας λαοί*. The point in Socrates's joking with Aristodemus, in the *Symposium*, is that, as Homer had changed the spirit of the proverb from reading "to the feast of the lowly the good unbidden go" so as to read "to the feast of the good the lowly unbidden go," so he will change the same to read "to the feast of the good the unbidden go." This would seem to imply that Plato took the form of the proverb with *δειλῶν* as the earlier; and that would seem to be fair, the proverb having risen in those baronial days of Hesiod when such a thing as the bursting in of Heracles upon the banquet to Ceyx was possible. The nobler sentiment *ἀγαθὸν ἀγαθῶν*, would then be the product of a gentler era, when nascent philosophy began to draw kindred souls (*ἀγαθὸν ἀγαθῶν ἐπὶ δαΐτας*) together. Cf. Jahn's Plato's *Symposium*, p. 4; Hug, *Disputatio de Græcorum proverbio, ἀνθρώποι . . . λαοί*, Turin, 1872.

Adjourned at 5.30 P.M.

JOINT SESSION WITH THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, December 27.

The Association met with the Archaeological Institute of America in Barnes Hall at 8 P.M., the President of the latter society, Professor Thomas Day Seymour, of Yale University, presiding.

After an address of welcome by President Schurman, of Cornell University, the societies were addressed by the President of the Association.

8. Aspects of Greek Conservatism, by Professor Herbert Weir Smyth, of Harvard University, President of the Association.

The predominating quality of the Hellenic mind is the capacity to create new ideas. But our approach to the individuality of that mind is largely by way of contrast to societies of men inimical to progress; and the movement of Greek thought was so rapid, the passion for change so intense, that we often overlook the forces regulative and restrictive of the creation of new ideas, forces that modify the full activity of the individual; and above all the sentiment of the past in a society that seemed always to be adventuring the unknown.

The Greeks were more individual than the Romans, but, in comparison with the modern world, their life was more controlled by the collective restrictions of a national ideal in so far as there existed a national ideal in a civilization whose individuality lay in smaller race units, each with distinctive powers, each restricting its activity to certain definite fields. Thus Greek poetry is under bonds to the language of the creators of any literary type; and, except in Sappho and Alcaeus, never shows the pure idiom of the soil. . . .

"To the restrictive influences exerted by the tribal aggregate upon literary types and upon language, there is added a further restriction that concerns the individual



alone. 'Human nature,' says Plato, 'seems to be incapable of imitating many things well.' The effectiveness of Greek literature is, in part, the result of concentration of energy upon a series of single artistic purposes. Within the province of his art the Greek of the classical age, working under the restriction of literary types, held in check the impulse to do many things well. There are indeed exceptions; mysticism and mathematics meet in Pythagoras, for the warfare between science and theology was not universally imperative. The poet does not encroach upon the field of his brother artist in prose, and Ion of Chios presents the anomaly of being alike a writer of tragedy, lyric, historical memories, and philosophy. (The sportive intermingling of prose and verse was an audacity reserved for the much later Menippus.) Aristotle tried his hand at poetry, like Schelling and Hegel. The writer of prose, as the tragic poet, may indeed turn an epigram, but the epigram was often a mere metrical trick, and patient with mediocrity.

"In general, however, the law holds good: there is no intrusion into alien fields. There were no Lessings or Laniers to unite criticism of poetry with poetry itself. The Greek dramatist was by virtue of his art a lyricist as well, and the tragic and comic drama are mutually exclusive.

"But the restrictions and conservatisms we have been considering constitute only a fraction of the whole. Greek philosophy was intolerant of immobility and of repression; yet dissent from the *letter* of the teachings of Epicurus was regarded as impiety; and that, though Epicureanism is a more genuinely Greek philosophy than its great rival Stoicism, which bears the mark of a Semitic founder. Or take the conservatism manifested in the tardy use of writing, due in part to a meticulous distrust of symbols.

"The aspects of Greek conservatism are too numerous not to show that, with all the rapidity of the advance of ideas, the masses were static. On every hand we meet with the crudest contrasts. The idealistic dreams of Plato, the subtleties of the ontology of Aristotle, coexist with the gross superstitions of the sanatorium at Epidaurus. Athens still had her state seer in the age of rationalism; still removed from her territory any inanimate object which had been the instrument of death; and for a like scruple, still forbade that an exile for involuntary homicide, and who had been accused of another murder, should be tried on the new charge except in a boat while the jury pronounced judgment from the inviolable shore. Athens still retained the archaic owl emblem on their coins when the mints of Syracuse were issuing the exquisite floating Victories that challenge our admiration to-day. In vase painting also the old forms hold ground, but are employed for purposes of embellishment and to fill out space. In language, words exercised a tyranny not less imperious than they do to-day. Not until Eratosthenes was any voice heard that reprehended the inhumanity in the traditional conception of *βάριβαρος*, which, till his time, conveyed the idea of a difference between men not merely in degree but even in kind.

"Some of these conventions are trivialities, akin to those found in every society that safeguards its past, and leave no mark upon literature. But literature itself is permeated by conventionalisms. The sententious utterance which packs into few words the collective wisdom of an age is, in its primitive form, contemporaneous with the rudest stages of thought. In the sixth century B.C., the century of antitheses, when the traditionary beliefs were first readjusting themselves to



the new speculation, the expansion of gnomic wisdom is not a retrogression to the age of Hesiod: it is part of the profounder attitude towards the inner and the outer life. But in the age of enlightenment, when the piecemeal logic of the maxim ceased to carry enough of that truth to contain the greater complexity of ethics, it still dominated literature. The Greeks were not men who appeased their souls by aphorisms nor did they reduce every phase of life to the terrors of a truism; nevertheless what had once been a brilliant moral aperçu they retained in oratory and the drama in art as a foil against obsolescent ideas, in part also as a pure conventionalism; just as much of their pessimism is mere literary veneer.

"The drama is full of external and internal conventions that in large measure determine its character. We think at once of the constant presence of the chorus on the stage which necessitates the closest interrelation of the parts; of the limitations caused by the number of the actors; of the avoidance of scenes of actual murder; of the sheer restriction of the theme which, except in the case of the parts of a trilogy following each other in immediate succession, prevented the complete portrayal of the transformation of character as it crystallized into will under the pressure of fate or of the conflict of duty and desire. The unrepresented antecedents of tragedy constitute so large a feature that the play itself resembles only the climax of a modern drama. Then, too, as Mr. Brander Matthews has shown, the dramaturgist was not independent of the actor. Hamlet was no doubt 'fat and scant of breath' because Burbage was waxing stout. Tradition expressly reports that Sophocles wrote with Tlepolemus in mind.

"Above all, invention was under bonds to tradition and to myth, which is not the same thing as tradition. But *μῦθος* was vivified by *διδασκαλία*. The framework was permanent; originality clothed the skeleton with flesh. Into this Frankenstein the poet put his own soul. Living and working in the myth, he shaped details to the exigencies of his imagination, fashioned his fixed dramatic personages to different psychological values. But the freedom of individual conception was invaded by the law of his art, which made constant the actors in the struggle of antagonistic forces.

"And because of the inevitableness of the tragic personages, the end was constant. The dramaturgist may voice the changing aspirations of each age with its deepening intellectual and moral ideals, he may subtilize the lineaments of moral physiognomy; his very range may be wider than that of the modern playwright in whom the one passion of love eats out the rest; he may attain variety by creating different aspects of the same traditionary character — yet his theme was set by religious prescription, and it moved steadily towards a foreordained end. Because that end is known in advance, the poet relies in some measure on what stands 'outside the drama,' and does not depict with the precision of Shakespeare, the march to the end; nor does he make the conclusion evolve itself with inevitable cogency from the scene he stages. Because the end is predetermined it is lame in comparison to the *peripetia*, lame in comparison with many modern dramas; though something may be said to show that all great works of literature show an ultimate subsidence of emotion. However that may be, I am concerned here with the larger aspect of the question. The fate of Greek tragic art is involved in the permanence of the same *dramatis personae*. The doers of tragic deeds remained the same because of the similarity of the legends most appropriate for tragic representation. This danger of similarity of theme is common to literature

and to painting; as Leonardo da Vinci says in his *Trattato della pittura*: 'a face, motion, or an entire figure must not be repeated in another . . . picture.' And yet all the three great Attic dramatists dealt with the story of Oedipus, Philoctetes, Ixion, Palamedes, and Telephus. The heroes of Aeschylus and Sophocles are distinguished by majesty of soul and of station; in Euripides they preserve only the trappings of their heroic estate. Bereft of their nobility through rationalization, they shrink to the stature of common men with the complex impulses of common life; but their deeds are fixed by tradition and the doers have a religious inevitableness. Orestes and Electra must still wear the guise of princely national figures; even as the heroes of the Border ballads keep on fighting, though they have been dismembered.

"No people had a more distinctly national art than did the Greeks in their tragic drama; but the very nationality of that art, because it was rooted in the past, was its undoing. It was the sentiment of the past that prevented the Greeks from utilizing the fruitful motive of Agathon's 'Flower,' the caprice of tragic art, the one drama in which all the personages and incidents were fictitious. The successors of the Tragic Three were Hellenic Levites, guardians of the heroic art, and their conservatism, enforcing a religious convention, of which it was an expression, crippled all effective progress. Dramatic invention found an outlet in the Platonic dialogue and in a realistic comedy that was under no bonds to an over-exacting past. For six centuries indeed the tragedies of the great Attic masters held the stage, but tragedy had been devitalized by its refusal to abandon a subject-matter that voiced with authority the sentiment of the past.

"Tragedy, and lyric, and the epic as well, owed much of their enduring value in the estimation of the Greeks to their expression of veneration for the past. And yet the Egyptian priest, the exponent of an immemorial antiquity, said, 'Solon, you Greeks are always children.' Goethe bade us look upon the ancients as children, and another no less sympathetic worshipper of Hellas has said that the Greeks had no past. Measured by the sense of age that has come upon the modern world, the Greeks represent to us an immortal and irrevocable adolescence. Yet to themselves the past was forever present; they lived for the reintegration, not for the disintegration of the forces consecrating their traditions; and no people has so indelibly wrought into a literature so inexhaustibly young such large collective sympathies with the past. Greece, too, had its May-flower motive, for the foundation of cities had been a theme of poets long before it became the theme of civic genealogists. The Olympic victor who had attained the summit of human felicity, as he listened to Pindar's triumphant ode, soon lost himself in his heroic counterpart; the spectator as he sat cowered against his neighbor in the Dionysiac theatre beheld, in mythic semblance of his greater self, the traditional heroes of his race move in awful majesty to their self-wrought doom. Then, too, the continuity of the past was upheld by the survival at Athens of families not superior before the law, but still retaining social prestige by reason of their place in the Olympian and heroic peerage. The petty conflicts of common life, its graver disharmonies, the impulses that incite to ambition and vengeance, the intensities of a national life which affected an over-rapid translation of thought into action,—all the aspects of the drama of life were ennobled, when, by the visualizing power of art, they were transferred to the mythical world and embodied in actors divine and of the seed of gods. The past was

the counterfeit presentiment of the present. The best-known fables may have been known only to the few, but the majority of spectators of the tragic contests were aware that the play was to deal with the ancestry of the race. With each returning spring the Athenian knew that at the Dionysiac festival he might again behold, in the full splendor and authority of the present, Agamemnon king of men, Priam bereft of so many goodly sons, Helen whose invincible beauty was the spring of desolation; yes the gods themselves, not mere wraiths, but fashioned into living forms and speaking a language worthy of their high estate.

"The vision of the poet is immediate in proportion to its imaginative quality. Yet in this fictive world of tragedy, where imagination has freest scope, and in every other form of literature, these Greeks, who were possessed by the passion for innovation, restrict the impulse to originality. In motive, scene, and phraseology the Greeks are possessed by the passion for imitation; and their literature is unique in the coextension of spontaneity with a 'commemorative instinct' that links its various forms by a chain of associative reminiscence. . . ."

Reminiscent phraseology is, at least, less the expression of an inevitable perpetuity of artistic perfection in each single detail than an illustration of that imitative character of Greek literature as a whole which is a result of the superlative advantage possessed by that literature — the priority of its masterpiece. For the best came first. It is the reverential regard for Homer that made language courtesy to its sovereign; it is again the sentiment of the past, rather than the intrinsic superiority of each particular phrase, that prompted recourse to the epic. 'Imagination was forever haunted by the types of humanity established in clear outline by Homer.' Homer was the 'captain and teacher of the charming tragic company' said Plato; and Homer had the power of continually adjusting himself to the spirit of each successive age. It was through the influence of Homer that imitation became organic and literary reminiscence inherent in Greek literature.

The address is printed in full in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, vol. XVII (1906).

## SECOND SESSION.

THURSDAY MORNING, December 28.

The Association was called to order shortly after 9.30 A.M. and resumed the reading of papers.

9. The Terms *cyma recta* and *cyma reversa*, by Professor Allan Marquand, of Princeton University.

The Greek words *κύμα* and *κυμάτιον*, as architectural terms, were presumably selected because of the frequent wave-like form of such mouldings. Greek usage, however, soon disregarded the form and used these terms to designate any form of crowning moulding. The Latin *cymatium* and the Italian *cimatío* also signified a crowning moulding, regardless of its form.

The distinction between the regular and the reverse wave moulding was first made by Alberti, *de Re Aedificatoria*, (Lib. vii, Cap. vii) and was designated *gola*



*diritta* and *gola reversa* by his successors, Vignola, Palladio and Scamozzi. This terminology had some influence on the architectural literature of northern Europe, but a more national terminology has recently prevailed in France and Germany. In England the distinction first appears as *cima recta* and *cima reversa* in Leoni's translation of Palladio (1715) and as *cyma recta* and *cyma reversa* in Stuart and Revett's *Antiquities of Athens* (1762). Whether theoretically justifiable or not, the terms *cyma recta* and *cyma reversa* have been accepted by the best English and American authorities, and there seems to be no immediate prospect of their being replaced by more specifically English terms.

See also *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. X, p. 85, and 282 ff.

10. Emendation on Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum*, vi, 30, 4, by Professor Walter Dennison, of the University of Michigan.

The disputed passage is, *Sic et ad subeundum periculum et ad vitandum multum fortuna valuit*. This is the reading of the  $\alpha$ -class. In the manuscripts of the  $\beta$ -class we find in place of *multum* the unsatisfactory variant, *tumultum*. *Multum* in this specific statement is weak and arouses suspicion of its correctness. For this reason and in conformity with Caesarian usage the reading *mortem* is suggested.

This paper appears in *Classical Philology*, vol. I, p. 290 f. It was discussed by Professors Sihler, Sanders, Radford, Knapp, Cole, and the author in reply.

11. Ancient Sinopé, by Dr. David M. Robinson, of the Johns Hopkins University.

This paper, part of a monograph on Sinopé, concerned itself with a description of Sinopé and of its environs in the light of a visit there in June, 1903, with a brief résumé of its history, and with its cults.

The southern shore of the Black Sea is like a central mounting billow of the ocean with the hollow trough on each side. The billow and the two hollows, taken together, form the entire southern shore. The outline is symmetrical, so that the crest of this colossal land wave is the middle point of the whole seven hundred miles. The summit of the crest, however, is somewhat flattened, and just at the eastern edge, before it begins to fall away, throws out in a northeasterly direction an altar-shaped promontory which is perhaps a score of miles wide across the top. The projecting easterly horn of this altar is itself a little lofty promontory, upon the low landward neck of which is built Sinopé. The Sinopean promontory, called to-day Boz-tepé, is about six hundred feet in height, with precipitous sides and a broad level fertile table-land at the top. Its outline somewhat resembles that of a boar's head, with the highest point at the snout in the extreme east. It is two miles in length from the neck out, and one mile in width. The cretaceous deposits, lying as they do over the volcanic formation, seem to say that the whole promontory was at an early period below the level of



the sea and afterwards was slowly heaved up into its present position. In the north central part of the nearly level plateau there still exists a lake, very shallow at present, but which must have been a crater. The sea dashing against the varying hardness of the trachyte, the black volcanic breccia, the red chalky scaglia, the shelly limestone and the sandstone has chiselled out a mass of sharp projections around the coast, and down at the water-line and below it has hollowed out caves and holes, the *χοιμικίδες* of Strabo xii, 545. Descending from the promontory by a gentle slope (cf. Polybius iv, 56) one finds to-day on the site of the ancient Sinope an inner town (Sinub or Sinob) marked off by two walls running across the narrow isthmus, one near the promontory, the other near the mainland. Inside these walls are the Turkish castle and the prison, where once the Sinopean acropolis stood. Outside the walls northeastward is the Greek and Christian quarter. The two walls across the isthmus have been built out of the most heterogeneous materials. In the wall nearest the mainland, on the inside, are arches indicating the remains of a Roman aqueduct, perhaps the one built by Pliny the Younger (cf. Pliny, *Ep.* x, 90, 91). This part of the wall is better built than the rest, and probably goes back to Roman date, whereas the greater portion of this same wall, as well as of the others, was constructed by the Genoese and later by the Turks.

The main factor in the making of Sinope was its double harbor, in both ancient and modern times the best on the southern shore of the Black Sea. In ancient times the southerly harbor was improved, and ruins exist of a mole which seems to be as old as Mithradates the Great, who was born at Sinope. No river flows into either harbor to silt it up, but the northerly one has been shallowed by sand deposits and is no longer usable by vessels of modern draft. It is impossible to give a clear picture of Sinope with its stoas, gymnasium, market-place, great palace of Mithradates, and temple of Serapis in their proper relative positions, since no ruins of these nor any mounded outlines are to be seen. Leaving the task of reconstructing the ancient town as impossible with the present data, this paper turned to the history of Sinope. The very briefest summary must suffice here.

The uncertain figures of Assyrians move in the morning mist of its primitive traditions. Men from Miletus found a colony there, but the Milesian dawn of Greek colonial light is quickly clouded by Cimmerian darkness, and then is rekindled. Then come the blank annals of some 180 years on whose last pages the figure of the barbarian tyrant Timosilaus becomes distinct. The Attic rescue follows and the reënforcement by the 600 new colonists of Pericles. Democratic independence displaces tyrannic subjection. Anon its colonial dependencies are disturbed and excited by Xenophon's Ten Thousand, who have forced their way from the heart of Asia to the sea and along its shore. The great cynic, Diogenes, matures the fearless powers which Athens admired, and the comic poets Diodorus, Dionysius, and Diphilus, who woke its laughter, bringing Sinopean culture to its flower. With Rhodian help its fortifications resist the engines of Mithradates II, but fall before the sudden onset of Pharnaces, his son. The power of the Pontic conquerors brings Sinope to the climax of its political strength under Mithradates the Great, whose linguistic acquirements were only second to his intense military genius, which baffled the utmost power of Rome for nearly half a century. Then comes with Lucullus the inevitable Roman yoke.

Then the intricate entanglements of the Middle Ages, and finally Turkish dominion. After speaking of Sinope's natural situation and its history, the paper closed by speaking of its cults.

Many deities were worshipped at Sinope. The literary evidence is scant, consisting of Strabo's account of an oracle of Autolykus and of what Tacitus, Plutarch, Macrobius, and Clemens of Alexandria say about Ptolemy Soter securing the image of Serapis from Sinope. But the inscriptions upon altars and upon other stones, together with the legends and figures on coins, afford a considerable bulk of testimony. By collating this we find at Sinope cults of seven gods out of the Great Twelve: Zeus, Apollo, Athena, Hermes, Ares, Poseidon, and Demeter; cults also of five of the later importations: Dionysus, Asclepius, the Dioscuri, Serapis, and Isis; still further, of four mythical heroes: Autolykus, Phlogius, Heracles, and Perseus, who in one inscription is called a Cynic because he too carries a pouch and in place of the Cynic's staff the *ἀρπη*; of four astral divinities: Helios, Selene, Aquarius, and Sirius; and lastly of six of the abstract or generalized conceptions: Nemesis, Themis, Eros, Nike, Hygieia, and Fortuna. Sinope also knew of the monotheistic trend, for an altar *θεῶ μεγάλῳ ὑψίστῳ* was found there. The cult of the Emperors, which in the provinces was so strong as a political and social unifying force, flourished in Paphlagonia, where there was, for example, a temple and cult of Augustus. A similar worship doubtless existed in Sinope. We have evidence of Christianity at Sinope in the cross upon tombstones and in inscriptions. Many of the Christians, about whom Pliny the Younger wrote in his famous letter to Trajan, must have lived in Sinope, for "the contagion of this superstition seized upon the cities," of which this was the most important.

This contribution may be found in the *American Journal of Philology*, vol. XXVII, pp. 126-153.

12. Plautine Synthesis: a Study of the Phenomena of *brevis coalescens*, by Professor Robert S. Radford, of Elmira College.

This paper will be found in the TRANSACTIONS.

13. Cicero's Villas: A Comparative Study, by Nathan Wilbur Helm, of the Phillips Exeter Academy.

This paper dealt with the following villas: the Arpinas, the Formianum, the Tusculanum, the one near Antium, the one at Astura, the Cumanum, the Puteolanum, and the Pompeianum. It discussed them from the standpoint of location, age, style, periods of occupancy by Cicero, and their relation to various events in his life, and to his various publications. As the paper was general in character, and the writer hopes to find time to enter into this subject more in detail, he refrains from making a more extensive abstract at this time.

14. The Reputed Influence of the *dies natalis* in determining the Inscription of Restored Temples, by Professor Duane Reed Stuart, of Princeton University.

This paper is printed in full in the TRANSACTIONS.

## 15. Medea's Marriage Problem, by Professor J. E. Harry, of the University of Cincinnati.

Meineke emended Eur. *Medea* 240 to read *ὅπως μάλιστα χρήσεται συνουμένη*, translating *quibus modis tractandus sit maritus*. He is followed by many editors. But *ὅπως χρήσεται* is not paralleled in Greek poetry (nor is it very frequent in prose), the normal construction being *τί χρήσεται*. Moore, in his revision of Allen's edition, retains the Ms reading (*ὄτψ*), and renders *χρήσεται συνουμένη* by *manage her husband*. But *χρήσθαι* does not mean "manage" in any period of the literature. *Medea* means simply that it is an extremely difficult question to decide who will prove the best man to live with — *χρήται καὶ συζῆ*, as Demosthenes says (1. 14). Cf. Plutarch, *Dion.* 17 *ὃ μάλιστα τῶν Ἀθηνησίων φίλων ἐχρήτο καὶ συνδιηγάτο*. The problem *τῷ δεῖ χρήσθαι* has presented itself to both sexes in all ages. Hesiod says *μάλιστα γαμείν ἦτις σέθεν ἐγγύθι ναλεῖ*. Our old dramatists are full of situations such as *Medea* says the marriageable maid must face. Cf. Marston, *Antonio and Mellida*; Shakspeare, *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (1. 2), *Merchant of Venice* (1. 2). The wife is not supposed to hold the reins (the image in "manage") — she is part of the team itself. Cf. Xen. *Oec.* 7. 18. With *Med.* 242 compare Plato, *Phaedr.* 254 A. Alcibiades defines *χρωμένων ἀνθρώπων ἀνθρώποις* (1 *Alcib.* 1250) by *κοινωνούντων*. In *Med.* 240 the last two words signify *γαμείται*. Cf. 1001 and Plato, 1 *Alcib.* 129 C. One must possess before one can use (*ἔχοντες χρώμεθ' ἄν*), must get before one can possess (*κέκτησθαι καὶ χρώ*, Xen. *Cyrop.* 8. 3. 50); but *χρήσθαι* may include or presuppose *ἔχειν* and *κέκτησθαι*. Many authors use the two verbs almost interchangeably (*ποικιλία*).

Liddell and Scott quote *χρήσθαι* from Xenophon's *Symposium* (2. 10) as meaning "manage." This is a mistake. Socrates, in reply to a question of Antisthenes how it comes that he does not train Xanthippe, explains: *κἀγὼ δὴ βουλόμενος ἀνθρώποις χρήσθαι καὶ ὁμιλεῖν, ταύτην κέκτημαι (= χρώμαι) εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι εἰ ταύτην ὑπόσω (note καθέξω, supra), ῥαδίως τοῖς γε ἄλλοις ἅπαντα ἀνθρώποις συνέσομαι*. Note particularly that when Antisthenes puts the question, he does not say *ἔχεις*, nor *κέκτησαι* (the word used later by Socrates), but *χρή*.

For the combination *μάλιστα χρήσεται* compare Lys. 19. 18 *πολλοῖς δὲ μᾶλλον ἐχρήτο ἢ τῷ ἐμῷ πατρὶ*, Isoc. 16. 25 *μάλιστα αὐτῷ χρώμενοι*, 17. 47 *ὃ μάλιστα ἐτύγχανον πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει χρώμενος*, Isae. 3. 19 *οἷς ἄν τυγχάνωμεν χρώμενοι μάλιστα*, Hyper. 1. 5 *χρήται τοῦτοις πάντων μάλιστα*.

The meaning of the verse, then, is (to quote Xen. *Oec.* 7. 11) *τίν' ἄν κοινωνῶν βέλτιστον οἴκου τε καὶ τέκνων λάβοιμεν* (cf. 953). In the general statement a special application lurks — *Medea* is thinking of herself (cf. 18, 23, 31, 35, 166, 441, 483, 502). *οἴκοθεν* means precisely what Earle says it means ("at home"), not "from one's own resources," as Liddell and Scott take it. *Medea* is a *γυνὴ εἰς Ἑλληνικὰ ἦθη ἀφικμένη*, whereas Helen is a *γυνὴ Ἑλληνίς* transported to a barbarian land: *πατριδὸς θεοὶ μ' ἀφιδρῦσαντο γῆς | εἰς βάρβαρ' ἦθη* (Eur. *Hel.* 273 f.).

But Meineke's *tractandus sit* would be *χρή χρήσασθαι*. Cf. Eur. *Fr.* 901. Wecklein conjectured *ὄτψ . . . χάρσεται*, which contains as naive an inquiry for a maiden as Meineke's *ὅπως χρήσεται* (see Ar. *Eq.* 517). *Conjecturarum plena sunt omnia*. But we may say, with Porson, *nulla opus est mutatione*. *Medea*



means: *τίνα γάμον εἶμι; [ποιός] τις πόσις με δέξεται | νυμφικὰς ἐς εὐνάς; (El. 1199 f.).*

Remarks upon the paper were made by Professors Smyth and Knapp, and the author.

16. Comparisons and Illustrations in the *τὰ πρὸς ἑαυτόν* of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, by Professor Curtis C. Bushnell, of Syracuse University (read by Professor Kellogg, of Princeton University).

These comparisons are variously introduced by some one of twenty-two different words or combinations of words, used singly like *ὡς . . .*, *ὡς ἂν . . .*, *ὡσαυτεῖ . . .* etc., or correlatively like *ὡσπερ . . . οὕτω . . .*, etc. Special cases are comparison by repetition, as 4. 2, and by *μῆλλον . . . ἢ . . .* following a question, as 6. 35. In 4. 15 the point of comparison is merely implied.

Words used metaphorically constitute a majority of the cases.

In all 277 comparisons were found which were classified according to subject-matter as:

Of Elemental Nature, 51 cases, 18% of all;
Of Vegetable Life, 22 cases, or 8%;
Of Animal Life, 16 cases, or 6%;
Of Human Life, 166 cases, 60%;
Geometrical, 8 cases, 3%;
Unclassified, 14 cases, 5%.

Of the cases assigned to Elemental Nature "calm weather" is three times used of serenity of spirit, "extinguishing" nine times of the cessation of some activity or life itself, "flowing" ten times of change or of Deity as source, the "calm flow" four times of serene existence, the "fountain-head" seven times, especially of Deity as source, the "river," the "shifting sand," the "wave," the "torrent," each once of change, the "promontory" once of stability of soul.

Of the group belonging to Vegetable Life "fruit" is three times used to symbolize the acceptable, three times to symbolize production. "Leaves" as they form and fall are, with a reference to Homer, compared with the succession of generations. The operations of plant life are six times taken as symbolic of what is natural, "reaping" twice of death, the severed branch once of him who cuts himself off from society (cf. "abiding in the vine," *Jn.* 15. 4 ff.).

The illustrations from Animal Life are used especially of what is natural or of what is of small importance.

Of the illustrations which concern Human Life six only are religious, but these are especially striking, as: "A man committed to virtue is indeed a priest and minister of the gods" (cf. "priests unto God," *Rev.* 1. 6). "He who feels discontent at anything is like a sacrificial pig that kicks and squeals." "Many grains of frankincense on the same altar. One drops sooner, another later; it makes no difference."

Eight cases are medical or pathological, seven physiological, ten athletic or gladiatorial. "The good man must head straight for the goal, casting not a glance



behind," "must run the short way" (cf. "running the race" of 1 *Cor.* 9. 24, 26; *Heb.* 12. 1); and the ἀγωνισαί of 6. 30 reminds us of 1 *Tim.* 6. 12 and 2 *Tim.* 4. 7.

Of the fifteen cases belonging to the spectacular group eight compare the nature controlled by its desires to a puppet controlled by strings. Life is four times compared to a play (cf. "All the world's a stage" and *Cic. de Sen.* 5, 64, 70, 85).

Twelve comparisons are military, and in seven of these the "good soldier" is symbolic of loyalty to right.

The weaver's art is ten times used in illustration, but only of the "web" of creation and circumstance, reminding us of the weaving of the Erdgeist in *Faust*. The world is seven times compared to a "city."

Thirty-three cases are of arrival, departure, or travel. Death is called "departure" twelve times, life a "journey" three times, death the "journey's end" once. A course of action is twelve times called a "path." Three comparisons concern the "stranger."

Six are of child-life, always on its unattractive side. Three are of the "view from above," three of "sleep and dreams," seven of "imprisonment."

The Geometrical group especially enforce the teaching of the insignificance of human things. Four cases are of the "angle," four of the "point."

Of exceptional beauty are:

4. 33. "I am in harmony with all that is a part of thy harmony, great Universe. For me nothing is early and nothing late, that is in season for thee. All is fruit for me, which thy seasons bear, O Nature! from thee, in thee, and unto thee are all things. 'Dear City of Cecrops!' saith the poet: and wilt not thou say, 'Dear City of God'?"

4. 48. "Serenely greet the journey's end, as an olive falls when it is ripe, blessing the branch that bare it and giving thanks to the tree that gave it life."

4. 49. "Be like the headland, on which the billows dash themselves continually; but it stands fast till about its base the boiling breakers are lulled to rest."

6. 15. "In this river of existence how can one prize much any of the things that race by, on none of which one can take firm stand? It were like setting one's love on some sparrow that flits past and in an instant is out of sight."

8. 51. "Say men kill you, quarter you, pursue you with execrations: what has that to do with your understanding remaining pure, lucid, temperate, just? It is as though a man stood beside some sweet, transparent fountain, abusing it, and it ceased not to well forth draughts of pure water; nay, though he cast in mud and filth, it will speedily disperse them and wash them forth and take no stain." (Rendall's translation.)

Very extended are 6. 20; 8. 34; 11. 8, 20.

Several comparisons follow in immediate succession in 2. 17; 4. 28, 29; 5. 6; 7. 3; 9. 39; 12. 36 (cf. the Homeric multiplication of comparisons at supreme moments, as *Il.* 2. 455 ff.; 15. 603 ff.). Sometimes the comparisons are extended in the Homeric manner, as 4. 1, 43.

The repetition of a word in making his point is a favorite device of our author, as 4. 3, 29; 9. 2.

His favorite subjects for illustration are change, the insignificance of human things, the absence of evil from nature, contentment, discontent, and the unnaturalness of the unsocial disposition.

17. On the Personality of Pausanias the Periegete, by Professor E. G. Sihler, of New York University (read by title).

Was Pausanias a mere transcriber? In 1877, Wilamowitz, with the iconoclastic itch of his earlier manhood so stated (*Hermes* XII). His asseverations were sweeping and made with a defiance which is often found associated with precocious cleverness. Each temperament has its own pathology. Dissentients, actual or potential, were assigned to the limbo of blockheads. More than cocksure was W., particularly of the section in Pausanias dealing with the Acropolis, a mere transcription from Polemon, the writer of an *Atthis*. That nothing on the Acropolis of which P. chose to take notice is later than Polemon, may or may not be so. Pausanias was under no contract with posterity to bring his data down to his own time. His chief exception was Hadrian, the munificent Philhellene and leader in the Renaissance movement which swept through a great part of the second century A.D., and of which P. himself was a part, no less than, *e.g.*, Pollux the lexicographer, or even Lucian, who poured real genius into *his* reprints of literary forms. P., as Frazer properly points out, was dominated in the main by an antiquarian and religious interest. Lucian, Frazer urges (p. xxxiii), "perhaps the most refined critic of art in antiquity mentions no artist of later date than the fourth century."—To proceed: Christ of Munich (in his *Gr. Lit. G.* 3d ed. p. 694, n. 3) cites Wilamowitz even now quite fully, is clearly more impressed with W. than with the sane and searching treatment of Frazer. But while we freely admit that every single pair of eyes, that every separate brain, have their limitations, an unprejudiced and accurate perusal of P. in his entirety does leave the impression that we have to do with a genuine traveller—and that Wilamowitz's inferences are imaginary.

Professor Christ has something to say for himself also: "wenn er aus der früheren Zeit auch vieles Unbedeutende und Mittelmässige erwähnt, aus der späteren Zeit aber selbst das kolossale Monument des Agrippa am Aufgange zur Acropolis in Athen mit Stillschweigen übergeht, so *muss* (sic) das mit den Schriftquellen unseres Autors zusammenhängen, die eben nur bis zu jener Grenzscheide ergiebig flossen." We see Professor Christ advances the little auxiliary *muss* as that academic convenience which serves so handily when the scattered and fragmentary data of tradition afford us no sunlight, or at best but gloom or gray dusk, or some kind of *chiaroscuro*.

The narrow limits of this syllabus permit but a few additions of my own.

1. Is it thinkable that Pausanias should have resorted to *books* in describing the most familiar and frequented spot in the entire Hellenic world,—a spot infinitely more accessible than Delphi or Olympia, as it lay on the very highway of the great East and West movement of the Mediterranean world? Is it conceivable that P. should have proceeded like a young student in a philological seminar tempted by indolence? I think not.

2. The Herodotean manner of P. is by no means childish, in *his* age. Even in the Halicarnassian, the latter's Ionism was a concession to time and actual current forms of prose. In the Renaissance writer P. in his turn we have not merely Herodotean phrase and syntax too, but we have the free use of episode, we have *αὐτοψία*, and also the local sources of information: as in i. 41, 2 *ἐντεῦθεν ὁ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἡμῶν ἐξηγητῆς ἦρχετο*. In i. 42, 4 he ignores the *ἐξηγηταί* of Megara,

or leaves them to *their* statements, but proposes to use his own judgment. The *ἐξηγηται* of Megara did not understand from what tree a certain wood was (ii. 9, 7): i.e. *not even they*. The *ἐξηγηται* agree as to the source of name of a little town *then* in ruins, Andania of Arcadia (clearly they often disagreed) iv. 33, C; *ὁ δὲ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων Παρπεῶσιν ἐξηγητῆς*, vii. 6, 4; P. could not get information about the source of the name of Artemis *Λυκεία*, ii. 31, 6; to this I now add Porphyrio on Hor. *Epist.* ii. 1, 230; *auditus habeat*: enarratores atque indices: aeditui enim templorum ac numinum quibus inserviunt sacra et originem *advenis et ignorantibus narrant*.

3. Only the actual traveller it is who everywhere notes what is in ruins or decay. There are still ruins of the Agora of Salamis, i. 35, 3; the temple of Zeus Konios has no roof, i. 40, 6. At Sikyon any one can see for himself that the ceiling of the temple of Artemis of the Marshes has fallen in, but what became of the *agalma* 'they are unable to say,' ii. 7, 6. On the market-place (at Corinth) is the sanctuary of Apollon Lykios, but—*κατεββυηκὸς ἦδη καὶ ἤκιστα θεῶς ἄξιον*, ii. 9, 7. Many more of such groups of data, overwhelmingly demonstrating *αὐτοψία* could be adduced. But my space is at its end.

18. A Reëxamination of the Inscription of Artaxerxes II, on the Mouldings of Columns from Ecbatana, by Professor H. C. Tolman, of Vanderbilt University (read by title).

\* The fragments of the moulding of the columns are of black diorite, with incised Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian characters,—about one-half an inch in length. The inscription was first published by Evetts in *ZA*, Bd. 5, pp. 413 ff. At least half of the Persian cuneiform text is wanting, but the oft-recurring phraseology of the Achaemenidan kings makes the supplement very plausible.

My copy of the original gives *Dārayavaśahyā* in lines two and four. I feel inclined, however, to regard this anomalous form as a false reading for *Dārayava(u)śahyā* on the authority of the Susa inscriptions of the same monarch (*Dārayavaśahyā*, *Art. Sus.* a, 1, 2, 3 [bis]).

The regular *Xšayārśahyā* instead of *Xšayārcahyā* (*Art. Sus.* a, 2 [bis]) must be read in line three. That the correct spelling appears here as in the inscriptions of Xerxes at Persepolis, Elvend, and Van (*Xerx. Pers.* a, 4, 6, 11, 17; b, 7, 12, 22; ca, 4, 6, 10; cb, 6, 9, 16; da, 5, 8, 15; db, 7, 12, 22; ea [eb] 1; Elvend, 8, 12; Van, 9, 16; Vase Insc. 1), is shown by the unmistakable occurrence of *śahyā* at the beginning of line four.

The broken part of line five may have referred to the structure as being the joint work of several kings, as in the Susa inscription, *imam apadāna Dārayavaś apanyākama akunā* — *Arta[xšaθrā nyākama]*.

As a supplement to line six (*hacā gastā*, W and B) I should borrow the recurring *utāmayi xšaθram* of the Persepolitan inscriptions of Xerxes (*Xerx. Pers.* a, 15; b, 29).

The *locus desperatissimus* of the inscription is the concluding words. My copy clearly shows *akunā mā* with the oblique wedge of word division before *mā*. The form as written is the climax of the unintelligible even in the chaotic state of the language evinced by these late inscriptions. It certainly seems to be a stone-cutter's blunder. I should propose, with some hesitation, the reading *akunaumā*,



which, perhaps, is a not too violent epigraphical emendation, involving the joining at right angles of the first perpendicular wedge with the horizontal above in the cuneiform sign for ā and the raising of the oblique word-divider to a horizontal position above the two remaining perpendicular strokes. Such a form would restore to us the first person plural of the Nu class, built, however, against the rule on the strong stem, as illustrated by akunava<sup>2</sup>, akunavatā. The Old Persian akumā (for Ir. akṛ-mā) is, of course, outside this class. The same form I should supply in the lacuna of line five, where I spoke of a possible reference to the combined work of Achaemenidan kings.

The entire inscription might have read as follows :

1) 𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎡𐎴 XŠ vazraka XŠ [XŠyānām XŠ DAHyunām XŠ ah]yāyā<sup>2)</sup>  
 BUMIyā Dārayava(u)šahyā XŠhy[ā puθ<sup>r</sup>a Dārayava(u)šahyā Artaxšaθra]hyā<sup>3)</sup>  
 XŠhyā puθ<sup>r</sup>a Artaxšaθrahyā X[šayāršahyā XŠhyā puθ<sup>r</sup>a Xšayār]šahyā Dārayava-<sup>4)</sup>  
 (u)šahyā XŠhyā pu[θ<sup>r</sup>a Dārayava(u)šahyā Vištāspahyā puθ<sup>r</sup>a] Haxāmanišiya  
 imam apadāna vaš[nā Auramazdāhā Anah(i)tahyā utā M(i)trahyā akunaumā<sup>5)</sup>  
 m]ām Auramazdā Anah(i)ta utā M(i)tra mā[m pātuv utāmai xšaθ<sup>r</sup>am u]tā<sup>6)</sup>  
 imam tya akunaumā.<sup>7)</sup>

Says Artaxerxes the great king, king of kings, king of countries, king of this earth, son of Darius the king. Darius was the son of Artaxerxes the king. Artaxerxes was the son of Xerxes the king. Xerxes was the son of Darius the king. Darius was the son of Hystaspes. I am of the race of the Achaemenidae. This throne room by the grace of Ahura Mazda, Anahita, and Mitra we have made.

Let Ahura Mazda, Anahita, and Mitra protect me and my kingdom, and this which we have done.

### 19. Some Popular Errors in Time Relations (mechanically demonstrated), by Dr. Herbert W. Magoun, of Cambridge, Mass.

This paper cannot be successfully reproduced, since it consisted largely of illustrations made with an automatic melodista, or orguINETTE, an instrument so constructed that the time used in any selection rendered by it can be accurately determined. Versions of "Sweet Hour of Prayer" in 4/4 and 6/8 time, with and without "holds," were tried. The form used in practice was shown to be in plain 4/4 time, although the hymn itself is written in 6/8 time with "holds." The written form, if followed accurately, produces a medley of ten 6/8 bars and six 4/4 bars (shorter version). As usually sung, the hymn contains either sixteen or twenty 4/4 bars. If the "holds" are observed, the result is a medley of ten 4/4 bars and six 6/4 ones, or of thirteen 4/4 bars and seven 6/4 ones. Pure 6/8 time of this sort (trochaic) is so jig-like in character that singers instinctively change to a 4/4 variation in the rendering of such hymns, even when they suppose that they are using 6/8 time. Their subconscious sense of the fitness of things causes them to make the change unconsciously. To this fact, combined with the 4/4 (hold) bars, the usual rendering is due.

Bethany ("Nearer, My God, to Thee") was given in 6/4, 6/8, and 4/4 time. The last is the favorite rendering, no matter what the score is, and it has



now been recognized in the *Century Hymn Book*. The measures are largely of a cretic and antibacchiac nature. The 6/8 form is a dance movement and is sometimes so used. Most persons instinctively render the hymn in 4/4 time in singing.

Dorrnance ("Jesus calls Us, o'er the Tumult") was also given, in various ways: in 4/2, as it is often sung; in 3/2, with one "hold," as it is usually written; in 4/4, as it is occasionally sung; and in 3/4, as it is sometimes written. In the last case the "hold" was purposely omitted, to show the natural hilarity of pure ionics, a form used by the Greeks for their drinking songs. Here again the subconscious sense of most singers causes a change from the written form (triple measures) to the more sober movement of the corresponding 4/2 (4/4) rhythm. The ancients understood this matter of fitness in rhythms in a way which puts modern scholars to the blush.

The application of this paper can be found in the second ("Can Ancient and Modern Views of the Minor Sapphic and Other Logaoedic Forms be Reconciled?" p. xlix ff.), where the 3/8 analyses of logaoedic forms are briefly considered. The error—and error it surely is—in the 3/8 analyses of these forms, shows the reverse side of the picture; for these analyses rest on a similar misconception of time relations.

Adjourned at 12.50 P.M.

JOINT SESSION WITH THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE AND THE  
AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, December 28.

The Association met with the other societies at 3 P.M. in the larger auditorium of Stimson Hall, Professor Herbert Weir Smyth of Harvard University presiding. A brief address was delivered by the Hon. Andrew D. White, ex-President of Cornell University, late Ambassador to Germany. The Philological Association was represented at this session by the following papers:

20. Abstract Deities in Early Roman Religion, by Professor Jesse Benedict Carter, of Princeton University.

Roman religion exercised a radical influence over the course of Roman history; hence an understanding of it is essential to an appreciation of Roman civilization. The rise of abstract deities in Rome presents a good illustration of the truth of this statement.

Eliminating abstracts born under the empire and those for whom we have no testimony that they were actually the recipients of a cult, those which remain are about eighteen in number: Concordia, Felicitas, Fides, Fortuna, Honos, Juventas, Libertas, Mens, Ops, Pallor, Pavor, Pietas, Pudicitia, Salus, Spes, Valetudo, Victoria, Virtus.

Of these Pallor and Pavor fall out as fanciful additions of Livy; Mens and

Valetudo as Greek importations; Concordia goes back only to B.C. 367; Spes only to the second Punic War; Pudicitia, Felicitas, and Pietas not beyond the second century B.C.

There remain therefore only: Fides, Fortuna, Honos, Juventas, Libertas, Ops Salus, Victoria, Virtus.

The origin of all these nine deities can be explained in one of two ways: either they were associated with some other deity as kindred powers: *e.g.*, Honos and Virtus with Mars; Ops with Consus (cf. Ops Consivia); Salus with Semo Sancus = Dius Fidius (cf. Salus Semonia); Juventas with Juppiter; or they were originally the cognomina of a deity after breaking off from the deity and becoming independent goddesses: *e.g.*, Fides from Juppiter Fidius; Libertas from Juppiter Liber Libertas; Victoria from Juppiter Victor; and lastly Fortuna, whose origin is probably to be explained in this way though the exact cognomen and the deity are both uncertain. It is possible that these two ways may be reduced to one by considering the first merely as an advanced stage of the second.

In any case the process is extremely characteristic of the Roman temperament as distinguished from the Greek.

When the Greek created abstracts, he raised himself into their world and played with them in the abstract sphere — this is philosophy. The Roman, however, when he had made his abstraction felt instantly the need of giving it a concrete application — this is not philosophy, but jurisprudence, the application of the abstract principle to the specific case. Hence, here as so often in Roman religion, what seems to be the domination of law over religion is nothing but the natural working of the Roman mind, and proves not the corruption, but the genuineness of its religion.

## 21. On the Date of Notitia and Curiosum, by Professor Elmer Truesdell Merrill, of Trinity College.

The paper, which will be published in full in the second number of *Classical Philology*, reviewed the position of previous writers on the date of the two Regionaries, and subjected the evidence to a fresh examination, reaching the conclusion that the utmost that can be logically deduced on the subject is that Notitia and Curiosum had a common origin in a statistical document that assumed, probably in 314 A.D. (at most within a year of that date in either direction), the form from which, before 334 A.D., or at most very soon thereafter, a copy was made, which was later interpolated from a gradual accumulation of glosses, one of which can be ascribed to the year 334, or to a time very soon thereafter. Whether all these glosses were accumulated in a single Ms generation, or not, cannot now be determined; but at most probably only a few Ms generations separate the Constantinian 'source' from our 'Notitia' of the lost (but copied) Speyer Ms of the eighth or ninth century.

Another copy of the Constantinian 'source' was made before, or very soon after, 357 A.D., and this, with the gradual accumulation of a few desultory glosses (one of which can be assigned to the aforesaid date, or to a time but a very little later) was the ancestor, not many generations removed, of our 'Curiosum' of the eighth century.

It is of course conceivable that the archetype of either Notitia or Curiosum

may have been, not a copy of the Ms of 314 A.D., but that Ms itself; but in this case the copy which served as the archetype of the sister document must have been made before the process of interpolation had fairly begun.

### THIRD SESSION.

FRIDAY MORNING, December 29.

The Association was called to order at 9.40, and the reading of papers at once began.

22. A Discussion of Cicero, *de Officiis*, i. 7, 8, by Professor Charles Knapp, of Columbia University.

Recent editors and critics have (a) assumed a lacuna after *disputetur* in § 7 or (b) they have bracketed one or more sentences in § 8 or (c) they have done both.

As the first step to a right understanding of the passage the author suggested that chapter iii and section 7 should be made to begin at the same place (*placet igitur*) and that the passage should be printed continuously from this point (*i.e.* without hint of a lacuna after *disputetur*); much is gained thereby for the interpretation of the whole. In defence of his suggestion concerning the point at which the beginning of chapter iii should be marked it was pointed out that the section and chapter marking in the *de Officiis* (as in other works of Cicero) is very often faulty; the results of an examination of the entire *de Officiis* from this point of view, with suggestions for a new marking of paragraphs, sections, and chapters at many points, were appended to the paper.

Up to *placet igitur*, § 7, the movement of the book has been most orderly. In § 7 the formal discussion of *officia* begins. Cicero declares that such discussion ought to begin with a definition. Yet direct unmistakable definition of *officium* does not at once follow. Why? Because just as he was about to begin his definition a new thought pressed upon his mind, the thought that before he could properly define *officium* he must indicate his point of view concerning duty, *i.e.* he must make it plain that he intended to view it from the practical side only. In *Omnis . . . quaestio*, then, he declares that investigations may take one of two courses; we might paraphrase by *Duo omnino genera quaestionum sunt de officio. Unum genus . . . possit* appropriately follows, for here Cicero declares that one of these two courses is theoretical, the other practical. In *Superioris generis*, etc., Cicero sets out to give illustrations of these *duo genera quaestionum*. *Superioris . . . eiusdem* is expressed with absolute precision. Had Cicero taken the trouble to write, after *disputetur*, *Primum animadvertendum est duo genera quaestionum de officio esse*, the lacuna theory had never been broached.

At this point the confusion enters. For the confusion the words *omniane officia perfecta sint* are directly responsible, for the introduction of those words led Cicero to confuse with the one line of thought to which he was really trying to give expression, that of the *two modes of investigating duty*, another thought, present from the first in his mind, in itself wholly appropriate to the discussion as a whole, but not yet in order at this point, the thought, in a word, of the *two kinds of duty*, the *perfecta officia* and the *officia media*. He has actually con-

trasted theoretical inquiries concerning duty (*superioris . . . eiusdem*) with that class of duties (practical duties we may call them) which in § 8 he characterizes as *officia media*. Apparently, however, he had contrasted two classes of duties: we have a verbal antithesis between *officia perfecta* (in the clause *omniane officia perfecta sint*) and *quorum . . . officiorum praecepta traduntur*. (This line of reasoning proves the correctness of *quorum* and the futility of Heine's 'correction' to *quae*).

Having once introduced this confusion of thought, Cicero persists in it; he goes on to the end of § 7 talking about his second thought, the two classes of duties. If all this is sound, *Atque . . . officii* at the beginning of § 8 cannot be rejected. The fact that Cicero had not already made a classification of duties has nothing to do with the case; from *omniane officia* on he believed that he had in fact already classified *officia*. *Nam et . . . perfectum* follows properly after *Atque . . . officii*. This reasoning explains also why in § 8 Cicero deals with the *officium perfectum* as well as with the *officium medium*, though it is with the latter only that he is to be concerned throughout his work.

We may now rewrite our passage thus: *Placet igitur . . . disputetur. Duo questionum genera sunt de officio* (or, *Primum animadvertendum est duo genera de officio questionum esse*). *Unum genus est . . . possit. Superioris . . . eiusdem. Posterius autem genus, quod, ut dixi, in praeceptis positum est quae de officiis traduntur, quamquam pertinet ad finem bonorum, tamen minus id apparet, quia magis ad institutionem vitae communis spectare videtur; huius generis exempla his libris explicabuntur. Officia autem ipsa in duo genera dividuntur. Nam et medium . . . reddi possit. Sed de mediis tantum officiis mihi his in libris disserendum est.*

In this rewriting we have preserved nearly all of Cicero's words. Section 7 declares that duty may be considered from either of two standpoints and pledges the writer to take the practical view. Then in § 8 a classification of duties and a definition of each of the two kinds properly follow.

The author then considered in detail the objections which had been urged against the passage. This discussion took him somewhat far afield, since it involved a consideration of the varying senses in which Cicero uses the phrase *media officia* and a collection of passages in which there is in the *de Officiis* loose or even mistaken writing and a collection of passages in which Cicero discusses the same topic without referring back to his previous discussions of the same theme (critics have urged that our passage is not Ciceronian because it is so loosely written; they have argued that § 8 at least did not stand in Cicero's copy, because in iii. 14 ff., where he defines *officia*, he does not refer back to this discussion).

The author summed up by holding that from two points of view, a consideration of the passage *per se* and a refutation of the objections urged against it, he had proved the genuineness of the passage. Spite of some confusion of thought we have here an entity; the exact point at which the confusion of thought enters is clearly discernible, as are also the mental processes by which the passage assumed its present form. The promised definition of *officium* does come.

The Auditing Committee reported that it had examined the Treasurer's accounts and found them correct.



23. The Galliambic Rhythm, by Professor Thomas Fitz-Hugh, of the University of Virginia.

Hephaestion (Gaisford, i. 72) refers to the catalectic ionic a minori tetrameter as τῶν ἐν τῷ μέτρῳ μεγεθῶν τὸ ἐπισημώτατον, and quotes from Phrynichos the tragic poet two pure ionics,

Τὸ γε μὴν ξείνια δοῦσαις, λόγος ὡσπερ λέγεται,  
ὀλέσαι κάποτεμειν ὀξεί' χαλκῷ κεφαλάν,

and a third from Phrynichos, the comic poet, who lived some hundred years later,

\* Α δ' ἀνάγκα 'σθ' ἱερεῦσιν καθαρεῦεν φράσμεν.

The history of the ionic a minori forms shows that variation from the regular foot ∪ ∪ — — was but sparingly and sporadically indulged in. The only radical modification to which the verse was subjected came through the influence of the Anakreonteion, ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — —, and resulted in the latest and most beautiful ionic variety, the galliambic.

Hephaestion (i. 73) speaks of the poems in this rhythm as those, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὰ τοὺς τρίτους παίωνας ἔχοντα καὶ τὸν παλιμβάκκειον καὶ τὰς τροχαϊκὰς ἀδιαφόρως παραλαμβάνουσι πρὸς τὰ καθαρὰ, ὡς καὶ τὰ πολυθρόλλητα ταῦτα παραδείγματα δηλοῖ,

Γαλλαι μητρὸς ὀρείης φιλόθυρσοι δρομάδες,  
αἷς ἔντεα παταγεῖται καὶ χάλκεα κρόταλα.

It seems clear that Hephaestion regards the first line as τὰ καθαρὰ, and the second

— — ∪ | ∪ ∪ ∪ — — | — — ∪ | ∪ ∪ ∪ —

as illustrating τὰ τὸν παλιμβάκκειον καὶ τὰς τροχαϊκὰς ἔχοντα: in other words, to Hephaestion these galliambic poems exhibited two sorts of verses, pure ionic tetrameters and tetrameters containing third paeons (or the equivalent palimbacchium) and trochaic dipodies (ἐπτάσημοι, — ∪ — —).

The scholiast (Hephaestion, i. 73, 1) disregarding the second line examines the first in detail and pronounces it pure; coming to the second, he dismisses it with a word as like the first: "Ἴσως δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐξῆς ὁ λόγος. Here is a difference of opinion: Hephaestion considers the second line as a typical galliambic of the anaklastic form, the scholiast as a pure ionic resolved. The history of the ionic rhythms in general and of the galliambic in particular must decide between them. Resolutions of so sweeping a kind seem highly improbable for an ionic rhythm, except through the mediation of the ditrochaeus, which through the influence of Anakreon's ἀνακλώμενον came to be a constant feature of ionic rhythms. The history of these forms would indicate that such resolutions presuppose a ditrochaic basis and hence the anaklastic beat in all galliambic connections, and thus vindicates the characterization of Hephaestion. At the same time, it is not in lyric usage that the origin of these typical galliambic resolutions is to be sought, but rather in the freedom of dramatic motives. G. Hermann (*Elem. Doctr. Metr.*, p. 459) has identified an interesting type of comic usage in Plautus, *Amph.* 168-172:

168 n<sup>o</sup>ctesque diesque assidu<sup>o</sup> satis superquest  
 qu<sup>o</sup> fact<sup>o</sup> aut dict<sup>o</sup> adeost opus, quietus ne sis.  
 ipse dominus dives operis et laboris expers  
 quodcunque homini accidit lubere posse retur  
 aequum esse putat, non reputat laboris quid sit



Here we seem to have the sources of our galliambic peculiarities laid bare: the ditrochaeus interchanging with the ionic foot and determining the anaklactic character of the resolutions in ll. 169-170.

To the Roman metricians the typical galliambic verse is always anaklactic, and the resolution of the last long of the ionic foot was tantamount to a transfer to the ditrochaic beat: cf. Keil, *G.L.*, VI, p. 95, — si tetrametri versus catalectici, qui in huius modi metro (*sc.* ionico a minori) primi habendi sunt, longas in breves solverint metrum efficiunt galliambicum; Victorinus then gives a typical example of the galliambic rhythm,

tremulos quod esse Gallis habiles putant modos  
 ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — —, ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ —

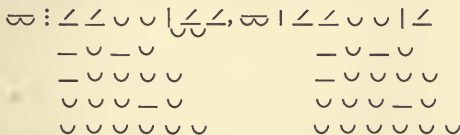
and proceeds: memineris tamen et tribrachyn loco trochaei hoc metrum si necessitas postularit admittere.

Maecenas (*Baehrens, Frag. Poet. Rom.*, p. 339) writes:

ades et sonante typano quate flexibile caput  
 ∪ ∪ ∠ ∪ ∠ ∪ ∪ ∠ ∪ ∪ ∠ ∪ ∪ ∠ ∪ ∠

The resolution 'typano' ∪ ∪ — occurs only in the stable ionic position, the second foot of the dimeter, and for all known galliambic verses seems wholly excluded from the first foot of either dimeter, where every other conceivable resolution is more or less frequent.

If we put together all the actual varieties of the galliambic verse in Kallimachos, Varro, Catullus, Maecenas, and Diogenes Laertius, we get the following scheme:



The unmistakable ionic resolution, ∪ ∪ ∠ ∞ occurs only in the pure central position. It seems highly probable that its exclusion from the other places was due to their anaklactic character, which permitted every resolution except ∪ ∪ — ∪. The nature of the resolutions to which the galliambic rhythm was amenable points clearly to the conclusion that there was but one sharply felt beat in each of the two anaklactic feet; namely, on the first syllable in each. The subordinate ictus in each was left to take care of itself; so that it was a matter

of indifference if the word-foot happened sometimes to jar against the theoretical verse-foot at these more or less stressless points, as was particularly likely to be the case in Latin with its more conspicuous and immovable word-accent; so, for example, in Catullus, 63. 1:

super alta vectus Attis celeri rate maria

∪ ∪ ∠ ∪ — ∪ ∠ —, ∪ ∪ ∠ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∠

where the theoretical ictus on the last syllable of *rate* was too weak to conflict seriously with the word-accent on the first, and hence the frequent admission of such forms side by side with the more natural effect, as in v. 3,

adiitque opaca silvis redimita loca deae

∪ ∪ ∠ ∪ — ∪ ∠ —, ∪ ∪ ∠ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∠

where there is no such conflict of word-foot and verse-foot.

To sum up: The history of ionic rhythms from Alkman, Alkaios, Sappho, and Anakreon, down the ages through the Greek drama to Plautus himself shows a clear tendency to maintain the unmistakable purity of the ionic foot. On the other hand, the name itself of the galliambic, the typical association of the ditrochaeus with every phase of it from Kallimachos to the citation of Diogenes Laertius, the testimony of Hephaestion and the Roman metricians, and the remarkable fact that with all the freedom of resolution in the first foot of each dimeter, the only undebatable ionic resolution ∠ ∪ ∠ ∪ ∪ is confined to the pure ionic place, the end of the first dimeter, — all these considerations point to the truth of the thesis, *that the resolution of the final long of the ionic foot in a galliambic connection amounts to rhythmic anaklasis for all known remains of this latest and most artistic creation of Greek metric.*

24. Notes on the Bucolic Diaeresis, by Professor Samuel E. Bassett, of the University of Vermont.

This contribution, which was read by Dr. Weller, of Yale University, will be found in the TRANSACTIONS.

On motion of Professor Elmer Truesdell Merrill, of Trinity College, it was

*Resolved*, that the Secretary send to Professor Francis A. March, Sr., the greetings of the Association as follows:

The American Philological Association, assembled in its annual meeting, sends affectionate greetings to its absent ex-President, Professor Francis A. March, whose four-score years of life, recently completed, have not been years of labor and sorrow, but of labor sweetened by manifold successful achievement.

Serus in caelum redeas, diuque  
Laetus intersis populo!

25. The Ablative of Association, by Professor Charles E. Bennett, of Cornell University.

This paper will also be found in the TRANSACTIONS.

The Committee on the Place of Meeting in 1906 reported by its chairman, Professor Rolfe, of the University of Pennsylvania. It was recommended that the Association accept the kind invitation of the George Washington University, Washington, D.C.

The report of the Committee was accepted and adopted.

The question of a change in the mode of publication was raised and discussed in detail by Messrs. Scott, Radford, Harrington, Smyth, Merrill, Sanders, and Hempl.

*Voted*, that the matter of a change in the method of publication be referred back to the Executive Committee, to consider, and, after conference with the American Oriental Society, and the Modern Language Association, to report at the beginning of the next meeting.

*Voted*, to refer to the Executive Committee with power the suggestion of Professor Radford that the next volume of the TRANSACTIONS be so published that the publishers keep on hand a sufficient number of off-prints of the several articles to meet possible demands of purchasers.

26. The Classification of Latin Conditional Sentences, by Professor Karl P. Harrington, of Wesleyan University.

It cannot be denied that there is sufficient cause to search for a new classification of Latin conditional sentences. The present confusion in terms and methods of classification is bewildering and frequently results in misstatement, unpractical diffuseness, or meaningless conciseness. Professor Rolfe's paper before the New York Latin Club about a year ago led me to attempt a new classification which should include all the common types of conditions without relegating any to the hopeless limbo of fine-print exceptions, yet should state the facts as they appear, without reading into them any theories as to their origin or development.

It is not safe, for example, to lump all Indicative conditions together in such a way as this: "Indicative conditions. Conditions in any tense, with nothing implied as to their fulfilment and expressed positively (or vividly)." For frequently, on the contrary, the actual fulfilment of the Indicative condition is very definitely implied. So, when Cicero (*in Cat.* i. 16), addressing the arch-conspirator, and taunting him with the fact that none of his friends gave him the customary greetings when shortly before he entered the senate house, adds, *Si hoc post hominum memoriam contigit nemini, vocis expectas contumeliam, cum sis gravissimo iudicio taciturnitatis oppressus?* Catiline himself and every auditor in the temple understood perfectly that the condition was stated as a well-recognized fact, and actually as the reason for the ironical question which follows it.

Further, while, if the tense of the Indicative be future, the conceivable case may be felt as stated more vividly than if the mood (referring to the same time) were Subjunctive, we cannot always, if we can ever, speak of a present or past Indicative condition as being especially "vivid." For example, when Pliny (*Ep.* vi. 20), in describing his own experiences during the great eruption of Vesuvius, quotes the exhortation of his uncle's Spanish friend, *si frater tuus,*



*tuus avunculus vivit, vult esse vos salvos; si perii, superstites voluit*, it is difficult to conceive of any possibility of putting the dilemma in any other form. It is neither a more nor a less vivid statement; it is absolutely colorless so far as any implication about the facts is concerned.

Again, suppose we examine the proposed category, "Indeterminate conditions: (a) Conditions in any time with nothing implied as to their fulfilment, expressed positively (vividly) in the Indicative." Now, in the first place, of course the examples quoted above can be fairly cited as a reasonable ground of objection to this classification as a whole. But, besides this, may it not be doubted whether it is consistent to speak of a condition with "nothing implied as to its fulfilment" as being expressed "positively"? How can we speak "positively" and yet convey no hint of the truth or falsity of our words? In referring to future time, to be sure, one may have a choice of moods, and thus express or imply a feeling on his own part of a greater or less degree of probability that the condition will be fulfilled. In cases, however, where present or past time is expressed in the assumption no such variation in the degree of probability can be expressed by any variation of mood.

Now it would be highly satisfactory if we could make such a classification as this:

- I. Probable conditions: Indicative mood.
- II. Possible conditions: Subjunctive mood, primary tenses.
- III. Impossible conditions: Subjunctive mood, secondary tenses.

But without multiplying objections, it is sufficient to say that (1) while a large proportion of Indicative conditions do imply probability, from the standpoint of the speaker, or of the person addressed, or of the world in general, that is not always the case; (2) sometimes primary tenses of the Subjunctive are used to imply non-fulfilment of a condition; and (3) secondary tenses of the Subjunctive do not always imply a supposition contrary to fact.

It seems, therefore, wiser to make a modal classification, with such subdivisions according to general signification as are warranted by the facts. The proposed classification is according to protases, which are the rational basis of such classification, and no attempt is made to include any abnormal types, but to give due recognition to all the regularly occurring types, as follows:

#### I. INDICATIVE CONDITIONS.

(a) Suppositions implying actual fulfilment. *Si hoc post hominum memoriam contigit nemini, vocis exspectas contumeliam, cum sis gravissimo iudicio taciturnitatis oppressus?* Cic. in *Cat.* i. 16.

(b) Suppositions implying probable fulfilment. *Si damnatus eris, atque adeo cum damnatus eris (nam dubitatio damnationis, illis recuperatoribus, quae potest esse?) virgis te ad necem caede necesse erit.* Cic. in *Verr.* II. iii. 70.

(c) Suppositions implying possible fulfilment (in future time). *Si patriam prodere conabitur pater, silebitne filius?* Cic. de *Off.* iii. 90.

(d) Suppositions implying nothing as to fulfilment. *Si frater tuus, tuus avunculus vivit, vult esse vos salvos; si perii, superstites voluit.* Pliny, *Ep.* vi. 20, 10.

II. SUBJUNCTIVE CONDITIONS.

1. **Primary Tenses.**—(a) Suppositions implying actual or probable fulfilment (in general conditions). *Nam vita humana prope uti ferrum est: si exerceas, conteritur; si non exerceas, tamen robigo interficit.* Cato, *de Mor.*

(b) Suppositions implying possible fulfilment in future time. *Si, inquis, deus te interroget, . . . quid respondeas.* Cic. *Ac.* ii. 80.

(c) Suppositions implying non-fulfilment (comparatively rare). *Eos non curare opinor, quid agat humanum genus: Nam si curent, bene bonis sit, male malis, quod nunc abest.* Ennius, *Tel.*

2. **Secondary Tenses.**—(a) Suppositions implying customary fulfilment (past general conditions). *Accusatores si facultas incideret, poenis adficiantur.* Tac. *Ann.* vi. 30.

(b) Suppositions implying non-fulfilment. *Nam nisi Ilias illa exstisset idem tumulus, qui corpus eius contexerat, nomen etiam obruisset.* Cic. *pro Arch.* 24.

27. Types of Sentence Structure in Latin Prose Writers, by Professor Clarence Linton Meader, of the University of Michigan.

This paper is printed in the TRANSACTIONS.

Adjourned at 12.50 P.M.

FOURTH SESSION.

The Association met in the usual place at 3 P.M.

Professor Thomas Day Seymour, of Yale University, reported the following list of officers for the year 1905-1906, as proposed by the Nominating Committee:

*President*, Professor Elmer Truesdell Merrill, Trinity College.

*Vice-Presidents*, Professor Edward D. Perry, Columbia University.

Professor Francis W. Kelsey, University of Michigan.

*Secretary and Treasurer*, Professor Frank Gardner Moore, Dartmouth College.

*Assistant Secretary*, Professor William Kelly Prentice, Princeton University.

*Executive Committee*, The above-named officers, and

Professor Charles E. Bennett, Cornell University.

Professor Edward B. Clapp, University of California.

Professor Thomas Fitz-Hugh, University of Virginia.

Professor John C. Rolfe, University of Pennsylvania.

Professor Paul Shorey, University of Chicago.

The Nominating Committee also presented the name of Professor Herbert Weir Smyth for the vacancy in its membership created by the expiration of Professor William Gardner Hale's term.

The report of the Nominating Committee having been accepted and adopted, the President declared the officers elected.

The present membership of the Standing Committee to Nominate Officers is as follows :

To serve for *one* year, Professor T. D. Seymour, Chairman.

To serve for *two* years, Professor Samuel Hart.

To serve for *three* years, Professor M. W. Humphreys.

To serve for *four* years, Professor M. L. D'Ooge.

To serve for *five* years, Professor H. W. Smyth.

28. Geminatio in Terence, by Professor Eva Johnston, of the University of Missouri.

The term geminatio is adopted to denote the repetition of a word without change in form or meaning. Terence's use of geminatio corresponds to that of other writers in that he oftenest doubles vocatives, imperatives, interjections. He furnishes six examples of the geminatio of a vocative, four of them used in address, two in calling to some one. All of them are found in passages where intense feeling is shown.

There are five examples of the geminatio of an imperative; excitement is regularly back of this repetition.

*Age age* with interjectional force is found five times. Terence regularly puts the words into the mouth of some one who has decided to pursue a certain course of action against his better judgment. Five times we have *heus heus*. In three of the examples the word is repeated in calling to some one, in two when knocking at a door. *Au au* is used once and denotes distress on the part of the speaker.

In the geminatio of vocatives, imperatives, interjections, Terence's use stands close to that of Plautus, but it is to be noted that Plautus occasionally trebles such words, while Terence never does.

In one or two cases the repetition of a word indicates doubt and uncertainty on the part of the speaker, and occasionally rhetorical effect is gained by such repetition, but in most cases geminatio is found in passages in which deep emotion, such as joy, sorrow, or anger, is shown.

The paper was discussed by Professor Meader, of the University of Michigan.

On motion of Professor Merrill the following minute was adopted :

The American Philological Association desires to express its grateful appreciation of the hospitality extended to it during its session now drawing to a close. Its warmest thanks are extended to ex-President White, to President Schurman, and the other authorities of Cornell University, and to individual representatives thereof, for their exceptionally generous and thoughtful kindness; to Professor Elmer for arrangements that have left nothing undone that could be devised for the comfort and convenience of his fellow-members; and to the Town and Gown Club for courtesies that have added much to the enjoyment of the meeting. The Association will remember the present session among the most delightful that it has held.

29. Donatus's Version of the Terence *Didascaliae*, by Dr. John C. Watson, of Cornell University.

This paper is published in full in the TRANSACTIONS.

30. The Oxyrhynchus Epitome of Livy and Reinhold's Lost Chronicon, by Professor Henry A. Sanders, of the University of Michigan.

This paper also appears in the TRANSACTIONS.

Professor Hempl presented the report of the Joint Committee representing the National Educational Association, the American Philological Association, and the Modern Language Association of America.

*Voted*, that the Association sanction the alphabet proposed by the Joint Committee, and recommend its use to the makers of dictionaries; also that the report of the Committee be printed in the PROCEEDINGS.

31. The Meaning of Aeschylus, *Prometheus* 435, by Professor J. E. Harry, of the University of Cincinnati (read by title).

The interpretation that naturally suggests itself to the reader, is the one given by Wecklein: *στένουσιν* *ἄλγος* *οἰκτρὸν* = *στένουσιν* *ἀλγειῶν* *στόνων*, *στένουσιν* *ἀλγούσαι*. But *στένειν* is always used either absolutely or with a direct object. Cf. 397, 409 f., 432, while *στένω* *ἄλγος* in the sense of *στένω* *στόνον* has no parallel in Greek literature. But examples in the sense of *στένουσιν* *αὐτὸν τοῦ ἄλγους* can be cited from both Sophocles and Euripides: *Medea* 996 *μεταστένομαι δὲ σὸν ἄλγος*, Soph. *Phil.* 339 f. *οἶμαι μὲν ἀρκεῖν σοί γε καὶ τὰ σ', ὦ τάλας, | ἀλγήμαθ', ὥστε μὴ τὰ τῶν πέλας στένειν*. Cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 58 f. *μεταστένειν* *πόνον* (the very substantive used so frequently throughout the *Prometheus* to designate the Titan's *ἄλγος* *οἰκτρὸν*) and Lucian, *Poseidon and Nereid* 1 *οἰκτιστα ὑπὸ τῆς μητρικᾶς πεπονθῦναι* with Aesch. *Prom.* 238 *πάσχειν μὲν ἀλγειναῖσιν, οἰκτραῖσιν δ' ἰδεῖν* (*πημοναῖσι*). For other examples of this use of *ἄλγος* cf. Soph. *Phil.* 734, *Ai.* 259, 1397, *El.* 1176, Eur. *Ion* 798, *Phoen.* 371. In Plato's *Laws* (727 C) we find a collateral form associated with *πόννοι* and *λύπαι* (*ἀλγηδῶνας*). From the first sentence in the *Iliad* down to the passage in the *Frogs* (221), where Dionysus complains that he is getting sore from zealous rowing (*ἀλγεῖν* *ἄρχομαι τὸν ἄρρον*), the physical signification of *ἄλγος* is never lost sight of. The actual bodily pain (*dolor*) is expressed by *ἄλγος* as well as the mental anguish (*maeror*): M 305, Eur. *Med.* 486, *Anàrom.* 304. Cf. Dem. 54. 11.

The word *ἄλγος* is frequently combined with *συμφορά* and its synonyms; e.g. Eur. *Or.* 180 f. *ὑπὸ γὰρ ἄλγεων ὑπὸ τε συμφορᾶς | διοιχόμεθ(α),* *Androm.* 980 *ἤλγουν μὲν ἤλγουν, συμφορᾶς δ' ἠνεχόμεν*. The word *ἄλγος* is a species of the genus *συμφορά* (cf. *Prom.* 974), and both, with their synonyms, are favorite objects of *στένω*. Cf. Eur. *Tro.* 578, *Phoen.* 378, *Hec.* 589, *Hel.* 463, *El.* 505, *H. F.* 1141; Soph. *El.* 140, 788 f.; Aesch. *Prom.* 98, *Pers.* 471, *Suppl.* 18, *Cho.* 931. The cog-



nate accusative and the absolute constructions are also frequent. If the dative had been employed in the Aeschylean passage, the meaning would have been unmistakable, but that would have produced hiatus. Cf. Eur. *Alc.* 199, 652. In *Hel.* 186 we find a dative of manner (*αλάγμασι στένουσα*). The ode under discussion begins with *στένω σε ούλομένας τύχας* (which is a constantly recurring thought in the song) and ends with *στένουσιν ἄλγος οἰκτρὸν*. Cf. Eur. *Alc.* 1038 f. Not only Prometheus, but the other characters constantly advert to the Titan's *ἀλγήματα*: 267, 268, 298, 302, 306, 326, 375, 397, 413, 471, 512, 525, 541. Cf. esp. 615 and 695 ff., and 934.

32. Notes on Plautus and Terence, by Professor Charles Knapp, of Columbia University (read by title).

Among the fifteen passages discussed were the following from the *Adelphoe*:

(1) 20, 21. Proof was offered that *sine superbia* must be interpreted of the predicate of its clause, not, as recent editors have held, of the subject.

(2) 137. It was argued that the phrase *si obsto* is not, as editors seem to think, transparent, but that we must supply with it *Aeschini factis* or the like. The spirit of the remark Demea was about to make can best be got by comparing 989 ff., especially 992 ff. The latter passage, too, was discussed; the author held that sense demands that *secundare*, "give a favorable turn to," "bring to a happy issue," not *obsecundare*, "support," "further" (so Mss), shall be read.

(3) 160, 161. It was argued that *at ita ut usquam fuit fide quisquam optuma* can be explained only as due to a fusion of (1) *at ita (leno sum = talis leno sum) ut ille fuit qui optuma fide fuit* and (2) *at optuma fide (leno sum) si usquam quisquam ita fuit*. Mode 1 is essentially affirmative, mode 2 is essentially negative in spirit. Other passages from Greek and Latin writers showing similar fusion of different syntactical elements were cited and discussed.

(4) 163-166. The author sought to determine the bearing of the *quom*-clause in 166. It cannot give the reason for *dabitur . . . hac*. Nor can it be easily or naturally associated with those words in adversative force. He proposed, therefore, to remove the period commonly set after *feceris*, 164, to set a dash there, and another after *hac*, 166; then the *quom*-clause can be joined directly with *ego meum . . . feceris*, 164, as causal in force, giving the reason for the threat contained in those words. In this view *nollem factum . . . iniuria hac* is an excited parenthetical commentary on *vostra hac*. Here, as so often elsewhere, emotional exaltation is attended by syntactical dislocation. All this throws important light on the text in 165, 166. The Mss text gives here a trochaic octonarius followed by an iambic octonarius. Bentley condemned the change of rhythm, and editors in general have followed him, emending in various ways in 165, 166 to make 166 also trochaic. The author held that all such alterations are futile. The Ms text, reënforsed by the proposed punctuation, is extremely effective; it throws out into such sharp relief the vital part of the quoted words, *indignum iniuria hac*. The author thus arrived, quite independently, at the conclusions previously reached by Kauer; that scholar, in his revision of Dziatzko's annotated edition, had argued strongly for the retention of the Ms reading, though he gave no heed to the difficulty of interpreting the *quom*-clause if the ordinary punctuation is retained.

*Ad. 202, 574-575, 770*, were considered, besides passages in the *Eunuchus* and the *Andria*, and in various plays of Plautus.

33. Travel in Ancient Times as seen in Plautus and Terence, by Professor Charles Knapp (read by title).

The purpose of this paper is to gather together all the information supplied by the plays of Plautus and Terence concerning travel. Such an investigation has much interest; that it has value is a fact emphasized afresh to the author's mind by the following passage in Kroll's *Die Allertumswissenschaft im letzten Vierteljahrhundert* (1905): "Was uns gleichfalls noch immer fehlt, ist eine Geschichte des Reisens im Altertum (für die Kaiserzeit liegt da freilich die treffliche Behandlung in Friedländers Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte vor) und in Zusammenhang damit eine neue Arbeit über die Fuhrwerke der Alten . . ." (so Blümner, p. 370).

The plays give abundant evidence of the freest movement from place to place in the Greek world (most of the places mentioned in Plautus are parts of the Greek rather than of the Roman world; all those mentioned in Terence are Greek). We have here an interesting and instructive illustration of the well-known dependence of the Roman comic writers on Greek models.

Travel is undertaken regularly, it may be said, in connection with business; there are very few references to travel undertaken for the mere love of travelling, *animi causa*. Illustrations of travel for business, in the narrower sense of the term, are afforded by the long trading trips (lasting two or even three years) frequently mentioned. A good deal of travelling was done in connection with warfare; one realizes to what an extent the citizen soldiery of Athens, for example, became acquainted through wars with the outer world. Akin to such journeying is the travelling of persons who were *legati publice missi*. The amours of the *miles gloriosus* and others involve much travel, either on the part of these personages themselves or on that of their messengers and the *meretrices*. Another chapter can be written on the travels of persons stolen in childhood by runaway slaves or pirates; they often undergo remarkable experiences. Much travelling is done also by their kinsmen as they seek to find those lost years before.

The paper, in its final form, will contain remarks on the geography of the plays, on the costume worn by travellers, the baggage carried by them, etc.

34. When did Aristophanes die? by Dr. Roland G. Kent, of the University of Pennsylvania (read by title).

The year 385 seems to be agreed upon as the approximate date of A.'s death (so Croiset, *Hist. Litt. Gr.* III.<sup>2</sup> 531; Christ, *Gr. Litt.-Gesch.*<sup>2</sup> 292; Kaibel in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-En.* II. 972). This is based on Hyp. iv, Ar. *Plut.*; *Anon. Vita Ar.* § 12; *Schol. ad Plat. Apol.* 19 C; *Suid. s.v.* Ἀραπῶς; and the fact that A. appears as a character in Plato's *Symposium*. It is certain that after the *Plutus* (388) A. composed only the *Cocalus* and the *Aeolosicon*, and that he gave them to his son Araros for presentation to commend him to the favor of the public. Now the ordinary interpretation of *Suidas* (*l.c.*) in regard to Araros δῖδῶξας

τὸ πρῶτον Ὀλυμπιάδι ρα' is first presented a play of his own composition in *Ol. 101* (so Christ, *l.c.*, Kaibel, *op. c.* II. 381), but it cannot mean more than first presented a play in his own name in *Ol. 101*, and hence refers to one of the above-named plays of A. They cannot therefore have appeared before the Lenaea of 375. Did they appear in A.'s lifetime? Naturally he would have desired to aid his son in their production; but there is another reason for thinking so. While both plays are of unquestioned authenticity, the *Aeolosicon* appeared in two versions (Novati *Life*; Athen. 372 A; *Schol. ad Hephaest.* I. p. 56 Gaisf.), the second of which is certainly by A. There is no authority for supposing that Araros made the revision; hence A. survived its first performance at the Lenaea of 375 or later, long enough to revise it.

As for A.'s appearance in the *Symposium*, it is not necessary to suppose that this implies that he was dead when the dialogue was composed (384 or later); the fantastic views which are there put into his mouth may be a retort for his satire upon the Platonic state in the *Eccl.* and for the mention of Plato as Aristyllus (nickname of Aristocles, his real name) in the *Τελεμησης*.

A. died therefore not before 375. Presumably he lived not much longer. Even then he is only a trifle over seventy if his birth is placed in 445/4, or a little above eighty if it is placed in 455/4, as the writer believes that it should be. This paper has appeared in the *Classical Review*, XX (1906), pp. 153-155.

35. Note on the Standpoint for the Study of Religion in Homer, by Professor Arthur Fairbanks, of the University of Iowa (read by title).

The study of the different phases of social life in Homer is necessarily difficult for the student who recognizes that the Greek epic is the result of a long process of development, since not only metre and language but the picture of life as well must have been influenced by this process. At some points we can see that the account of religion would be subject to forces which would not affect so easily language or metre; *e.g.*, the migration to Asia Minor must have interfered with religion more than with language, for religion is closely bound to locality. Yet it is untrue to the historic method for scholars to apply totally distinct methods to the two lines of study. It is commonly taught that the epic language was not spoken at any one place and time, although it includes no "manufactured" forms or grammatical usages; that it is so consistent that it is difficult to trace any evolution in assumed strata of the poems; that it came to be understood in many parts of Greece where it was difficult for those who spoke one dialect to understand those who spoke dialects not closely related. In other words, the language was distinctly "epic," created by the poets by assimilation from different sources. Are we not justified in assuming that the same principle holds true of the picture of social life? That the picture of religion, in like manner, does not reproduce the religion of any one place or one period, though it includes no absolutely new creation of the poet; that its consistency is due to the poet's unconscious art; that it came to be understood all over Greece, when the worship of one cult-centre would often be foreign to that of another cult-centre?

If this assumption be granted, the study of epic religion should follow the same lines as the study of epic language. It is necessary first to study the picture of



religion in the poems with all due regard to what we may learn from other sources as to different "strata." The results of this study cannot be directly used for the religion of one epoch or one place, any more than the results of such a study of epic language or metre. Secondly, we may ask what modifying influences must be assumed as acting on the bards. Evidently the account of the gods and of worship is cut loose from local religious centres and given such a universal form as will suit poetry sung in many places. Again, the deeper phases of religion are not suited to the banquet occasion with which this poetry is associated. Perhaps the "rationalistic" atmosphere of the epic, its disregard for magic, some forms of divination, etc., is due partly to the attitude toward this phase of religion among the "princes" who were entertained by the bard. Thirdly, we may be able to connect some parts of this picture of religion with data from other sources, before and after the epic, and thus give it its true place in the history of Greek religion.

36. Can Ancient and Modern Views of the Minor Sapphic and Other Logaoedic Forms be reconciled? by Dr. Herbert W. Magoun of Cambridge, Mass. (read by title).

The object of this paper was to show that the difference between ancient and modern ideas of the Minor Sapphic and other logaoedic forms is chiefly one of viewpoint. The rhythm actually used in the days of Horace may have been, and probably was, essentially the same as that now employed. The reasons for this supposition are as follows: First, all logaoedics were composed in 4/4 time. The evidence on this point is conclusive. Second, all such measures contained rhythmical elements. This also can be abundantly proved. Third, the metricians confessedly omitted those elements. Fourth, pauses did occur within the lines, Schmidt *et al.* to the contrary notwithstanding. Native testimony on this point must outweigh modern conjecture. Fifth and last, the analyses that have come down to us are metrical, and therefore devoid of the rhythmical elements, which are necessary to complete the bars.

The Minor Sapphic has the structure (Latin, standard form):  $\_ \cup \_ \_ | \_ \_ \wedge \cup \cup | \cup \_ \_ \bar{\_}$ . Stripped of its rhythmical elements, this gives the scheme:  $\_ \cup \_ \_ | \_ \cup \cup \_ | \cup \_ \_$ . Adding the possible alternate short syllable in the fourth place (Greek form) and the *syllaba anceps*, gives the result:  $\_ \cup \_ \_ | \_ \cup \cup \_ | \cup \_ \_$ , which is exactly the analysis found in Hephaestion. The alternate short may occasion some trouble in the scheme; but it occasions none in practice, if the sense is properly observed. A balancing element—usually a pause—always occurs in the bar. Observing the apparent trochees, Schmidt evidently surmised that the time was 3/8. He accordingly analyzed the line as (Greek):  $\_ \cup | \_ \_ | \_ \cup \cup | \_ \cup | \_ \cup$ , or (Latin):  $\_ \cup | \_ \_ > | \_ \uparrow \cup | \_ \cup | \_ \cup$ , ignoring the fact that the final syllable, at least in Latin, is generally long. Others, however, modified the Latin scheme and treated the last two syllables as,  $\_ \_ | \_ \wedge$ , by syncope.

Schmidt's (Latin) analysis and the above 4/4 scheme have two things in common; namely, both recognize the fact that the third syllable is regularly longer than the fourth and that the fifth takes more time than the sixth and seventh. In the Greek the place of the caesura is not fixed, and the rhythmical elements



are used with much greater freedom, in the matter of position, than in Latin. The cyclic dactyl, so-called (Greek 3/8 scheme), has no justification.

The lack of agreement at the close, in the 3/8 and 4/4 analyses, seems to have been due to a desire on Schmidt's part for uniformity. A similar reason may be urged for the non-agreement, in some parts of the other forms, of the 3/8 and 4/4 analyses. The renderings actually used by Schmidt and other scholars were probably in 2/4 time, if not in 4/4. Correct 3/8 time is almost never used in practice. A 2/4 rendering results from the 3/8 schemes, because a slight deliberation is used in scanning, which amounts to the use of minute balancing pauses between the words and syllables. They are too brief to be noticed; for they are not over one-sixth of a second in length for ordinary speech. The 4/4 renderings and analyses will be found to satisfy all the essential requirements of both ancient and modern ideas on this subject.

The Latin forms are the more regular of the two, and they may be taken as the standard in consequence. Even these, however, show frequent irregularities. In the Greek, the rhythmical elements, including the caesuras, are constantly shifting their positions, and almost every line must be considered by itself. It was for this reason that the metricians confined themselves strictly to the conventional feet, which remained constant. In the Asclepiadean group, the forms with divided bars (see below) are Latin. The Greek may have preferred the other arrangement. The divided bars, indicated by the double lines (||), correspond to modern musical usage. The analyses (Latin standard lines) are as follows:

- |                        |   |
|------------------------|---|
| 1. Asclepiadean, Major | _ _   _ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∆   _ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∆   _ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪   _ ∆ |
| 2. Asclepiadean, Minor | _ _   _ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∆   _ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪   _ ∆             |
| 3. Glyconic            | _ _   _ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪   _ ∆    (These final bars    |
| 4. Pherecratic         | _ _   _ ∪ ∪ ∪   _ ∆    are often ∪ ∆   .)     |
| 5. Phalaecean          | _ _   _ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∆   _ ∪ ∪ ∪   _ ∆               |
| 6. Priapean            | _ _   _ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪   ∪ ∆ _ _   _ ∪ ∪ ∪   _ ∆     |
| 7. Sapphic, Major      | _ ∪ ∪ _   _ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∆   _ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪   _ _         |
| 8. Sapphic, Minor      | _ ∪ ∪ _   ∪ ∆ ∪ ∪   ∪ ∪ _ ∆                   |
| 9. Aristophanic        | _ ∞   _ ∪ ∪ _                                 |
| 10. Adonic             | _ ∞ ∪ _                                       |
| 11. Alcaics            | _ ∪ ∪ _   ∪ ∆ _ ∪ ∪   ∪ ∪ _ ∆                 |
| 12.                    | _ ∪ ∪ _   ∪ ∆ _ ∪ ∪   ∪ ∪ _                   |
| 13.                    | _   ∪ ∪ _ _   _ ∪ ∪ _                         |
| 14.                    | _ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∞   _ ∪ ∪ _                           |
| Asclepiadean Group 1.  | _ _ _ ∪   ∪ ∪ ∆ _ ∪   ∪ ∪ ∆ _ ∪   ∪ ∪ ∪ _ ∆   |
| 2.                     | _ _ _ ∪   ∪ ∪ ∆ _ ∪   ∪ ∪ ∪ _ ∆               |
| without                | 3. _ _ _ ∪   ∪ ∪ ∪ _ ∆                        |
| 4.                     | _ _ _ ∪   ∪ ∪ _ ∆                             |
| 5.                     | _ _ _ ∪   ∪ ∪ ∆ ∪ _   ∪ ∪ _ ∆                 |
| Divided Bars           | 6. _ _ _ ∪   ∪ ∪ _ _ ∆   ∪ _ _ ∪   ∪ ∪ _ ∆    |

A few changes may be necessary in minor details. For example, there are reasons for thinking that the Asclepiadean group, in Latin, always ended either as \_ ∪ ∪ ∪ | ∪ \_ ∆ || or as \_ ∪ ∪ ∪ | \_ ∆ ||.

Recent attempts to avoid the cyclic dactyl have been made by dividing the choriambus ( $\_ \cup | \cup \_$ ); but the remedy is worse than the disease. The fundamental error in the time is retained, and the scansion is made more mechanical than before. A simpler method would have been the use of a true dactyl in  $3/8$  time ( $\_ \cup$  or  $\downarrow \cdot \cdot$ ). There is no harmony, however, between a  $3/8$  (quick waltz) rhythm and logaoedics. See the paper on Time Relations above, p. xxxiii f.

While the  $4/4$  analyses will not scan, they differ but slightly from renderings already in use. The best way to follow them is to keep the prose accents of the words and observe the sense of the lines; in other words, to read naturally, as in English. The stress ictus should be abandoned. The use of stressed tones following the division lines of the bars in music, does not appear to have antedated the sixteenth century A.D. It did not become the fixed practice till the eighteenth. To attempt to carry it back to classical times, in the light of these facts, is futile.

Finally, it should be noted that the dipodies of the drama, in both Latin and Greek, are to be explained by a  $4/4$  structure, which admitted logaoedic lines wherever necessary.

Adjourned at 4.45 P.M.

The next meeting of the Association will be held in conjunction with the Archaeological Institute of America in December, 1906, at the George Washington University, Washington, D.C.

PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST.

The Seventh Annual Meeting was held at the Mark Hopkins Institute of Art in San Francisco on December 27, 28, and 29, 1906.

FIRST SESSION.

The meeting was called to order on Wednesday at 2 P.M., by the first Vice-President, Professor E. B. Clapp, in the absence of President J. Goebel.

Professor Leon J. Richardson then presented his report as Treasurer for the year 1904-1905 :

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand, Jan. 3, 1905 . . . . .	\$57.33
Annual dues and Initiation fees . . . . .	166.10
	\$223.43

EXPENDITURES.

Sent to Professor Moore, July 5, 1905 . . . . .	\$169.13
Stamps, stationery . . . . .	14.30
Printing . . . . .	21.25
Clerk hire . . . . .	3.00
Loose leaf ledger . . . . .	2.60
Express . . . . .	.55
Typewriting . . . . .	2.00
Miscellaneous . . . . .	1.90
Total . . . . .	\$214.73
Balance on hand, Dec. 27, 1905 . . . . .	8.70
	\$223.43

The Chair appointed the following committees :

*Nomination of Officers*: Professors Matzke, Senger, and Murray.

*To Audit Accounts*: Professors Merrill and Price.

*Time and Place of Next Meeting*: Professors Nutting, Johnston, and Noyes.

The reading and discussion of papers was then begun.

I. Notes on the Pseudo-Vergilian *Ciris*, by Dr. I. M. Linforth, of the University of California.

This paper is to be published in full in the *American Journal of Philology*.

2. A Neglected Factor in the Question of the *Mise en Scène* of the French Classic Tragedies of the Sixteenth Century, by Professor C. Searles, of the Leland Stanford Jr. University.

Were the tragedies of the sixteenth century intended by their authors to be staged, or merely read after the fashion of the tragedies attributed to Seneca, is an old question lately revived by MM. Lanson and Rigal in the *Revue d'histoire Littéraire*, 1903 and 1904.

Lanson was able to add materially to the list of representations of classic tragedies known to have been given during the sixteenth century and concludes that we are scarcely justified in believing that these plays were written merely to be read (*Rev. d'Hist. Litt.* 1903, p. 191). Thereupon Rigal examines these plays again to discover how many were really stageable with the resources which the sixteenth century dramatists had at their command. He believes that the poets could have had no real conception of the *mise en scène* of their tragedies (*ib.* 1904, p. 226).

In view of the very intimate literary relations between France and Italy we should naturally look in that direction for some light on this question, and we actually find there a system of *mise en scène* which answers many of Rigal's objections. D' Ancona (*Origini del Teatro Italiano*, vol. II) shows that the stage setting of the plays given so frequently at the chief Italian courts throughout the whole of the sixteenth century was a combination of the simple stage of the popular Latin Comedy and elaborate decorations and machinery of the *Sacre Rappresentazioni*; *i. e.*, a street serving as the undefined place of the later classic French tragedy, with tombs, caves, and houses (sometimes to the number of five or six) in the background, from which the actors emerge or into which they enter, thus serving to localize the action when necessary. This custom of the Italians must have been entirely familiar to the French poets. It meets many of the objections of Rigal, and by accepting the convention of the action not *in* compartments or houses but *before* the same, the management of the chorus, the most disturbing factor of all, becomes at least feasible.

It is not claimed that many of these tragedies were thus presented, — although the expression of Saint-Marthe regarding the presentation of *Cléopâtre* at the court is suggestive, — but it is believed in view of the great numbers of Italian artists, scholars, and actors as well as the Italian queen present at court, we are quite justified in believing that these poets with the possible exception of Garnier did have a fairly definite *mise en scène* in their mind — an ideal at least, though one probably but seldom realized.

Discussion by Professors Murray, Prescott, and Matzke.

3. Some Phases of the Relation of Thought to Verse in Plautus, by Professor H. W. Prescott, of the University of California.

The paper was an effort to discover (1) the extent to which Plautus allows himself the separation, by the verse, of the attributive adjective from its substantive; (2) the causes, if there were any, of such separation; (3) the relation of



Plautus in this respect to earlier Latin verse, and to the Greek verse of the New Comedy.

Discussion by Professors Clapp, Murray, Merrill, and Richardson.

4. Aftermath Notes on the Unique Havelok Manuscript, by Professor E. K. Putnam, of the Leland Stanford Jr. University.

A transcription and collation of the Havelok manuscript (Laud. Misc. 108) in preparation for a new edition.

5. *C.I.L.* XIV, 309, by Professor C. Price, of the University of California.

Without the facsimile that belongs with this paper much that is pertinent must be omitted. From a study of the palaeography the writer maintained that ll. 1-5, 7-9, 13 and 21 were written before the other lines of the inscription, when Chius had held the offices mentioned in ll. 2-9, and his legal wife, Cornelia Ampliata, was living. Afterwards he was elected to the offices mentioned in ll. 9 and 10, and these together with ll. 14-20 were added. The third hand appears in the words *bis* (l. 6) and *libertae* (l. 15), the former taking the place of a clause defining *curator* and the latter replacing a longer word, perhaps *con-cubinae*, necessary to preserve the symmetrical arrangement upon the stone; cf. *C.I.L.* XIV, 3727, 3777 and Orelli, 4093. Cornelia Pthengis, upon the death of Cornelia Ampliata, was received into the home and her civil status changed. This theory is supported by a genealogical table of the persons named in the inscription.

The paper briefly discussed the Latinity of the inscription touching upon *Ostis* (l. 7); upon *collegi* (l. 8) in the masculine gender, as shown by *iunctus* (l. 10); upon *magistro* (l. 10) for *magister*; the writer of the second hand, having failed to look back to the beginning of the inscription, used the customary case—dative; upon *ad Marte* (l. 10; cf. *apud Iovem Statorem*, Orelli, 2155); and upon other minor points.

In dating the inscription from its palaeography, only such inscriptions were used as came from the same geographical division of Italy, viz. Latium. They are found in Hübner's *Exempla Scripturae Epigraphicae*, Nos. 303, 477, 1021, 527, 471, and 526, the dates of which are respectively 172, 181, 192, 193, 198, and 200 A.D. Inasmuch as the later inscriptions are more like the Calpurnius Chius inscriptions, we are led to believe that the inscription was set up about 200 A.D.

Since there were several colleges of Silvanus at Ostia, some defining terms were necessary. In the first place, *maius* serves to distinguish this college from its smaller contemporaries; secondly, *quod est Hilarionis*, 'that is Hilario's' is added, Hilario probably being a public-spirited freedman of wealth who upon being chosen *sevir Augustalis*, showed his gratitude, as was customary, by a public benefaction. In this case a shrine or temple to Silvanus Augustus was erected, to which his name was attached; see Orelli, 2414 and 4938. This theory is supported by an inscription (Wilmanns, 1742) which was set up in honor of T. Flavius Hilario, who in the 17th *lustrum* was *magister quinquennialium collegi*

*fabrum* (carpenters). The worship of Silvanus was held especially sacred by the carpenters, Silvanus being sometimes called *dendrophorus*, 'the carpenter.' In the Calpurnius Chius inscription we see that Hilario was very closely associated with the worship of Silvanus. In this respect the inscriptions support each other, and lead to the belief that they both refer to the same Hilario.

Furthermore, the date of the Flavius Hilario inscription corroborates this hypothesis. These *lustra* belonged to the new series of *lustra* instituted by Domitian in 86 A.D. and occurred at intervals of four years (see Suet. *Dom.* 4; Censorinus, 18; Statius, *S.* iv, 2, 60 ff.; and Pliny, *N.H.* ii, 47). Accordingly Flavius Hilario held office from 146 to 178 A.D. and had not passed away when the inscription was set up by his wife and daughter. It is reasonable to suppose that he lived to the close of the second century A.D., which confirms the belief that the Calpurnius Chius inscription referring to Hilario was erected at that time.

The third defining clause is *iunctus sacomari* (for *sarcomario*), 'hard by the public scales,' misread and so misunderstood by both Mommsen and Dessau, who read *functus* (*C.I.L.* XIV, 309 and XIV, 51). For this use of *iunctus*, cf. Wilmanns, 1724; and for like expressions see Orelli, 2389 and 2417. For the use of *collegius* as masculine see Orelli, 2413, 4101, 4123, 4978, and 7186. To the paper a genealogical table was added.

Discussion by Professor Richardson.

Report of the Auditing Committee adopted. Adjourned at 5 P.M.

#### SECOND SESSION.

The meeting was called to order on Thursday, December 28, at 9.30 A.M. The reading of papers was continued.

6. Old Problems in Horace (*continued*), by Professor J. E. Church, Jr., of the Nevada State University.

On Horace, *Carmina*, i, 3, 1-8.

In his interpretation of this passage, *PAPA*. XXXIV (1903), xxii, in which he suggests the insertion of *ut* after *Vergilium*, the late Professor Earle raises two objections to the generally accepted theory that this passage is a benediction and a prayer upon which the former is conditioned, on the ground that if this interpretation be the correct one, there is no reason why the first stanza should have been the first and the second the second, — "indeed, it would be a great improvement if the two stanzas were to change places," — nor is it to be supposed that Horace wrote arrant nonsense here.

We should raise no question against the first objection if these stanzas were the product of the English mind and language. But several examples of Roman benedictions followed by prayers strikingly similar in arrangement and language to the above stanzas cast much doubt upon the tenability of the position taken. These examples, moreover, occur in formal inscriptions as well as in literature. Such are Bücheler, *Carm. Lat. Epigr.*:

197 Ita levis incumbat terra defuncto tibi . . .  
rogo ne sepulcri umbras violare audeas;

- 194 Ita candidatus quod petit fiat tuus  
     . . . opus hoc praeteri;  
 195 Ita candidatus fiat honoratus tuus  
     et ita gratum edat munus tuus munerarius  
     et tu (sis) felix, scriptor, si hic non scripseri[s];

and *CIL.* VIII, 1070 Ita tibi contingat quod vis, ut hoc sacrum non violes.

The benediction in every case precedes the prayer. The introductory *ita* is equivalent not to *hoc modo*, as Professor Bennett has suggested in his note on the ode in question, but to *hac condicione*, as is shown not only by the general sense of Büch. 197 and *CIL.* VIII, 1070, but also by the imperative in Büch. 194 and by the conditional clause in Büch. 195. Moreover *ita* and not *sic* is apparently the original particle, the choice of *sic* in Horace, Ovid, Tibullus, quoted below, and in Büch. 215, 3, having been evidently constrained by the metre while *ita* was chosen without visible constraint in the prose inscription *CIL.* VIII, 1070, and in Büch. 194 and 195 was employed in evident preference to *sic*, in spite of the simpler form of the iambic senarius available.

In further defence of this theory, can be cited Büch. 196, 1467, Tibullus i. 4, 1-3, and others.

It is conceded, on the other hand, that the reverse order is also employed, as in Büch. 1458, 1466, Ovid, *Amor.* i. 13, 3-4, and Tibullus ii. 5, 121-2; iv. 4, 19-20. The order of the first was determined by the thought expressed, that of the others possibly by the extreme shortness of the prayer which, artistically considered, could not fittingly follow so long a benediction.

The curse, where this stronger means of defence is employed, does not appear to precede the prayer. In fact, the distinctive prayer rarely occurs, the curse appearing in the conditional form, as in Wilmanns' *Exempla* 271, quisquis huic sepulchro nocere conatus fuerit manes eius (eIvs) eum exagitant. An example of a prayer followed by a curse similar to the above may be found in Henzen, 6977.

The second objection may be dismissed as being over-critical. The use of personification found in all literature is but fully applied here, as in Vergil's *Aeneid*, i. 168, Hic fessas non vincula navis | ulla tenent. The ship is addressed as human with human characteristics. The ship loves not the storms more than does the sailor, and is "weared" as much as he. Therefore, if the ship will guard its precious burden, may the buffeting of the storms be taken away and favoring winds direct its course. The only crux which a critical rather than a poetic mind would see is that the ship needs no such inducement, for the passenger's welfare and its own are identical. But this is really no crux; the prayer is the natural expression of a solicitous heart. When critics find aught to assail in Tennyson's prayer to the ship which bears the ashes of his friend (*In Memor.* Canto XVII),—

my prayer  
 Was as the whisper of an air  
 To breathe thee over lonely seas.  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 Come quick, thou bringest all I love.  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 So may whatever tempest mars  
 Mid-ocean, spare thee, sacred bark,

then may first be cast a stone at one of the most tender and imaginative passages in Horace.

Discussion by Professors Fairclough, Clapp, Schilling, Murray, Foster, and Richardson.

7. On Correption in Hiatus (*concluded*), by Professor E. B. Clapp, of the University of California.

The study of this subject leads to the following conclusions : 1. The practice of the poets as regards correption is influenced somewhat, though not so much as we should expect, by vocabulary and style. The very frequent occurrence of a given vowel or diphthong at the end of words is not always accompanied by a corresponding frequency of correption. Conscious or unconscious choice must have played its part. 2. As regards the origin of the usage, the consonantization theory of Hartel and Grulich offers too exact and satisfactory an explanation of many of the phenomena to be wholly rejected. 3. If correption in hiatus began with the "short" diphthongs *ai, ei, oi*, in accordance with this theory, its origin must go back to forms of poetry older than our Homer, since in the earliest as well as the latest portions of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* we find a tolerably settled and stereotyped practice, and the curtailment of quantity is by no means confined to the diphthongs mentioned. 4. Whatever tendency exists in the later poets toward extending correption beyond the Homeric limits (as to a slight extent in Hesiod, Simonides, Manetho) must be regarded as poetic experiment, in a direction which did not win general approval. 5. The general tendency in the later poets, in this as in so many other features of metrical usage, lies in the direction of the limitation of the poet's freedom, and the setting up of fixed and conventional standards.

This paper is printed in full in *Classical Philology*, Vol. I, pp. 239-252.

Discussion by Professors Murray, Bradley, and Richardson.

8. The Helen Episode in Vergil's *Aeneid* (ii. 559-621), by Professor H. R. Fairclough, of the Leland Stanford Jr. University.

The writer maintains that ll. 567-588 are genuine. Thilo's objections are first examined and answered. Heinze (*Virgils epische Technik*, p. 45 ff.) adds other arguments in condemnation of the passage. The words *scilicet haec Spartam incolumis*, etc., if genuine would furnish the only soliloquy in the narrative of the 2d and 3d books. "Wie unnatürlich und frostig!" But the soliloquy will appeal to most readers as unusually impressive, and from the artistic standpoint seems to be modelled with great care. Thus Wagner comments on the beautiful balance between the three questions in the simple future, *aspiciet, ibit, and videbit*, and the three in the future-perfect, *occiderit, arserit, and sudarit*.

Servius had noted that l. 601

Non tibi Tyndaridis facies invisâ Lacaenae

refers to the expunged passage in which Helen is introduced, but what, asks Heinze, are we to say about *culpatusve Paris* (602), of whom there is no mention



in the preceding lines? But *culpatusve Paris* is only a corollary to the previous words about Helen. If she can arouse such anger, so also surely can her guilty paramour. The two have the force of a plural. It is no human agents you must accuse. It is the gods themselves who are responsible for Troy's downfall.

Heinze's idea that ll. 601-602 would be natural enough apart from a previous passage involving Helen or Paris, is quite alien to the directness of Vergilian narrative, though it may be paralleled in Greek tragedy, especially in lyrical passages. Heinze himself has seen that Vergil probably had in mind here the famous passage in the *Iliad* (T 164):

οὐ τί μοι αἰτία ἐσσί, θεοί νύ μοι αἰτιοί εἰσιν,  
οἳ μοι ἐφώρμησαν πόλεμον πολύδακρον Ἀχαιῶν.

Here we have the directness of Epic style. The words are addressed by Priam to Helen. So, too, all is simple and direct in Vergil, if, as we believe, Helen is present in the scene, but how different, if, as Heinze holds, Venus mentions her merely as the ultimate cause of Troy's downfall!

Further, Heinze enlarges on the ancient criticism: *turpe est viro forti contra feminam irasci*. The mere *irasci*, he says, would not dishonor Aeneas, but Vergil would never have allowed his pious hero to conceive the thought of killing a defenceless woman, especially if she had sought refuge at the altar. How would this, he asks, befit one who has just narrated with horror the story of an altar-desecration? But let us remember that the thought is never carried into action, and that the hero himself has anticipated criticism (ll. 583 ff.). That Helen is a *nefas* (585), an unholy thing, is (at least at such a time) a sufficient defence against the charge of impiety. Heinze's whole argument is an elaborate example of special pleading.

An Homeric situation in many ways similar to this Helen episode is one to which sufficient weight has never been given. Henry calls attention to the resemblance, but has not developed the parallelism. See *Odyssey* T 1-55. Here, as in Vergil, the hero meditates the slaying of women, but does not carry his thought into action. Here, too, the hero soliloquizes, and here, too, a *dea ex machina* appears on the scene. In Homer, Athene reminds Odysseus of his home, his wife, and child, and in Vergil Venus reminds Aeneas of his father, his wife, and son, though even closer is the parallel in 562:

subiit deserta Creusa,  
Et direpta domus et parvi casus Iuli.

And still further, as Athene chides Odysseus for his lack of confidence in divine aid, and assures him of her protection to the last; so in Vergil, Venus *confessa deam*, 'manifesting the goddess,' reproves her son, first for his frenzy — *quid furis* (595)? — but secondly for forgetting her — *quonam nostri tibi cura recessit?* — and the Homeric parallel is sufficient to determine the exact meaning of this rebuke, which does not mean that Venus is wounded in her feelings because Aeneas has thought of attacking Helen, or because she has a special interest in Anchises, but because (as Conington puts it) "Aeneas by losing self-command showed that he had lost confidence in his mother and sense of his relation to her." Lastly, the goddess assures Aeneas of her unflinching support (l. 620).

The parallel is fairly complete, and the conclusion seems irresistible that as

this Homeric scene must have been in the mind of him who composed ll. 567-588, as well as of the author of the succeeding lines, the whole of the passage involved, the doubtful and undoubted lines alike, must be the work of one and the same poet, viz. Vergil himself.

From the account of Vergil given by Suetonius we may draw many important inferences. In the first place, a work of such magnitude as the *Aeneid*, involving the use of a great variety of legendary and historical material, must, if composed bit by bit (*particulatim*), and in irregular order, have been subject to numerous imperfections and inconsistencies until the work of revision was complete. Hence the inconsistency noted by Servius.

In the second place, parts at least of the *Aeneid* must have been more or less known before the edition of Varius and Tucca appeared.

In the third place, it was the poet's practice to discuss his doubts and difficulties with others, and doubtless the two to whom he turned most frequently were his two greatest literary friends, Varius and Tucca. These therefore were familiar with the poet's sentiments and conceptions, and though the emperor's commands prevented them from destroying the *Aeneid*, according to Vergil's express entreaty, yet they were in a position to see that, as far as possible, the poet's wishes should be carried out. Vergil had probably expressed his dissatisfaction with the Helen episode, and his executors decided to omit it. Inasmuch as the emperor's instructions prevented them from making additions, they were compelled to leave the context in an imperfect state. But the passage was already known to others, and was possibly published later by some one who regretted its omission. Indeed, the very fact of its omission from the first complete edition would bring it into notice.

In lieu of the substitute passage which we may well believe Vergil intended to compose, we are justified in retaining in our texts the one which Servius has preserved, believing that though its author was dissatisfied with it, as indeed he was with the *Aeneid* as a whole, yet it is the work of Vergil himself, and that the second book suffers vastly more from its omission than from its insertion.

The paper appears in full in *Classical Philology*, Vol. I, pp. 221-230.  
Discussion by Professors Johnston, Senger, and Murray.

### 9. The Yokuts Indian Language of California, by Dr. A. L. Kroeber, of the University of California.

The Yokuts language is notable among American languages for the small number of its affixes and elements used in composition, and its consequent simplicity of structure as regards word-building by synthesis. It totally lacks pronominal incorporation, which is regarded as one of the most important characteristics of American languages in general. Its pronoun, which approximates in function the pronoun of the modern analytical Indo-European languages, is very systematically regular and apparently shows a strong influence of an analogizing tendency. A notable feature of the language is a complicated system of vocalic changes in the stems of words. These changes appear to be occasioned by suffixes, but are generally not determined by the vocalic content of the suffix. Any particular vowel change is primarily dependent upon the grammatical idea

to be expressed. Stems of different parts of speech alter their vowels differently under the stimulation of phonetically similar suffixes. Two suffixes of identical form but diverse morphological function produce different vowel mutations in the same stem. This system of vowel mutations is therefore conditioned psychologically rather than physiologically. It is due more to grammatical consciousness than to purely phonetic tendencies.

Discussion by Professors Schilling and Senger.

10. A Criticism of Texts offered for the Reading of Advanced German in our Colleges and Universities, by Professor J. H. Senger, of the University of California.

As the study of the languages of the Greek and Roman peoples has for its final object the realization of the spirit of those who used them, the same object is justly claimed for the study of the German language in the upper divisions of our colleges and universities. The spirit of a people is most sensibly realized by its art, and of all arts most lastingly by its literature, inasmuch as literature is a presentation of the beautiful. With this in mind the paper considers works of modern authors offered for advanced reading, especially those of Freytag, Keller, Scheffel, and Sudermann.

Of his two great novels, an abridged edition of *Soll und Haben* will hardly present Freytag's theme, *i.e.* the German people at work, so that the American student will be lastingly impressed by it; German commerce portrayed in it has an aspect of *Gemülichkeit* quite unintelligible at the present time. More impressive might be *Die verlorene Handschrift*, although the work loses considerably in its abridged form.

The contents of Gottfried Keller's *Romeo und Julie auf dem Lande* may be quoted in Keller's own words: "A young man and a young woman, the children of two very poor, ruined families, who were irreconcilable enemies, committed suicide by drowning themselves after having participated with evident enjoyment in the kermess festival of the previous day." One of the characteristic traits of Keller's prose writings is his irony, a quality which especially on account of its peculiar subtlety is certain to make a wrong impression on the youthful reader.

This applies likewise to Scheffel's writings. While fully appreciating the many excellent points of *Ekkehard*, the ironical tone prevailing in all Scheffel's writings can hardly be called characteristic of the German mind, whose salient trait is seriousness.

More dangerous still must be called the influence of Sudermann. In both his novels, *Der Katzensteg* as well as *Frau Sorge*, the themes ignore the justice of ordinary common-sense morals.

In claiming for the study of German a place similar to that of the classics we shall never lose sight of Goethe's saying: *Das Klassische ist das Gesunde*. We shall do our best to contribute to the undisturbed development of a sound taste in matters of art by conscientiously and rigorously eliminating from serious consideration by the scholar anything which is not saturated with beauty, by which we mean that which always has been, is, and will be good and true.

By this method we shall not fail to obtain the best result of the study by rous-

ing in our students that lasting enthusiasm which is based upon a sympathetic appreciation of the great achievements of the entire German nation in science and art, and in their choice fruit, humanity.

Discussion by Professors Clapp, Matzke, Putnam, and Schilling.  
Adjourned at 12.35 P.M.

THIRD SESSION.

The meeting was called to order at 2.35 P.M. Following upon the report of the Committee on Nominations, the Association elected its officers for the year 1905-1906 :

*President*, E. B. Clapp, University of California.  
*Vice-Presidents*, H. R. Fairclough, Leland Stanford Jr. University.  
H. K. Schilling, University of California.  
*Secretary and Treasurer*, Leon J. Richardson, University of California.  
*Executive Committee*, The above-named officers, and  
A. F. Lange, University of California.  
J. E. Matzke, Leland Stanford Jr. University.  
H. C. Nutting, University of California.  
O. M. Johnston, Leland Stanford Jr. University.

The presentation of papers was resumed.

11. The Composition of the Old French *Roman de Galeran*, by Professor J. E. Matzke, of the Leland Stanford Jr. University.

The paper tested Foerster's belief that the *Roman de Galeran* owes its variations from the *Lai du Fraisne* of Marie de France, its central source, to influences of Gautier d'Arras' poem *Ille et Galeron*. A detailed comparison of the two poems fails to confirm this theory. Proof was then presented that the author of the *Roman de Galeran* knew the *Roman de l'Escoufle*, and that this story in the main is responsible for the alterations of the *Fraisne* plot which he introduced.

Discussion by Professors Clapp and Johnston.

12. The *lunula* worn on the Roman Shoe, by Dr. C. J. O'Connor, of the University of California.

Recent authorities fail to find on statues any example of the *luna* or *lunula*, which Romans who had held patrician magistracies wore on their shoes as a mark of rank. The example figured in Rich, *Dict. Ant.* under *lunula*, came originally from Casalius, *De urbis ac Romani imperii splendore*, p. 258. In the latter place the illustration is not taken from a statue, but is an ideal restoration. This conception of the form and position of the *lunula* is probably derived from a bronze lamp—or one like it—figured in Baumeister, *Denk.* I, p. 575, fig. 619. The two crescents on the lamp are either handles or amulets. The only passages



—so far as the writer can find—referring to this kind of *lunula*, and written by men who had first-hand information, are Statius, *Silvae*, v, 2, 28; Martial, i, 49, 31 and ii, 29, 7; Juvenal, 7, 192 (and Scholiast on same); Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanae*, 76; Philostratus, *Vitae Sophistarum* (or *Vita Herodis Attici*), ii, 1, 8 (555). These afford no information as to what part of the shoe the *lunula* was worn on, and about its form they tell us merely that it was moon-shaped. The attempts to describe it as having the form of the letter C and to explain its origin are mere conjectures, and do not antedate the sixth century. The words *luna*, *lunula*, *lunatus*, could be applied to a button-shaped ornament such as is represented on the instep of a shoe in the British Museum, and which is figured in Harper's *Class. Dict. calceus*, p. 252. They can also be applied to a heart-shaped or tongue-shaped ornament which serves to join the straps of a sandal to the sole. Examples of this are given in Becker, *Gallus*, III, p. 230, Eng. ed. p. 425, figs. a and b; Weiss, *Kostümkunde*, I, p. 440, fig. 314 h; Hope, *Costume of the Ancients*, II, plates 256, 269, 288. This object may have been called also *lingula*. *lunatus* was applied by Latin poets to the shields of the Amazons, although these in works of art were seldom simple crescents; sometimes they were nearly heart-shaped. The *lunula* worn on the shoe was probably an amulet as were those put about the necks of children and horses, and those which formed a part of military standards. *lunula* may have been a general term for amulets of various forms. *Bulla*, a specific term for one form of amulet, was used of objects of different forms. The *bullula* sometimes had the form of a heart, or at any rate had a heart represented on it (Macrobius, *Sat.* i, 6, 17). The writer has found, so far, no clear cases of heart-shaped charms in the books and collections to which he has had access, although in the strings of amulets, *crepundia*, are cones and acorns and objects which approach this form, as in the atlas to Müller's *Handbuch*, VI, taf. 7 f. n. 14 c. It seems from the information at hand that the wearing of the *lunula* was in part a passing fad of those who dressed elegantly, in part an attempt to mark class distinction by arbitrary means, confined to a brief period at the end of the first century A.D., with sporadic cases somewhat later. It appears, too, that the *lunula* was not restricted to one particular style of shoe, and that it was not an important nor strictly observed distinction, and could be easily usurped.

Discussion by Professors Ferguson and Badè.

13. Epigraphical Notes, by Professor W. S. Ferguson, of the University of California.

I. Γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν replaced γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς as the title of the chief secretary at Athens because in the early fourth century B.C. this officer ceased to be a senator. Γραμματεὺς τῶν πρυτανῶν was never used to designate the secretary, because he was at no time a member of the prytany. Γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν calls attention to the fact that, in the fourth century and later, the secretary was an outsider attached, not to the senate as a whole, but to each of the prytanies, as these in turn took charge of the senate's business. κατὰ πρυτανείαν means not "one each prytany," as is most natural (hence καλούμενον in Arist. *Pol. Ath.* 54, 3), but "during each and every prytany"—a use paralleled in Professor Dittenberger's *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, II, 480, where

ἵνα τιθῆνται (εἰκόνας) κατ' ἐκκλησίαν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἐπὶ τῶν βάσεων is translated into Latin *ita ut omni ecclesia supra bases ponerentur*.

II. Ἵπέρ βασιλέως Εὐμένου Φιλαδέλφου θεοῦ καὶ εὐεργέτου Δημήτριος Ποσειδωνίου, Dittenberger *op. cit.* II, 302.

Three things are noteworthy in this inscription. 1. If set up in 172 B.C., as Professor Dittenberger assumes, Queen Stratonike should have been included. 2. Philadelphos is the crown name of Attalos II, not of Eumenes II. 3. Ἵπέρ is invariably used to connect a dedication with a living person, while θεοῦ in an Attalid inscription invariably means that the ruler to whose name it is attached is already dead.

The explanation demanded is that the dedication was made in 172 B.C., shortly after the false report of Eumenes's death had been corrected, but before Attalos, who had seized the crown and married the widow, had relinquished his control of the kingdom. At that time Eumenes, though alive, was officially a god still, and it seems that Attalos had applied to him, upon his apotheosis, the title which he assumed himself as his crown name — "loving his brother."

III. The difficulty found by M. Dürrbach (*Bull. de Cor. Hell.* XXIX (1905) p. 190) in the date assigned by me (*Cornell Studies*, X (1899), p. 60) to the archon Tychandros (172/I B.C.) is imaginary; for the failure of the Athenians to ask the permission of the Delians to dedicate statues in their sacred precinct does not warrant the presumption that the island was already under Attic control (167 B.C. ff.). In a contemporary document Eumenes of Pergamon binds himself to erect a slab at Delos with a similar disregard of the natives (Dittenberger, *op. cit.* I, p. 437), and in general it was esteemed a privilege for cities to get statues to erect in their public places (*ibid.* II, 763).

Part II of this paper appears in *Classical Philology*, Vol. I, pp. 231-234.

Discussion by Professors Matzke, Clapp, and Fairclough.

14. The Latin Indirect Object governed by Verbs signifying "favor, help, injure, please, displease, trust, distrust, command, obey, serve, resist, indulge, spare, pardon, envy, threaten, believe, and persuade," by Mr. H. B. Dewing of the Berkeley High School.

I. The question at issue : why was the dative used with these verbs ?

II. The methods of attack.

- (a) Study of the original meaning of the dative case.
- (b) Study of the actual meanings of the verbs.

The last possibility considered, because the evidence is more tangible, namely, the actual uses of the verbs in Latin.

III. The three classes of verbs included :

- (a) Verbs originally intransitive ; of which the following typical cases were considered : *servio*, *irascor*, and *placeo*.
- (b) Agglutinate verbs : the cases discussed were *morigeror*, *opitulor*, and *maledico*.
- (c) Verbs originally transitive : the cases discussed were *ignosco*, *suadeo*, *credo*, and *impero*.

## IV. Conclusion.

With many of these verbs, and possibly with all, the dative object was required by the exact meaning of the verbs as used by the Romans in historical times. Just how much influence the matter of inheritance had remains to be determined.

Discussion by Professors Bradley, Noyes, Fairclough, and Nutting.

15. Sources of the *Lay of the Two Lovers*, by Professor O. M. Johnston, of the Leland Stanford Jr. University.

This lay is derived from three different legends.

The death of the king's wife and his peculiar attachment to his daughter constitute the principal *motifs* of the well-known legend of the father who, after the death of his wife, desires to marry his own daughter.

The task imposed on the suitor in the second part of the lay is derived from the legend of the father who consents to the marriage of his daughter on condition that her lover perform some difficult task. The version of this tale used by the author of the *Lay of the Two Lovers* was similar to that found in the German legend of the nobleman who agreed to the marriage of his daughter on condition that her suitor should carry her in his arms to the top of a mountain.

In the lay of Marie de France both of the lovers die on the summit of the mountain, while in the German version only the young man dies. The tragic end of the two lovers in the lay is due to the influence of the tradition, according to which the priory of the two lovers established on the Norman mountain bearing the same name was regarded as the burial place of Injuriousus and Scholastica, two lovers well known in religious literature. Our lay took its name from this tradition, and, in order to preserve this church legend in the lay, it was necessary that the two lovers should be buried on the top of the mountain.

Discussion by Professors Matzke, Searles, Murray, and Clapp.

16. The Necessity for an American Bureau for the Facsimile Reproduction of Manuscripts, by Professor C. M. Gayley, of the University of California.

Professor Gayley read an account of the proceedings of the International Congress which met at Liège, August 21 to 23, 1905, to consider methods for the systematic republication in facsimile of the historical, literary, and scientific manuscripts necessary for the promotion of original research. This Congress approved the plan for a coöperative bureau and a central library of facsimiles as proposed by Professor Gayley in 1898, and published by the New York *Evening Post*, November 19, 1904. It also appointed a permanent international executive committee of twelve for the purpose of promoting this project. A detailed account of the proceedings of the Congress is to be found in the *Actes du Congrès*, Misch et Thron, Bruxelles, 1905; and a history of the movement for republication will appear in the forthcoming *Annual Report* of the U. S. Commissioner of Education to the Secretary of the Interior, Washington. A summary of the arrangements made by the Congress was printed in the *Evening Post*, Sep-

tember 9, 1905. Professor Gayley presented to the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast a plea for the coöperation of American Universities in establishing a working model of such a bureau and library as might furnish American scholars, at the lowest possible price, with facsimiles as desired from year to year.

The Philological Association of the Pacific Coast passed the following resolution—the terms of which are similar to one already adopted by the American Library Association :

The Philological Association of the Pacific Coast observes with interest the resolutions passed by the International Congress recently held at Liège for the purpose of furthering the reproduction in facsimile of valuable manuscripts and early printed books. It indorses the plan for an international bureau of republication submitted by Professor Gayley to that Congress and adopted by the Congress; and it hopes that the Association of American Universities, or some other body similarly representative of the interests of American scholarship, may take immediate steps to realize that plan in a working model capable of demonstrating the efficiency of the project, and, so, of securing the endowment necessary to place the institution upon a sufficient and enduring basis.

It was decided to dismiss the Committee on Time and Place of Meeting, and to settle the matter by a postal card vote. Adjourned at 5.40 P.M.

#### FOURTH SESSION.

The meeting came to order on Friday, December 29, at 9.45 A.M.

17. Aratus and Theocritus, by Professor A. T. Murray, of the Leland Stanford Jr. University.

The purpose of this paper was to show how strong the reasons are for believing that the Aratus of Theoc. *Id.* vii is identical with the author of the *Phaenomena*. Since the appearance of Wilamowitz's paper, *Aratos von Kos*, in 1894, almost all Theocritean scholars in Germany have with singular unanimity given up the identification; yet the grounds for it are very strong and have only in part been met by Wilamowitz. Among these grounds are:

1. The intrinsic probability that the individual to whom Theocritus addressed his sixth Idyll was a noted person, not an obscure Coan.
2. The quotation from Aratus in *Id.* xvii. 1, — an Idyll to be dated but a few years after the appearance of Aratus's poem.
3. The naturalness of assuming that Aratus of Soli (whose work brings him into connection with Cnidos and Eudoxos) visited Cos.
4. The fact that Alexander Aetolus, Leonidas of Tarentum, and Callimachus appear to stand in close connection with Theocritus and also with Aratus.
5. The attitude of Theocritus toward the stars, as shown in the Idylls presumably later than the appearance of the *Phaenomena*.

Discussion by Professor Clapp.



18. The Decipherment of the Hittite Inscriptions and the Determination of the Language, by Professor W. F. Badè, of the Pacific Theological Seminary.

An investigation of the so-called Hittite inscriptions with special reference to the Hamath Inscr. No. 2. Discussion (1) of the character of the hieroglyphics; (2) significance of the differences between the inscriptions in direction and form as showing development; (3) use of variants in recurring word-groups to determine the meanings of certain phonograms and ideograms; (4) analysis of Jensen's method and conclusions on the basis of Ham. I and II; (5) evidence of words like *δσαρι* (Cappadocian coins), together with proper names found in Asia Minor (e.g. *Ψάρος*, *Anab.* i, 4, 1), pointing possibly to a pre-Armenian people as the authors of the inscriptions.

Discussion by Professors Schilling, Clapp, and Richardson.

19. Notes on the Birds of Ovid, by Mr. E. W. Martin, of the Leland Stanford Jr. University.

In this paper an attempt was made to show the impressions produced upon Ovid, as revealed through his works by the song of birds. As every study of the Latin birds must begin with the Greek, a summary was given of some of the results obtained in the study of that field by Heldrich, Krüper and Harlaub, Thompson, and Pischinger. The conclusions of the last named in his *Der Vogelgesang bei den griechischen Dichtern des klassischen Alterthums* — a contribution to the "Würdigung des Naturgefühls der antiken Poesie" — were more closely considered.

Pischinger classifies the song of birds, as portrayed in the Greek poets, in a category of three divisions:

1. As a sound of nature.
2. As an expression of emotion or thought.
  - a) Expression of grief.
  - b) Expression of joy.
  - c) Expression of thought, *i.e.* as speech
3. As an expression of music and art.

Statistics for birds were then given. He uses 32 definite bird-names (6 more than any other Roman poet) with 176 allusions to them. He has 142 passages in which the general words *ales*, *avis*, *volucer*, occur — of which we can identify with fair exactness four kinds not mentioned by name. All told, in some connection, Ovid mentions birds 318 times, but he refers to their song only 49 times. These passages were then considered in reference to the category of Pischinger for the Greek birds and in relation to the Roman poets, of whose references to the birds complete statistics were presented.

It was found that in the main Ovid was a traditionalist in his bird-lore. Of his 49 references to bird-song, 7 refer to the swallow, 4 each to the nightingale, halcyon, and swan, which are the traditional song-birds in Greek poetry.

1. Nature-sound. Verbs *canto* and *concino* most common. None of the pic-

turesque onomatopoeic verbs for bird-song, of which Latin possessed so many, appear. Terms of pleasure, as compared with Greek poets, very limited. In this respect far inferior to Vergil.

2. As an expression of emotion. To ancient feeling the song of birds was the lamentation of souls imprisoned under protest, in forms not their own. This is the metamorphosis idea which flourished with but slight changes throughout the range of both classical literatures. The nightingale, halcyon, swallow, and swan are the prevailing types. Ovid portrays them with grief in their songs 14 times, always influenced by the metamorphosis idea. Vergil, on the other hand, is remarkably free from it.

The modern concept of bird-song as an expression of joy, all but unknown in Greek. It does not occur in Ovid, or in any Roman poet before him.

Bird-song as speech, Ovid by virtue of his subject developed more fully than any other classic poet.

3. Bird-song as art or as music appears very rarely in Greek. The bird in this connection is a divine singer; a servant of the muses, inspired by heaven, therefore divine; hence, bird-names are naturally applied to poets.

This idea occurs only two or three times in the Latin poets. Thus in Propertius, Vergil is referred to as the tuneful swan — not to be silenced by the insipid note of Anser.

Ovid did not use this concept. In conclusion the paper tried to show by comparison of data that while Ovid has more references to birds, more varieties, and more references to their song, yet he was far inferior to Vergil as an original observer of bird-life. He was deeply under the sway of the metamorphosis idea, with its usually attendant association of sadness. His allusions are filled with echoes of traditional feeling, yet in no wise did he make a full use of the more beautiful touches that abound in his predecessors, both Greek and Roman.

Discussion by Professors Schilling and Richardson.

20. Notes on Propertius, by Professor B. O. Foster, of the Leland Stanford Jr. University.

Discussion by Professors Nutting and Richardson.

21. Horace' Alcaic Strophe, by Professor Leon J. Richardson, of the University of California.

In this paper an effort was made to discover the feet of the Alcaic strophe as sensed by Horace. To this end, his Alcaic odes were tested by the law of Latin versification hinted at by Quintilian, ix. 4, 90: *plerique enim ex commissuris eorum [i.e. verborum] vel divisione fiunt pedes; ex quo fit ut isdem verbis alii atque alii versus fiant*; the law that within the initial portion of a verse the poet avoids filling successive feet each by a single word and does not allow diaereses on the whole to outnumber caesuras. Thus when an initial group of syllables is followed by an identical or equivalent group and it is found that the poet seldom or never allows the two groups to be formed each by a single word, we have data for making out the metrical structure. Similarly, breaks at certain points being

known to be caesuras by reason of their frequency, and breaks at certain other points being known to be diaereses by reason of their infrequency, we are able to distinguish between the two classes and so to identify the feet. To be sure, the breaks between two syllables are now and then determined by special conditions; however, cases of this kind are not sufficiently numerous to obscure the operation of the law just mentioned. The results of the investigation follow.

*A. The Eleven-syllable Alcaic.* (a) Only three verses begin with a quadrisyllable. (b) No verse begins with two dissyllables. (c) Words end 199 times with the first syllable, 291 times with the second, 308 times with the third, and 53 times with the fourth. Therefore, the third syllable does not conclude a foot. (d) The first four syllables are characteristically a diiamb of the form  $\_ \_ \cup \_$  (only nineteen verses begin  $\cup \_ \cup \_$ ). (e) The remaining syllables fall consistently into Ionic feet, one pure and one broken, the fixed break after the fifth syllable thus being a caesura. (f) This analysis accords with the view of Hephaestion, *Ench.* xiv. 5. G.—

*B. The Nine-syllable Alcaic.* (a) No verse begins with a quadrisyllable. (b) No verse begins with two dissyllables. (c) Words end 84 times with the first syllable, 83 times with the second, 259 times with the third, and 51 times with the fourth. Therefore, the third syllable does not conclude a foot. (d) The first four syllables are characteristically  $\_ \_ \cup \_$  (only ten verses begin  $\cup \_ \cup \_$ ). (e) The second four syllables also conform to a diiamb. (f) The remaining syllable, it is argued, is hypermetric, making the transition easy from the ascending rhythm of this verse to the descending rhythm of the *clausula*.—

*C. The Ten-syllable Alcaic.* (a) No verse begins with a hexasyllable. (b) No verse begins with two trisyllables. (c) Other grounds are found for taking this verse, with Hephaestion, *Ench.* vii. 10. G, as logaedic.

In short, the paper supports the view that verse *A* is an Epionic Trimeter Catalectic, verse *B* an Iambic Dimeter Hypercatalectic, and *C* a logaedic verse in the shape of a Dactylotrochaic Dimeter.

$$\begin{array}{l}
 A \cup \ / \ \cup \ \_ \ | \ \_ \parallel \ / \ \cup \ \cup \ | \ / \ \cup \ \cup \ \wedge \\
 A \cup \ / \ \cup \ \_ \ | \ \_ \parallel \ / \ \cup \ \cup \ | \ / \ \cup \ \cup \ \wedge \\
 B \cup \ / \ \cup \ \_ \ | \ \_ \_ \ / \ \cup \ \_ \ | \ \cup \\
 C \ / \ \cup \ \cup \ \_ \cup \ \cup \ | \ / \ \cup \ \_ \ \cup
 \end{array}$$

The paper is printed in full in the Classical Philology series of the *University of California Publications*, Vol. I (1905-1906), No. 6, p. 172 ff.

Discussion by Professors Clapp and Badè.

22. Plato's Use of *αἰρός*, by Professor J. Elmore, of the Leland Stanford Jr. University.

The paper is based on a study of *αἰρός* undertaken for the forthcoming Plato Lexicon, in which the results will appear. Owing to the detailed character of the paper the author prefers not to make the usual abstract.

Adjourned 12.15 P.M.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee held on the afternoon of December 29, 1905, the following persons were elected to membership in the Association :

Dr. William Popper, University of California.

Dr. T. Petersson, University of California.

Mr. C. E. Todd, Menlo Park, California. /



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## ABBREVIATIONS.

*AHR* — American Historical Review.  
*AJA* — American Journal of Archaeology.  
*AJP* — American Journal of Philology.  
*AJSL* — American Journal of Semitic Languages.  
*AJT* — American Journal of Theology.  
*Archiv* — Archiv für latein. Lexikographie.  
*Bookm.* — The Bookman.  
*CJ* — Classical Journal.  
*CP* — Classical Philology.  
*CR* — Classical Review.  
*CSCP* — Cornell Studies in Classical Philology.  
*ER* — Educational Review.  
*GWUB* — George Washington University Bulletin.  
*HSCP* — Harvard Studies in Classical Philology.  
*HSPL* — Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature.  
*IF* — Indogermanische Forschungen.  
*JAOS* — Journal of the American Oriental Society.

*JBL* — Journal of Biblical Literature.  
*JGP* — Journal of Germanic Philology.  
*JHUC* — Johns Hopkins University Circul-  
 lars.  
*LL* — Latin Leaflet.  
*MLA* — Publications of the Modern Language  
 Association.  
*MLN* — Modern Language Notes.  
*MP* — Modern Philology.  
*Nat.* — The Nation.  
*NW* — The New World.  
*PAPA* — Proceedings of the American Philo-  
 logical Association.  
*PUB* — Princeton University Bulletin.  
*SR* — School Review.  
*TAPA* — Transactions of the American Philo-  
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*UMS* — University of Michigan Studies.  
*UPB* — University of Pennsylvania Bulletin.  
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#### JULIUS SACHS.

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#### HUGO K. SCHILLING.

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#### J. J. SCHLICHER.

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#### J. HENRY SENGER.

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#### EDWARD S. SHELDON.

[With assistance of Alain C. White.]

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#### GRANT SHOWERMAN.

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#### E. G. SIHLER.

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#### CHARLES FORSTER SMITH.

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#### CLEMENT L. SMITH.

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HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

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DUANE REED STUART.

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MILTON HAIGHT TURK.

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MINTON WARREN.

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MARY GILMORE WILLIAMS.

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Prof. George Henry Allen, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O. 1904.  
Prof. Hamilton Ford Allen, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1903.  
Miss Katharine Allen, 228 Langdon St., Madison, Wis. 1899.  
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1893.  
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ber). 1897.  
Prof. Andrew Runni Anderson, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1905.  
Prof. Alfred Williams Anthony, Cobb Divinity School, Lewiston, Me. 1890.  
Prof. Henry H. Armstrong, Whitworth College, Tacoma, Wash. 1906.  
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N. Y. 1898.  
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Prof. Francis M. Austin, Illinois Wesleyan University, Bloomington, Ill. 1902.  
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1894.  
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Cecil K. Bancroft, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. 1898.  
Prof. Grove E. Barber, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. (1230 L St.).  
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<sup>1</sup> This list has been corrected up to July 15, 1906; permanent addresses are given, as far as may be. Where the residence is left blank, the members in question are in Europe. The Secretary and the Publishers beg to be kept informed of all changes of address.

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 Mark's Square). 1894.  
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 York, N. Y. 1884.  
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 land, O. (853 Logan Ave.). 1894.  
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 1890.  
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 Washington, D. C. 1897.  
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 Nashville, Tenn. (1512½ Demonbreun St.). 1899.  
 Prof. George Willis Botsford, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1894.  
 Prof. Benjamin Parsons Bourland, Adelbert College of Western Reserve University,  
 Cleveland, O. 1900.  
 Prof. B. L. Bowen, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. 1895.  
 Prof. Edwin W. Bowen, Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va. 1905.  
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 Prof. Charles F. Bradley, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. 1886.

- Prof. J. Everett Brady, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1891.  
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Clermont Ave.). 1897.  
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Indianapolis, Ind.). 1893.  
Prof. F. W. Brown, Franklin College, Franklin, Ind. 1893.  
Dr. Lester Dorman Brown, Drury College, Springfield, Mo. 1904.  
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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, Middlebury, Vt. 1898.  
Prof. Harry E. Burton, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1899.  
Prof. Henry F. Burton, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y. 1878.  
Prof. Curtis C. Bushnell, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. (201 Dell St.).  
1900.  
Pres. Henry A. Buttz, Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J. 1869.  
Miss Miriam A. Bytel, Gilman School, Cambridge, Mass. (10 Avon St.). 1901.  
Prof. Donald Cameron, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1905.  
Prof. Edward Capps, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1889.  
Prof. Mitchell Carroll, The George Washington University, Washington, D.C. 1894.  
Frank Carter, The College, Winchester, England. 1897.  
Dr. Franklin Carter, 324 Prospect St., New Haven, Conn. 1871.  
Prof. Jesse Benedict Carter, American School of Classical Studies, Rome, Italy  
(Via Vicenza 5). 1898.  
Dr. Earnest Cary, 28 Mellen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1905.  
Prof. Mary Emily Case, Wells College, Aurora, N. Y. 1895.  
Prof. Clarence F. Castle, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1888.  
William Van Allen Catron, Lexington, Mo. 1896.  
Prof. Julia H. Caverno, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1902.  
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, University of Maine, Orono, Me. 1900.  
Dr. George H. Chase, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (24 Grays Hall).  
1899.  
Prof. S. R. Cheek, Centre College of Kentucky, Danville, Ky. 1890.



- Prof. Charles Upson Clark, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (473 Edgewood Ave.). 1905.
- Miss Emma Kirkland Clark, 545 A Quincy St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1896.
- Dr. Frank Lowry Clark, Washburn College, Topeka, Kan. (1511 West St.). 1902.
- Dr. Harold Loomis Cleasby, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1905.
- Prof. Charles Nelson Cole, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O. 1902.
- 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.
- Prin. D. Y. Comstock, St. Johnsburv Vt. 1888.
- Prof. Elisha Conover, Delaware College, Newark, Del. 1897.
- Edmund C. Cook, Berkeley School, 72d St. and West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1904.
- Dr. Arthur Stoddard Cooley, 387 Central St., Auburndale, Mass. 1896.
- J. Randolph Coolidge, Jr., Chestnut Hill, Mass. 1884.
- Prof. William L. Cowles, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1888.
- Prof. W. H. Croghan, Clark University, South Atlanta, Ga. 1898.
- W. L. Cushing, Westminster School, Simsbury, Conn. 1888.
- Prof. William K. Denison, Tufts College, College Hill, Mass. 1899.
- Prof. Walter Dennison, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1899.
- Prof. Samuel C. Derby, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. 1895.
- Sherwood Owen Dickerman, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (140 Cottage St.). 1902.
- Prof. Benjamin L. D'Ooge, State Normal College, Ypsilanti, Mich. 1895.
- Prof. Martin L. D'Ooge, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1873.
- Prof. Louis H. Dow, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1895.
- Prof. Eli Dunkle, Ohio University, Athens, O. 1904.
- Prof. Frederic Stanley Dunn, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore. 1899.
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- Prof. Herman L. Ebeling, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. 1892.
- Prof. William S. Ebersole, Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Ia. 1893.
- Prof. W. A. Eckels, Miami University, Oxford, O. 1894.
- Prof. George V. Edwards, State Normal College, Ypsilanti, Mich. (121 Normal St.). 1901.
- Prof. Katharine M. Edwards, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1893.
- Prof. James C. Egbert, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1889.
- Prof. Wallace Stedman Elden, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. (759 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. 1895.
- Prof. O. F. Emerson, Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. (50 Wilbur St.). 1903.

- Prof. Robert B. English, Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pa. 1905.
- Prof. George Taylor Ettinger, Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa. 1896.
- Principal O. Faduma, Peabody Academy, Troy, N. C. 1900.
- Prof. Arthur Fairbanks, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1886.
- Prof. Edwin W. Fay, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. 1889.
- Pres. Thomas Fell, St. John's College, Annapolis, Md. 1888.
- Principal F. J. Fessenden, Fessenden School, West Newton, Mass. 1890.
- Prof. Mervin G. Filler, Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa. 1905.
- Dr. George Converse Fiske, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. (609 Lake St.). 1900.
- Prof. Edward Fitch, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. 1890.
- Everett Henry Fitch, 148 Whalley Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1906.
- Prof. Thomas Fitz-Hugh, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. (Life member). 1902.
- Roy C. Flickinger, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. (718 Clark St.). 1905.
- Miss Helen C. Flint, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1897.
- Prof. Herbert B. Foster, So. Bethlehem, Pa. 1900.
- Prof. Frank H. Fowler, Lombard College, Galesburg, Ill. 1893.
- Prof. Harold N. Fowler, Western Reserve University (College for Women), Cleveland, O. 1885.
- Miss Susan Fowler, The Brearley School, New York, N. Y. (17 W. 44th St.). 1904.
- Dr. Wilmer Cave France, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1900.
- Dr. Susan B. Franklin, Ethical Culture School, 63d St. and Central Park West, New York, N. Y. 1890.
- Dr. I. F. Frisbee, 187 W. Canton St., Boston, Mass. 1898.
- Prof. Charles Kelsey Gaines, St. Lawrence University, Canton, N. Y. 1890.
- Dr. William Gallagher, Thayer Academy, South Braintree, Mass. 1886.
- Frank A. Gallup, Packer Collegiate Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y. (320 Clinton Ave.). 1898.
- Prof. Henry Gibbons, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (405 South 41st St.). 1890.
- Principal Seth K. Gifford, Moses Brown School, Providence, R. I. 1891.
- Prof. John W. Gilbert, Paine College, Augusta, Ga. (1620 Magnolia St.). 1
- Prof. Basil L. Gildersleeve, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1876.
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- Prof. Julius Goebel, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1900.
- Prof. Thomas D. Goodell, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (35 Edgehill Road). 1883.
- Prof. Charles J. Goodwin, Lehigh University, So. Bethlehem, Pa. 1891.
- Prof. William W. Goodwin, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (5 Follen St.). 1870.
- Prof. Roscoe Allan Grant, De Witt Clinton High School, New York, N. Y. (60 West 13th St.). 1902.
- Prof. E. L. Green, South Carolina College, Columbia, S. C. 1898.
- Prof. Herbert Eveleth Greene, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1890.
- Prof. John Greene, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y. 1902.

- Prof. Wilber J. Greer, Washburn College, Topeka, Kan. 1892.  
 Dr. Alfred Gudeman, Franz Josefstrasse 12, Munich, Germany. 1889.  
 Dr. Roscoe Guernsey, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1902.  
 Prof. Charles Burton Gulick, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (18 Walker St.). 1894.  
 Prof. George D. Hadzsits, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1904.  
 Dr. Walter D. D. Hadzsits, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1904.  
 Miss Elizabeth Hazelton Haight, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1902.  
 Prof. William Gardner Hale, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1882.  
 Prof. Arthur P. Hall, Drury College, Springfield, Mo. 1886.  
 Prof. F. A. Hall, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. (531 Spring Ave.). 1896.  
 Frank T. Hallett, Brown University, Providence, R. I. (283 George St.). 1902.  
 Prof. T. F. Hamblin, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa. 1895.  
 Prof. H. A. Hamilton, Elmira College, Elmira, N. Y. 1895.  
 Miss Clemence Hamilton, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1901.  
 Principal John Calvin Hanna, High School, Oak Park, Ill. (209 South East Ave.). 1896.  
 Prof. Albert Harkness, Brown University, Providence, R. I. 1869.  
 Prof. Albert Granger Harkness, Brown University, Providence, R. I. 1896.  
 Prof. Karl P. Harrington, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. 1892.  
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 Prof. J. E. Harry, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O. 1896.  
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 Prof. Harold Ripley Hastings, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1905.  
 Prof. Paul Haupt, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1884.  
 Prof. Adeline Belle Hawes, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1902.  
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 Prof. F. B. R. Hellems, State University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo. 1900.  
 Prof. Otto Heller, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1896.  
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 Prof. Archer Wilmot Hendrick, Whitman College, Walla Walla, Wash. 1904.  
 Prof. George L. Hendrickson, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1892.  
 Adam Fremont Hendrix, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan. 1904.  
 Prof. John H. Hewitt, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1886.  
 Prof. Joseph William Hewitt, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. 1905.  
 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.

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- Harwood Hoadley, 140 West 13th St., New York, N. Y. 1903.
- Archibald L. Hodges, Wadleigh High School, 114th St., near 7th Ave., New York, N. Y. 1899.
- Prof. Arthur W. Hodgman, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. (325 West 10th Ave.). 1896.
- Dr. 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. (878 Driggs Ave.). 1900.
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- Prof. William A. Houghton, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. 1892.
- Prof. Albert A. Howard, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (12 Walker St.). 1892.
- Prof. George E. Howes, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1896.
- Prof. Frank G. Hubbard, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1896.
- Prof. J. H. Huddilston, University of Maine, Orono, Me. 1898.
- Prof. Walter Hullihen, Grant University, Chattanooga, Tenn. 1904.
- Prof. Milton W. Humphreys, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. 1871.
- Stephen A. Hurlbut, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1903.
- Dr. George B. Hussey, East Orange, N. J. 1887.
- Frederick L. Hutson, 5727 Monroe Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1902.
- Prof. J. W. D. Ingersoll, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (311 Crown St.). 1897.
- Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1884.
- Dr. Carl Newell Jackson, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1905.
- Prof. George E. Jackson, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. (4400 Morgan St.). 1890.
- Prof. M. W. Jacobus, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. (14 Marshall St.). 1893.
- Prof. Hans C. G. von Jagemann, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (113 Walker St.). 1882.
- Dr. Samuel A. Jeffers, State Normal School, California, Pa. 1904.
- Miss Anna S. Jenkins, 427 Nostrand Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1899.
- Dr. Charles W. L. Johnson, 32 East Preston St., Baltimore, Md. 1897.
- Prof. William H. Johnson, Denison University, Granville, O. 1895.
- Prof. Eva Johnston, University of the State of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1902.
- Dr. George W. Johnston, University of Toronto, Toronto, Can. 1895.
- Prof. J. C. Jones, University of the State of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1902.
- Prof. George Dwight Kellogg, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. (10 Nassau St.). 1897.
- Prof. Francis W. Kelsey, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1890.



- Dr. Roland G. Kent, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (College Hall). 1903.
- Prof. John B. Kieffer, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa. 1889.
- Prof. William Hamilton Kirk, Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J. 1898.
- Chancellor J. H. Kirkland, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 1887.
- Prof. J. C. Kirtland, Jr., Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. 1895.
- Prof. George Lyman Kittredge, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (9 Hilliard St.). 1884.
- Miss Lucile Kohn, 1138 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1905.
- Dr. William H. Klapp, Academy of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1324 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1894.
- Prof. 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. William H. Kruse, Fort Wayne, Ind. 1905.
- Prof. A. G. Laird, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1890.
- Prof. William A. Lambertson, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.
- Prof. W. B. Langsdorf, 189 Kokutajimura, Hiroshima, Japan. 1895.
- Prof. Charles R. Lanman, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (9 Farrar St.). 1877.
- Lewis H. Lapham, 8 Bridge St., New York, N. Y. 1880.
- Prof. William Cranston Lawton, Adelphi College, Brooklyn, N. Y. (224 Willoughby Ave.). 1888.
- Prof. Abby Leach, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1888.
- Dr. Arthur G. Leacock, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. 1899.
- Dr. Emory B. Lease, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. (512 West 151st St.). 1895.
- Dr. J. T. Lees, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. 1888.
- Prof. Winfred G. Leutner, Wittenberg College, Springfield, O. 1905.
- Prof. Thomas B. Lindsay, Boston University, Boston, Mass. 1880.
- Prof. Charles Edgar Little, University of Nashville, Nashville, Tenn. 1902.
- Miss Dale Livingstone, State Normal School, California, Pa. 1902.
- Prof. Gonzalez Lodge, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1888.
- Prof. O. F. Long, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 1900.
- Prof. F. M. Longanecker, Bethany College, Bethany, W. Va. 1906.
- 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.
- Prof. Nelson G. McCrea, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1890.
- Prof. Walton Brooks McDaniel, College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1901.
- Prof. J. H. McDaniels, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y. 1871.
- Prof. A. St. Clair Mackenzie, State College of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky. 1901.
- Prof. George F. McKibben, Denison University, Granville, O. 1885.
- Miss Harriett E. McKinstry, Lake Erie College, Painesville, O. 1881.
- Miss Charlotte F. McLean, Linden Hall Seminary, Lititz, Pa. 1906.

- Pres. George E. MacLean, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. (603 College St.). 1891.
- Prof. Grace H. Macurdy, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1894.
- Prof. David Magie, Jr., Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. (33 Prospect Ave.). 1901.
- Dr. H. W. Magoun, 70 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass. 1891.
- Prof. J. H. T. Main, Iowa College, Grinnell, Ia. 1891.
- Prof. J. Irving Manatt, Brown University, Providence, R. I. (15 Keene St.). 1875.
- Prof. John M. Manly, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1896.
- Prof. W. G. Manly, University of the State of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1902.
- Prof. Richard Clarke Manning, Kenyon College, Gambier, O. 1905.
- Prof. F. A. March, Sr., Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. 1869.
- 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, 41 Dana St., Cambridge, Mass. 1894.
- Prof. Clarence Linton Meader, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1902.
- Prof. John Moffatt Mecklin, Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pa. 1900.
- Prof. Frank Ivan Merchant, 19 Thomas St., Jamaica Plain, Mass. 1898.
- Ernest Loren Meritt, 435 Elm St., New Haven, Conn. 1903.
- Prof. Elmer T. Merrill, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1883.
- Dr. Truman Michelson, University of the State of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1900.
- Dr. Alfred W. Mildner, Emory and Henry College, Emory, Va. 1903.
- Prof. C. W. E. Miller, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1892.
- Prof. Walter Miller, Tulane University, New Orleans, La. 1900.
- Prof. Clara Millerd, Iowa College, Grinnell, Ia. 1902.
- Dr. Richard A. v. Minckwitz, De Witt Clinton High School, New York, N. Y. (Amsterdam Ave. and 102d St.). 1895.
- Charles A. Mitchell, Asheville School, Asheville, N. C. 1893.
- Prof. Clifford Herschel Moore, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1889.
- Prof. Frank G. Moore, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1888.
- Prof. George F. Moore, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (3 Divinity Ave.). 1885.
- Prof. J. Leverett Moore, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1887.
- Prof. Lewis B. Moore, Howard University, Washington, D. C. 1896.
- Paul E. More, 265 Springdale Ave., East Orange, N. J. 1896.
- Prof. James H. Morgan, Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa. 1897.
- Prof. Morris H. Morgan, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (45 Garden St.). 1887.
- Prof. Edward P. Morris, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (53 Edgehill Road). 1886.
- Prof. Lewis F. Mott, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. 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. K. P. R. Neville, University of Illinois, Champaign, Ill. (1002 Oregon St., Urbana, Ill.). 1902.
- Dr. Charles B. Newcomer, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (1227 Washtenaw Ave.). 1900.
- Prof. Barker Newhall, Kenyon College, Gambier, O. 1891.
- Prof. Frank W. Nicolson, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. 1888.
- Prof. William A. Nitze, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1902.
- Prof. Richard Norton, American School of Classical Studies, Rome, Italy (Via Vicenza 5). 1897.
- Prof. George N. Olcott, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. (438 W. 116th St.). 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. Elisabeth H. Palmer, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1902.
- Prof. Charles P. Parker, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (1075 Massachusetts Ave.). 1884.
- Prof. James M. Paton, care J. S. Morgan & Co., London, Eng. 1887.
- John Patterson, Louisville High School, Louisville, Ky. (1117 Fourth St.). 1900.
- Dr. Charles Peabody, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. (197 Brattle Street, Cambridge, Mass.). 1894.
- Dr. Mary Bradford Peaks, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1905.
- Prof. E. M. Pease, 31 E. 17th St., New York, N. Y. 1887.
- Prof. Tracy Peck, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1871.
- Miss Frances Pellett, Kelly Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1893.
- Dr. Daniel A. Penick, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. 1902.
- Prof. Charles W. Pepler, Emory College, Oxford, Ga. 1899.
- Dr. Elizabeth Mary Perkins, 1355 Kenesaw St., Washington, D. C. 1904.
- Prof. Emma M. Perkins, Western Reserve University (College for Women), Cleveland, O. 1892.
- Prof. Bernadotte Perrin, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (136 Farnam Hall). 1879.
- Prof. Edward D. Perry, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. (542 West 114th St.). 1882.
- Prof. John Pickard, University of the State 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. (24 Cornell St.). 1885.
- 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.
- Henry Preble, The Connecticut, Connecticut Ave., Washington, D. C. 1882.
- Prof. William K. Prentice, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. (12 Nassau St.). 1895.
- Prof. Ferris W. Price, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa. 1895.
- Prof. Benjamin F. Prince, Wittenberg College, Springfield, O. 1893.
- Prof. Robert S. Radford, Elmira College, Elmira, N. Y. (660 N. Main St.). 1900.

- Prof. Edward Kennard Rand, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (107 Lake View Ave.). 1902.
- Prof. Charles B. Randolph, Clark University, Worcester, Mass. 1905.
- Prof. Edwin Moore Rankin, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1905.
- Prof. John W. Redd, Centre College, Danville, Ky. 1885.
- Prof. A. G. Rembert, Woford College, Spartansburg, S. C. 1902.
- Prof. Horatio M. Reynolds, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (85 Trumbull St.). 1884.
- Dr. Ernst Riess, De Witt Clinton High School, New York, N. Y. (Amsterdam Ave. and 102d St.). 1895.
- Prof. Edmund Y. Robbins, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1895.
- Dr. Arthur W. Roberts, Brookline High School, Brookline, Mass. 1884.
- Dr. David M. Robinson, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1905
- Dr. James J. Robinson, Hotchkiss School, Lakeville, Conn. 1902.
- Prof. W. A. Robinson, Lawrenceville School, Lawrenceville, N. J. 1888.
- Prof. Joseph C. Rockwell, Buchtel College, Akron, O. 1896.
- Prof. F. E. Rockwood, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa. 1885.
- Prof. Cornelia H. B. Rogers, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1903.
- George B. Rogers, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. 1902.
- Prof. John C. Rolfe, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (4400 Chestnut St.). 1890.
- C. A. Rosegrant, Potsdam State Normal School, Potsdam, N. Y. 1902.
- Prof. Clarence F. Ross, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa. 1902.
- Prof. August Rupp, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. 1902.
- Dr. Arthur W. Ryder, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (72 Perkins Hall), 1902.
- Dr. Julius Sachs, Classical School for Girls, 38 West Fifty-ninth St., New York, N. Y. 1875.
- Benjamin H. Sanborn, Wellesley, Mass. 1890.
- Prof. Henry A. Sanders, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (1227 Washtenaw Ave.). 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. J. J. Schlicher, State Normal School, Terre Haute, Ind. 1901.
- Prof. H. Schmidt-Wartenberg, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1894.
- Edmund F. Schreiner, 486 N. Clark St., Chicago, Ill. 1900.
- G. E. Scoggin, Cambridge, Mass. 1904.
- Dr. Charles P. G. Scott, Yonkers, N. Y. (150 Woodworth Ave.). 1880.
- Prof. John Adams Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. (2030 Orrington Ave.). 1898.
- Miss Annie N. Scribner, 1823 Orrington Ave., Evanston, Ill. 1900.
- Prof. Henry S. Scribner, Western University of Pennsylvania, Allegheny City, Pa. 1889.
- Prof. 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.



- J. B. Sewall, Brandon Hall, Brookline, 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. (College Park P.O.). 1897.  
 Prof. J. A. Shaw, Highland Military Academy, Worcester, Mass. 1876.  
 Pres. Andrew Shedd, University of Florida, Lake City, Fla. 1904.  
 Prof. Edward S. Sheldon, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (11 Francis Ave.). 1881.  
 Prof. F. W. Shipley, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1900.  
 Prof. Paul Shorey, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1887.  
 Prof. Grant Showerman, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1900.  
 Dr. Edgar S. Shumway, Manual Training High School, Brooklyn, N. Y. (472 E. 18th St.). 1885.  
 Prof. E. G. Sihler, New York University, University Heights, New York, N. Y. 1876.  
 Prof. Herbert D. Simpson, Central Normal School, Lockhaven, Pa. 1905.  
 Prof. Charles F. Sitterly, Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J. 1902.  
 Prof. M. S. Slaughter, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1887.  
 Principal M. C. Smart, Littleton, N. H. 1900.  
 Prof. Charles Forster Smith, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1883.  
 Prof. Charles S. Smith, George Washington University, Washington, D. C. (2122 H St.). 1895.  
 Prof. Clement L. Smith, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1882.  
 Prof. Harry de Forest Smith, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1899.  
 Prof. Josiah R. Smith, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. (950 Madison Ave.). 1885.  
 Prof. Kirby F. Smith, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1897.  
 Prof. Herbert Weir Smyth, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (91 Walker St.). 1886.  
 Dr. George C. S. Southworth, Gambier, O. 1883.  
 Prof. Edward H. Spieker, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. (915 Edmondson Ave.). 1884.  
 Dr. Sidney G. Stacey, Erasmus Hall High School, Brooklyn, N. Y. (119 Montague St.). 1901.  
 Prof. Jonathan Y. Stanton, Bates College, Lewiston, Me. 1888.  
 Eric Arthur Starbuck, Worcester, Mass. 1904.  
 Miss Josephine Stary, Belle Harbor, L. I., N. Y. 1899.  
 Prof. R. B. Steele, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. (2401 West End). 1893.  
 Prof. J. R. S. Sterrett, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. (2 South Ave.). 1885.  
 Prof. F. H. Stoddard, New York University, University Heights, New York, N. Y. 1890.  
 Prof. Duane Reed Stuart, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1901.  
 Dr. E. H. Sturtevant, University of the State of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1901.  
 Dr. Charles W. Super, Ohio University, Athens, O. 1881.  
 Prof. William F. Swahlen, De Pauw University, Greencastle, Ind. 1904.  
 Dr. Marguerite Sweet, 13 Ten Bronck St., Albany, N. Y. 1892.

- Prof. Frank B. Tarbell, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1882.  
Prof. Joseph R. Taylor, Boston University, Boston, Mass. 1902.  
Prof. Julian D. Taylor, Colby University, Waterville, Me. 1890.  
Prof. Glanville Terrell, Georgetown College, Georgetown, Ky. 1898.  
Prof. William E. Thompson, Hamline University, St. Paul, Minn. 1877.  
Dr. Charles H. Thurber, 29 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1901.  
Prof. Fitz Gerald Tisdall, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. 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.  
Prof. O. S. Tonks, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1903.  
Prof. J. A. Tufts, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. 1898.  
Prof. Milton H. Turk, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y. 1896.  
Prof. Esther B. Van Deman, The Woman's College, Baltimore, Md. 1899.  
Prof. LaRue Van Hook, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1905.  
Addison Van Name, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (121 High St.). 1869.  
Prof. N. P. Vlachos, Temple College, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.  
Prof. Frank Vogel, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass. 1904.  
Dr. W. H. Wait, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1893.  
Dr. John W. H. Walden, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1889.  
Prof. Arthur T. Walker, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan. 1895.  
Dr. Alice Walton, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1894.  
Prof. Harry Barnes Ward, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. 1905.  
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.  
Prof. William E. Waters, New York University, University Heights, N. Y. (604 West 115th St.). 1885.  
Dr. John C. Watson, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1902.  
Dr. Helen L. Webster, Wilkesbarre Institute, Wilkesbarre, Pa. 1890.  
Prof. Raymond Weeks, University of the State of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1902.  
Prof. Charles Heald Weller, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa. 1903.  
Dr. Mary C. Welles, Newington, Conn. 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, Stanfordsville, N. Y. 1869.  
Prof. L. B. Wharton, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va. 1888.  
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, Normal College, New York, N. Y. (507 West 111th St.). 1891.  
Dr. Andrew C. White, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. (424 Dryden Road). 1886.  
Prof. John Williams White, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (18 Concord Ave.). 1874.

- Vice-Chancellor 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. (1005 N. Meridian St.). 1887.
- Prof. George A. Williams, Kalamazoo College, Kalamazoo, Mich. (136 Thompson St.). 1891.
- Prof. Mary G. Williams, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1899.
- Prof. Harry Langford Wilson, American School of Classical Studies, Rome, Italy (Via Vicenza 5). 1898.
- Miss Julia E. Winslow, 31 Sidney Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1903.
- Dr. J. D. Wolcott, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1898.
- Prof. E. L. Wood, Manual Training High School, Providence, R. I. (271 Alabama Ave.). 1888.
- Prof. Henry Wood, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1884.
- Dr. Willis Patten Woodman, 6 Greenough Ave., Jamaica Plain, Mass. 1901.
- Prof. Frank E. Woodruff, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. 1887.
- C. C. Wright, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. 1902.
- Prof. Ellsworth D. Wright, Lawrence University, Appleton, Wis. 1898.
- Dr. Henry B. Wright, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (86 Connecticut Hall). 1903.
- Prof. Henry P. Wright, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (128 York St.). 1883.
- Prof. John Henry Wright, American School of Classical Studies, Athens, Greece. 1874.
- Prof. Clarence H. Young, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. (312 West 88th St.). 1890.
- Prof. R. B. Youngman, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. 1901.

[Number of Members, 504.]

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.

- Albert H. Allen, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2425 Virginia St.). 1900.  
Prof. James T. Allen, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2243 College Ave.). 1898.  
Prof. Louis F. Anderson, Whitman College, Walla Walla, Wash. (364 Boyer Ave.). 1887.  
Prof. M. B. Anderson, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1901.  
Prof. H. T. Archibald, Occidental College, Los Angeles, Cal. 1901.  
Prof. William F. Badè, Pacific Theological Seminary, Berkeley, Cal. 1903.  
Prof. C. B. Bradley, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2639 Durant Ave.). 1900.  
Dr. Carlos Bransby, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2323 College Ave.). 1903.  
Rev. William A. Brewer, St. Matthew's Hall, San Mateo, Cal. 1900.  
B. H. Cerf, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1903.  
Prof. Samuel A. Chambers, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2223 Atherton St.). 1900.  
Prof. J. E. Church, Jr., University of Nevada, Reno, Nev. 1901.  
Prof. Edward B. Clapp, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (1 Bushnell Place). 1886.  
Prof. W. A. Cooper, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Palo Alto, Cal. (1111 Emerson St.). 1901.  
J. Allen De Cou, Red Bluff, Cal. 1900.  
Monroe E. Deutsch, High School, Berkeley, Cal. 1904.  
Henry B. Dewing, High School, Berkeley, Cal. 1903.  
Prof. J. Elmore, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1900.  
Prof. H. Rushton Fairclough, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1887.  
Prof. W. S. Ferguson, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (Cloyne Court). 1899.  
Prof. Ewald Flügel, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1900.  
Prof. Benjamin O. Foster, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1899.  
Prof. P. J. Frein, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. (University Station, Box 104). 1900.  
Prof. John Fryer, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2620 Durant Ave.). 1900.



- Dr. John Gamble, Haywards, Cal. 1902.  
 Prof. Charles M. Gayley, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2328 Piedmont Ave.). 1895.  
 Charles B. Gleason, High School, San José, Cal. 1900.  
 Dr. Pliny E. Goddard, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2523 Hilgard Ave.). 1902.  
 Walter H. Graves, High School, Oakland, Cal. (1428 Seventh Ave.). 1900.  
 Miss Rebecca T. Greene, Palo Alto, Cal. 1900.  
 Prof. James O. Griffin, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. (Box 144.). 1896.  
 Prof. A. S. Haggitt, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1901.  
 Prof. Walter Morris Hart, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2255 Piedmont Ave.). 1903.  
 Prof. George Hempl, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1895.  
 Miss F. Hodgkinson, Lowell High School, San Francisco, Cal. 1903.  
 M. C. James, High School, Berkeley, Cal. 1900.  
 Prof. Oliver M. Johnston, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1900.  
 Winthrop L. Keep, High School, Red Bluff, Cal. 1900.  
 Tracy R. Kelley, Lowell High School, San Francisco, Cal. 1900.  
 Dr. Alfred L. Kroeber, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1902.  
 Prof. A. F. Lange, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2629 Haste St.). 1900.  
 Dr. Ivan M. Linforth, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2116 Bancroft Way). 1903.  
 Prof. E. W. Martin, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Palo Alto, Cal. (727 Cowper St.). 1903.  
 Prof. John E. Matzke, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. (Box 105). 1900.  
 Prof. William A. Merrill, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2609 College Ave.). 1886.  
 Francis O. Mower, High School, Napa, Cal. 1900.  
 Dr. E. J. Murphy, Abra Ilocano District, Bangued, Abra, Philippine Islands. 1900.  
 Prof. Augustus T. Murray, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1887.  
 Prof. A. G. Newcomer, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Palo Alto, Cal. 1902.  
 Rabbi Jacob Nieto, San Francisco, Cal. (1719 Bush St.). 1900.  
 Prof. George R. Noyes, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2249 College Ave.). 1901.  
 Prof. H. C. Nutting, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (Box 272). 1900.  
 Dr. Charles J. O'Connor, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2545 Benvenue Ave.). 1900.  
 Dr. Andrew Oliver, High School, Yreka, Cal. 1900.  
 Prof. Friederick M. Padelford, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.  
 Clarence Paschall, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (1629 Euclid Ave.). 1903.

- Dr. Torsten Petersson, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1905.  
Dr. William Popper, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (The Berkshire).  
1905.  
Prof. Henry W. Prescott, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2525 Etna St.).  
1899.  
Prof. Clifton Price, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (University Terrace).  
1899.  
E. K. Putnam, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. (Box  
792.) 1901.  
Prof. Albin Putzker, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2600 Telegraph  
Ave.). 1900.  
Miss Cecilia Raymond, Berkeley, Cal. (2407 S. Atherton St.). 1900.  
Prof. Karl G. Rendtorff, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Palo Alto, Cal. (1130  
Bryant St.). 1900.  
Prof. Carl C. Rice, Lincoln, Neb. 1902.  
Prof. Leon J. Richardson, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1895.  
Prof. H. K. Schilling, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2316 Le Conte  
Ave.). 1901.  
Prof. F. G. G. Schmidt, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore. 1900.  
Prof. Colbert Searles, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.  
(Box 281). 1901.  
Prof. Henry Senger, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (1429 Spruce St.).  
1900.  
S. S. Seward, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. (Box 771).  
1902.  
Prof. David Thomson, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1902.  
Rabbi Jacob Voorsanger, San Francisco, Cal. (1249 Franklin St.). 1901.  
Pres. Benjamin Ide Wheeler, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1879.

[Number of Members, 74. Total, 504 + 74 = 578.]

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 Greencastle, Ind. : Library of De Pauw University.  
 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.  
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[Number of subscribing institutions, 60.]

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American School of Classical Studies, Athens.  
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Philological Society, London.  
Society of Biblical Archaeology, 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.  
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 Library of the University of Giessen.  
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 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.]

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TO THE FOLLOWING FOREIGN JOURNALS THE TRANSACTIONS ARE ANNUALLY  
 SENT, GRATIS.

- Athenæum, London.  
 Classical Review, London.  
 Revue Critique, Paris.  
 Revue de Philologie (Adrien Krebs, 11 Rue de Lille, Paris).  
 Mémoires de la 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).  
 Bolletino di Filologia Classica, Via Vittorio Amadeo ii, Turin.  
 Biblioteca delle Scuole Italiane (Dr. A. G. Amatucci, Corso Umberto I, 106,  
 Naples).  
 Zeitschrift für die österr. Gymnasien (Prof. J. Golling, Maximilians-Gymnasium,  
 Vienna).  
 L'Université Catholique (Prof. A. Lepitre, 10 Avenue de Noailles, Lyons).

[Total (586 + 60 + 43 + 1 + 17) = 707.]

CONSTITUTION  
OF THE  
AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

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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.

AMENDMENT I. Besides the officers named in Article II, there shall also be an Assistant Secretary, to assist the Secretary during the sessions of the Association, but not to be a member of the Executive Committee.

## PUBLICATIONS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

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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.

For the contents of Volumes I-XXXI inclusive, see Volume XXXIV, pp. cxliii ff.

The contents of the last five volumes are as follows:—

### 1901.—Volume XXXII.

- Wheeler, B. I.: The causes of uniformity in phonetic change.  
Clapp, E. B.: Pindar's accusative constructions.  
Merrill, E. T.: Some observations on the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum.  
Harry, J. E.: A misunderstood passage in Aeschylus (*Prom.* 119).  
Franklin, S. B.: Public appropriations for individual offerings and sacrifices in Greece.  
Morgan, M. H.: Rain-gods and rain-charms.  
Warren, M.: Some ancient and modern etymologies.  
Adams, C. D.: The Harpalos case.  
Steele R. B.: Anaphora and chiasmus in Livy.  
Hempl, G.: The variant runes on the Franks casket.  
Bill, C. P.: Notes on the Greek *Θεωρός* and *Θεωρία*.  
Elmer, H. C.: On the subjunctive with *Forsitan*.  
Proceedings of the special session, Philadelphia, 1900.  
Proceedings of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, San Francisco, 1900.  
Proceedings of the thirty-third annual session, Cambridge, 1901.

### 1902.—Volume XXXIII.

- Earle, M. L.: Studies in Sophocles's *Trachinians*.  
Morgan, M. H.: Remarks on the water supply of ancient Rome.  
Richardson, L. J.: On certain sound properties of the Sapphic strophe as employed by Horace.



- Shipley, F. W.: Numeral corruptions in a ninth century Ms. of Livy.  
 Steele, R. B.: Some forms of complementary sentences in Livy.  
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 Allen, J. T.: On the so-called iterative optative in Greek.  
 Wheeler, B. I.: Herodotus's account of the battle of Salamis  
 Ferrin, P.: The Nikias of Pasiphon and Plutarch.  
 Hempl, G.: The Duenos inscription.  
 Proceedings of the thirty-fourth annual session, Schenectady, 1902.  
 Proceedings of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, San Francisco, 1901.

**1903. — Volume XXXIV.**

- Moore, F. G.: Studies in Tacitean ellipsis: descriptive passages.  
 Goodell, T. D.: Word-accent in Catullus's galliambics.  
 Brownson, C. L.: The succession of Spartan nauarchs in *Hellenica* I.  
 Prescott, H. W.: Magister curiae in Plautus's *Aulularia* 107.  
 Miller, C. W. E.: Hephaestion and the anapaest in the Aristophanic trimeter.  
 Radford, R. S.: The Latin monosyllables in their relation to accent and quantity.  
     A study in the verse of Terence.  
 March, F. A.: Three new types.  
 Proceedings of the thirty-fifth annual meeting, New Haven, 1903.  
 Proceedings of the fourth annual meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, San Francisco, 1902.

**1904. — Volume XXXV.**

- Ferguson, W. S.: Historical value of the twelfth chapter of Plutarch's Life of Pericles.  
 Botsford, G. W.: On the distinction between *Comitia* and *Concilium*  
 Radford, R. S.: Studies in Latin accent and metric.  
 Johnson, C. W. L.: The *Accentus* of the ancient Latin grammarians.  
 Bolling, G. M.: The Çāntikalpa of the Atharva-Veda.  
 Rand, E. K.: Notes on Ovid.  
 Goebel, J.: The etymology of Mephistopheles.  
 Proceedings of the thirty-sixth annual meeting, St. Louis, 1904.  
 Proceedings of the fifth and sixth annual meetings of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, San Francisco, 1903, 1904.

**1905. — Volume XXXVI.**

- Sanders, H. A.: The Oxyrhynchus epitome of Livy and Reinhold's lost chronicon.  
 Meader, C. L.: Types of sentence structure in Latin prose writers.  
 Stuart, D. R.: The reputed influence of the *dies natalis* in determining the inscription of restored temples.  
 Bennett, C. E.: The ablative of association.  
 Harkness, A. G.: The relation of accent to elision in Latin verse.

Bassett, S. E. : Notes on the bucolic diaeresis.

Watson, J. C. : Donatus's version of the Terence *didascaliae*.

Radford, R. S. : Plautine synizesis.

Kelsey, F. W. : The title of Caesar's work.

Proceedings of the thirty-seventh annual meeting, Ithaca, N. Y., 1905.

Proceedings of the seventh annual meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, San Francisco, 1905.

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