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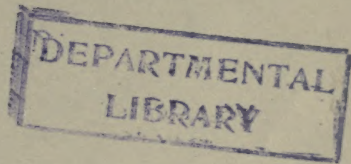


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TRANSACTIONS
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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN
PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

1912

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TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
1912

I. — *Are the Political "Speeches" of Demosthenes to be regarded as Political Pamphlets?*

BY PROFESSOR CHARLES DARWIN ADAMS
DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

THE traditional view of the political works of Demosthenes is that they are genuine *δημηγορίαι*, carefully written in advance, delivered from the bema, and then revised and published by the author, or in some cases by his literary executors.¹ I find the first suggestion of a different view in a note by Wilamowitz in vol. II of his *Aristoteles und Athen*, 1893, where (p. 215) he speaks of the *Fourth Philippic* and the speech *On the Letter* as being "allerdings keine Reden, sondern politische Flugschriften." The next year Eduard Schwartz in the course of a discussion of the *First Philippic*² presented in some detail an argument for considering Demosthenes' political speeches, so-called, as political pamphlets. This view has now been fully accepted by Wilamowitz, Eduard Meyer, and Paul Wendland.³

¹ Cf. Blass, *Die attische Beredsamkeit*, III, i², pp. 74 ff.

² *Demosthenes erste Philippika*, Marburg, 1894.

³ Wilamowitz, *Die griechische Literatur des Altertums (Die Kultur der Gegenwart, I, viii)*, pp. 73 ff.

Meyer, *Isokrates' zweiter Brief an Philipp und Demosthenes' zweite Philippika*, Berlin, 1909. Cf. *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, Bd. II (1899), p. 384, n. 1.

Wendland, *Isokrates und Demosthenes*, Berlin, 1910, pp. 292 ff.; cf. *Die griechische Prosa* (Gercke und Norden, *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*, Bd. I), p. 348. Cf. his treatment of the *Fourth Philippic* as probably an

The pamphlet theory may be stated as follows: Demosthenes' extant political "speeches," so-called, are not speeches in any real sense. They are political pamphlets, cast in the form of speeches, designed for immediate effect on public opinion. Any one of them may be more or less based on a speech that Demosthenes had actually delivered from the bema; but in any case the published works differ so much from the actual speeches in both form and content that they must be regarded as essentially new works: pamphlets, written for the immediate use of the supporters of Demosthenes. They will have been used chiefly in oral reading before political clubs and groups of citizens. They are pleas, not for a specific question that is before the ecclesia on a given day and hour, but for general policies, on questions that are less ephemeral. While the speech from the bema was undoubtedly Demosthenes' main instrument for influencing public opinion, he did, it is claimed, resort occasionally to the political pamphlet, an instrument which had long since become fully recognized in the field of practical statesmanship. The content of the pamphlet, it is said, may often be the result of the orator's reflection on actual discussion in the ecclesia; he will have reviewed in his mind what had been said there in debate by himself and by others; he will have eliminated the ephemeral, the lesser details, the personalities; he will have selected those points that involved the central issue, and that in debate had proved most effective; these he will have embodied in form more condensed and in language more formal and refined than would have been suited to the bema. These pamphlets are what we have been accustomed to call the political "speeches" of Demosthenes. The real political speeches, in the form in which they were delivered, were not published.

actual speech, in his review of Diels and Schubart's edition of the Didymus Commentary, *Götting. gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1906, Bd. II, p. 364.

A review of this theory has been given, and an analysis of the "Speeches" on this basis has been made, in a dissertation by Karl Hahn, *Demosthenis contiones num re vera in contione habitae sint quaeritur*, Giessen, 1910. In a review of Hahn's dissertation, *Berl. philol. Wochenschrift*, 1911, sp. 705, Thalheim argues briefly but decidedly against the pamphlet theory.

It will be seen at once that the pamphlet theory as applied to a given work of Demosthenes may be so held as not to differ materially from the speech theory. One who, for instance, holds that the *First Philippic* is a pamphlet based on a previous discussion in the ecclesia and containing, in general, arguments that Demosthenes had himself presented there, does not differ essentially from one who treats the *First Philippic* as a speech, previously written, and actually delivered by Demosthenes in the ecclesia, but considerably revised after delivery, and immediately published for further effect on public opinion. The more one emphasizes the probable amount of revision for publication and the practical purpose of publication, the more nearly he approaches the position of the pamphlet theory. But, in fact, those who hold the pamphlet theory say little of the possible speech as underlying the published work; both content and form are treated as largely a new creation; while those who treat the works as speeches, usually think of them and speak of them as giving us an essentially correct impression of the speeches actually delivered on specific occasions. In practice therefore the difference between the two schools of interpretation is real and important.

Before discussing the several speeches let me present certain general considerations. It would certainly be surprising to find that in the case of an orator whose activity covered both private and public cases in the courts, and speeches and discussions in the ecclesia, he or his literary executors had taken pains to publish specimens of the legal oratory, both private and public, but had preserved and published nothing from the long series of political speeches in the ecclesia. This would be doubly surprising in view of the fact that Demosthenes' fame and influence in the years of his full maturity rested chiefly upon his great popular speeches. If his speeches in other fields were deemed by himself or others worthy of publication, how could we explain the failure to publish the most characteristic products of his art?

Two answers may be offered. First, it is said that the

publication of *δημηγορίαι* was not a custom of Athenian statesmen; that publication was practically confined to epideictic and legal oratory. It is true that we have no decisive evidence of the publication of any *δημηγορίαι* in the fifth century.¹ In the early fourth century we hear of but one published *δημηγορία*, the extant speech of Andocides *On the Peace* (392/1 B.C.). Even this may be a pamphlet.² In only a very few cases do we learn of *δημηγορίαι* as published by statesmen contemporary with Demosthenes. We hear of nothing of this class published by Eubulus, Phocion, Lycurgus, Aeschines, or Demades. A few of the speeches of Hyperides that are mentioned by ancient writers may have been *δημηγορίαι*; the speech *On Halonnesus* is a *δημηγορία*, probably by Hegesippus. A speech of Philinus cited by Harpocration (*s.v.* *θεωρικά*) was probably a *δημηγορία*. If we view the extant political speeches of Demosthenes as published *δημηγορίαι*, we must admit that they belong to a new and almost unique department of fourth century literature.

The advocates of the pamphlet theory appeal also to the fact that the political pamphlet had become well established before the close of the fifth century, and that the fictitious political speech was one of its recognized departments. Of course the speech-pamphlets of Isocrates represent the highest development of the art hitherto recognized. It is urged then with considerable force that in view of the rarity of publication of *δημηγορίαι*, and the recognized use of speech-pamphlets both as political instruments and works of literary art, the works of Demosthenes in question are presumably pamphlets also.

And yet the argument has less force than at first appears. Consider the circumstances under which the political pamphlet developed, and under which it was at any time useful. It was of use, first, to the man who sought to propagate political doctrines and further political movements that could not be discussed openly. This was doubtless the chief cause

¹ Plato suggests the reason, *Phaedrus*, 257, d.

² Drerup so considers it. [*Ἡρώδου*] *Περὶ Πολιτείας*, Drerup, Paderborn, 1908, p. 112.

of the rapid growth of pamphlet literature in the last quarter of the fifth century. Pamphlets, circulated through the secret political clubs, helped to prepare the way for the oligarchical revolutions of 411 and 404. The political pamphlet was useful, secondly, to the man who for any reason had no access to the bema; metics like Thrasymachus and Lysias might well avail themselves of this means of influencing political events; Isocrates, unfitted by temperament for public speaking,¹ found in the pamphlet-speech an effective instrument for working upon public opinion. A third use was for appeal to the comparatively small reading class, and the presentation to them of arguments that demanded more deliberate thought than could be expected in the ecclesia. A fourth use of the pamphlet might naturally be to influence public opinion in other states.

The last of these uses might seem to have been distinctly called for in the case of Demosthenes. No small part of his effort was given to spreading the anti-Macedonian propaganda in other states. But in all the works that we are discussing we find so much that is distinctively Athenian, the standpoint is always so clearly that of Athens, that it is impossible to consider the influencing of public opinion abroad as the primary purpose of any one of them. Indeed, the fact that we have no work of Demosthenes addressed directly to public opinion in Arcadia or Thebes is of considerable weight as an argument that he did not resort to pamphlet literature at all. It would seem that if he had cared to use it anywhere, it would have been in the foreign field.²

Of the other natural uses of the pamphlet no one applies in the case of Demosthenes. He had the fullest access to the bema, and there he reached practically the whole citizen body whenever public interest was stirred.³ Nor had he any

¹ See Isoc. *Panath.* §§ 10 ff.

² Any such pamphlets circulated abroad would have attained such wide circulation that they could hardly have failed to come down to us.

³ We must be on our guard against assuming modern conditions for Demosthenes. The modern statesman must depend largely on the published word. Demosthenes reached with his voice practically all the citizens who would have taken the trouble to read his speeches or hear them read.

secret views to propagate. He sought reforms, but they were of the sort that could best be brought about by the most public propaganda. Moreover, it was on the bema that Demosthenes was at his best; to the force of his thought was added the tremendous effect of his delivery — in his judgment three parts of eloquence. In the ecclesia in his mature years he had a large and enthusiastic following, ready to accentuate his words by their applause. His power in debate was not through laborious argument, but by direct appeal to sentiment; and he addressed himself not to the select minority of students of politics, but to the mass of the citizens. It is hard to believe that a man who had at his command such effective means for influencing the public should have thought it worth while to resort to the fictitious speech, circulated comparatively slowly, reaching at best only a minority of citizens, and oftentimes marred in its effect by the poor delivery of the man who happened to be reading it aloud in club-room or stoa.¹ The fact is that the pamphlet was essential to Critias, Theramenes, Thrasymachus, Lysias, Isocrates; but Demosthenes did not need it. All that a pamphlet could do for him among his fellow-citizens — and it was little at best — could be as well done by the publication of speeches that he had actually delivered in the ecclesia. And this publication would not only serve for whatever of political influence might have lain in the pamphlet form, but it would also preserve and circulate Demosthenes' speeches as specimens of rhetorical art.

This remark brings us to the question whether it is probable that Demosthenes would have made such an innovation in the custom of Athenian statesmen as to publish *δημηγορίαι*. It is first to be noted that Demosthenes began his career as a *λογογράφος*, and that like other men of that profession he published specimens of his court speeches. But Demosthenes' court speeches were not all in private cases; some involved political questions; in publishing these, too, he was

¹ If the last difficulty seem trivial, note Isocrates' complaint of the injustice done his works by unintelligent delivery, *Panath.* § 17.

doing no more than Lysias had done.¹ When now Demosthenes began to pass beyond the field of speech-writing for the courts, and to prepare speeches for his own delivery in ecclesia or senate, it would seem that nothing could have been more natural than to publish these speeches also. It is to be remembered, too, that there is strong ground for believing that when Demosthenes began his career on the bema he was not only a *λογογράφος*, but a teacher of rhetoric as well.² In this capacity he would naturally publish specimens of his rhetorical art as applied to practical statesmanship.

The publication of Demosthenes' *δημηγορίαι* becomes the more natural when we remember the testimony to his extremely careful preparation of his speeches; they 'smelt of the lamp,' his critics said. The testimony to this is so well known that I need not dwell upon it.³ No one would assume that all Demosthenes' speeches from the bema were prepared in advance; but many were. Why should not some of these have been published as specimens of oratory by a man who was publishing his court speeches on similar themes? The ordinary Athenian statesman did not come into the political field through apprenticeship as *λογογράφος* and teacher of rhetoric; Demosthenes did. In this difference of personal experience I find in part an explanation of Demosthenes' departure from the custom of his predecessors and his contemporaries in the matter of publication.

I pass now from general presuppositions to the definite arguments for the pamphlet theory. But first it is to be noted that no ancient testimony to the publication of pamphlets by Demosthenes is cited. Aeschines from time to

¹ How far the purpose of such publication was to advertise the professional services of the writer, and how far it was to give to the public and to posterity finished products of the rhetorical art, I would not attempt to determine for either Lysias or Demosthenes.

² For the evidence, see Blass, *Att. Bered.* III, i², p. 35, n. 1. This may account for the fact that we have relatively more published *δημηγορίαι* from Demosthenes' early period than from his later one. If he published at first as a *λογογράφος* and teacher of rhetoric, publication would become less frequent as he abandoned these fields. If publication was from the first as pamphleteer, it ought rather to increase in the later years.

³ See especially Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, ix-xi.

time goes pretty deeply into detail in describing Demosthenes' pernicious activity; he never accuses him of writing pamphlets. Dionysius, in the full current of literary tradition, knows nothing of the theory.

The modern critics argue, first, that these speeches do not attach themselves to a definite day, or grow out of a specific subject or motion in the ecclesia, or lead to a definite motion.

This argument fails at the outset to recognize the wide range both of subject and treatment that may be expected at a meeting of the ecclesia. Not all speeches in such a body are called out by specific motions; sometimes the senate refers a subject to the ecclesia for discussion, without definite recommendation of its own; not all speeches in Athens, any more than in Boston or Washington, need be confined to the nominal subject of debate: in times of political excitement almost any subject may lead to a speech on the popular theme; and not every speech need lead to a motion. We should expect that some of the works in question, if they are real speeches, would have these marks; but they cannot be set up as a test for all. Now in fact, of the eleven speeches in question, eight do with sufficient clearness meet this test of definiteness of time, subject, and motion.

The Speech *On the Symmories*. — This is a discussion of the question of avoiding or seeking war with Persia. The occasion is definite and precise; a war is threatened; if the city takes certain action, the war will come. Demosthenes expresses himself clearly but briefly on the question, but makes this the occasion for presenting a scheme of naval reform. In the proem (§ 2) he states that this reform is his real subject: *αὐτὸς δὲ πειράσομαι τὸν τρόπον εἰπεῖν ὃν ἂν μοι δοκῆτε μάλιστα δύνασθαι παρασκευάσασθαι*. The speech does not look toward a motion to-day establishing this reform, for that would be out of order; it could come only through constitutional amendment; this speech only prepares public sentiment. Had Demosthenes written this speech for pamphlet circulation primarily, there would have been no occasion to attach his scheme of naval reform to an argument against war with Persia; in fact, his view that war should be avoided if possible, gives less support to a policy of naval preparedness than the opposite view. The only possible reason for

combining the two pleas is that the actual discussion in the ecclesia on war with Persia gave Demosthenes his opportunity to get a hearing for his naval proposals.

The Speech *For the Megalopolitans*. — The occasion is as specific as could be desired. A debate is in progress on proposals brought by ambassadors from Arcadia and Lacedaemonia; Athenian partisans of either side have spoken (§ 1). Demosthenes takes a positive position on the question. There is no occasion for him to make a motion; he is one of numerous speakers; a definite question is already before the ecclesia.

The Speech *For the Rhodians*. — The occasion is definite. An appeal to help restore the Rhodian democracy is before the ecclesia. Demosthenes supports the appeal: ἐγὼ δὲ δίκαιον μὲν εἶναι νομίζω κατὰγειν τὸν Ῥοδίων δῆμον, § 28.

The *First Philippic*. — Here Demosthenes is the first speaker, or certainly one of the first (§ 1). He introduces clearly the subject of discussion, the present situation in the war with Philip, and he develops a definite and detailed plan for enabling the city to carry on the campaign more effectively; this includes details as to ships, troops, and funds, and a plan for raising the money (§ 13). He assumes that the people will be called on to vote on these proposals; indeed, he refers to them as already in the form of a motion: ἐπειδὴν δ' ἐπιχειροτονήτε τὰς γνώμας (note the article), ἂν ὑμῖν ἀρέσκη, χειροτονήσετε, § 30; ἃ δ' ὑπάρξει δεῖ παρ' ὑμῶν, ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀγὼ γέγραφα, § 33. The Mss. give the heading of his schedule of taxation (§ 29), but the document itself is not preserved. Both occasion and proposed outcome of the *First Philippic* are therefore as definite as could be asked for any speech.

The *First Olynthiac*. — The occasion is definite: a proposition for sending help to Olynthus is under discussion: ἔστι δὴ τά γ' ἐμοὶ δοκοῦντα, ψηφίσασθαι μὲν ἤδη τὴν βοήθειαν (note the article), § 2. The speech is in support of this proposition. The details would properly be referred to the senate.

The *Second and Third Olynthiacs*. — There is no reference to a specific proposition, and neither speech looks toward a motion by the speaker. So far as this aspect is concerned, either one of these works might be a pamphlet on the general question of help to Olynthus. But both may as reasonably be regarded as speeches delivered in the course of the months during which this must have been the subject of repeated discussions in the ecclesia.

The Speech *On the Peace*. — The speech is on a definite subject, the acceptance of the act of the Amphictyonic Council in giving a seat to Philip. There is no reference to a specific motion, but there is nothing in the way of the assumption of such a motion. This work could, so far as this aspect is concerned, be treated equally well as a pamphlet or as a speech in a discussion that certainly must have taken place.

The Second Philippic. — The occasion is specific, the discussion of the answer to be given to certain ambassadors (implied in the words καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὕστερον βουλευέσθε and ἀποκρινάμενοι, § 28). The speech was accompanied by a draft of the answer proposed by Demosthenes (ἀ δὲ νῦν ἀποκρινάμενοι τὰ δέοντ' ἂν εἴητ' ἐψηφισμένοι, ταῦτ' ἤδη λέξω, § 28). The document itself is not preserved.

The Chersonesitica. — A definite question, the recall of Diopithes, is before the ecclesia. Demosthenes speaks to the question in both its narrower and its wider aspects. The work belongs to a definite day and a specific question.

The Third Philippic. — A discussion of the general situation leads to definite proposals: 1. To prepare ships, funds, and troops, § 70. 2. To send ambassadors to other states to form an anti-Macedonian alliance, § 71. 3. To support the Athenians who are now in the Chersonese, § 73. The speech distinctly implies that a motion to this effect is to follow: τί ποιῶμεν; πάλαι τις ἠδέως ἂν ἴσως ἐρωτήσας κάθηται. ἐγὼ νῆ Δί' ἐρῶ, καὶ γράψω δέ, ὥστ' ἂν βούλησθε χειροτονήσετε, § 70; ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα λέγω, ταῦτα γράφω, § 76.

The examination of these eleven "speeches" has shown that a definite occasion in the ecclesia, involving specific motions either preceding or following the speech in question, is implied in all save the *Second* and *Third Olynthiacs* and the speech *On the Peace*, and that these three would be entirely fitted to occasions that may readily be conjectured from what we know of the course of events.¹

A second objection to the speech theory is that the treatment of the question supposed in each case to be under discussion in the ecclesia is not detailed enough for a real speech. Here, too, the above analysis of the speeches shows

¹ In treating of only eleven speeches I omit the *Fourth Philippic* and the speech *Περὶ Συντάξεως*; opinion as to the authorship of these two is not sufficiently agreed to permit of their use with the others. I shall discuss the *Fourth Philippic* briefly at a later point in this paper. It is now generally agreed that the speech *Πρὸς τὴν Ἐπιστολὴν τὴν Φιλίππου* is by Anaximenes.

that the objection is unfounded in the case of all but the three *Olynthiacs* and the *Third Philippic*. Here the treatment is of a general situation, not of detailed measures. Did the Athenian ecclesia in these years have no place for such speeches?

A third objection is that real speeches, arising from debate in the ecclesia, would make more frequent reference to the opposing speakers and their arguments. As to this, it must be remembered that if these are speeches, they are not the off-hand products of *ex tempore* debate, but speeches prepared in advance. In such works we shall expect to find frequent reference to opposing views, but phrased in general terms and with infrequent reference to particular individuals. I have no doubt that in *ex tempore* debate Demosthenes indulged in virulent personalities. It is altogether likely also that his prepared speeches were oftentimes punctuated by off-hand personal attacks called out by what had just been said by his opponents. The depth of resource and the accuracy of aim of Demosthenes' προπηλακισμός in the *Crown Speech* reveal a practised hand. I confess to some surprise at finding nothing of this in the δημηγορίαι. I think, however, we may find sufficient explanation in the assumption that these speeches were written in advance, on themes of the highest importance, and that they were intended by their author to stand, when published, as masterpieces of the rhetorical art. Their dignity of form fits their dignity of subject and purpose. Of course it is possible also that some personalities were eliminated in preparing the speeches for publication, although I do not lay much stress upon this. The striking personality in the *Fourth Philippic*, "You had a thief for your father, if he was like you" (§ 73), is the one piece of personal spite in the *Philippics*.

A fourth objection is that the concentration and unity of thought in these works are in contrast to the loose and accidental arrangement of speeches shaped in debate. But we must remember that the older hypothesis is that these speeches were not shaped in debate, but were the product of the most careful writing. The same consideration explains

the fact that these works show an almost invariably dignified vocabulary, and a style constantly tending to the rounded period. Schwartz, Wilamowitz, and Wendland argue that this is not the style that we have a right to expect in Demosthenes' actual speeches from the bema. They appeal to ancient testimony that in political debate Demosthenes was accustomed to use harsh and strained language, and that under the pressure of feeling his style became impassioned and unrestrained.¹ Now the *Crown Speech* teaches us abundantly that Demosthenes had command of a style of the widest range. As we read there his coarse attacks on Aeschines, we can imagine what his speech may often have been in the ecclesia, before a roaring crowd of partisans; but in the Marathonian oath of the same speech we see how far high sentiment can carry him above even the most dignified language of the *Philippics*. Every page of the *Crown Speech* testifies to Demosthenes' marvelous appreciation of the adaptation of style to thought. Now the style of the *Philippics*, high as it is, is never higher than their thought.

But Wilamowitz and Wendland raise further objection: they say that such a style as that of the *Philippics*, with its pure vocabulary, its refinements of rhythm, and its rounded periods, is not adapted to an audience like that which faced the Athenian bema. Now waiving the question whether an Athenian audience in an ordinary ecclesia was better fitted to appreciate dignified oratory than the audience would be in a mass meeting of native citizens of Denver or St. Louis or Boston,² I appeal to the never-changing fact that elevated thought, made to live in splendid language, and delivered with the power of a commanding personality, appeals supremely to any people of ordinary intelligence. Lord Brougham

¹ See Aes. III, 72 and 166 f., and Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, IX. In none of this testimony is there any suggestion of vulgarity or coarseness of language. At most we read of a far-fetched use of metaphorical expressions, and a tendency to be carried away by feeling in the excitement of speaking.

² Doubtless we have often exaggerated the intelligence of the mass of the Athenian people; yet their drama testifies to a mental acuteness and to intellectual standards that must be reckoned with in any estimate of what would appeal to them.

speaks with authority here: "A speaker who thinks to lower his composition in order to accommodate himself to the habits and tastes of his audience, when addressing the multitude, will find that he commits a grievous mistake."¹ It is to be remembered, too, that these speeches of Demosthenes at the best show the same vocabulary and style that we find in his court speeches on similar themes; but in court his audience was as really a popular one as on the Pnyx; smaller in size, not more intelligent; less so, if anything.² The dignity and refinement of his style in the elevated parts of his court speeches go far to justify the belief that similar themes were treated in similar style in the ecclesia.

But if the style of these works does offer any difficulty in regarding them as speeches, the difficulty in regarding this as a pamphlet style is very much greater. The style of some would be possible for a pamphlet; but in others we find speech as far as possible removed from what we think of as appropriate to the pamphlet. The advocates of the pamphlet theory meet this objection by saying that these are not ordinary pamphlets, but pamphlets by an orator, designed for oral reading, and cast in the form of speeches; that therefore something of oratorical form is to be expected in them. This explanation would suffice for some of the speeches, especially the earlier ones; but in the later *Philippics* there is a steadily rising tide of oratorical expression. The *Chersonese Speech* and the *Third Philippic* are written in language that demands oratorical delivery; others of these works have the sharp *ὑποφορά*, the rhetorical question, the indignant bursts of feeling, that mark them as intended for the most lively delivery.

But there is a still deeper disagreement between the style of these works and that of the pamphlet. The pamphlet

¹ Brougham, *Dissertation on the Eloquence of the Ancients*, pp. 41 ff.

² However much the intelligent and well-to-do citizens may have been inclined to shirk attendance on the ecclesia, they certainly took their part in it on occasions of special importance, like some of those that called out Demosthenes' speeches, while we can hardly assume that under any circumstances many men of their class offered themselves for jury duty. We must assume that the average of intelligence in the jury-room was less than in the ecclesia.

makes its appeal to the judgment; that is its very purpose as compared with the speech; the harangue makes its strongest appeal to sentiment. Now in the later Philippic speeches, while there is considerable argumentation, the main effect comes through direct appeal to feeling and passion. On this point I need only recall Lord Brougham's remarks in his essay on Demosthenes (pp. 196 ff.) and his *Dissertation on the Eloquence of the Ancients* (pp. 50 ff.).

A further argument against regarding the political works of Demosthenes as actual speeches is derived from a comparison with the two extant *δημηγορίαι* of other statesmen, the speech *On the Peace* by Andocides, and the speech *On Halonnesus* by Hegesippus. It is said that these two works have the characteristics of genuine *δημηγορίαι*, and that they stand in marked contrast to the works of Demosthenes in question. I will not insist on the fact that so good a critic as Drerup considers the Andocides speech to be itself a pamphlet,¹ or that Beloch denies the genuineness of the Halonnesus speech.² I will assume that both are genuine *δημηγορίαι*. It is true that in both we find one of the criteria laid down for a typical *δημηγορία*, treatment of a specific question which is the order of the day in the ecclesia, and argument looking toward a definite vote. As regards style each speech has its own characteristics. The Halonnesus speech is not oratorical in form; the speaker tries to be plain and matter of fact. He uses a single coarse expression, "If you carry your brains in your heads and not in your heels" (§ 45); this does remind us that Hegesippus is talking to the "many-headed." But aside from this one expression the language is dignified. Andocides' speech *On the Peace* is decidedly more rhetorical; it is not oratorical, but it shows a command of simple and effective expression, enlivened by repeated *ὑποφορά* and rhetorical question, that testify to a striving after rhetorical effect. In neither of these acknowledged *δημηγορίαι* do we approach the oratorical swing of the *Philippics* of Demosthenes or his variety of rhetorical device

¹ Drerup, [Ἡρώδου] Περὶ Πολιτείας, p. 112.

² Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* II, p. 539, n. 1.

and embellishment. So far as style is concerned it is easier to think of either of these two speeches as a pamphlet than so to conceive of the *Chersonese Speech* or the *Third Philippic*. The difference in style between these speeches and those of Demosthenes is no more than would be expected in the work of any three men of different personality and different rhetorical training.¹

I turn now to positive considerations in favor of the speech theory: 1. In the *Rhodian Speech* (§ 6) Demosthenes himself speaks of the speech *On the Symmories* as having been delivered before the people and approved by them. The reference is so definite and detailed that in any reasonable interpretation we must admit that the speech *On the Symmories* was actually delivered from the bema.

2. Some of the speeches contain expressions that imply the presence of the audience. So far as these occur in the proem, they might, of course, be considered as a part of the fiction of the speech-pamphlet; but some are so incidental as to make that explanation unnatural.

XVI, 22, ταῦθ' ἡμεῖς μᾶλλον ἴσως εἰδότες ἢ γὰρ φοβοῖσθ' ἂν εἰκότως. The reference to Demosthenes' comparative youthfulness suggests the speaker on the bema, in the sight of the audience, not the writer of a pamphlet. I, 8, ὅθ' ἤκομεν Εὐβοεῦσιν βεβοηθηκότες καὶ παρήσαν Ἀμφιπολιτῶν Ἰέραξ καὶ Στρατοκλῆς ἐπὶ τουτὶ τὸ βῆμα. The last phrase is an unconscious testimony that these words are for the ecclesia, not for club-room or stoa. So III, 28, ἢ φρασάτω τις ἐμοὶ παρελθόν. III, 32 implies speech in the ecclesia, οὐδὲ γὰρ παρρησία περὶ πάντων αἰεὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἔγωγ' ὅτι καὶ νῦν γέγονεν θαυμάζω. So V, 15, καί μοι μὴ θορυβήσῃ μηδεὶς πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι, and VIII, 32, καί μοι πρὸς θεῶν, ὅταν εἴνεκα τοῦ βελτίστου λέγω, ἔστω παρρησία. In IV, 30, ἃ μὲν ἡμεῖς, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δεδυνήμεθ' εὔρειν ταῦτ' ἐστίν, to the reader of a pamphlet the question who are the ἡμεῖς would have been as puzzling as it is to us, but to the listeners in the ecclesia it was doubtless entirely explained by the circumstances of the discussion.

¹ The attempt to establish from a couple of speeches by inferior orators a norm that is to be applied to the speeches of the master of the bema is itself unsound in method.

3. Another serious objection to the pamphlet theory lies in the incidental and incomplete way in which the subject under discussion is introduced. In the case of a speech the subject is often already before the ecclesia, and need not be stated by the speaker; but the pamphlet in order to be intelligible needs to state its subject clearly at the beginning. The works under discussion seldom do this. One appreciates this fact better by comparing these works with the two pamphlets of Isocrates that are cast in the form of *λόγοι συμβουλευτικοί*, the *Πλαταικός* and the speech *Περὶ Ειρήνης*, in each of which the subject is stated clearly and explicitly early in the speech. The same is true of Lysias' pamphlet *Περὶ τοῦ μὴ καταλύσαι τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν Ἀθήνησι*.

4. In some of the speeches matters are referred to, but left unexplained, which would be entirely intelligible in the speech, but have no meaning in a pamphlet. In iv, 37 a letter is referred to, and the lemma, *ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΙΣ* is given in the manuscripts, but the text gives nothing to show the content of the letter. If this was a speech, the audience heard the letter read; if it had been originally written as a pamphlet, the letter would have been given, or at least we should have an outline of its contents. The same is true of the missing schedule of revenues in iv, 29. The schedule would be read in the ecclesia; it would have to be given in full in the pamphlet to be of any use to the argument. In vi, 28 Demosthenes says of the answer that he would have the people give to the ambassadors, *ταῦτ' ἤδη λέξω*. But he does not read it here nor in the nine remaining paragraphs of the speech. If this were a pamphlet, we ought to have at least the substance of the proposed answer. If this is a speech, the relation of the document to the text is like that of scores of documents to the text of court speeches of Demosthenes and other pleaders.¹

5. Finally, I am influenced in adhering to the speech-

¹ The original reason for the omission of documents in published court speeches may not have held for speeches delivered in the ecclesia, but the custom of omission having been thoroughly established for legal oratory would naturally pass over to the other.

theory by the fact that it seems to me to offer the best solution of two of the long-standing puzzles of Demosthenic criticism, the problem of the longer and shorter versions of the *Third Philippic*, and the problem of the origin of the *Fourth Philippic*, with its repetition of considerable parts of the *Chersonese Speech*.

The problem of the *Fourth Philippic* entered on a new stage with the discovery of the Didymus commentary. Körte's brilliant article, "Zu Didymos' Demosthenes-Commentar," *Rhein. Mus.* 1905, 388 ff., is a complete demonstration that the speech is by a contemporary of the events, and his argument that it is by Demosthenes himself seems to me almost equally conclusive. My space allows me here only to outline a theory that gives a simple account of the *Third Philippic* in its two forms, and of the *Fourth Philippic*. I offer the following as theses to be defended elsewhere.

1. In a carefully prepared speech on affairs in the Chersonese, Demosthenes combined a defense of Diopithes (the immediate occasion of the speech) with a discussion of the situation in general, and a rousing call to action. As the speech was in part of only momentary interest he did not publish it.

2. Very soon he treated the general situation in a speech of tremendous power, the *Third Philippic*. He soon revised this speech, adding the suggestion that help be sought from Persia; in this revised form he published the speech, for the sake of influencing public opinion both at home and abroad (it has more of general Hellenic consideration than the other Philippics). This is our longer (vulgate) version.

3. On the receipt of the news of the arrest of Hermias by the Persians, Demosthenes became filled with the hope of Persian subsidies. He now delivered a speech in which he held out this hope, showed that under these conditions it might not be necessary to touch the theorika, and deprecated too hasty declaration of war,¹ but urged immediate preparation for it, and made a telling attack on Aristomedes by name.

¹ See Körte's article, cited above.

4. This speech he prepared for publication by combining with it the more general parts of the unpublished *Chersonese Speech* (with some verbal changes). This published speech is our *Fourth Philippic*.

5. After Demosthenes' death the original unpublished manuscript of the speech that Demosthenes had delivered *On the Chersonese* was found among his papers, along with the original manuscript of the *Third Philippic* (the form of the speech as delivered), and both were published by his literary executors. This version of the *Third Philippic* is our shorter version, that of the Ms. Σ.

II. — *The Proximate Source of the Siamese Alphabet*

BY PROFESSOR CORNELIUS BEACH BRADLEY

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

AMONG Orientalists I think there has never been any doubt that the Devanāgarī writing of India was the remoter source from which, in 1284 A.D., Prince Rām Khamhêng of Sukhō-thai derived the letters which he used in giving to Siamese speech for the first time a written form.¹ The relationship between the two is abundantly seen in the number of letters, their general equivalence, their remarkable phonetic grouping in the list, and their peculiar syllabic positions as regards the vowels — to say nothing of traces still seen here and there of the ancient shapes of the letters. But as regards the more immediate source of Siamese writing, there has been so far no agreement. Three theories are in the field: (1) that the source was the Pali of the Buddhist scriptures brought by missionaries from Ceylon; (2) that it was the older Burmese writing; and (3) that it was the older Cambodian. All these forms of writing are known to be derivatives, nearer or more remote, of the Sanskrit of India, and so are alike eligible for the place. And one of these three apparently must have been the source, for in all that peninsula we have no trace of any other possible source;² and invention is entirely out of the question. The Devanāgarī could not have been a second time invented.

¹ For the inscription which records this achievement, cf. Bradley, "The Oldest Known Writing in Siamese," *Journal of the Siam Society*, VI, Pt. 1, pp. 1-61.

² To the north, filling the upper Mênam basin and the valleys of the Salwin and the Mèkhông, and stretching far up into China, lay the great mass of the Thai tribes — then doubtless illiterate, as many of them still are. On the east the sceptre and the culture of ancient Champā had before this period passed to Cambodia, her neighbor on the south. As for the distant little province of Sī Thammarāchā on the Malay Peninsula, the learned Buddhist monk it contributed to the prince's court (cf. the inscription cited above, II. 62-66) seems to have been almost its only cultural achievement. And any alphabet which he might have brought in would almost inevitably have been the Pali, which is already included in the list.

So far all treatment of the question seems to have been largely *ex parte*, determined by individual prepossession, and without attempt to examine and bring to bear *all* the evidence available. Such an examination the writer has recently essayed to make. While he does not claim that his search has been exhaustive, it seems to him to be practically conclusive of the question. He therefore ventures the following summary of the investigation and of its results.

I

The theory of a Pali and a Singhalese origin of the Sukhōthai letters has had by far the greatest vogue. Up to a very recent date there was practically no competing theory in the field. It is therefore the theory still almost universally held by those whose attention has not been directly called to the claims advanced for other origins.¹ The antecedent probability in its favor is very great. Missionary zeal has ever been a most efficient agent in spreading the art of writing among unlettered races. Thus it was in ancient times that most of the peoples of Europe received the gift of letters. So, too, have numberless savage tribes in modern times. And quite apart from missionary effort to that end, the very presence and use, among an illiterate race, of written books in a foreign tongue would be a powerful incentive to every native student of them to adapt their method to the recording of his own vernacular speech—as was done long ago in Japan. As regards the case in hand, there can be no doubt either of the religious zeal or of the knowledge and use of the Pali scriptures in the monasteries of Siam. The inscription itself bears witness to both.²

But the internal evidence of the alphabet itself seems conclusive against the theory of a Pali source. For if the source were indeed Pali, we should expect: (*a*) that the alphabet would be essentially Pali in its make-up, rather than of some other Indian type; (*b*) that its letters would show their origin

¹ Such was the writer's own case when he made his study of the Sukhōthai inscription. Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 10.

² Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 27-29.

in their shape — would be visibly like the letters, of Pali texts then written in Ceylon; and (c) that being such, they would of course be used by Siamese scribes in copying the Pali scriptures, as well as in writing the vernacular speech. But the facts are directly negative of these three presuppositions.

(a) A number of the characters of the older Sanskrit writing are entirely lacking in Pali;¹ that is, were lost in consequence of the loss of the sounds which those characters represented. All Sanskrit words which involved these sounds, if continued in Pali, were therefore altered both in pronunciation and in spelling, so that all trace of these characters was lost. Knowledge and use of them, therefore, could not have come to any one through study of the Buddhist writings. But in Siamese all of these characters are found. The consonants among them stand in their original places in the alphabetic list.² All this seems to point unmistakably to their origin in some form of Sanskrit writing.

(b) The Sukhōthai letters do not in general clearly resemble any of the Singhalese forms with which the writer has been able to compare them.³ The divergence, indeed, is so great as seemingly to preclude the idea of any immediate derivation. The occasional resemblances are no more than should be expected as a result of relationship through a rather distant common ancestor.

(c) So far no Pali text in a Siamese copy made so long ago as the thirteenth century of our era has ever been discovered. It is not probable that any such exists.⁴ It is therefore not at all likely that we can ever be absolutely

¹ These are the symbols for the palatal sibilant, *ç*; the dental sibilant, *ş*; the *visarga*, which at least in Siamese is the glottal stop abruptly cutting off a vowel sound; the *r*-vowel; and the *l*-vowel.

² As is the case in all, or nearly all, Oriental alphabets, the Devanāgarī in its list includes consonants only. Vowels are accessories akin to our diacritical marks, having no certain place in the line along with the consonants, and often no listed order or sequence.

³ Material accessible in this portion of the study was not very abundant, but what was found gave very little promise of reward for further search.

⁴ Because lapidary inscriptions are regularly in the vernacular, while Pali text for the monastery libraries are as regularly inscribed on the traditional — and very perishable — palm leaf.

sure what form of writing was at that time actually used for that purpose. It is, however, significant — as will appear more fully later — that in modern times copies of Pali texts, and quotations from them in vernacular writings, are not generally in Siamese letters, but in Cambodian.¹

It seems, then, that the internal evidence from the Sukhōthai alphabet alone is very nearly conclusive against the theory of its Pali origin; that the lack of any obvious resemblance between the Singhalese and the Sukhōthai letters strongly reënforces that negative; while under all three heads the evidence points positively in the direction of quite another — namely a Sanskrit — origin of the Siamese alphabet.

II

The theory of a Burmese origin has had fewer supporters. It seems to rest (*a*) upon the basis of a general resemblance claimed between the four-square writing of the Sukhōthai stone and that of ancient Burmese inscriptions; (*b*) upon the fact that the present form of writing among the Thai peoples throughout northern Siam, and far beyond, through the British Shan States and French Indo-China, into China itself, is obviously of Burmese origin; and (*c*) upon the further fact that for many centuries the two races have been in contact with each other along a common frontier of some hundreds of miles in length.

(*a*) Upon examination, however, the resemblance claimed turns out to be very largely that of the general impression which the two forms of writing make when viewed in the mass. If corresponding letters are compared in detail, the resemblance for the most part vanishes, as will be seen upon reference to the accompanying chart (p. 31), where the Sukhōthai and the ancient Burmese letters stand side by side. The technique, moreover, or method of construction of the

¹ The growing use of the printing press, together with the lack of Cambodian type, will doubtless account for the very recent exceptions to this rule. The most striking example of this newer usage is the monumental edition in Siamese letters of the *Tripitaka*, complete in thirty-three volumes, published by the late King Chulalongkorn.

letters, is fundamentally different in the two cases. For while the shape is in a general way quadrate in both, in the Burmese it is exactly such — made up of separate straight strokes meeting in square corners; whereas the Sukhōthai letters are made with one continuous stroke throughout, resulting in lines which are rarely straight and in corners which are nearly always somewhat rounded.¹

(*b*) The present form of writing used in the Lāo provinces of Siam is undoubtedly a rather close copy of the Burmese circular writing described in the last footnote, or perhaps an earlier form of that. Its use in those provinces is historically recent, having been introduced there during the period of Burmese domination in that region. But all older monuments of vernacular writing found there are of an entirely different script, known as the Fak Khām (tamarind-pod) letters, the origin of which may be traced back directly to Sukhōthai. The introduction of the Burmese writing among the Lāo of Siam was doubtless the more easy because it was already in use among their kinsmen and neighbors of similar speech, the Western Shans of Burma.

(*c*) Siam and Burma during all these ages have been hereditary enemies. Intercourse along their common border has consisted largely of raids and reprisals, resulting in the formation of a no-man's-land — a zone of lawlessness and dis-

¹ There is another form of ancient Burmese writing, the so-called square Pali. It is a freakish calligraphic variant of the lapidary form shown in the chart. All vertical strokes are enormously exaggerated in width, almost obliterating the central spaces of the letters; while all horizontal elements are correspondingly reduced to slender appendages or hyphen-like connectives between the broad masses of vertical elements. The letters are painted with a broad, flat brush, generally in dark brown lacquer, on a plate of gilded metal. The effect is very striking as a work of art; but it is not easily read, because the distinguishing features of the letters are to a great extent obscured by the startling scheme. A thing so artificial could never have been the model for standard writing anywhere.

Another striking variant of the lapidary form has furnished the well-known Burmese script and print of the present day. In it the letters are made up almost wholly of strictly circular arcs in various combination. Its development and survival are almost certainly due to its special adaptation for tracing with a stylus-point on the surface of palm leaves. It resembles the Sukhōthai writing even less than does its original. It has not been thought necessary to reproduce either of these in the chart.

order almost impervious to cultural influences. While the distance between Maulmein and Sukhōthai seems trifling as viewed on our maps, a journey from the one to the other would have been a matter of weeks. The only routes were lonely and dangerous trails leading through labyrinths of mountains and across deep rivers, through uninhabited wastes and jungles tenanted by savage beasts and equally savage men. It was considered a remarkable feat when, so late as 1884, a fortnightly mail service by courier was established between Maulmein and Chiengmai.

Thus all the arguments in favor of a Burmese origin of Siamese writing seem alike to fail. But it is strange indeed that the conclusive argument against such an origin has so far apparently escaped notice altogether — the argument already urged against the theory of a Pali origin. The Burmese alphabet is conceded to have been derived from the Pali, and it contains only the Pali letters. It could not, any more than the Pali itself, have furnished to the Siamese an alphabet with the full complement of Sanskrit letters.

III

Having gone so far, the writer was unwilling that the award should go to the third claimant merely through failure of the other two to make good their cases. A strict examination was therefore made into the positive evidence in favor of the theory of a Cambodian origin of Siamese writing. It is entirely natural that this theory should have been advanced by French explorers and scholars, since to their lot has fallen the task of gathering and mastering the material records of ancient Cambodia, in which alone was to be sought evidence bearing upon our problem. Their problem, however, was by no means the same as this of ours, but the immensely greater one of reconstructing from those fragmentary records the origin and history of the ancient empire to which in these days France has fallen heir. The few references to the Sukhōthai letters noted in the works of these men are therefore wholly incidental — statements of the author's conviction, without attempt to enforce it by presentation and discussion of the

evidence. Thanks, however, to the vivid interest of France in her new Asiatic possessions, and to the learning and skill of her Orientalists, the gathered material has been in large part successfully mastered and admirably published.¹ The needed evidence was therefore within reach, and to it the writer addressed himself.

Most of the published epigraphy of southern Indo-China was carefully scrutinized for whatever light it might shed upon the source and development of Cambodian writing, leading down to the forms it actually assumed in the thirteenth century of our era, and to a comparison of these with the Sukhōthai writing.

The labors of Aymonier, Bergaigne, and Barth have rescued from the realm of mere folk-lore and fairy tale the shadowy kingdom of Champā. They have shown that from the earlier centuries of the Christian era, on the shores of the China Sea and along the middle reaches of the Mêkhōng River, there really existed a kingdom of that name, founded by princely adventurers from India, who brought with them their Sanskrit speech and literature and the worship of Çiva. From the sixth to the ninth centuries we have somewhat of authentic documentary information concerning this kingdom. We know, for example, the names and lineage of a number of its kings, together with the dates of some of them, and references to various affairs of the realm.

The inscriptions which record these matters are often bilingual—that is, partly in Sanskrit prose or verse and partly in the vernacular speech; but written throughout in the Devanāgarī characters which are said to be of the form anciently used in the Dekhan of India. This kingdom of Champā at last yielded to the rising power of Cambodia, which had already taken over the culture and art of its neighbor, and which afterwards, in the tenth and eleventh centuries of our era, carried these on to a culmination attested

¹ In *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, Hanoi, Indo-Chine; Aymonier, *La Cambodge*, vol. III, Paris, 1904; and particularly in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, Tome XXVII, Paris, 1893, with its most remarkable and beautiful series of phototype reproductions of inscriptions from Champā and Cambodia.

by the wonderful monuments of Angkor Wat and Nakhawn Thóm.

The Cambodian inscriptions consist generally of an opening section in stately Sanskrit verse in honor of Çiva and the reigning monarch, followed by a section in prose dealing with the more mundane affairs of the realm which are to be commemorated. The published series referred to deals solely with the Sanskrit portions, the ancient native speech of both realms being thought as yet too imperfectly understood to permit of satisfactory treatment. Chronologically the series ends with an inscription from Angkor Wat, apparently the very last record of that Golden Age of Cambodia. It is in classic Sanskrit verse, bearing no discoverable date, but on internal evidence judged by M. Barth to be of the early part of the thirteenth century A.D. A long gap of silence follows it, indicative, as is surmised, of the downfall of the old régime. When at last inscriptions appear again, they are of the modern world both in speech and writing. The splendor of that elder time was already become a myth, kept alive only by the sight of those mighty ruins of unknown origin and date. Thus far the writer summarizes from the French archaeologists.

Of the long series of inscriptions already mentioned, some forty-five were passed in review by the writer, and upon a selected group of them, chosen mainly for their legibility, extent, and definite dating, he paused for special study of the writing. The results in each case were embodied in the form of a careful facsimile of the alphabet of each, as complete as the verbal content and the state of preservation of the inscription would permit.¹ Three of these alphabets,

¹ In no case was it possible to secure an alphabet quite complete. Weather, time, and imperfect skill on the part of engravers have rendered useless for this exact study of form some portions of every inscription. Some letters, moreover, are of very rare use. Many more are rare in independent and unmodified form, being encountered for the most part in ligated, subscript, superscript, or even circumscribed forms, often with little or no resemblance to the standard forms as shown in the alphabetic list. None of these would at all serve us here, for Prince Rām Khamhêng abolished at a stroke all this senseless complexity, and confined each character to its one standard form and to its one place on the line.

A CHART OF THE ANCIENT ALPHABETS OF FARTHER INDIA

<i>Romanized</i> SANSKRIT	k	kh	g	gh	n	c	ch	j	ih
CAMBODIA 660 A.D.	𑀓	𑀘	𑀕	𑀙	𑀡	𑀛	𑀜	𑀞	𑀟
CHAMPA 784 A.D.	𑀓	𑀘	𑀕	𑀙	𑀡	𑀛	𑀜	𑀞	𑀟
CAMBODIA 18th Century	𑀓	𑀘	𑀕	𑀙	𑀡	𑀛	𑀜	𑀞	𑀟
SUKHOTHA 1284 A.D.	𑀓	𑀘	𑀕	𑀙	𑀡	𑀛	𑀜	𑀞	𑀟
BURMESE	𑀓	𑀘	𑀕	𑀙	𑀡	𑀛	𑀜	𑀞	𑀟
<i>Romanized</i> SANSKRIT	dh	n	p	ph	b	bh	m	y	r
CAMBODIA 660 A.D.	𑀢	𑀣	𑀤	𑀥	𑀦	𑀧	𑀨	𑀩	𑀪
CHAMPA 784 A.D.	𑀢	𑀣	𑀤	𑀥	𑀦	𑀧	𑀨	𑀩	𑀪
CAMBODIA 18th Century	𑀢	𑀣	𑀤	𑀥	𑀦	𑀧	𑀨	𑀩	𑀪
SUKHOTHA 1284 A.D.	𑀢	𑀣	𑀤	𑀥	𑀦	𑀧	𑀨	𑀩	𑀪
BURMESE	𑀢	𑀣	𑀤	𑀥	𑀦	𑀧	𑀨	𑀩	𑀪
<i>Romanized</i> SANSKRIT	dh	n	p	ph	b	bh	m	y	r
CAMBODIA 660 A.D.	𑀢	𑀣	𑀤	𑀥	𑀦	𑀧	𑀨	𑀩	𑀪
CHAMPA 784 A.D.	𑀢	𑀣	𑀤	𑀥	𑀦	𑀧	𑀨	𑀩	𑀪
CAMBODIA 18th Century	𑀢	𑀣	𑀤	𑀥	𑀦	𑀧	𑀨	𑀩	𑀪
SUKHOTHA 1284 A.D.	𑀢	𑀣	𑀤	𑀥	𑀦	𑀧	𑀨	𑀩	𑀪
BURMESE	𑀢	𑀣	𑀤	𑀥	𑀦	𑀧	𑀨	𑀩	𑀪

chosen as best illustrating the gradual change of form during the six centuries preceding the Sukhōthai date, have been reproduced side by side on the chart¹—the last being the one from Angkor Wat referred to above. In the column next this, for ready comparison, are placed the Sukhōthai letters. The two are probably less than a century apart; and the divergence in form is, as will be readily seen, no more than should be abundantly accounted for by the time-and-space interval, by the individual difference between the style of different scribes, or by the purposeful changes which, as we have just seen (p. 30 n.), the Siamese prince made in the interest of simplicity and to avoid confusion between letters too nearly alike in shape.

Here, then, at last for the Sukhōthai letters is found an original which the transcript actually resembles, and which at the same time affords complete explanation of the presence in the transcript of the Sanskrit letters not found in the Pali, nor known anywhere else in all the peninsula of Farther India. Were there nothing more to be said, the evidence on these two points alone, it seems, should suffice to decide the case in favor of the Cambodian origin. But the case is greatly strengthened when we consider the evidence of contact between the two peoples along other lines, and of other borrowings by the Siamese.

Thus, for example, the Siamese has incorporated into its

¹ The columns of the chart contain the following:—

I. Roman equivalents of the Sanskrit letters according to the scheme given in Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar.

II. Cambodian Alphabet from Wat Phou (Phū), 664–670 A.D. Cf. *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, II, pp. 235–240 with plate.

III. Alphabet from an inscription of King Satyavarman of Champā, 965 A.D. Cf. *Notices et Manuscrits*, Tome XXVII, Pt. I, 2d Fascicule, Plate XXVII, A.

IV. Cambodian Alphabet from Angkor Wat, probably of the thirteenth century A.D. Cf. *Notices et Manuscrits*, etc., Plate LXV.

V. Burmese Alphabet from Po U Daung; taken from a photograph of an inscription of King Sinbyuyin, published in Rangoon, 1891. The inscription is modern (1774), but it has very faithfully reproduced the ancient Burmese writing, as reference to any of the published alphabets of Taylor, Faulmann, or Bühler will show. It was the best specimen of its kind I was able at the time to secure in unimpeachable reproduction.

vocabulary a large body of loan-words of Indian origin. Of these many, or perhaps most, appear in what are essentially their Sanskrit forms, and with their Indian meanings; while others appear in their derivative Pali forms — where these are different from the other — and with Buddhistic meaning and use. Some actually appear in both forms, with some distinction of meaning or use.¹ The presence of both these groups of words in Siamese speech is proof of contact somewhere with both civilizations. And the Cambodian civilization is the only one that could have afforded the double contact. For in Cambodia, at the period of which we speak, Buddhism was already displacing — or perhaps had largely displaced — Brahmanism and the cult of Çiva.² Of the presence, however, of Hindu religious cults in various portions of the Siamese area at a period even later than our date, we have not only the evidence of place-names, such as *Mûang Brohm* (= Brahmapura) and *Biçñuloka* (= Viçñuloka); but direct as well, in various ancient images of the Hindu deities, still regarded with reverence at the present day.³

Then, again, the early Siamese religious architecture, as seen in the Sukhōthai region, at Lophburi (the ancient Lawō), and elsewhere, distinctly reproduces Cambodian and Hindu forms. Moreover, the terms of court speech in Siam con-

¹ A very few examples must suffice. The transliteration here given renders, according to Whitney's scheme, the actual *spelling* of the words in Siamese, and not at all their pronunciation. Sanskrit forms are: *akṣara* (Pali *akkharo*) letter, character; *satva* (Pali *satto*), a creature; *suvarana* or *subarāṇa* (Pali *suvaṇṇo*), gold; *indra* (Pali *indo*), Indra; *çrī* (Pali *sirī*), glorious. Pali forms are: *nibbān* (Sanskrit *nirvāna*), extinction; *sāsanā* (Sanskrit *çāsana*), religion; *bhikkhu* (Sanskrit *bhikṣu*), mendicant. Parallel forms from both are: *siṅha*, lion, and *siha* (in *rājasīha*), a fabulous monster; *kraçatrya* (for *kṣatrya*), king, and *khattiya*, warrior.

² Buddhist religion and culture, of course, may have been separately brought into Siam by missionaries from Ceylon; for we have authentic record in later times of visits of monks from that island. Just how it was at our earlier date, I think we have as yet no positive evidence. For all that we now know, Buddhism might well have come to Siam from Cambodia along with letters and other elements of culture.

³ For example, on a famous image of Çiva, now in the Royal Museum at Bangkok, there is an inscription calling upon the people to reestablish his worship and renounce that of Buddha.

cerning the person, actions, and belongings of royalty are to this day for the most part either Cambodian outright or Cambodian-Sanskrit. Not only are the great seasonal festivals of the Siamese court (excepting, of course, those directly concerned with monastery life), but very many also of its special rites and ceremonies—the festivals of hair-cutting, coronation, swinging, and ploughing—distinctly reveal either an Indian or a Cambodian origin. There is still maintained at the present day a corps of Brahman astrologers to determine the auspicious day and hour for all courtly movements and events. In fact, behind these, and behind the newer and nearer Buddhism, there stretches on every side, in the imagination and in the thought of the Siamese, the mighty background of Hindu cosmogony, mythology, and legend, seemingly as fresh as when these were brought from India to the shores of Anam two thousand years ago.

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III. — *Dissimilative Writings for ii and iii in Latin*

BY PROFESSOR ROLAND G. KENT

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

I. INTERVOCALIC *j*¹ in Latin, as is well known, makes the preceding syllable long, in that it represents two sounds — an *i*² forming a diphthong with the preceding vowel, and a *j* beginning the next syllable.³ Phonetic spellings are seen in the inscriptional EIIVS EIIVS EIIVS,⁴ manuscript *aiiunt eiius*,⁵ and Cicero's *aiio Maiia*.⁶ Therefore *major pejor Troja hujus Pompejus* are pronounced *mai-jor pei-jor Troi-ja hui-jus Pompei-jus*.

It is likewise well known that when in inflection or in word-formation an *ĩ* comes to stand immediately after *j*, the *j* disappears;⁷ thus *Pompejus*, gen. sing. and nom. pl. *Pompei*, dat.-abl. pl. *Pompeis*; *ajo ais ait*; *jacio abicio reicio*.⁸

2. This paper proposes to deal with the following series of problems: If *j* is lost before *ĩ*, why is the penult of *Pompei* and similar words long? Why is the initial syllable of *abicio* and the like ordinarily long, though sometimes short? Why is *rei-* in *reicio* ordinarily trochaic in value, though sometimes a single long syllable? In these words and forms what is the relation between the graphic representations and the spoken words? What is the logic of the graphic representation, in inscriptions especially, of words which in normal Latin contain dissyllabic *ii* in hiatus?

3. For clearness' sake it is necessary here to present in

¹ I use *j* and *v* for consonant *i* and *u*, for purposes of clearness.

² Strictly *i*; but as diphthongs are commonly written *ai ei* etc., not *aj ej* etc., I shall use the pure vowel sign to indicate the second element of the diphthong.

³ Sommer, *Hdb. d. lat. Laut.- u. Formenlehre*, p. 171.

⁴ Respectively, *CIL*, II, 1065, 1953, 4157.

⁵ Plautus, *Merc.* 469, *Most.* 981, *Ambr. pal.*; cf. *Prisc.* II, 303 K.

⁶ *Quint.* I, 4, 11; *Vel. Long.* VII, 54 f. K.

⁷ Sommer, *op. cit.*, pp. 171 f.

⁸ The quantities of vowels are not marked in this paper, except where for special reasons it becomes desirable.

brief the results of the investigation: intervocalic *ij* as in *ajo*, postvocalic *iji* as in *Pompei*, postconsonantal *ji* as in *abicio*,¹ postvocalic *iji* as in *reicio*, are all normally represented by a single *l* in writing; and, conversely, the writing *ll* or *lll* is avoided in older inscriptions, except in those where *ll* is a form taken by the letter *e*.

4. The rules of §1 work with perfect regularity in the forms of the verb *ajo*:² *ajo*, *ajunt*, *ajebam* etc., *ajas* show a long initial syllable; *ais ait* have lost the intervocalic *j* and are dissyllables with the first syllable short;³ *aibam* etc. have the diphthong;⁴ *ain* has the regular loss of the *j*, but is peculiar. *Ain* is for *ais-ne*, and the *ai-* may in all instances in Plautus and Terence have been contracted to a diphthong,⁵ though pyrrhic value cannot be disproved; where *ain* is dissyllabic, it may always be a trochee, and is always followed by a consonant; we may therefore read *aine*.⁶

Here, except for the sporadic attempts listed in §1, we have the writing *l* for intervocalic *-ij-*, with entire regularity, and with equal regularity the loss of the *-ij-* before *ž*.

5. Words of the type *Pompei*, gen. sing. and nom. pl., and

¹ For words of this type this explanation is given by Quint. 1, 4, 11, and by Gell. IV, 17; the latter remarks that such words are often erroneously read with length of the *vowel* of the initial syllable, but that the length is really that of the *syllable*, by position. The principle is however of much wider application.

² Citations are hardly necessary to prove these statements.

³ A similar combination of sounds is found in *meite*, Pers. 1, 114 = *mei-jite*. *meite* is the reading of Santi Consoli in his critical edition (1904), and he notes no Ms. variants. The intervocalic *j* has here been restored, as in *Pompei*, §5.

It is rather hard to say why *ais ait* neither restored the *j* nor contracted the two vowels; possibly their colloquial use prevented the restoration, and the analogy of dissyllabic *ajo ajunt* prevented contraction.

⁴ *aibam* never was *a-ibam* any more than voc. *Pompei* (§5, footnote) was trissyllabic; *ai-jo: ai-bam* = *servi-(i)o: servi-bam*. Failure to change the *ai-* to *ae-* was due to the influence of the *aj-* of other forms and of the *-i-* before the *-bam* in *servi-bam*, etc.

⁵ Contraction in *ain* seems to occur because it stands outside the regular paradigmatic scheme, and hence was not so subject to the influence of analogy as were *ais* and *ait*.

⁶ So Plaut. *Am.* 284, 344, *As.* 901, *Curc.* 323, *Most.* 383. That *ain* unchanged should be dissyllabic with a long initial syllable is impossible, since we never find **ajis*, from which might come **ajisne*, whence spondaic **ajin*.

Pompeis, dat.-abl. pl., have a spondaic ending, as is shown by numerous passages in the poets;¹ and the orthography is assured by occurrences in inscriptions of republican times: COCCEI POMPEI LAVINEL NASVLEI MAL(s),² as well as upon those of later date.³ According to the rule, intervocalic *j* should be lost in these forms; but evidently, as *Pompejus* is sounded *Pompei-jus*, metrically — — ∪, and *Pompei Pompeis* are metrically — — —, the latter forms must be graphic for *Pompei-jī Pompei-jīs*,⁴ with restoration of the intervocalic *j* by analogy of other forms of the paradigm, where *j* stood

¹ *Pompei*, gen. sing., Lucan II, 280, 283, V, 205, VI, 245, 589, VII, 112, 196, 492, 694, 708, VIII, 69, 161, 532, 677, 751, 794, 820, 836, IX, 227, 600, 1050, X, 1, 381, 388. *Graī*, nom. pl., Lucr. I, 831, II, 629, III, 100, VI, 908; Catull. 68, 109; Prop. II, 34 (III, 32), 65; Verg. *Aen.* I, 467, 530, II, 727, III, 163, VI, 242, VIII, 135; *plebei*, nom. pl., Plaut. *Poen.* 515. *Grais*, Prop. III (IV), 22, 37; Verg. *Georg.* II, 16, *Aen.* II, 786, III, 398, 499, VI, 529, X, 430. *Bais*, Prop. I, 11, 1; Hor. *Carm.* II, 18, 20, *Epist.* I, 1, 83. *Circeis*, Hor. *Sat.* II, 4, 33.

² Respectively, *CIL.* I, 1044, 1079, 1229, 1426, 838.

³ So POMPEI, *Mon. Anc.* VI, 37–38, *Fasti Cons. Cap.* anno 758; GAI, *CIL.* V, 5050; GAI, *CIL.* XI, 1421; PACTVMEL, *CIL.* V, 1326; SEI, *CIL.* V, 1369; ATTEI, *CIL.* V, 4091; VEI, *CIL.* X, 901; POMPVCLEI, *CIL.* IX, 3943; MAIS *bis*, *Fasti Venus.* in *CIL.* I, 1², p. 66.

Words of more than two syllables in *-ajus* should by the rules of vowel weakening have *-ejus* (Sommer, p. 116); cf. Lat. *Pompejanus* and Osc. *Pūmpaiians*. *-ajus* is therefore evidence of dialectal origin; for this, however, *-aeus* often appears, by the influence of the usual change of AI to AE; and at times E appears as a late writing for this AE. Thus we find *Annajus Annejus Annaeus Anneus*. The gen. sing. and nom. pl. should be ANNAI ANNEI ANNAEI ANNEI respectively, of which ANNAEI is merely after the analogy of the spelling of the other cases. There are the following forms:

GEN. SING.

ANNAI, *CIL.* VI, 11670, IX, 4558.

MELISSAI, *CIL.* X, 893.

PEDVCAI *bis*, *CIL.* IX, 4582.

ANNEI, *CIL.* II, 4970⁷⁰, III, 1629⁸, 3852 *bis*, V, 8114⁴, 8115⁸.

ANNAEI, *CIL.* III, 6374.

MELISSAEI, *CIL.* X, 824, 895, (MELISSAEI) 899.

POPPAEI, *CIL.* X, 827, 1906, XIV, 4091⁶⁷.

NOM. PL.

POPPAEI, *CIL.* IV, 357; POPPAEEI (–EI = ī), IX, 5074.

⁴ The only exceptions of which I am aware are *Grāī*, Terent. Maur. VI, 339, 344 K., *Grāīs*, *ib.* 339 K. (verses 453, 656, 467).

before some other vowel than \check{z} .¹ In confirmation of this is the statement that Caesar wrote *Pompeiii*,² a true representation of the sounds. The restored *j* appears graphically also in *CIL*. I, 1175, VERTVLEIEIS, a nom. pl. with added *s*,³ where the second EI is for \bar{i} ; ⁴ the value of the form is, therefore, phonetically *Vertulei-īs*, or, in normalized orthography, *Vertulejīs*. But the usual spelling of these forms is with a single I for the threefold sound.⁵

6. Compounds of *jacio*⁶ in which the prefix ends in a consonant are *abicio*, *adicio*, *conicio*,⁷ *disicio*, *inicio* (and *superinicio*), *obicio*, *subicio*.⁸ The initial syllable is either long or (less often) short.⁹ The history of these forms seems to be, if we take *adicio* as the type of the class: **ad-jacio* became by regular weakening **ad-jecio*.¹⁰ Inasmuch as *e* did not weaken to *i* after vowel *i*,¹¹ it is likely that it did not do so after consonantal *i*; hence **ad-jecio* changed to *ad-jicio* by analogy to *facio afficio*. In *ad-jicio* the *j* was lost before the *i*, giving

¹ Voc. *Pompei*, Hor. *Carm.* II, 7, 5, *Voltei*, Hor. *Epist.* I, 7, 91, cannot take a restored *j*, since a vocative **Pompejī* is out of the question; with voc. *-ei* to nom. *-ejus*, cf. voc. *fili* to nom. *filius*. Cf. Prisc. II, 303 K.

² Prisc. II, 14 K.

³ Cf. Sommer, p. 378.

⁴ Cf. §12. This inscription must be placed after 150 B.C., since it contains AFLEICTA for *afflicta*, which has original \bar{i} .

⁵ The dat. sing. *ei* is considered in §19.

⁶ This subject is treated in detail by M. W. Mather, "Quo modo iaciendi verbi composita in praesentibus temporibus enuntiaverint antiqui et scripserint," in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, VI (1895), 83-151, with a summary of previous modern studies, pp. 83-87.

⁷ On *conicio* and *coicio*, v. Mather, 121-123; Neue-Wagener, *Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache*, II³, 864 f.; *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, s.v. *conicio*.

⁸ *Superjacio* appears only in the recomposed form; *amicio* never has length of the initial syllable, and therefore does not fall within the province of the present inquiry.

⁹ For citations, v. Mather, 130-151; for discussion, v. 87-104. To his lists should be added *cōnicit*, Ter. *HT.* 277; *ādicit*, Ovid *Met.* XIV, 276; *ādice*, Manil. I, 666; *ādiciit*, Sil. Ital. XVII, 528; and the similar word **objex* should be included: *ōbicem*, Plaut. *Persa* 203; *ōbice*, Verg. *Georg.* IV, 422, *Aen.* VIII, 227, X, 377, XI, 890, Ovid *Met.* III, 571, XI, 780, *F.* I, 563; *obibus*, Verg. *Georg.* II, 480. Cf. also *Thes. L. L.*, with some bibliography.

¹⁰ That **ad-jacio* became *adicio* by syncope and samprasāraṇa (Sommer, p. 148) seems to me less probable than the explanation given above, despite *quatio conculio*.

¹¹ Sommer, p. III.

adicio, with short initial syllable. The analogy of *jacio jeci jactus* and *adjeci adjectus* restored *j* in the present system, giving *adicio*, with initial syllable long by position.

Inscriptional writings¹ and most forms in Mss. agree on *-icio*, and show that this was the normal orthography, whether the pronunciation was *ad-icio* or *ad-jicio*. But we find also CONIECIANT,² *CIL.* I, 198, dated 123/2 B.C., and PROIECIATAD,³ *CIL.* IX, 782, of an earlier date not determinable; the same writing *-ie-* is seen also in numerous readings of rather old Mss.⁴ Such IE is graphic for II = *-ji-*,⁵ a dissimilative change precisely parallel to the use of VO for *-vu-*.⁶ Writings with *-ii-* are found not at all in inscriptions,⁷ and only in late Mss.⁸

Thus, when the initial syllable is long, the usual representation -ICIO has the I = *-ji-*, an instance of dissimilative loss in writing; that with -IECIO shows a dissimilative change in the writing.

7. Compounds of *jacio* in which the prefixed element ends in a vowel are: *coicio*, *deicio*, *eicio*, *proicio*, *reicio*, *traicio*.⁹ Here the portion before the *-cio* is ordinarily trochaic, but sometimes contracted to a single syllable.¹⁰ The history is

¹ Mather, 127-129, cites 11 examples, to which should be added ADICERE(*m*), *CIL.* III, 14206²¹; ADICIATVR, *CIL.* VIII, 18042.

² The same inscription shows E for *ī* in OPPEDEIS, though the weakening to *ī* was complete by that time; cf. EXIGATVR TRANSDITO EDITO EDIDERIT, on the same stone.

³ Though properly belonging in §7, this form is listed here on account of the use of IE; its interpretation is complicated by the difference of present formation and by the dialectal character of the form.

⁴ Mather, 111-113.

⁵ That it represents *-je-* (cf. Sommer, p. 522), seems to me a needless assumption of a third form for these words, in addition to those with *-i-* and *-ji-*.

⁶ Anderson, *TAPA.* XL, 99-105.

⁷ Except on one spurious inscription, *CIL.* X, I, 204*; cf. Mather, 89, 129.

⁸ Mather, 89-92. *Dissicio* for *disicio* is an attempt to show the length of the initial syllable by doubling the *s* in imitation of the *ss* of *dīs-secare*, a word of similar meaning; cf. Mather, 123-126.

⁹ *Praecicio* does not occur in the poets.

¹⁰ A pyrrhic value is unlikely; cf. Mather, 113. For citations, v. Mather, 130-151; for his discussion, 104-120. To his lists should be added *trā-icit*, Prop. I, 19, 12; *trā-ice*, Prop. II, 12 (111, 3), 18; *trā-icit*, Prop. IV (v), 2, 36; *prō-iciam*, Verg. *Aen.* v, 238.

the same as in *abicio* etc.; when the stage *-icio* is reached, the *-i-* contracts with the preceding vowel to form a diphthong, or the *-j-* is restored. The pronunciation was *coi-jicio*, *dei-jicio*, etc.¹ The normal spelling of Mss. and inscriptions² is with *-ICIO*; but the same variation with *-IE-* occurs.³ *-ii-* occurs only in late Mss.;⁴ very rarely, Ms. writings are found with an inserted *-h-* to mark the hiatus.⁵

Herein, when there is no contraction to a diphthong, *l* represents *-ij-*, of which the first element forms a diphthong with the preceding vowel—a dissimilative loss of two of the three *i*'s; and the less usual *IE* represents likewise *-ij-*, with dissimilative loss of one *i* and dissimilative change of the last one to *E*.

8. Thus the character *l*, in addition to its usual values of *ī* *ī j*, may have the value *jī* after consonants and the values

¹ Unless the influence of *dē, ē, prō, trā-* (*-veho*, etc.) produces *dē-jicio* etc. For *coi-jicio*, v. Vel. Long. VII, 54 K. For the doubling of the *j*, so as to form a diphthong with the preceding vowel, as well as the initial sound of the second syllable, the fact that *ex, prod-, red-* (Walde, *Lat. etym. Wtb.*² s.v. *re-red-*), *trans* end in consonants, offers some phonetic warrant; in *deicio*, however, an analogy must have operated.

Initial *j* in the second element of a compound, when the first element ends in a vowel, does not automatically geminate so as to produce a diphthong with the preceding vowel, or *ī* with a preceding *ī*: witness *bijugis*, Verg. *Georg.* III, 91, *Aen.* XII, 355, *Cu.* 202, 283, Ovid *Met.* IV, 24, Sen. *Phaed.* 1101, Val. Fl. II, 566, VI, 413; *bijugus*, Lucr. II, 601, V, 1299, 1300, Verg. *Aen.* V, 144, X, 253, 399, 453, 575, 587, 595, Val. Fl. VII, 218, Stat. *Theb.* II, 723, *Ach.* I, 222, Mart. I, 12, 8, Sil. Ital. II, 82, *CIL.* II, 4314; *quadrijugis*, Verg. *Aen.* X, 571; *quadrijugus*, Enn. *Sc.* 101 Vahlen², Verg. *Georg.* III, 18, *Aen.* XII, 162, Ovid *Am.* III, 2, 66, *Met.* II, 168, IX, 272, *Tr.* IV, 2, 54, Drusi *Epiced.* 332, Stat. *Theb.* VI, 370, XII, 533, Sil. Ital. IV, 439, *CIL.* II, 4314. The inscriptional forms alluded to are *BIIVGIS* and *QVADRIIVGOS*.

In *dijudico* and *dijungo* (oftener *disjungo*) we have *dī-* for *dis-* before *j*, either phonetically or by analogy (Sommer, p. 225; cf. Brugmann, *Gdr.*² I, 763 f.); cf. *dijudicare*, Ter. *HT.* 237, *dijudicent*, *ib.* 504, *dijudica*, *ib.* 986, *dijunxit*, Ter. *Hec.* 161, *dijungimur*, Plaut. *Mil.* 1328 for *dijungitur* of the codd. Pal., *dijunge*, Plaut. *Poen.* 1406, and the noteworthy *DIIVXISSET* avoiding *II*, Marini, *Acta Frat. Arv.*, p. 712 (not accessible to me, but cited by Forcellini s.v. *disjungo*).

² Mather, 127–129, cites 12 examples from inscriptions, all with *-IC-*, besides *PROIECITAD*, already noticed. To his list may be added *COICIANTVR*, *CIL.* VI, 36467.

³ Mather, 110–113.

⁴ *Ibid.* 116–119.

⁵ *Ibid.* 120.

*ij iĵ iĵi*¹ after vowels. This accords perfectly with the comments of Gell. iv, 17² and of Donat. ad Ter. *And.* 173, *nulla littera vocalis geminata unam syllabam facit.*³

9. If now the doubling of l was avoided in the normal orthography of Latin, except when ll represented the vowels of two syllables,⁴ how did this dislike display itself in the republican inscriptions?

10. We may recall that VO was written in final VOS and in similar combinations long after it had become *vu* in sound, in order to avoid the writing VV;⁵ but the retention of older VO was hardly due to any ambiguity in the sound of VV. For example, SERVVS and NOVVS can suggest no probable incorrect pronunciation, except that in *-ūs*; but the doubling of vowels to indicate length does not appear until Gracchan times, while VO as merely graphic for *vu* is established by Anderson⁶ in the plays of Plautus. The true explanation of the phenomenon must be the unconditioned reluctance to double any character in writing.

There is a dislike to use VV, not only for *vu*, but also for *uv*, whether *uv* goes back to an earlier *uv* or to an earlier *ov*. Thus, no *v* is written in *fui*⁷ *fruor* *pruina*. But in normal orthography, for clearness, VV for *uv* is employed initially, after initial *j*, and medially before *i* plus a vowel: so *ūva*, *ūvidus*, *iuvēnis*, *Pācuvius*. But even in these positions it is not always written⁸ in the older inscriptions, which often prefer older OV or the single V:⁹

¹ In these, of course, the first *i*-forms a diphthong with the preceding vowel.

² V. footnote to §3.

³ The prescription by Accius of AA EE OO VV for *ā ē ō ū* (Quint. i, 7, 14; Mar. Vict. vi, 8 K.; Ter. Scaur. vii, 18 K.; Vel. Long. vii, 55 K.) is no real exception, for these writings never became the normal orthography, and never gained even fairly extended use.

⁴ And in the rare combination of postconsonantal *ĵ*, as in *dĵudico dĵungo*, *bĵjugis -us*, *quadrĵjugis -us*; cf. §7, footnote.

⁵ Anderson, *TAPA*. xl, 99-105.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*

⁷ FVVEIT, *CIL.* i, 1051, is quite exceptional, as against FUET, *CIL.* i, 32, FVIT, *CIL.* i, 30, 196, etc.

⁸ While manuscript authority cannot be relied on in such matters as these, reference may be made to Lachmann ad Lucr. v, 679, and L. Müller *De re metrica* 251 f. ed. i, 293 f. ed. 2.

⁹ Two apparent instances of VV may be disposed of: nom. FVVLl, *CIL.* i, 1406,

FLOVIOM, FLOVIVM *septies*, FLOVI nom. pl., COMFLOVONT, and FLVIO abl., COMFLVONT, *CIL.* I, 199; FLOVIO abl. *quater, ibid.*

SOVO abl. and SVOM, *CIL.* I, 1007.

SOVEIS dat. and SVOS nom. *ter*, SVO abl. *bis*, as well as SVEI *bis*, SYAE, SVA abl. *quater, CIL.* I, 198.¹

IVENTA, *CIL.* I, 1202; IVENTIA, *CIL.* I, 885, with *juv-*.

ASVIA, *CIL.* I, 1204; LIGVIVS, 1341; VESVIES, 817, all with *-uvi-*.

To these may be added V for *vu* in VIVS, *CIL.* I, 1223.

Thus the tendency not to write VV is very strong, even when ambiguity results from its avoidance.

11. A similar avoidance of II in early inscriptions may be expected. Now monosyllabic II, and III after vowels, would be looked for only in those classes of words already discussed in §§3-8, where the inscriptional examples show normally I.

Dissyllabic *ii* occurs in the following classes of words: (1) the gen. sing. of M. and N. (*i*)*io*-stems; (2) the nom. pl. of M. (*i*)*io*-stems, and the dat. sing. of *alius*; (3) the dat.-abl. pl. of M. and N. (*i*)*io*-stems, and of F. (*i*)*iā*-stems; (4) certain forms of *deus is meus*;² (5) certain perfect forms of verbs of the types *abii petii munii*. These may be taken up in turn.

12. However, for the clearer understanding of what the written words may represent, a review of the phonetic history of these forms is essential.

In the gen. sing., the *o*-stems had original *-ei*,³ which in

may be miswritten for FVLVI(*us*), rather than a representation of *Fūli(us)*, as the note in *CIL.* suggests; and COINVCI, *CIL.* I, 1242, which may be COIIVCI, according to the note in *CIL.*, is rather miswritten for CONIVCI; cf. the forms CONIVNXS, 1011, CONIVGI, 1053, COIVGI, 1064, 1413, CONIVGEM, 1479, CONIVGE, 1220.

¹ Also SVVO, *CIL.* I, 1242, SVVM, *CIL.* I, 206; but with the latter SVI *bis*, SVORVM, SVEIS are found.

² Strictly, these contain *e-i*; but for convenience they are included here. Cf. Sturtevant, *Contraction in the Case Forms of the Latin io- and iā-Stems, and of deus, is, and idem*, Chicago, 1902.

³ I follow Ehrlich, *Untersuchungen über d. Natur d. griech. Betonung*, 66-76, who advances this theory and the theory that *ei* in unaccented syllables became *ī* much earlier than did original *ai oi*.

unaccented syllables became \bar{i} very early; (i) $\acute{i}o$ -stems had $-(i)\acute{i}ei$, which became $-i\bar{i}$ or $-\acute{i}\bar{i}$ and contracted to $-\bar{i}$ before any of the extant forms.

The plural forms contain other diphthongs, which became monophthongal less early. $-oi$ $-ōis$ $-āis$ in final syllables became $-ei$ $-eis$; not later than the middle of the third century B.C., these became close \bar{e} $-\bar{e}s$, and are sometimes written E ES, though EI EIS are more usual. About 150 B.C., these sounds became \bar{i} $-\bar{i}s$, and might be written I IS. After this date, EI and I are graphically interchangeable for \bar{i} of any origin. When the forms of io - $iā$ -stems reached the stage $-i\bar{i}$ $-iis$, about 150 B.C., contraction to \bar{i} $-\bar{i}s$ took place;¹ but analogy brought back the dissyllabic forms, and both were in use.

But Brugmann² now holds that after i , ei became \bar{e} and developed no farther; hence forms in $-i\bar{i}$ $-iis$, and the contractions thereof have \bar{i} merely by analogy of the forms of pure o - $ā$ -stems.³

The history of verb forms in $-iai$ is similar to that of the nom. pl. in $-ioi$.

As for eo -stems (*is idem deus meus*), contraction took place well before 200 B.C., at the time when eei reached the stage $e\bar{e}$; ⁴ the resulting \bar{e} became \bar{i} about 150 B.C., like any other \bar{e} . The re-formations with dissyllabic ei were used even in Plautus, except those from *deus*, which cannot be proved earlier than in the poems of Catullus.⁵

E, = \bar{e} , may also at any date be rustic Latin or dialectal for an earlier ei .

Of the inscriptions in *CIL.* I, those falling before the important dividing line of 150 B.C., so far as they are cited in this paper, are as follows:

¹ The application of the law of iambic shortening removes the necessity of supposing that contraction in such forms had occurred by the time of Plautus, despite the citations of Neue-Wagener, 1⁹, 159 and 189 f.

² *Kurze vergl. Gram.* I, p. 255.

³ In ejo - ajo -stems, the gen. sing. should from the earliest times have EI AI, representing $-ej\bar{i}$ $-aj\bar{i}$, with restored j ; the pl. forms should show EIEI EIEIS AIEI AIEIS until 150 B.C., and thence onward EI EIS AI AIS, = $ej\bar{i}$ etc., with restored j .

⁴ Sturtevant, pp. 32-35.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 21.

- CIL. I*, 1-194 : date, before the Hannibalic war.
 195 : date, 260 B.C., but restored under Claudius.
 196 : date, 186 B.C.
 530, 531 : date, 211 B.C.

13. The gen. sing. of M. and N. *io*-stems ends in *l*, or in *El* graphic for *l*, on republican inscriptions.¹ Examples from *CIL. I* are as follows :

- 198 CONSILI; 200 IVDICI; 204 PORTORI; 205 MVNICI-
 PEI; 206 AEDIFICI *ter*, MVNICIPI *quinquies*; 571 IOVEI
 (from *Jovius*), LAETORI; 577 SERAPI; 587, 589 BENEFICI;
 602, 11 *exx.* in -I; 623 FEILI; 804 SVLPICEI; 930 PA-
 PIRI; 1013, 1014 VERGILEI; 1015 VERGILI; 1042
 CLODI; 1063 FVLVI, IVLI, IVLI; 1079 SALVI; 1107
 ANVLARI, CONLEGI; 1108 CONLEGEI; 1213 CVL-
 TRARI; 1241 OCTAVI; 1305 CORRI; 1374 AMPVDI.

STATII 757 and CAESII 758 are the only genitives in *II*, in *CIL. I*, among the inscriptions of republican date; but they are perhaps of the year 8 A.D.² We find also OSTIEI, gen. to *ostium*, in *CIL. I*, 577, an imperial copy of an inscription of 105 B.C.; but as the same inscription exhibits the gen. SERAPI, the form OSTIEI appears to be due simply to the stone-cutter, to represent the dissyllabic pronunciation familiar to him. It is, however, noteworthy that his IEI shows a graphic dissimilation of *II*, as it represents *l* after *l* by *El*.

14. The nom. pl. of M. (*i*)*io*-stems ended originally in *-ioi*, appearing in earliest Latin as *-iei*, whence *-iē* about 250 B.C., and *-ī* about 150, contracting to *-ī* or kept by the analogy of other cases.³ Old Latin often adds *s*, in imitation of the plurals of consonant-stems and *i*-stems.⁴ Of such forms we actually find, in *CIL. I*:

¹ The first undoubted examples of dissyllabic *-īī* occur in Catullus; cf. Neue-Wagener, ¹⁹, 134-154, especially 145 f. W. Merrill, *Univ. Calif. Publ. in Cl. Phil.* II, 57-79, argues for its appearance earlier, but fails to prove his point.

² Cf. *adn. ad. insec.* in *CIL. I*.

³ Cf. §12.

⁴ Cf. Sommer, p. 378.

Ending in *-iei*, with or without added *s*:

- 199 MINVCIEIS; 204 SOCIEI; 575 (*Clu*)VDIEI; 578 (*p*)IEI; 580 PIEI; 807 IVLIEI; 1024 ALFIEIS; 1091 THVRARIE(*i*); 1129 CISIARIEI; 1165 SALONIEI; 1210 VN-GVENTARIEI; 1275 FILIEI; 1295 (*au*)XSILIARIEI; 1424 (*Ju*)LIEI; 1481 ROSCIEIS; 1497 TOSSIEIS.

Ending in *-ie*, with added *s*:

- 42 ATILIES; 199 VITVRIES *bis*; 425 MEMIES; 817 VESVIES; 1289 MODIES; *CIL.* vi, 169¹ ROSARIES, VIOLARIES.

Contracted forms in *l* or *El* = \bar{i} , some with added *s*:²

- 199 FLOVI; 206 LIBRAREI; 579 LVCCI; 1041 SOCEI; 1092 TVRAREIS; 1131 LANI; 1272 FILEI; 1284 FEILEI; 1541 *b* FILIS.

These forms show a distinct avoidance of *ll* = $\bar{i}\bar{i}$, in the uncontracted forms, where *lEl* is regularly used to indicate the dissyllabic nature and to avoid the graphic doubling of *l*. While this use of *El* has of course etymological warrant,³ that does not explain the consistency of its use, for in the contracted forms *l* appears in about half of the instances, and not *El*. Further, in the very inscriptions showing nom. pl. in *lEl*, the pure *o*-stems show nom. pl. forms in *l* and *lS*, and dat.-abl. pl. forms in *lS*:⁴

CIL. i, 199 IVDICATI, DAMNATI, HISCE, FRVCTI *bis*, CETERI, (abl.) TERMINIS; 204 PROGNETI, LEIBERI; 1024 (abl.) LIBERTIS, NOSTRIS,

which shows that the use of *l* = \bar{i} in these plural forms was familiar to the cutters of the inscriptions. Evidently the use of *El* = \bar{i} depends here upon the preceding *l*: another instance of graphic dissimilation.

¹ CORONAR(*i*)ES of the same inscription is too badly mutilated to give a certain reading.

² The index of *CIL.* i assigns RETIARII to 1234; but this is a carelessly written inscription, and the stone shows rather RETIARI, a contracted nom., like LANI.

³ Sommer, pp. 377 f.

⁴ Though forms with *El* and *EIS* are much commoner.

15. Of the dat. sing. of *alius*, the older inscriptions display only the contracted form ALEI, *CIL.* I, 206, 1277; the uncontracted (or restored) form appears in Plaut. *Cist.* Arg. 5, *Mil.* 1357.¹

16. In the dat.-abl. pl. of *io-* and *iā-*stems, the same phenomena are found as in the nom. pl. of M. *io-*stems. Forms with IEIS are found in *CIL.* I, as follows:

195 SOCIEIS; 199 CONTROVORSIEIS; 200 AEDIFICIEIS, MOINICIPIEIS *ter*, STIPENDIARIEIS *bis*, VIEIS, VIA-SIEIS; 202 DECVRIEIS, TERTIEIS *bis*; 204 AEDIFICIEIS *quater*, PORTORIEIS *bis*; 205 IVDICIEIS; 206 COMITIEIS, MVNICIPIEIS *ter*, VIEIS *quater*; 542 ALIEIS; 1087 SEPTVMIEIS; 1169 HERENNIEIS; 1199 PA-PIEIS; 1220 INFERIEIS; 1277 VENERIEIS; 1313 LEVIEIS; 1480 IVDICIEIS; *CIL.* XI, 3078 A(*rg*)VTIEIS.

There are the following contracted forms, with *-īs* written IS or EIS:

199 CONTROVERISIS,² IANVARIS, VEITVRIS, VETVRIS; 206 COLONEIS *ter*; 1050 OFICEIS.

Both the *-iīs* and the *-īs* forms are abundantly proved by passages in the poets,³ the contracted form occurring of course only after 150 B.C.; INFERIEIS, in the list above, stands in a metrical inscription and has *-iīs*.

Again for dissyllabic *ii* we have IEI, which — though the diphthong is warranted historically⁴ — is only a graphic device to avoid the doubling of I.⁵ Observe that alongside the regular IEIS = *iīs*, we find also PERFVGIS VICANIS 200, QVI IVRATI 577, SEN|SANIS SEN|SANIS 1199,⁶ showing that I and IS in these forms were familiar to the cutters of the inscriptions.

¹ Either form is permitted in *Mil.* 1076, *Truc.* 744; other occurrences are in lines corrupt or of uncertain metre: *Curc.* 484, *Mil.* 351, *Ps.* 1264.

² The form CONTROVORSIEIS stands in the same inscription, which suggests that CONTROVERISIS is miswritten, especially as the letters immediately following are legible, but make no sense.

³ Neue-Wagener, I³, 189 ff.

⁴ Sommer, pp. 380 f.

⁵ On INGENVIIS, *CIL.* I, 1492, v. §21.

⁶ Though forms with EIS are much commoner.

It is notable also that on Elogium x, *CIL.* I, p. 279, the forms VENEVICIS VIS occur, with *i longa* apparently to represent *ī*, since the other two forms of the same category, REPETVNDIS STERNVNDIS, have the ordinary I; the first named use *i longa* to avoid II. A single I for *ī* is proved metrically in INFERIS *CIL.* VI, 12307; there is no other example of *i longa* in this inscription, though DONIS TVIS MERITIS NOBIS occur.

17. A stem in *-eo-* should form its dat.-abl. pl. in dissyllabic EIS, unless contraction had taken place; but EIS was open to misunderstanding as *-īs*, with EI graphic for *ī*. Consequently we find ABIEGNIIEIS AESCVLNIEIS¹ *CIL.* I, 577, using IEI in the value *ī*, to avoid EEI with repetition of E, and EI, which might be read as *ī* merely. These writings are the more noticeable because ABIEGNEA *bis* and ABIEGINEAS (with I inserted by error) appear on the same stone, with the phonetically correct E.

Certain plural forms of *deus*, *meus*, and *is idem*² have contracted *ī* or re-formed dissyllabic *e-ī*. We find, in *CIL.* I, the following:³

DIS 639, DEIS 1241

MEI 1012, MIEIS 38, MEEIS 1063, MEIS *bis* 1253

Nom. pl. EI *ter* 200, *quater* 202, 204, *ter* 206

EIS *bis* 197, *quater* 198, 199

EEIS 196; EEI, *CIL.* x, 1453

IEI 185,⁴ 202, *quinquies* 204, 205, 206

IEIS 577

EIDEM 197, *quinquies* 202, 566, 567, 1140, 1161, 1162, 1163, 1178, 1189, 1216, 1247; EID. 1227, 1245

EISDEM 198, 1143, 1149, 1187; (e)ISDEM 1192

¹ I do not agree with Sturtevant, p. 35, that IEIS in these forms and in certain manuscript readings furnish no presumption of anything more than monosyllabic *ī*.

² The dat. *ei idem* is discussed separately, §19.

³ I note the following errors in the *Index Verborum* of *CIL.* I:

MEI 1198 should be gen. sing., not nom. pl.

IS 196¹⁷ should be nom. sing., not nom. pl.

EEIS 196⁴ should be nom. pl., not abl. pl. 196⁶.

EIDEM 1140, 1216; (e)ISDEM 1192; EID. 1227, 1245; IDEM 1421 should be nom. pl., not nom. sing.

⁴ An uncertain reading; cf. Sturtevant, p. 28.

IDEM 1421, 1(*dem*) 1285IS(*dem*) 1270Dat.-abl. pl. EIS 195, *decies* 198, *bis* 199, *decies* 200, 13*ies* 202, *septies* 203, 15*ies*¹ 206, 603E(*is*) 200, *ter* 203, *bis* 205

IS 198

EEIS *bis* 196IEIS 12*ies* 204, *quater* 205, *novies*¹ 206, 624EIEIS *bis* 201

EISDEM 204, ISDEM 206, IISDEM 206 •

Sturtevant² has shown that in these forms there are two pronunciations only to deal with: *dī dīs ī īs*, and *de-ī de-īs, e-ī e-īs*; similarly, of course, *mī mīs* and *me-ī me-īs*. All the writings listed represent one or the other of these pronunciations; but it is significant that there is no real example of *II*, since IISDEM 206 is only an error³ for EISDEM, with omission of the cross strokes of E. The same error appears repeatedly on this inscription, in RIM EAI QVIF QVII PROXVMIIS respectively for REM EAE QVEI QVEI PROXVMEIS. We find *I* and *EI* for *ī*, but *EEI IEI EIEI* for *e-ī*. Apparently *EI* was avoided for *e-ī*, since it was commonly used for the monosyllabic *ē* and *ī*; and *EEI* was normally replaced dissimilatively by *IEI* and *EIEI*, to avoid the repetition of the letter E.⁴ This same phenomenon has already been seen in ABIEGNIEIS, AESCVLNIEIS.

18. Curiously, as Sturtevant⁵ points out, *IEI* is used for the monosyllabic *ī* at times; the following examples are found:

MIEIS, *CIL.* I, 38, monosyllabic by the meter.LVMPHIEIS, *CIL.* I, 1238MERITIEIS, *CIL.* VI, 19419SACRIEIS, *CIL.* X, 5055SVIEIS, *CIL.* I, 1042, 1460

} not containing *-īs*, since they are
*ā- o-*stems, not *īā- io-*stems.

¹ Cf. Sturtevant, p. 27, footnote 2.

² P. 23, p. 32. His treatment is from the phonetic standpoint, mine from the orthographic. I disagree with him only in a few details.

³ Despite Sturtevant, p. 28.

⁴ The following should in this connection be noted as occurring in *CIL.* I: DIEI 198, *ter* 206; REI, gen. and dat. of *res*, often; REIS *bis* 198, from *reus*; OLEI, gen. of *oleum*, 200, alongside VINEI, gen. of *vinum*.

⁵ P. 8.

To Sturtevant's list may be added MVNICIPIEIS, *CIL.* I, 206 = *municipīs*, acc. pl. of *municeps*. Such writings are the not unnatural result of the confusion in stems having both contracted forms in EI EIS and uncontracted forms in IEI IEIS. IEI in some of the other forms may therefore be graphic for \bar{i} , though this is not positively demonstrable; but the principle of the avoidance of II is not thereby affected.

19. The dat. sing. *ei* has in Plautus and Terence three metrical values: —; $\bar{e}\bar{i}$; ——. ¹ Without going into the vexed question of the origin of the form, it is sufficient for the present purpose to say that the normal phonetic development gave a monosyllabic *ei* by the time of Plautus; that " $\bar{e}\bar{i}$ " is in reality *ejī*, re-formed after the analogy of *ejus*; that $\bar{e}\bar{i}$ is a re-formation after the analogy of *eum eam eō* etc. In the authors the normal orthography for all of these was *ei*—though *i* might have been written for the monosyllable. ²

In the older inscriptions we find the following:

EI, = \bar{i} , and possibly $e\bar{i}$ and *ejī*: often in *CIL.* I, 197, 198, 200, 202, 205, 206, 209, 571, 1409, 1418.

EIEI, = *ejī*, *septies* *CIL.* I, 198 (dated 123/2 B.C.), alongside numerous instances of EI in the same inscription.

IEI, = $\bar{e}\bar{i}$, *bis* *CIL.* I, 205, with graphic dissimilation from EEI to avoid EE; the same stone shows EI several times.

E EI, = $\bar{e}\bar{i}$, *CIL.* X, 1453 (apparently of early imperial date). ³

Similarly, the datives *huic* and *cui* have triple values; but a discussion of them would be aside from the purpose of this paper.

20. The last class of words containing dissyllabic *ii* is formed by the perfects like *ii abii pctii munii*, in the perfect indicative active (except the third person plural), in the perfect infinitive, and in the pluperfect subjunctive. In republican times we find the doubled I avoided in various ways (citations from *CIL.* I):

¹ Citations in Neue-Wagener, II⁸, 378 f.

² After 150 B.C. But the spelling *ei* would be much more easily recognizable as going with *ejus*, *eum*, etc.

³ As gen. sing., it has both MVNICIPI and MVNICIPII.

By the use of parallel forms with IVI: AVDIVIT 201; CONQUAESIVEI 551; MVNIVIT 618; (*po*)LIVIT 1258; POSEIVEI 551; SCIVIT 200, 204, 571; SIVIT 1019.

By the use of IEI = $\check{i}\bar{i}$ or $\check{i}\check{i}$: PETIEI 38; INTERIEISTI¹ 1202; OBIEIT, p. 210 *init.*; REDIEIT 541; VENIEIT *sexies* 200.

By the use of contracted forms, with I or EI = \bar{i} : ABIT 1450; OBEIT 1411; OBIT 1539 *b*; PERISTI 685; PEREIT 1254; PERISTIS 646, 647; POSEIT 1281, 1283; POSIT 1282, 1298, 1436; POSE(*it*) 1378.

By graphic dissimilation of the second I to E: ADIESE ADIESET ADIESENT 196.²

Thus, to avoid II, we find alternative forms in IVI, or contracted forms, or forms with dissimilative writings, having EI or E for I after I. No instance of II occurs. It is notable that *CIL.* I, 38, contains, besides PETIEI, the forms ACCV-MVLAVI GENVI OPTENVI; the final \bar{i} is represented by I except in the one form where it is preceded by I, and then EI is written. Also, in *CIL.* I, 196, alongside ADIESE ADIESET ADIESENT for *adi-iss-*, we find all other similar forms to have -IS-, as follows:

ARFVISE, CONPROMESISE, COMVOVISE, CONSPONDISE,
DEDISE, FECISE *quater*; FECISENT, HABVISE *bis*,
IOVSISET *bis*.

21. In republican times, therefore, II was avoided for disyllabic *ii*: is II found at all in republican inscriptions?

¹ LEGEISTI, *Eph. Ep.* VII, p. 161, stands on an archaizing inscription containing various inaccuracies in spelling, and is merely a false writing for LEGISTEI.

I do not agree with Sommer, p. 628, that INTERIEISTI and ADIESE etc. prove a form *iistī*, whence *iit iisse* etc., and *petiit petiisse* etc. Length is attested only in the third singular perfect indicative (citations, Neue-Wagener, III⁸, 426 f.); here there were two forms in primitive Italic, an active in -e and a middle in -ai, to both of which the Italic added a -t; *tutudīt* and *tutudīt* have respectively -et and -ait, corresponding to Sanskrit active *tutōda* and middle *tutudē*.

² On the other hand, verbs of this type show IE and IVE indiscriminately, in case the I or IV is followed not by I, but by E: *CIL.* I, 197 INIERIT; 198 ABIERIT *quinquies*, PETIVERIT, AVDIERIT, QUAESIERIT, CONQUAESIVERIT; 199 COMPOSEIVERVNT; 200 ADIERIT, ADIERINT, VENIERIT *quater*; 201 AVDIVERAMVS; 205 PETIERIT; 206 ADIERINT, INIERINT *bis*; 207 PETIVERIT; 1009 DEPOSIERVNT; 1284 POSIERVNT.

Outside of INGENVIIS, *CIL.* I, 1492, = *ingenuis*,¹ we find II only in inscriptions using II as a representation of E; but in such inscriptions we find III and even IIII and IIIII in various values, as follows (citations from *CIL.* I):

ATILIIIS 42, = dat. pl. *Atilies*.

A(τ)IIIDIVS 182, = *Atiedius*.

IIRINIII 182, = dat. sing. *Erinie*.

SIBIIIIIT 1180, = *sibei et*.

PATOLIIIA 1501, = *Patoleja*.

PONTIIIS *bis*, p. 555 ad n. 194, = *Ponties*.

QVIII 818, = *qui*; QVI also occurs on the same inscription.

SIIC *bis* 818, = *seic*.

TIBIII 818, = *tibi*.

IIIDVS 866, 930, 976, 983, 1539 *d*; IIIDV. 867; IIID. 905, 935, 957; III. 846, 902, = *Eidus* and its abbreviations.

A. DIIIDVS 822, = *a. di. Eidus* for *ante diem Eidus*.²

DIII 947, = *die(m)*.

Other writings of II are errors: PIIILOMVSVS 1352 is for PHILO-; IISDEM DIIBVS, QVII, PROXVIIIS, all in 206 (lines 5, 40, 41), are errors for EISDEM DIEBVS, QVEI, PROXVMEIS, all of which occur repeatedly on the same inscription,³ which moreover is of notoriously careless writing.⁴

Thus, in republican times, if II = *e* were used, there was no objection to III, in any value, nor to IIII, nor even to IIIII; but when II = *e* was not used, the doubling of I was avoided.

22. The avoidance of VV died out at about the end of the republic. If we take the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, *CIL.* III, pp. 769 ff., as typical of carefully written early imperial inscriptions, we find (a)NNVVM, I, 35; IVV(*enes*), II, 46; IVVI, III, 34; IVVENTATIS, IV, 8; RIVVM, IV, 12; VIVVS, IV, 16; but also IVENTVTIS, III, 5. Other official inscriptions of the time show a similar state of affairs.

¹ Cf. §13 for gen. STATII and CAESII, *CIL.* I, 757 and 758.

² So the *CIL.*; but this idiom is peculiar, and *a. d. III Id.* may be suggested as an alternative.

³ EISDEM does not indeed occur; but EIS is found many times, and ISDEM once.

⁴ Cf. §17.

Likewise, II is no longer avoided in the *Mon. Anc.*, though the single I is still written in about half the instances :

With II : CONSILIIS, III, 3 ; IVDICIIS, I, 10 ; MANIBIIS, III, 8, III, 17, (*mani*)BIIS, IV, 21-22, MANIBIIS, IV, 24 ; MVNICIPIIS, IV, 27, MVNICIPII(*s*), IV, 29 ; IIS, I, 18.

With one I : AVSPICIS, I, 25 ; COLON(*i*)S, III, 17, COLO(*n*)IS, III, 19, COLONIS, IV, 27 ; MVNICIPIIS, III, 23 ; (*pr*)OVINCIS, II, 37 ; STIPENDIS, III, 31 ; DIS, I, 26.

Again, the evidence of other official inscriptions is similar.

Thus, though many contracted forms still occur, writings with II and II (whatever pronunciation they represent) form a goodly percentage of the occurrences in early imperial inscriptions. Sturtevant's statistics¹ show this lack of prejudice against II in later times, and also the use of II for \bar{i} where a dissyllabic value is out of the question ; to his list may be added GERMANICII, Henzen, *Acta Frat. Arv.*, p. LXXIV.

23. Why now did Accius recommend EI for \bar{i} rather than II, though he prescribed AA EE OO VV for the other long vowels ? The ordinary view that it was to avoid confusion with II = *e* will hardly stand, since it appears that in inscriptions with II = *e* no objection was felt to the decidedly ambiguous writing III. Of course Accius found EI in use for the sound \bar{i} , which gave him a starting point ; but the reason for his avoidance of II must have been a fear that it would have been mistaken for dissyllabic *i-i*, which, as we have seen, was a common form in the paradigms at the time of the rules of Accius (somewhat after 150 B.C.). On the other hand, dissyllabic *a-a e-e o-o u-u* hardly occur, and hence this obstacle would not stand in the way of doubling those letters to represent the simple long sound.

A-a appears only in an occasional foreign name, like *Phraates* ; *e-e* is found in the present subjunctive of *meo beo*, and in certain forms of *deesse deerrare praeesse praeco* ; *o-o* occurs in a few compounds of *co-*, as *coopto cooperio cooperor coorior* ; *u-u* is found only in a few forms of adjectives like

¹ Pp. 10-14, 22 f., 30-32.

perspicuus assiduus, and in the gen. pl. of the fourth declension.¹ Even in these the repetition of the letter is largely avoided by the use of contracted forms.² The Roman poets furnish the following contractions of *ee* and *oo* :

dest, Verg. *Aen.* x, 378, Hor. *Epist.* i, 12, 24, *CIL.* xi, 627 (written DEEST); *derat*, Verg. *Mor.* 64,³ Ovid *Met.* x, 88; ³ DERANT, *CIL.* vi, 1754; *dero*, Hor. *Sat.* i, 9, 56 and ii, 1, 17; *derit*, Verg. *Georg.* ii, 233,³ *Aen.* vii, 262, Hor. *Sat.* ii, 2, 98, Ovid *Met.* xv, 354; *derunt*, Ovid *Met.* xiii, 819; *dessem*, Catull. 64, 151; *desse*,⁴ Lucr. i, 43, Ovid *Epist.* xvii, 136.

derrare, Plaut. *Men.* 1113; ⁵ *derrarunt*, Lucr. iii, 860; *derraverat*, Verg. *Ecl.* vii, 7; *derrasse*, Lucr. i, 711; *derrantes*, Sen. *Phaed.* 1069.

coperiunt, Lucr. vi, 491; *coperuisse*, Lucr. v, 342; COPERTAE, *CIL.* viii, 20277.⁶

coritur, *Aetna* 408.

On the other hand, we find certain examples of failure to contract :

dēest: Stat. *Theb.* viii, 236, x, 236, xi, 276.⁷

coortus and its forms: Lucr. often (32 times); Verg. *Georg.* iii, 478, *Aen.* i, 148, x, 405; Ovid *Met.* xi, 512, *Tr.* v, 5, 29; Sil. Ital. vi, 415, vii, 547, x, 185; Sen. *Phaed.* 887.

coortu: Lucr. vi, 671.

¹ Any omissions are inadvertent, and would not materially increase the number of dissyllabic *aa*'s, etc.

² It is not here a question of words in which like vowels were originally separated by a consonant, as in *cohors cōrs*, *vehemēns vēmēns*; nor of those with contraction of unlike vowels, as in *cōgō cōlēsō*.

³ *dē-ē-* possible, but not likely. On this contraction of *de-e-*, cf. Vel. Long. vii, 65 K.

⁴ *deesse*, Plaut. *Rud.* 636 (cf. Lodge, *Lexicon Plautinum* s.v.) is a conjecture which cannot be used as evidence either way.

⁵ Probably so to be read, with hiatus following.

⁶ For *cō-* here and in the *Carm. adv. Marc.*, v. *Thes. L. L.* s.v. *cooperio*; it is this form with *ō* which has given rise to the Romance words; cf. Körting, *Lat. rom. Wtb.* s.v. *cooperio*.

The following may or may not be contracted: *coperta*, Turp. *Com.* 23 Ribbeck³; *cooperta*, Lucr. vi, 1269; *cooperto*, Hor. *Sat.* ii, 1, 68; *cooriuntur*, Plaut. *Persa*, 313.

⁷ Cf. Klotz, *Arch. Lat. Lex.* xv, 406.

These examples are all from *coortus -a -um*, and *coortus -ūs*, except some late ones of *deest*; and with the exception of the example in Seneca, those of *coortus* all appear at the end of dactylic hexameter verses: it is clear that a word of the value $\cup _ \cup$ is a convenient tag in this meter, which accounts for the failure to contract.¹

The combination *u-u* is avoided by writing VO, or by the use of the alternative gen. pl. of the fourth declension in VM: *passum*: Plaut. *Men.* 177, *Truc.* 334; Lucil. 114, 506 Marx; Mart. II, 5, 3. *currum*: Verg. *Aen.* VI, 653.

Similar writings occur on inscriptions, as follows (examples from *CIL.* unless otherwise noted):

PHRATI, *Mon. Anc.* VI, 1; PHRATES, *ib.* VI, 4.

DERANT, VI, 1754, XI, 6959;² DERVNT, II, 1964; DE'RVNT, VI, 1527.

PRAEVNTE, Henzen, *Acta Frat. Arv.*, pp. LXXVII, CI *bis*.

PRAERAT, XI, 1421; PRAERANT, *Mon. Anc.* III, 35; PRAERIT, *quater* I, 206; PRAERVNT, I, 206, XI, 1421; PRAESSE, I, 198; (*p*)RAESSE(*t*), I, 205.

COPTATO, I, 206 (also COAPTATO, *ib.*, by error); COPTAVE-RVNT, V, 4921, VIII, 68; COP., X, 5914 (= *coptatus*), X, 5916 (= *coptati*); cf. *coptari*, Cic. *Fam.* III, 10, 9 in Cod. Med.

COPERTAE, VIII, 20277.

Gen. pl. EXERCITVM, VI, 414, *Mon. Anc.* V, 40; DOMVM, X, 1401.

A few examples of the doubling of the letter in these words have come to my notice in the inscriptions:

DEEST, XI, 627 (here metrically *dest*), *Röm. Quartalschr.* XXII, 88; DEESSE, *CIL.* VI, 1711, and De Rossi, *Insc. Chr.* I, p. 1077 (A.D. 495 or 514).

PRAEEVNTE, Henzen, *op. cit.*, pp. LXXI *bis*, CVII, CXIV; (*p*)RAEE-VNTE, *ib.*, p. XCI.

COOPTO and its forms, Henzen, *op. cit.*, pp. xxx *ter*, XCII, CII *bis*, CXV, CXXXI, CLIV, CLIX *bis*.

But in the numbered inscriptions of *CIL.* I, the only examples of dissyllabic EE etc., which I can find, are MEEIS 1063,

¹ Cf. *cohorta*, with *h* to show hiatus, *Corp. Gloss. Lat.* II, 103, 4, V, 278, 63; also Varro, *LL.* V, 88, Gell. II, 17, 6 f.

² Not accessible to me; I take the reference from the *Thes. Ling. Lat.* s.v.

EIS *ter* 196, SVVM 206, DVVMVIRVM 577, DVVM VIR 1235, and the doubtful STATII 757, CAESII 758; other examples of doubling of the vowels indicate length or combinations like *vu* or *uv*—not *u-u* and the like. Thus AA EE OO VV for *ā ē ō ū* were practically not ambiguous; but II might have been mistaken for *i-ī*, a common combination of sounds. This was Accius' reason for prescribing EI, and not II, to represent *ī*.

24. The prevalence of *-iei* and *-ieis* in plural endings of *io*-stems may have contributed to perpetuate *ei* in these endings after other sounds also. Historically, we should have the diphthong in the plural endings of the second declension, but *-i* in the genitive singular. As a matter of fact, in pure *o*-stems (not *io*-stems) *CIL. I* shows EI in over 80 per cent of plural forms and in about 40 per cent of the genitives singular. This condition in the singular accords neither with what is historically correct, nor with the rule of Lucilius (requiring *i*), nor with the rule of Accius (requiring *ei*). In the plural, all three.—history, Lucilius, Accius—unite upon *ei*; yet only 80 per cent of pure *o*-stems have the diphthong. It seems to me likely, therefore, that the regularity of *-iei* and *-ieis* in the plural endings of *io*-stems, through the principle of the avoidance of II, was the main factor in perpetuating *ei* in plural endings of pure *o*-stems.

25. RESULTS:

(1) At all periods a single I is written after vowels in the value of *i-jī* in such words as *Pompei reicio*, and after consonants with the value *jī* in such words as *abicio*, as well as in the value *i-j* intervocalic as in *ajo*: this is a dissimilative loss in writing, of one I in II, and of two I's in III.

NOTE. Rarely, *jī* and *i-jī* appear as IE, by dissimilative change.

(2) In republican times, the use of II to denote dissyllabic *i-ī* was avoided on inscriptions by using IEI or IE: a dissimilative change of the second I to EI or to E.

NOTE 1. This avoidance did not last beyond the republican period.

NOTE 2. But where II = *e* was used, there was no avoidance of III in various values.

(3) In republican times, and to some extent even later, doubled AA EE OO VV were avoided for dissyllabic *a-a e-e o-o u-u*, by writing normally a single A E O V, which indicates either phonetic contraction, or a graphic dissimilative loss; while EEI was normally written IEI, a dissimilative change.

(4) OV and V were used to represent *uv*, and V was used for *vu*, as well as VO for *vu* and *u-u*: instances of dissimilative change and loss.

(5) The avoidance of II and VV was not to avoid ambiguous writings, but was part and parcel of the dislike for repeating any written character.

(6) The avoidance of II for \bar{i} in the rules of Accius was not due to a desire to avoid confusion with II = *e*, but was to avoid confusion with dissyllabic *i-ī*, which at that time was a very common combination of sounds.

(7) The use of *ei* after *i* in plural endings of *io*-stems was the cause of the prevalence of *ei* in these endings of pure *o*-stems.

(8) On *aine*, §4; on dat. *ei huic quoi*, §19; on *-it* in the perfect, cf. §20 footnote.

IV. — *The Pronunciation of cui and huic*

BY DR. EDGAR HOWARD STURTEVANT

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

ONE feature of Latin pronunciation about which scholars have not yet reached an agreement is the sound represented by *ui* in the dative singular of *hic* and *quis*. The dative of the latter word is thought by some to have sounded the same or nearly the same as the nominative *qui*. Others regard *ui* in these words as a falling diphthong; that is, as a short stressed *u* followed by a short *i* in the same syllable. Still others prescribe a diphthong of two short vowels with the stress on the second (*uī*).¹ We may dismiss this third theory at once on the ground that *uī* pronounced with one breath-impulse would be indistinguishable from consonantal *u + i* and would therefore give a metrically short syllable. It is hoped that a review of the available evidence will help to decide between the remaining alternatives. It is as follows:

1. The difference between the nominative masculine and dative singular of the interrogative-relative pronoun indicates a difference in pronunciation. It is true that the grammarians like to explain the difference in orthography as intended to distinguish between the two cases. Thus, Terentius Scaurus says (VII, 28, 1 ff. K.): *c* autem in dativo ponimus ut sit differentia *cui* et *qui*, id est dativi singularis et nominativi et vocativi pluralis. We must, however, beware of conclud-

¹ For the first theory see especially Lindsay, *Latin Language*, 39, and Husband, *TAPA*, xli, 19-23. Compare Stolz, *Lateinische Grammatik*⁴, 36, who seems to agree with Lindsay, and yet classifies and describes *ui* as a diphthong!

For the second theory see Bennett, *Latin Language*, 10 f., to whom the writer is especially indebted. Compare Sommer, *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre*, 171 f., and Hale and Buck, *Latin Grammar*, 3 f.

For the third theory see Lane, *Latin Grammar*, 7, who is followed by Harkness, *Complete Latin Grammar*, 5.

Exon's very improbable theory (*Hermathena*, XII, 208-233) that *cui* and *huic* were always dissyllabic in popular speech need not be considered here, since it leaves unchanged the question of the pronunciation of the monosyllabic datives which certainly existed in the speech of the educated classes.

ing from this that the distinction was confined to the spelling. The grammarians speak primarily of the orthography of a word, and often take no account of its pronunciation. A statement that two words were differently spelled *differentiae causa* does not necessarily imply that they sounded alike. For example, Terentius himself, in discussing the marking of long vowels, says (VII, 33, 5 ff.): *Apices ibi poni debent ubi isdem litteris alia atque alia res designatur, ut vĕnit et venit, dret et aret, lĕgit et legit, ceteraque his similia.* He clearly recognizes the difference in pronunciation, but the reason for using the apex on one word of each pair is to distinguish it from its homogram.

We must admit that the Romans did sometimes make an orthographical distinction between words of identical sound; for example, the nominative plural \bar{i} (usually spelled *ii*) did not differ in pronunciation from the imperative \bar{i} (see Brambach, *Neugestaltung*, 140 f., and the author's *Contraction in the Case Forms of the Latin iō- and iā-stems*, II, 32). But there was a special reason against distinguishing two cases of the same word by varying the initial consonant. If *cui* had really contained the same consonant group as *qui*, *quem*, etc., no grammarian would wantonly have introduced a distinction that ran counter to the grammatical principle of *analogia*. Terentius adds to the above explanation of *c* in *cui* the words: *quamquam secundum analogiam omnes partes orationis quae per casus declinantur eandem litteram in prima parte per omnes casus servent quam nominativo habuerint.* Grammatical theory would certainly have favored the spelling *qui* for the dative, if that had represented the pronunciation.¹

2. In post-Augustan poetry the dative singular of *quis* is sometimes treated as a word of two short syllables (Sen. *Troad.* 852, +), and that pronunciation is several times re-

¹ The occasional spelling *qui* for the dative (see Neue-Wagener, *Formenlehre*, II, 454, L. Müller, *Praefatio ad Catullum*, xii, Seyffert, *Index ad Codicis Rescripti Ambrosiani Apographum*, s.v., etc.) is no more significant for the pronunciation than *quius* for the genitive, which certainly was not pronounced *quius*. In both cases *q* is a violation of *usus* in the interests of *analogia* (otherwise Sommer, *Handbuch*, 465).

ferred to by the grammarians (Ps.-Probus, iv, 233, 18 K., Terentianus Maurus, vi, 346, 696 K., Annaeus Cornutus, vii, 149, 1-10 K., Caesellius, vii, 202, 27 K., Audax, vii, 329, 4 ff. K.). Similarly the dative singular of *hic* is a dissyllable in Staius, *Silvae*, I, 1, 107 and I, 2, 135; the quantity of the second vowel is indeterminable in both verses, but we may safely assume that it was short, as in the case of dissyllabic *cūi*. At a later date we meet iambic datives, *hūic* (Terentianus Maurus, vi, 366, 1375 K.) and *cūi* (very late).¹

It has been suggested (Husband, *l.c.* 22) that in these passages the consonantal *u* has been vocalized, as in *sūavis* for *syavis*, etc. Such a variation, however, is confined to the interior of the word and the initial group *su* (see Sommer, *Handbuch*, 176); **cūinque* for *quīnque*, **cūatio* for *quatio*, and the like, are unknown, and even in the interrogative-relative pronoun itself we find no nominative **cūi* or ablative **cūō*, **cūā*.

Sommer, *Handbuch*, 466, is probably correct in tracing iambic *cūi* and *hūic* to the analogy of other pronominal datives like *illī* and *istī*. But there are serious objections to the further suggestion, which he cautiously puts in the form of a question, that pyrrhic *cūi* and *hūic* come from *cūi* and *hūic* by iambic shortening. We have no evidence for the existence of the iambic forms till some two hundred years after the appearance of the pyrrhic forms. It is dangerous to assume the operation of the iambic law at so late a date. Furthermore, if the association with the pronominal datives in *-ī* was strong enough to produce the dissyllabic forms, it would probably have preserved the quantity of their final vowel.

While there seems to be no satisfactory way of deriving the pyrrhic pronunciation *cūi* from monophthongal *cui*, it is but a slight and natural modification of diphthongal *cui*. Husband's contention (*l.c.*, 22) that such a resolution of a

¹ *Cūi*, however, occurs twice in Albinus ap. Priscian. II, 304 K. (= Baehrens, *Frag. Poet. Rom.* 406), whose date is unknown. It has been inferred from his use of this form that he lived as late as the third or fourth century (see Schanz, *Römische Literaturgeschichte*,² III, 47).

diphthong into its elements is out of harmony with the usual treatment of diphthongs in Latin, fails to reckon with the fact that classical Latin possessed two orders of diphthongs. The sound groups written *ae*, *oe*, and *au* had in classical times already entered upon the series of changes that finally reduced them to monophthongs, and for that reason we do not find them resolved into their elements. The diphthong *ui*, however, is to be compared with *oi* in *proin*, which, though usually a monosyllable, is treated as a dissyllable in *Priap.* 84, 16, and with *ei* in *dein*, which shows dissyllabic *ēi* in Terentianus Maurus, VI, 345, 669 K., or in *dehinc*, which contains one syllable in Verg. *Aen.* I, 131, but two in *Georg.* III, 167, etc., or in *dehiscas* in Catull. 98, 6 (see Hendrickson, *Rh. M.* LIX, 478). A still closer parallel is furnished by *flūito* (usually so pronounced) beside *flūito* in Lucr. III, 189, 477.¹ If a variation between diphthong and dissyllable was possible in these words, we are at liberty to assume a similar variation in *cui* and *huic*.

3. Quite the most striking fact about the datives *cui* and *huic* is their parallelism with the genitives *cuius* and *huius*. Not only do they agree in spelling as against other case forms from their respective stems; their history also is alike: as imperial *cui* is to republican *quoi* so is imperial *cuius* to republican *quoius*. No theory which involves a separation of the two cases can be considered satisfactory. Now the pronunciation of the genitives *cuius* and *huius* is perfectly well known (see Stolz, *Lat. Gramm.*⁴ 31 and references). They contain a diphthong *ui* followed by a consonantal *i* which begins the second syllable (*cui-ius*, *hui-ius*). Hence *cui* and *huic* probably contain a diphthong.

4. If *huic* were pronounced with a consonantal *u* (*huīc*), it would have to be treated by the poets like such words as *vīs* and *vīcus*, whose initial consonant has the same prosodic

¹ The traditional label "synizesis" for such forms has led to a great deal of confusion as to their real nature. There is, of course, a series of intermediate stages between the separate enunciation of two successive vowels and their full amalgamation into a diphthong; but whenever we may fairly say that they form a single syllable we are equally justified in calling them a diphthong.

effects as any other. Before *huic*, however, a final vowel is elided (e.g. Verg. *Aen.* v, 849), and a short final syllable ending in a consonant remains short (e.g. Verg. *Aen.* iii, 28). *Huic* must therefore begin with an aspirated vowel, not with *h* + consonantal *u*.

5. The Romans have left us a number of statements concerning the question before us. Certain passages, however, which have been brought into the discussion really have no bearing upon it. The fact that the grammarians usually omit *ui* from their lists of diphthongs has been thought (Husband, *op. cit.*) to indicate that there was no such diphthong in Latin. The adequate reply is that many of the lists omit also the *ei* of *deinde*, etc., and all of them omit the *oi* of *proin* and *proinde*. In one such passage, however, *ui* is included; Diomedes, I, 427, 13 K., cites *ae*, *oe*, *au*, *eu*, and *ui*. Still, it is quite possible that Diomedes had in mind Greek words with *ui*, as Marius Victorinus certainly had when he drew up the list (vi, 26, 27 K.): *ae*, *oe*, *au*, *eu*, *yi*.

Of purport similar to the omission of *ui* from the lists of diphthongs is Terentianus Maurus, vi, 341, 537 K.:

Porro cum praecedet *u*
consonantis vim ministrat omnibus vocalibus.

This is a rather loose statement which is true of many words, but which takes no account of certain others. It surely does not apply to *fruit* and *suo* or to *cuius* and *huius*; why need it apply to *cui* and *huic*?

In the present paper, therefore, we shall confine our attention to places where *cui* and *huic* are expressly mentioned.

A passage in Quintilian (I, 7, 27) enables us to trace the pronunciation of the dative of *quis* from the first half of the first century A.D. In the preceding section he approves the spelling of words like *seruum* and *ceruum* with *uu* rather than *uo*, and adds: Neutro sane modo vox quam sentimus efficitur. Nec inutiliter Claudius Aeolicam illam ad hos usus litteram adiecerat. That is, the spelling *seruum* is faulty in that it does not denote the consonantal character of the first *u*. He continues (27): Illud nunc melius quod *cui* tribus quas

praeposui litteris enotamus. If we inquire why the spelling *cui* is better than the spelling *seruum*, the only answer is that the syllable *cui* contains two vowels instead of a consonant followed by a vowel, and so the spelling *ui* is not misleading. The rest of the section runs: in quo pueris nobis ad pinguem sane sonum *q* et *u* et *o* et *i* utebantur, tantum ut ab illo *qui* distingueretur. I should translate, "When we were boys, in order to represent what is, I grant you, a full sound (*i.e.* fuller than that of *qui*) they spelled this word *quoi* merely that it might be distinguished from *qui*."¹ He approves of the spelling *cui* because it is a more accurate representation than *quoi* of the actual pronunciation, but even the latter orthography, he says, has some justification in the "full" sound of the word.

The adjective "full" appears also in Velius Longus, VII, 76, 3 f. K.: Itaque audimus quosdam plena *oi* syllaba dicere *quoi* et *hoic* pro *cui* et *huic*, quod multo vitiosius est quam si tenuitatem *y* litterae custodirent (*i.e.* *cyi*, *hyic*). Such vigorous condemnation of *quoi* and *hoic* reads like a bit of polemic against some pedantic archaizer who wanted to pronounce as well as write *quoi*. (Velius probably belongs to the archaizing age of Hadrian.) The suggestion that one might spell *cyi* is an anticipation of Terentianus' proposal to identify *ui* in *cui* with Greek *υ* (cf. below, p. 64). Neither *yi* nor *υ* can reasonably be understood as representing the sound *uī*.

The longest ancient discussion of our problem occurs in Terentianus Maurus, VI, 345 ff. K. After stating that *i* following a consonant and preceding *u* is always a vowel, as in *pīus*, he continues:

¹ Bennett, *Latin Language*, 10, Husband, *l.c.*, 20, and, apparently, Lindsay, *Latin Language*, 39, 44, have interpreted the latter part of the passage to mean that the pronunciation of *quoi* was in Quintilian's boyhood almost identical with that of *qui*. They do not explain how they arrive at such a conclusion. If they are relying upon the clause "tantum ut ab illo *qui* distingueretur," we may compare what was said above (p. 58) about the phrase "differentiae causa." We should rather be inclined to infer from Quintilian's failure to state the contrary that the pronunciation of the dative singular of the interrogative-relative pronoun had not changed during his lifetime. Some other considerations point in the same direction (cf. Sommer, *Handbuch*, 174 f., 465).

- 671 Nulla diphthongos quod ante *iūta* praemitti sinit,¹
 media porro si locetur *u*, fit una syllaba,
 ecce rursum discrepare litteras istas vides.
 Namque, *cui* si quando dico, non erit disyllabon ;
 675 nec tamen diphthongos ista consonante praedita
 poterit esse quae videri non potest cum libera est.
 Hoc enim solum adsequetur, quod digammos non erit
 ante posta cum sit ipsa tum sequens vocalis *i* ;
 nam nisi insequatur aliqua consonantum littera,
 680 *cui* brevis manebit, atque longa fiet addita.

* * * * *

- Dactylus nam *cui super*, *cui tu* sequens spondeus est,
 685 consonans quia post secuta tempus adiuvit breve.
 Hanc brevem sed ante nobis pervidendum est syllabam
 una consonans secuta quatenus longam creet ;
 ipsa nam vel secum habere consonantem debuit,
 vel duarum post sequentum sublevari tempore.

Then follows a long and involved discussion of the question whether the dative *cui* should be spelled with initial *c* or *q*, and of the related question whether the word should be pronounced in one syllable or in two (lines 690–759). The argument is sometimes difficult to follow (partly because of the imperfect condition of the text);² and we may pass it by, since Terentianus himself is unable to reach any final decision. He continues :

¹ A translation of these lines may make it easier to follow the argument :

“Because no diphthong allows *u* to be placed before *i*, whereas if *u* be placed in the middle (*i.e.* between a consonant and *i*; compare the passage last discussed) a single syllable results, you see again that these letters are unlike. For when I pronounce *cui* it will not be a dissyllable; nor yet can there be a diphthong if that consonant precedes (*praedita*; cf. line 792) which cannot appear when independent (*i.e.* *q*, which cannot be used without a following *u*). In fact, this alone will result, that (*u*) will not be digamma when it is put first and the vowel *i* follows; for, unless some consonant follow, *cui* will remain short, but will become long if a consonant be added. . . . *Cui super* is a dactyl and *cui tu* a spondee because the consonant following (*cui*) strengthens its (naturally) short time. But we must first consider to what extent this short syllable is lengthened by one following consonant; for it must have had a consonant in itself or else be supported by the time of two following consonants.”

² In lines 696, 699, etc., the editio princeps, our only authority, is surely right in giving *c* and *cui*; cf. especially lines 745 ff. Lachmann read *q* and *qui*.

- 760 Nec potest et hoc liquere, an *i* putemus consonam¹
 longa *cui super* paretur ceu duabus consonis ;
 alteram quia consequendo semper *i* vocalis est,
 tertiam et casus sequentes esse vocalem docent ;
 imo si nunc *u* putamus esse vocalis soni,
- 765 *i* magis vocalis esse iudicanda est subsequens.
 Numquid hanc diphthongon ergo ex *u* et *i* sic dicimus,
 non ut *u* nunc sit Latina, sed magis Graecum sit *υ*,
γυῖα cum dicunt et *υῖας*, tale quid *cui* ut sonet
 temporum et per se duorum non requirat consonam,
- 770 *cui super* sed tale fiat quale dudum *trans mare*,
 longa cum reddit vacantes quae simul sunt consonae?
 An magis *cuii* nos oportet per duas *i* scribere,
 quia sequens casus videtur hoc sonare, qui facit
cuius (ed. pr. *quius*) ut *Troia* atque *Maia* de tribus vocalibus,
- 775 *cui super* nil ut iuветur a propinqua consona,
 quando *cuius* longa prior est facta, cum sit consonans?
 Haec putavi colligenda ; tu sequere quod voles.

Evidently Terentianus is far from certain how to label the sound *ui* in *cui*. It does not fit into his grammatical categories at all. It is not analogous to the sound group *iu* in *pius* because it is not dissyllabic (671 ff.), and yet there is something to say in favor of the dissyllabic pronunciation, after all (696 ff.). On the other hand, it cannot be a diph-

¹ "And we cannot settle this question either, whether we should think that *i* is a consonant (and) the long (syllable *cui* in) *cui super* is produced as if by two consonants; for *i* following another (vowel) is always a vowel, and the case-forms which follow show that the third letter (of the pronoun) is a vowel; in fact, if we think now that *u* has the vowel sound, the following *i* must all the more be considered a vowel. Shall we then perhaps say that this is a diphthong consisting of *u* and *i*, not (in such a way) that *u* is a Latin letter but rather (the diphthong) is Greek *υ* when they say *γυῖα* and *υῖας*? Then *cui* would have a similar sound and, containing two morae in itself, would not need a consonant, while *cui super* would become such (a phrase) as we have found (l. 616) *trans mare* to be, in that a long vowel renders otiose the accompanying consonants. Or should we rather write *cuii* with double *i*, because this seems to be the sound of the next case, which forms *cuius* like *Troia* and *Maia* with three vowels? Then *cui super* would not be helped at all by the neighboring consonant, because the first (syllable) of *cuius* has been made long by having a consonant (of its own). I thought I ought to mention these considerations; follow whichever theory you please."

thong because the word may be spelled *qui*, and *u* after *q* must be closely attached to that letter (675 ff.). Again, *u* in *cui* cannot be called a consonant because the syllable, though normally short, is made long by position if the next word begins with a consonant (677 ff.), and that would indicate that *u* is vocalic and *i* consonantal. After a long discussion, however, this solution also is rejected, though with a good deal of hesitancy, because *i* after a vowel must be a vowel, and in most of its forms the interrogative-relative pronoun shows a vowel after *u* (760 ff.). Then our author returns, with a cautious *numquid*, to the possibility that *ui* is a diphthong, like Greek *υ* (766 ff.); but lets us see that he himself inclines to the theory that *i* is a consonant which, he suggests, may be written double, as in *cuiius*.

For us there are three significant facts about the passage. In the first place, Terentianus tacitly assumes that the *i* of *cui* is not a long vowel; such a solution of the problem does not enter into his discussion at all, even though he is searching for any possible way of disposing of the form without running counter to grammatical theory. Furthermore, his statement (679 f., but cf. 769-776) that *cui* is short unless a consonant follows can have meaning only if the *i* is short — as it should be if it is the second member of a diphthong.

Secondly, he considers and definitely rejects the theory that *u* in *cui* is a consonant. He is quite as explicit in regard to *huic*, in lines 791 ff. The letter *h*, he says, does not have the metrical value of either a vowel or a consonant:

- 791 Et tamen vim consonantis adimit, una in syllaba
 praedita est quotiens duabus *u* et *i* vocalibus.
Huius aut *huic* solemus nam frequenter dicere :
u digammon esse nunc iam non sinit nec consonam,
 795 esse quam semper necesse est cum carens spiramine
 ante vocalem locatur, ut *vigor valens vetus*.

In the third place, Terentianus finally leaves us just two alternatives: either *cui* is diphthongal or it ends in consonantal *i*. Now these two solutions of the problem are really one; for consonantal *i* before an initial consonant of the next

word would be indistinguishable from the second member of a diphthong; and, conversely, a diphthongal *ui* before an initial vowel of the next word would, if not elided, develop after it a consonantal glide beginning with the *i*-position, or else the second member of the diphthong would become consonantal (*cui-ialteri* or *cu-ialteri*).

If the case was so simple as that, some one will ask, why did Terentianus find it difficult? The reason is that the word *diphthongos* was traditionally applied to the combinations *ae*, *oe*, and *au*, and in his day these were really monophthongs, though still written with two letters. He realized that the sound of *ui* in *cui* was not analogous to their sound, and so he hesitated to call it by the same name—even though he saw that the old definition of the word *diphthongos* fitted perfectly. That is what he had in mind when he said (767 f.) that if we decide to call *ui* a diphthong we must consider it a Greek diphthong.

Another grammarian who feels that monosyllabic *cui* contains a diphthong, but who nevertheless hesitates to extend the term beyond its traditional sphere, is Audax, who says (VII, 329, 4 f. K.): . . . concurrentibus inter se vocalibus duae syllabae in unam quasi (!) per diphthongon contrahuntur, ut "*cui* non dictus Hylas puer."

Priscian, II, 303, 11 ff. K., grasps the other horn of the dilemma and calls the *i* of *cui* a consonant: Ergo si *Pompeius* et *Vulteius* trisyllaba sunt in nominativo necessario in vocativo disyllaba esse debent, quod non potest fieri nisi *i* loco consonantis accipiatur. Unde illud quoque possumus scire quod bene *cui* pro monosyllabo accipiunt metrici et *huic*. Omnis enim genetivus in *-ius* desinens una vult syllaba superare suum dativum.

The notices which the Romans have left as to the pronunciation of *cui* and *huic* are, then, in accord with the indications furnished by orthography and prosody. Since there seems to be no valid evidence on the other side, we may safely conclude that in imperial times the monosyllabic dative of *hic* and of *quis* contained a diphthongal *ui*.

V. — *The Ferentinum of Horace*

BY PROFESSOR WALTON BROOKS MCDANIEL

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

A LITTLE note on a few lines of Horace, filling one of the interstices between more important papers, may tempt a sarcastic layman to remark that Philology, like her patron saint, always finds some work for idle hands to do. But possibly the hands that wrote this *minusculum opusculum* were anything but idle, and there is always the excuse that small things will occasionally settle big ones. The form of a single letter scratched on the toe of a statue determines its date; the gender of a single mutilated participle in a Sapphic stanza may take away the last remnant of character from the tenth muse. Moreover, if there is any one author whose text and interpretation we would have just right, it is Horace, and so, if the traditional view of his *Epistles*, I, 17, 6-8 is wrong, as I believe it is, it would be well to correct it.

In these lines the poet says to Scaeva: "If you are pleased with grateful quiet and with sleep to the first hour of the day," *Si te grata quies et primam somnus in horam Delectat*, "if the dust and rumble of wheels and a tavern offend you," *si te pulvis strepitusque rotarum, Si laedit¹ caupona*, "I shall bid you go to Ferentinum," *Ferentinum ire iubebo*. He then says, no doubt with reference to his Ferentinum, that joys are not the good fortune of the rich alone, nor has he had a bad life whose death and birth have been unnoticed.

There is general agreement that the first condition, *Si te grata quies et primam somnus in horam Delectat*, refers to the social duties of city life, which allowed a man no quiet, and cut short his sleep. It is needless to cite passages to prove the well-known fact that morning callers were already

¹ The *laedit* of some Mss. is easily accounted for on the theory of assimilation to the future *iubebo* in the same line.

on the street long before the first hour of the day,¹ which with the second Martial assigns to the *salutatio*:

iv, 8, 1, prima salutantes atque altera conterit (continet) hora.

It is in the following words that our first difficulty arises. Ancient scholiasts² seem to have been in doubt and modern editors dispute with feeling whether we are to consider *pulvis strepitusque rotarum* and the *caupona*, "the dust and din of the wheels" and "the tavern," as ordinary afflictions of urban life, or rather as discomforts that one endured when he journeyed into the country, as the *comes* of his *patronus*. Should we wish to reckon them annoyances of city life, we can adduce passages to prove the dirtiness³ of Roman pavements, the heavy wagoning⁴ through the streets, even under the limitations of restrictive legislation, and the noisy, disorderly character⁵ of the ordinary *caupona*. But while dirty, noisy streets would still affect even the dweller in a quiet quarter, where there was no teaming, if he made the rounds of his social duties, surely there was no *officium* to compel him either to enter a *caupona* in the city, or to take up his residence near one. The *caupona*, therefore, that Horace had in mind must have been one of those *deversoria*, as he elsewhere⁶ calls them, that a traveller outside of Rome was sometimes forced to visit, and the din and dust of wheels are discomforts of the highroad that one could not avoid when journeying in the retinue of a great man. How inevitable such trips were for the client the experience of Philippus proves, who, as Horace puts it:

Ep. I, 7, 75, mane cliens et iam certus conviva, iubetur
rura suburbana indictis comes ire Latinis.

¹ *E.g.* Mart. x, 70, 5, non resalutantis video nocturnus amicos.

² Acro on vss. 1 and 7-8, including the passage on vs. 1 omitted by γ.

³ Horace's *Ep.* II, 2, 75; Martial, III, 36, 4; X, 10, 8.

⁴ In Horace's *Odes*, III, 29, 12, strepitumque Romae. For the wagons, cf. *e.g.* Horace, *Ep.* II, 2, 73-74; Tibullus, II, 3, 43 f.; Juv. III, 236 ff. and 254; Mart. V, 22, 7.

⁵ Marquardt-Mau, *Das Privatleben d. Röm.* 470. Of course, good inns were occasionally to be found, Friedländer, *Sittengesch.* ⁷ I, 313-314.

⁶ *Epist.* I, 15, 10.

The reader will remember, too, that our poet's intimacy with Maecenas was such as to make him one *quem tollere raeda vellet iter faciens*,¹ but however flattered he may have felt when his patron invited him to share his carriage, the joys of the journey itself were few indeed. In fact, his poem² on the trip to Brundisium reads like a diary of travel in the wildest sections of Sicily to-day; there is no mention of exquisite scenery, much less of a Bertolini hotel, but such expressions as *hospitio modico, cauponibus malignis, gravis Appia, milia tria repimus*, the *veterem culinam* at Beneventum, the *montes, quos nunquam erepsemus, nisi*, etc., *Rubros fessi pervenimus*, and the reason for the weariness, followed by the statement that the next day they had a *via peior*, a still worse road. As he informs us in one of his epistles,³ a country inn or road-house was a place that one might welcome as a refuge, when drenched with rain and bespattered with mud, *imbre lutoque aspersus*, but never as a permanent residence. Moreover, in the very poem of our discussion, verses 52 ff. tell us of the curse of travel; for we have characterized for us a type of man that, when taken as a *comes* to Brundisium or lovely Surrentum, complains of the *salebrae* on the road, that is to say, of the "thank-ye-marms," as they call them in the White Mountains of New Hampshire; and in the Pseudo-Ovidian *Nux*, verses 87 ff., we find the good fortune of the tree that grows in the country, *secreto in arvo*,⁴ remote from a highway, described in words: *Non hominum strepitus audit non illa rotarum, Non a vicina pulverulenta via est*, which so closely resemble those of Horace as to lead us to interpret our *pulvis strepitusque rotarum* also as a reference to the great roads outside of Rome, and not to the city streets. To me personally, therefore, the second interpretation seems almost certain, even though Müller⁵ would term it "sehr irrig," and Obbarius⁶ reckons it a case of "improba subtilitas."

¹ *Sat.* II, 6, 40. Cf. also *Sat.* I, 6, 101, *atque salutandi plures, ducendus et unus | et comes alter, uti ne solus rusve peregreve | exirem.*

² *Sat.* I, 5.

³ I, II, II.

⁴ Compare vs. 124 and 127.

⁵ L. Müller, Ed. of 1893.

⁶ Hor. *Epist.* II², p. 364.

But in whatever way we may define Horace's picture of the client's social miseries, we have still to determine what sort of place he would name as an asylum from them. If, in spite of the arguments just presented, the view of many editors is still to be maintained that the dust and noise are of city streets, then the poet's choice of Ferentinum will be absurd, unless that place is no bigger than a hamlet. If, on the other hand, Horace is merely mentioning extra-mural trips with a patron as a vexation added to that of the morning call, we must again find in Ferentinum some tiny place where such social life would be inconceivable, but neither the Etruscan nor the Hernican town, which are the alternatives suggested by our editors, really fills the requirements at all. Quiet could not have made her home in those communities, nor could Horace's *nec vixit male qui natus moriensque fefellit* have its full significance, if either of such important localities was intended.

To speak first of the Etruscan town, now termed, in its ruined state, Ferento, can anybody stand, as the writer did recently, on one of its fine basaltic pavements, meditate on the deafening racket that vehicles must have made in passing over them, and gaze on the proofs of the town's importance, the theatre, baths, and other buildings without wondering why Dennis, in his still useful and admirable guidebook, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, heads his chapter¹ on the place with the lines of Horace? Surely many of the Horatian scholars who have made the same identification,² and perhaps even Forbiger, the author of our three-volume *Handbuch der alten Geographie*,³ never saw with their own eyes the ruins of that *civitas splendidissima*, as it is termed in an inscription.⁴ It is there, too, that Suetonius⁵ and Tacitus⁶ locate the highly distinguished ancestry of the emperor Otho, and a just-discovered inscription supports their statement.⁷ But

¹ Vol. 1⁸, p. 156.

² E.g. Ritter, p. 349; Walckenaer, *Histoire de la Vie et des Poésies d'Horace*, II², 164, note I.

³ III, 434.

⁴ Found at Viterbo, Orelli, 3507 = *CIL*. XI, 3007.

⁵ *Oth.* I.

⁶ *Hist.* II, 50, I.

⁷ *B. Com. Roma*, XXXIX (1911), 283-285.

in addition to the size and social distinction of the town, there is something still more adverse to making it the Ferentinum of Horace. Hülsen has shown¹ pretty conclusively that this Etruscan place throughout all its history was properly called Ferentis or Ferentium, and not Ferentinum.²

If, then, the Ferentinum of Horace cannot be the Etruscan town, are we to choose Hernican Ferentinum with Hülsen,³ Nissen,⁴ Gemoll,⁵ Bunbury,⁶ Mommsen⁷ and more than a score of editors?⁸ Both the size and importance⁹ of the place throughout the republican period and well into the empire would make this an unreasonable assumption, even had we no knowledge of a third Ferentinum, which, because of its greater familiarity to Horace's Roman readers and its minute size, is precisely the place that he would mention as a refuge from the sleeplessness, noise, and social exactions of a town or city. This is the hamlet mentioned by Dionysius of Halicarnassus¹⁰ as Φερεντίνον, near the Aqua Ferentina¹¹ and Lucus Ferentinae,¹² where the cities of the Latin league used to hold their general assemblies. This spring and grove were in the Alban region, but probably not where the earlier topographers put them, near Marino.¹³ The Aqua Ferentina seems rather to have been the outlet of the Lake of Nemi, which flows in the valley of Aricia towards Ardea.¹⁴

After arriving at this identification of Ferentinum,¹⁵ I hunted

¹ Pauly's *Real. encyclopädie d. Class. Altertums*, vi², 2209.

² The evidence given by Bunbury in Smith's *Dict. of Geogr.* in favor of the form Ferentinum depends on incorrect readings.

³ *Loc. cit.*

⁴ *Italische Landeskunde*, II, 653, note 7.

⁵ *Die Realien bei Horaz*, Heft 3, p. 144.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*

⁷ *CIL*, x, p. 572.

⁸ *E.g.* Dacier, Doering, Dillenberger, Kiessling, Krüger, Müller, Orelli.

⁹ Strabo, v, 3, 9 (= 237), knows it in his time as one of the ἐπιστημοὶ κατοικίαι καὶ πόλεις on the Via Latina. Compare Gellius, x, 3, 3; *CIL*, x, 5837-5840. *CIL*, x, 1, 5853, which Nissen, p. 653, uses as evidence that it had a few thousand inhabitants, belongs to a much later time than Horace.

¹⁰ III, 34 and 51; IV, 45; v, 61.

¹¹ Livy, I, 51; VII, 25, but *caput Ferentinum*, Liv. II, 38; cf. Festus, 241, 8; I suspect that Jul. Obs. 86 may refer to it.

¹² Livy, I, 50 and 52.

¹³ *E.g.* Gell. *Top. of Rome and Its Vicinity*, I, 230.

¹⁴ Nissen, *Ital. Landeskunde*, II, 558, followed by Hülsen, *l.c.*

¹⁵ Livy's accounts, x, 17 and 34, make it likely that still another Ferentinum, that in Samnium, did not survive the Samnite Wars.

diligently through scores of commentaries to see if anybody had forestalled me, — a common discovery in Horatian criticism, if one only makes a thorough search, — but only in the rare work by Capmartin de Chaupy, *La Découverte de la Maison de Campagne d'Horace*,¹ do I find the same opinion. He merely states it in a topographical review of various Latin towns, without discussing the Horatian problems at all, and only Obbarius² of all the editors seems to be acquainted with the passage in the French work, and he accepts the suggestion without argument. So far, therefore, as numbers are concerned I can rally no army from the past to the support of my view. Possibly, too, the correct identification of Ferentinum, or even its proper placing on the map of Italy, will not greatly enhance the sum of human felicity. But in the settlement of the question it is apparent that there is a much more important problem involved that has not yet been adequately treated, and that is the determination of the extent to which the social life of the capital was reproduced in miniature even in insignificant communities. Upon this I have already done some work.³ In the meantime, there is perhaps in another world some ghostly fellow who, having once lived by the Ferentine waters, will thank me for my plea in behalf of the little place where he *natus moriensque fefellit*, and certain others who will be no less grateful for this attempt to relieve the Etruscan and the Hernican towns from the age-long reproach of having died before their time.

¹ Vol. II, 30.

² Hor. *Epist.* II², p. 366: "in promptu enim est poetam, quum Ferentini mentionem faceret, id egisse ut locum quietum et vacuum ut 7. 45; 11. 7; 8. 30 ob oculos poneret. quapropter mihi quidem magnopere probatur Capmartinii opinio."

³ In the works of Horace's contemporary Cicero alone there are several passages that show the prevalence of the *salutatio* at places outside of Rome, e.g. *de Finibus*, I, 14; *Philipp.* II, 105, and everybody will recall Martial's lines on clientage at fashionable Baiae, I, 59, and his disappointment in finding that even Bilbilis, the tiny mountain-village in Spain, reproduced the life of the capital; XII, 68, 1, *matutine cliens, urbis mihi causa relictæ | atria, si sapias, ambitiosa colas*. There is considerable evidence on clientage at Pompeii; cf. *CIL.* IV, 593, 822, 933, 1011, 1016, 1124, 2925, 3366. For Formiæ cf. Mommsen on *CIL.* x, 6094.

VI.—*The Origin of a Herodotean Tale in Connection with
the Cult of the Spinning Goddess*

BY PROFESSOR GRACE HARRIET MACURDY

VASSAR COLLEGE

IN the beginning of his fifth book¹ Herodotus relates a particularly unmotivated story, ostensibly to account for the reduction of Paeonia by Darius and the transportation of a colony of Paeonians to Asia. He says that two Paeonian youths, fired with the ambition to become lords of Paeonia (*Παιόνων τυραννεύειν*), on hearing that Darius had arrived at Sardis, went to Asia, accompanied by a tall and lovely sister. They waited on the outskirts of Sardis for the coming of Darius and thereupon, after dressing their sister in fairest array, sent her to fetch water. She carried on her head a water-jar, led a horse attached by his bridle to her arm, and spun flax as she proceeded. The king, struck by her industrious behavior, so unlike that of Asiatic women, had his guards watch for her as she returned from the river where she had watered her horse, the jar full of water on her head and the spindle whirling in her hands. The king summoned her and she came with her brothers. When Darius discovered whence she came and that all the women in Paeonia were as industrious as she, he sent a message directing Megabazus to invade Paeonia and bring to him the whole Paeonian people, including women and children. The two youths did not profit by their exploitation of their sister's industry and did not realize "their hope of winning crowns" (Macan).²

The tale is highly improbable in itself and, as Dr. Macan comments, is "hardly adequate to account for the fate of the Paeonians." Tomaschek³ comments on the un-Greek character of the name *Πύργης*.

The same tale is quoted from Nicolaus of Damascus,⁴

¹ Hdt. v, 12.

² Cf. Macan's note *ad loc.*

³ *Die alten Thraker*; 1, 14.

⁴ Nic. Damasc. Frag. 71, Müller, *Const. Porph. de Them.* 1, 3.

whose narration has much the better "Motivirung," and in spite of Eduard Meyer's argument¹ that Nicolaus is adapting Herodotus, I believe with Macan and Stein that Nicolaus drew from an older source than Herodotus, probably Xanthus of Lydia.

In Nicolaus' version the actors are a Thracian woman from Mysia in Thrace (compare Strabo, VII, 296, who cites *Il.* XIII, 4-5), emigrating with her husband to Lydia, and the Lydian king Alyattes, whose attention the Thracian woman attracts as she passes the city gate with a jar of water on her head, a distaff and spindle in her hands, and a horse, just watered at the spring, following behind her. Alyattes, on learning her *provenance*, sends to the king of Thrace, whose name is *Kotys*, and obtains from him Thracian settlers with wives and children. The scene of action is much better arranged in this version. The superfluous brothers of the Herodotean story are not as plausible as the immigrant man and wife wandering past Sardis, and the fate of no people as a whole turns on the episode. In both cases the story accounts for a European settlement in Asia Minor.

A third form of the story, as I hold it to be, and the one that gives the clew to its origin, appears in the life of the Christian St. Hypatius,² who met the spinning woman in Bithynia. He was bidden not to go abroad in the land for fifty days, during the *κάλαθος* of the accursed Artemis. Strong in his faith in Christ, he went forth and met a tall woman, spinning as she walked and feeding swine. At the sign of the cross she vanished. This story has been recognized by Usener³ and others as giving a picture of the Thracian goddess Artemis-Bendis-Kotys, for whom a Bithynian spring month, Bendideios, was named, as well as details of her *κάλαθος* procession.

In his note on the story as told by Herodotus Dr. Macan writes: "The passage suggests a picture. . . . Had the subject been pictorially treated?"

¹ Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, III, 297.

² Kallinikos, *Vita S. Hypatii*, 130 (Leipzig, 1895).

³ Usener, *Rh. Mus.* 1895, 144 f.

My suggestion is that the origin of the story was a cult performance, a "hieratic pageant," to borrow Farnell's description of the scene depicted on the famous Eleusinian Demeter slab.¹ It comes from the *κάλαθος* procession in honor of Artemis. The *κάλαθος* of Demeter² is better known. Swine are offered to Demeter. For the offering of such (boars) to Artemis, see Gruppe, Müller's *Handbuch*, v, 2, 1, 290; v, 2, 2, 1270 and 1277. Swine, perhaps, appear on coins of Elaius, together with Artemis (but cf. Imhoof-Blumer, *Griech. Münzen*, 529). The horse is appropriate to the Thracian and Paeonian celebration and is well known as a feature of the torch-procession of Bendis. For the horse³ in connection with Artemis, see Gruppe, *l.c.*, 1292.

As I have already noted, the story is told by Herodotus *à propos* of the immigration of European tribes to Asia. The sight of the strange religious procession of the spinning goddess could well give rise to secular tales of the impression produced by the spinning maidens of the *κάλαθος*, such as those of the Paeonian girl and the Thracian wife in Lydia. And Strabo⁴ tells of the strange *κάλαθοι* of Artemis of the Gygaean Lake near Sardis.

The Thracians, Paeonians, Phygians, Trojans, Mysians, and Bithynians, all of Thraco-Phrygian race,⁵ alike worship a goddess of the field and wood, variously called Artemis, Bendis, and Kotys. In a previous paper⁶ I have suggested that the *Diana Regina* of certain Latin inscriptions found in Moesia Inferior is the same goddess, called by Herodotus Ἄρτεμις βασιλεία (*βασιληίη*), and said by him to be worshipped by Paeonian and Thracian women with wheaten offerings, such as Apollo at Delos receives from the Hyperboreans. This is the Hyperborean Artemis. Compare Diodorus, iv, 52, 2, *παρεῖναι γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ δαίμονι τῇ τε πόλει ταύτῃ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ*. The maidens of Delos, before

¹ *Cults of the Greek States*, III, 264.

² Callimachus, vi, *Ἐἰς Δῆμητρα*.

³ Cf. Hippo at Ephesus, Callim. III, 239.

⁴ 626.

⁵ Kretschmar, *Einleitung*, vii, 171 ff.; Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, I (*Uebersicht der Stämme*).

⁶ *Cl. Rev.* XXVI, 249-251.

marriage, lay on the grave of the Hyperborean priestesses who bring from the North the wheaten offerings for Apollo and Artemis, a spindle bound with their hair. The tomb is on the left as you enter the Artemision, says Herodotus. Nilsson's remark, "die Spindel ist eine spätere Abänderung, deren Symbolik ist klar; ein Zweig konnte leicht gegen einen Stab vertauscht werden," does not take into account the significance of the spindle as an attribute of female spirits of field and wood.

The title *queen*, noted by Herodotus,¹ still persists in Greece² (*βασίλισσα*) in rustic spots where Artemis is worshipped. "Artemis fasst in ihrem Wesen alle Nymphen zusammen, die auf Fluren und Bergen, in Wäldern und Quellen hausen, wie uns schon K. O. Müller gelehrt hat. Vor bald hundert Jahren hat Mitscherlich Artemis aus dem Glauben an die Nymphen hergeleitet; er hat das Richtige getroffen, obgleich jetzt eine viel tiefere Begründung gegeben werden kann."³

Queen of the nymphs Artemis has always been, and as such is naturally called by Homer *χρυσηλάκατος*. One of the chief occupations of nymphs in all times and in all places has been spinning. It is only in the sophisticated literature and art that they lay aside their feminine arts and become muses, maenads, and even warriors. I suggest that the etymologically unexplained⁴ *κλώδωνες* of Macedonian folk-lore were originally "spinners" (*κλώθω*) before their transformation into warriors, after which they were called (according to Polyænus)⁵ *μιμαλλόνας, διὰ τὴν μίμησιν τῶν ἀνδρῶν*. (See Nilsson, *op. cit.*, pp. 181 and 188 for the relation between the trains of Artemis and Dionysus.) In their origin these essentially female spirits of forest and stream are thoroughly "hausfräulich."⁶ "She cooks like a nereid"⁶ of the Greek peasant's speech of to-day is a survival of pre-

¹ Hdt. iv, 34; Farnell, *Cults*, II, 473, 507.

² Lawson, *Modern Greek Folk-lore and Anc. Greek Religion*, 134 ff.

³ Nilsson, *op. cit.*, 181.

⁴ See Hoffman, *Die Makedonen*, 98.

⁵ IV, 1.

⁶ Grimm, *op. cit.*, 345, 361; Lawson, *op. cit.*, 134.

historic ideas of the industry of nymphs. So this Northern¹ Artemis, spirit of vegetation, corn-goddess, queen of the nymphs in various stages of her pre-Hellenic development, had the spindle and distaff for her attribute at one period. So the *Moos-weibchen* und *Wald-weibchen*,² Holla und Perchta, of the Teutonic folk-lore spin as well as hunt. Whether these spirits were independent of the Northern Artemis, or a development of the Artemis-Diana worship, in either case the Homeric epithet for Artemis, χρυσηλάκατος, has an interesting parallel, as Grimm and others have noted, in the spinning activities of these wild German huntresses. The same tree-worship from which the belief in these spirits arose in Germany is found in Bithynia by St. Hypatius,³ side by side with the worship of Artemis.

It would appear, indeed, that Artemis is by nature the spinning goddess, rather than Athena. The latter is well described by Gruppe⁴ as "essentially the idealized embodiment of the masculine intellect." Gruppe believes that the conception of her as spinning goddess was extended under the influence of the Egyptian goddess of Sais, Neith, whom Herodotus and others regarded as identical with Athena. I suggest that this attribute may have been attached to Athena first in Asia Minor from contact with the Thracio-Phrygian Artemis cult. The chief representations of Athena with κάλαθος and spindle are on the Asiatic coast. Pausanias⁵ tells of the statue at Erythrae with *polos* (= κάλαθος, not, as Frazer translates, *firmament*) on her head and distaff in either hand. In the same chapter we read of the privilege accorded to *Thracian* women in the temple of Heracles in Erythrae. Athena Ilias on the coins of New Ilios,⁶ from the fourth century B.C. down to late imperial times, appears as a spinning goddess of agriculture with *kalathos* on her head and spindle or distaff—formerly wrongly interpreted as a torch—in her left hand. Her right hand holds a spear

¹ Ridgway, *J.H.S.* XVIII, xxxiv.

² Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feld-Kulte*, 84 ff.

³ *Vita*, 103, 10. ⁴ Müller's *Handbuch*, v, 2, 2, 1216.

⁵ VII, 5, 4.

⁶ H. von Fritze, *Troja und Ilios* (Dörpfeld), II, 510 ff.

resting on her shoulder. On the coins of Pergamon¹ Athena appears with *kalathos*, as at Ilion, but her spear is drawn and her left side has the shield. The type is that of Athena Ilias.

Athena was not the original goddess of the Trojans, and appears in Homer as their bitter enemy. Brückner² holds that her shrine was established by Greek settlers in the Troad before the eighth century B.C. Artemis in Homer is the ardent friend of Troy and shares the temple of Apollo, where she helps to heal Aeneas' wound. Euripides in the *Hecuba* (933) and in the *Trojan Women* (551) represents the women of Troy praying to Artemis as their great goddess. Aeneas was the reputed founder of Kaphyai in Arcadia,³ where the cult of Artemis was strong, and in the Arcadian *Orchomenos*, where Aeneas stayed, Artemis Hymnia was worshipped.

Artemis is recognized as goddess of women in both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and once in connection with *θαλίσια*⁴ as goddess of fruitful fields. There is plenty of evidence to show that "Artemis in the earliest Greek religion was an earth-goddess, associated essentially and chiefly with the wild life and growth of the fields and with human birth."⁵ As Farnell goes on to say, this conception of her rarely appears in literature. The procession of the *κάλαθος* held in her honor in rustic communities, the *κάλαθος* with which her head is adorned in various representations of her, and the spindle seen in her hand by St. Hypatius and laid on the altar at Delos are all significant of the Northern goddess of field and wood, the development of a Wald-und-Feld-weibchen, like her sisters, Holla, Perchta, Herodias,⁶ and others with whom, under her Roman name of Diana, she rides abroad at night with the wild storm-host in Germany. "A third part of the

¹ Id., *Die Münzen von Pergamon*, 35 f., 65-66.

² *Troja und Ilion*, II, 566 ff. (War Athena eine troische Göttin? etc.)

³ Immerwahr, *Kulte Arkadiens*, 41.

⁴ II. IX, 534.

⁵ Farnell, *op. cit.*, II, 456.

⁶ Grimm, *op. cit.*, I, 234 f.; Golther, *Handbuch d. german. Mythol.* 489-500; De La Saussaye, *Religion of the Teutons*, 273 f., 276.

world is subject to her" is a statement quoted by RATHERIUS of Verona (Grimm, *op. cit.* I, 235) in warning against the pagan goddess (here called Herodias). She has, indeed, the *πολυωνυμία*, for which she entreats Zeus in the hymn of Callimachus (IV, 7). She becomes the great goddess of Ephesus and takes on many strange guises in Asia Minor, losing often the purity of her Northern worship.

In and after Homer the queen of the nymphs changes her spindle for a spear, but she remains the goddess of women in need. She never attains the intellectual character of Athena, to whom, as Miss Harrison says,¹ she lends much of her cold, clear strength. Their cults must often have impinged upon each other, especially in Asia Minor, and there is a tendency to substitute Athena for Artemis in myth, as in the story of Porphyry² about the hind sacrificed to Athena at Laodicea. Athena is called *ταυροπόλος* on the island of Andros. In Arcadia³ Athena at Kleitor and elsewhere assumes aspects and epithets that are appropriate to Artemis. There is the bath of the xoana of Artemis and Athena at Ancyra,⁴ and we hear of an Athena at the Gygaean Lake in Lydia.⁵ The story of Arachne,⁶ who, with her son *Kloster*, invented textile arts, was localized in Lydia at Hypaipa, where Artemis (*Anaïtis*?) was worshipped. Gruppe⁷ suggests that the tale goes back to a cult-legend. May there not be in the story the reminiscence of another strife of Athena with the local divinity, like that to which the Acropolis at Athens was witness?

Athena *'Εργάνη* presides over the art of spinning, as over all arts.⁸ Artemis has the spindle to mark her as the goddess of women and of fructifying life.

The Paeonian girl in festal dress with her jar upon her head and her spindle in her hand, walking past the king in a strange land, is a secularized replica of the maidens who

¹ *Prolegomena*, 300.

² Porphyry, *de Abstinent.* II, 56.

• ⁴ Nilsson, *op. cit.*, 257 f.

⁵ Pliny, *N.H.* VII, 196.

⁸ Immerwahr, *op. cit.*

⁶ Eustath. II. 366, 3.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, v, 2, 2, 1216.

⁸ "She guides the hands that labour best in every art." — RUSKIN.

walked with *kalathos* and spindle in the spring festivals of Artemis, in lands to which the worship of the Hyperborean goddess came.

And in Lydia, where both the secular tales are localized, the ancient prevalence of the Artemis worship is becoming constantly more apparent.

VII. — *Parmenides' Indebtedness to the Pythagoreans*

BY PROFESSOR ROBERT B. ENGLISH

WASHINGTON AND JEFFERSON COLLEGE

THE works of Parmenides are preserved to us in two groups of fragments. In the first of these he professes to set forth the truth about things, in the second, men's opinions about things. Of his fidelity in adhering to these two divisions critics hold two ideas. (1) That "the 'human opinions' . . . were not simply reproduced, but were transformed" . . . making "the physical theory of Parmenides a dualism, a theory of opposites,"¹ thus linking him with Heraclitus and Anaximander. This view seems to be upheld by Aristotle² in the statement that Parmenides, while holding that the universe is one, maintained that there is not merely one cause but that two causes exist. (2) That "the false theory of the universe is not indeed represented as it is actually found with any of the previous philosophers, but as, according to the opinion of Parmenides, it ought to be expressed."³ . . . He represents the ordinary view of the world as he himself would regard it if he placed himself on that standpoint, but his design is not to expound his own opinions, but those of others; his whole physical theory . . . is designed to show us how the world of phenomena would present itself if we could regard it as a reality. But it is clear from the exposition that the world of phenomena can only be explained on the theory of two primitive elements . . . and therefore it is the more evident that the world of phenomena itself . . . has no claim to reality."

An examination of a few corresponding passages from the two parts of the poem reveals the fact that Parmenides often agrees in part with the opinions of other philosophers, but in any instance the 'opinion' either falls short of or exceeds his own claims:

¹ Windelband, *History of Ancient Philosophy*, p. 63.

² *Metaph.* 1, 3.

³ Zeller, *Pre-Socratic Philosophy*, 1, 607.

ON OPINION

1. μορφὰς γὰρ κατέθεντο δύο γνώμας ὀνομάζειν,
τῶν μίαν οὐ χρεῶν ἔστιν (ἐν ᾧ πεπλανήμενοι εἰσίν)·
τάντια δ' ἐκρίναντο δέμας καὶ σήματ' ἔθεντο
χωρὶς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, τῇ μὲν φλογὸς αἰθέριον πῦρ,
ἥπιον ὄν, μέγ' [ἀραιὸν] ἐλαφρόν, ἐωυτῷ πάντοσε τωυτόν,
τῷ δ' ἐτέρῳ μὴ τωυτόν· αὐτὰρ κακείνο κατ' αὐτό
τάντια νύκτ' ἀδαῆ, πυκινὸν δέμας ἐμβριθέε τε. (Fig. 8, 53-59.)
2. αἱ γὰρ στενότεραι πλήντο πυρὸς ἀκρήτσιοι,
αἱ δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς νυκτός, μετὰ δὲ φλογὸς ἵεται αἴσα·
ἐν δὲ μέσῳ τούτων δαίμων ἢ πάντε κυβερνᾷ. (Fig. 12, 1-3.)
- 3a. ἐν δὲ μέσῳ τούτων δαίμων ἢ πάντα κυβερνᾷ·
πάντα γὰρ (ἢ) στυγεροῖο τόκου καὶ μίξις ἄρχει
πέμπουσ' ἄρσενι θῆλυ μιγῆν τὸ τ' ἐναντίον αὐτίς
ἄρσεν θηλυτέρῳ. (Fig. 12, 3-6.)
- 3b. . . . εἰδήσεις δὲ καὶ οὐρανὸν ἀμφὶς ἔχοντα
ἐνθεν [μὲν γὰρ] ἔφν τε καὶ ὧς μιν ἄγουσ(α)
ἐπέδησεν Ἀνάγκη
πεύρατ' ἔχειν ἄστρον. (Fig. 10, 5-7.)
πῶς γὰρ καὶ ἥλιος ἠδὲ σελήνη
αἰθήρ τε ξυνοὺς γάλα τ' οὐράνιον καὶ ὄλυμπος
ἔσχατος ἠδ' ἄστρον θερμὸν μένος ὠρμήθησαν
γίγνεσθαι. (Fig. 11.)
4. ὧς γὰρ ἐκάστοτ' ἔχει κρᾶσιν μελέων πολυπλάγκτων,
τὼς νόος ἀνθρώποισι παριστᾶται· τὸ γὰρ αὐτό
ἔστιν ὅπερ φρονέει μελέων φύσις ἀνθρώποισιν
καὶ πᾶσιν καὶ παντί· τὸ γὰρ πλέον ἔστι νόημα. (Fig. 16.)

ON OPINION

1. Two forms (principles) have been imagined by men. They are held to be of opposite nature. On the one hand is the ethereal flame of fire, mild, active, like itself throughout, and unlike the other. On the other hand is the unlit darkness, thick and heavy mass. (Fig. 8, 53-59.)

2. For the smaller circles are filled with unmixed fire, but those about them with darkness, and between is poured out a measure of fire. In the middle of these is the divinity who controls all. (Fig. 12, 1-3.)

Continued on p. 84.

ON TRUTH

1. . . . τί δ' ἄν μιν καὶ χρέος ὤρσεν
ἕσπερον ἢ πρόσθεν, τοῦ μηδενὸς ἀρξάμενον, φῶν;
οὕτως ἢ πάμπαν πέλεναι χρεῶν ἔστιν ἢ οὐχί. (Fig. 8, 9-11.)
2. αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πείρας πύματον, τετελεσμένον ἔστι
πάντοθεν, εὐκύκλου σφαιῆρης ἐναλίγκιον ὄγκω,
μεσοσθέν ἰσοπαλὲς πάντη. (Fig. 8, 42-44.)
- 3a. οὐδέ ποτ' ἐκ μὴ ἐόντος ἐφήσει πίστιος ἰσχύς
γίγνεσθαι τι παρ' αὐτό· τοῦ εἵνεκεν οὔτε γενέσθαι
οὔτ' ὄλλυσθαι ἀνήκε δίκη χαλάσασα πέδησιν,
ἀλλ' ἔχει. (Fig. 8, 12-15.)
- 3b. . . . κρατερὴ γὰρ Ἀνάγκη
πείρατος ἐν δεσμοῖσιν ἔχει, τό μιν ἀμφὶς ἔργει.
οὔνεκεν οὐκ ἀτελείτητον τὸ ἐὸν θέμις εἶναι·
ἔστι γὰρ οὐκ ἐπιδενέας, [μὴ] ἐὸν δ' ἄν παντὸς εἰδείτο.
(Fig. 8, 30-33.)
4. χρὴ τὸ λέγειν τε νοεῖν τ' ἐὸν ἔμμεναι (Fig. 6, 1.)
ταῦτ' ὃν ἔστι νοεῖν τε καὶ οὔνεκέν ἔστι νόημα.
οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ τοῦ ἐόντος, ἐν ᾧ πεφατισμένον ἔστιν,
εὐρήσεις τὸ νοεῖν. (Fig. 8, 34-36.)

ON TRUTH

1. And what necessity then would call it (being) forth, sooner or later to take its beginning and growth from nothing? Hence it must be either absolute or not at all. (Fig. 8, 9-11.)

2. But since there is a final limit, it (being) is on all sides complete, similar to the mass of a perfect sphere, all parts being equally distant from the centre. (Fig. 8, 42-44.)

Continued on p. 85.

3*a*. And in the middle of these (circles) is the divinity who controls all; for she controls painful birth and union, sending female to join with male and again male to female. (Frg. 12, 3-6.)

3*b*. Thou shalt know also the all-embracing sky, whence it arose, and how necessity took it and chained it, so that there might be a limit to the stars.¹ (Frg. 10, 5-7.) How earth and sun and moon and milky way of heaven and loftiest Olympus and the glittering brightness of the stars began to be. (Frg. 11.)

4. For just as at all times it holds sway over his manifold mingled members, so the mind of man is constituted; for that which thinks is the nature of mingled parts in men, one and all, and the excess is thought. (Frg. 16.)

This comparison shows that in all the statements of any group there is an identical thought, but also that in each case the statement taken from the treatise on opinion contains a thought differentiated from that found in the corresponding statement in the treatise on truth. In the first group the common thought is that of the origin of being; the difference appears in that in the one no origin for being is recognized as possible, while in the other, two first principles are recognized in the creation of things. In the second group the common thought is that of the form and nature of being; the difference appears in that, in the one, being is complete, like the mass of a perfect sphere, while in the other it is like concentric circles, in the centre of which resides the divinity controlling all its changes. In the third group the common thought is that of limitation; the difference appears in the fact that in the one the divinity wraps cables about being to prevent change, while in the other, she presides over being to direct all genesis. Furthermore, on the one hand, being is represented as absolutely complete, lacking nothing and all-

¹ This use of *Ἀνάγκη* is ascribed to Philolaus as a doctrine of the Pythagoreans. (Diog. Laert. VIII, 55.) It is natural to identify this with the peripheral fire of the Pythagoreans, which forms for them the division between the limited and unlimited.

3a. And the force of the argument will not allow that from not-being anything but not-being can come. Wherefore Justice has not released creation and destruction from bonds, but holds them firm. (Frg. 8, 12-15.)

3b. For powerful necessity holds it (being) in the bonds of limitation which she draws about it. Therefore it must be that it is not incomplete. And it has no lack, for if it lacked anything it would lack everything. (Frg. 8, 30-33.)

4. It is necessary both to say and to think that being is (Frg. 6, 1); and that both thinking and that from which thought springs is one and the same thing, for thinking will not be found without being, in which it is expressed. (Frg. 8, 34-36.)

inclusive, while on the other, there is at least a suggestion of the unlimited outside the orderly universe. In the fourth group the common idea is the identity of thought and substance; the difference appears in that in the one case thought is identified with the external object; in the other with the excess essence in man.

This process continued reveals the fact that in any group where there are coincidences in doctrine the statements in the treatise on opinions make additions to, or introduce some entirely different theory from, that which he has recorded in the treatise on truth as his own belief. Those statements of opinion which coincide with his own views would of necessity be admitted by him as the truth. Here Parmenides, like many another sage, lays himself open to the criticism of embodying all truth in his own opinion of it, while the opinions of others are mere opinions. This is the precise point at which critics, including Aristotle, have differed in their interpretation of Parmenides. Now if we consider in and of itself any part of the treatise on opinions as Parmenides' own view, then we may consider it all as his. But it contains obvious inconsistencies and contradictions and cannot well be so considered.

If, now, we accept as his individual views only those that

are set down in the discourse on truth, we are confronted with the following statements in regard to being :

. . . ταύτη δ' ἐπὶ σηματ' ἔασι
πολλὰ μάλ' ὡς ἀγένητον ἐὼν καὶ ἀνώλεθρόν ἐστιν
οὐλον μονογενές τε καὶ ἀτρεμές ἤδ' ἀτέλειστον ·
οὐδὲ ποτ' ἦν οὐδ' ἔσται, ἐπεὶ νῦν ἐστιν ὁμοῦ πᾶν,
ἔν, συνεχές · (Frg. 8, 2-6.)

again :

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πείρας πύματον, τετελεσμένον ἐστὶ
πάντοθεν, εὐκύκλου σφαιρῆς ἐναλίγκιον ὄγκῳ,
μεσοῦθεν ἰσοπαλὲς πάντῃ · τὸ γὰρ οὔτε τι μείζον
οὔτι τι βαιότερον πέλειναι χρεόν ἐστι τῇ ἢ τῇ. (Frg. 8, 42-45.)

Other words used to describe being are :

πῶς . . . πέλοι τὸ εἶν; πῶς . . . γένοιτο; (Frg. 8, 19.)

τὼς γένεσις μὲν ἀπέσβεσται καὶ ἀπυστος ὄλεθρος
οὐδὲ διαιρετόν ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ πᾶν ἐστιν ὁμοῖον ·
οὐδέ τι τῇ μᾶλλον, τό κεν εἴργοι μιν συνέχεσθαι,
οὐδέ τι χειρότερον, πᾶν δ' ἔμπλεόν ἐστιν ἐόντος.
τῷ συνεχές πᾶν ἐστιν · εἶν γὰρ ἐόντι πελάζει. (Frg. 8, 21-25.)

αὐτὰρ ἀκίνητον μεγάλων ἐν πείρασι δεσμῶν
ἐστιν ἀναρχον ἀπυστον, ἐπεὶ γένεσις καὶ ὄλεθρος
τῆλε μάλ' ἐπλάχθεσαν, ἀπῶσε δὲ πίστις ἀληθῆς.
ταυτόν τ' ἐν ταύτῳ τε μένον καθ' ἑαυτό τε κείται
χούτως ἔμπεδον αὐθι μένει · (Frg. 8, 26-30.)

And upon this path there are many signs that being is unbegotten and indestructible, universal, alone-begotten, immovable, and unending ; nor was it ever, nor will it be since it now is all together, one and inseparable. (Frg. 8, 2-6.)

But since there is an outermost limit, it is absolutely complete, like the mass of a perfect sphere, equally distant from the centre on all sides. It must needs not be greater nor less anywhere at all. (Frg. 8, 42-45.)

How, then, could being come into existence? how be created? (Frg. 8, 19.)

Thus creation is extinguished and destruction is a lie. Neither is it (being) divisible, since it is all alike. Nor is there anything in excess in it that could hinder its holding together, nor anything less, for all is full of being. Hence the all is continuous and being impinges on being. (Frg. 8, 21-25.)

Moreover, it is unmoved, held in the bonds of heavy chains, is without beginning and unending, since creation and destruction are cast away whither true belief has driven them. It abides the same in itself and alone by itself; and thus it remains there fixed. (Frg. 8, 26-30.)

From these and other passages we gather that he taught a oneness of being which is uncreated, unbegotten, alone-begotten, whole, unmoved, unending, indestructible, homogeneous, continuous, contiguous, that it abides in one position, is held in chains by Necessity, Justice, or Fate, is indivisible, has always been as it is, and never can be any different. Here it may be objected that Parmenides, while urging the one great theme of his life, 'Being Is,' and insisting upon the unity of being, is only restating the theory of unity as set forth by Xenophanes. But this is only apparent. Xenophanes' position is this: "God is one, supreme among gods and men, and not like man either in mass or mind" (Frg. 23);¹ "the whole of God sees, thinks, hears (24); yet without effort he swings all things by the power of his mind (25); being always abides in the same place and cannot consistently move to any other place (26); and all things which come into being and develop are earth and water" (29, 33). In contrast to this, Parmenides provides for no controlling agency except Necessity, Justice, or Fate, and she exercises only the power of limitation; and since he admits no change, no creation, no destruction, of necessity he provides no original substance from which things issue and into which they return. Thus the characteristics which Xenophanes ascribes to God Parmenides ascribes to being. It therefore seems plain that, while they both admit being, Parmenides denies

¹ The Doxographist (565) adds: *φησὶ (Xenophanes) δὲ καὶ τὸν θεὸν εἶναι . . . καὶ πεπερασμένον καὶ σφαιροειδῆ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς μορίοις αἰσθητικόν.*

the possibility of change and creation, but Xenophanes makes use of the controlling agency as the motive power, and earth and water as the cosmic substances in all creation and dissolution.

This well may be the explanation of Aristotle's position in ascribing these views of Xenophanes to his pupil Parmenides, that he did not clearly distinguish between the teachings of master and pupil on this point.

Again, it may be urged that Parmenides, opposed as he was to the postulate of Heraclitus that only change is unchanging, in setting forth his own doctrine of being had only in mind the overthrow of Heraclitus. This has in it some measure of truth. But in forming a positive content for his theory Parmenides hit upon the idea of unity, which, though Heraclitus mentions it once in the extant fragments,¹ can hardly be said to belong to Heraclitus in any likeness to the unity set forth by Parmenides. His system, then, is more than a restatement of Xenophanes' theory of being plus a denial of Heraclitus' flux.

Now if we compare the known views of Parmenides with the known views of the Pythagoreans on the same subjects, we can trace a more notable resemblance. In the first place, it is agreed² on all sides that Parmenides was familiar with the Pythagoreans and with their doctrines; and furthermore that his astronomical views are so nearly in accord with theirs that they must have emanated from the master of Crotona. But the dependence of his cosmological and ontological views are not so apparent, and have not been commonly referred for their origin to the teachings of the Pythagoreans. We may consider, then, these two spheres.

Some³ have seen Parmenides' explanation of the universe in the Pythagorean table of contraries. And it may be that

¹ Heraclitus, Frg. 50. The whole question of Parmenides' relation to Heraclitus is thoroughly discussed by Professor Shorey in a review of Patin's 'Parmenides im Kampfe gegen Heraklit,' *A.J.P.* XXI, 200-216.

² Diog. Laert. IX, 21; Strabo, XXVII, I, 1. Cf. Windelband, *Hist. Anc. Phil.* p. 64.

³ Cf. Gomperz, *Greek Thinkers*, I, 165-183.

that contribution to knowledge had been made at that time, but it has almost no resemblance to the unity of Parmenides. It is itself diversity, and would seem to have been a later development of that school.¹ At all events, Aristotle states² that Plato and the Pythagoreans in their respective ways explained the universe and answered the problem of being and becoming on the principle of numbers. And almost the only reference Aristotle makes³ to Pythagoras himself ascribes to that philosopher the attempt to evaluate moral principles on a numerical basis. Now while it is agreed that Pythagoras and his early followers were primarily interested in religious rather than metaphysical speculations, yet we must conclude that at least as early as the time of Parmenides some advance had been made by them in the matter of accounting in terms of numbers for the universe and man's relation to it, as well as in the matter of man's relation to man.

The idea of a sphere held in rigid bonds by necessity is quite similar, as an explanation of the universe, to the idea of concentric circles in the centre of which resides the "central fire." Yet these figures have more than an astronomical significance. In the one case, Parmenides undertakes to banish genesis and dissolution by wrapping cables about the universe; in the other, the Pythagoreans use a developed unity as the agency governing further development. These are to be considered their respective views of the cosmos. So Parmenides' position seems to be one of antagonism to the Pythagorean idea of variety, motion, and change. His postulates clearly seem to indicate this. He says of being that it is universal, alone-begotten, without motion (*οἶλον, μουννογενές, ἀτρεμές*). Thus, while he does not accept the Pythagorean explanation of the *modus operandi* of the divinity, yet he does make use of a divinity which exercises an arbitrary control over a static universe.

This brings us to consider the relation between the Pythagoreans and Parmenides on the problem of becoming. First of all, let us see clearly what Parmenides has said. In the treatise on truth he denies all creation. He claims that

¹ Cf. Zeller, *Pre-Soc. Phil.* 1, 381.

² *Metaph.* 1, 6.

³ *Moralia*, 1, 1, 6.

being, homogeneous, equably distributed, unmoved, and immovable, is unbegotten, alone-begotten, indestructible (*ἀγένετον, μουννογενές, ἀνώλεθρον*).¹ In other words, there never was any beginning of being, there never has been and never can be any change in it, and it never can perish. Moreover, he argues, there is nothing from which it could have been derived, for not-being is non-existent and unthinkable; and, granting that it had existence, nothing but not-being could issue from it. But it is in the doctrine of limitation that Parmenides comes in direct contact with the teachings of the Pythagoreans. When he admits that there must be an outermost limit to being (*αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πείρας πύματον τετελεσμένον ἐστὶ πάντοθεν*),² he is simply stating a principle of Pythagorean ontology. His own words even go to show that a condition of unlimited being was lurking in his mind. For instance, the word *μουννογενές*, alone-begotten, seems to point to the idea of becoming; and the very statement (*τοῦ εἶνεκεν οὔτε γενέσθαι οὔτ' ὄλλυσθαι ἀνήκε δίκη χαλάσασα πέδησιν, ἀλλ' ἔχει*)³ shows a residuum of thought that without the restraint of Justice creation and dissolution would be rife; and the statement⁴—so genesis is extinguished and destruction is incredible (*γένεσις μὲν ἀπέσβεσται καὶ ἄπυστος ὄλεθρος*)—points to the refutation of a prevalent doctrine.

How far the idea of unlimited being and of change in matter to account for phenomena was ever accepted by Parmenides is now difficult to determine. The fact of variety, motion, and change seems to be constantly in his mind as a thing to be combated. But Aristotle gives no uncertain account of Parmenides' explanation of objectivity. He says: "But under the necessity of accounting for phenomena and conceiving that there is unity according to reason but diversity according to sense, he again posited two causes and two first principles, heat and cold, fire and earth, considering heat as being, its opposite as not-being."⁵ And again: "Parmenides seems to have touched upon unity according to reason . . . wherefore he said that it is limited."⁶

¹ Frg. 8, 3-4.² Frg. 8, 42 seq.³ Frg. 8, 12-15.⁴ Frg. 8, 21.⁵ Arist. *Metaph.* I, 5, 11; I, 3, 11; *Phys.* I, 5.⁶ *Metaph.* I, 5, 10.

Now with the Pythagoreans number through limitation is at once the first principle and the matter in things, and their conditions and states.¹ This number also is unity, composed of odd and even, of which the former is finite, the latter infinite. Unity is the origin of number and the whole heaven is numbers.¹ Moreover, objective realities are manifestations of the pure mathematical number,² and unities have quantity. The 'one' arises from the union of the unlimited even and the limited odd which are the elements (*στοιχεία*) of number, and number arises from the 'one.' But what are these elements and how were they organized? At this point we are again indebted to Aristotle. He says:³ "The Pythagoreans do not mention the genesis of the odd, since it is plain that there is a genesis of the even. And some derive the first even from odds that are made even by the addition of the large and small." Now since evens can be produced from odds only by adding odds to odds, it would appear that the original unformed numerical elements were odds. Then combining the greater and smaller odds, evens are derived. And unit number, τὸ ἕν, μονάς, is composed of both the original odd and derived even, since, as they claim, it is both.⁴ This unity when once established becomes the basis and the moving spirit for the formation of all other numbers.

Now if we return again and trace the formation of the universe from the beginning, we start with chaos represented by unformed number. This seems to have taken an objective form with them so that, previous to the development of the first unity, the original odds must have assumed a more or less positive content. But no real substantial object as yet was formed. Now by the process of uniting the larger and smaller of these originals another relation appears, viz., even. The next step in the process is the union of the original odd and the derived even, producing the first unity. Down to this point the theory of numbers is the theory of the universe. From this point the theories identical in process diverge in content. That is, this unity considered in the

¹ Id. I, 5, 5.² Id. XII, 6.³ Id. XIII, 4.⁴ Id. XIII, 6, 7.

pure mathematical sense establishes the possibility of formation for all other numbers, and this unity considered as the first objective reality, identified as the 'central fire,' becomes the centre of action and of authority, is the beginning of objective creation, and controls the orderly setting in array of the destined universe. Beyond this finite number and beyond this orderly universe unformed number still reigns. The active agent in the genesis both of number and of the cosmos was limitation (*τὸ πέρασ*).

Now let us return to Parmenides. As we have seen, he provides for a universe and a limited universe. The only difference, too, between his and the Pythagorean universe is found in the nature of this limitation. With the Pythagoreans it is self-imposed. We must infer in it some inherent force characteristic of the unformed elements numerical and cosmical. This is plainly manifest in the power which the first unity, once formed, exerts in the evolution of subsequent unities. But Parmenides' limitation is one imposed by necessity, justice, or fate, — an arbitrary, hard, and fast limitation imposed by an outside power. The words used and the ideas expressed show that in the mere matter of limitation he is at one with the Pythagoreans, and that in the functions of the power exercising that limitation Parmenides' theory is a denial of a prevalent belief, — a belief bearing close resemblance to that of the Pythagoreans.

A close examination of all the "opinions" shows that they, even more than his statements of "truth," relate to the doctrines ascribed to the Pythagoreans. There is scarcely a tenet set forth in the "opinions" which may not be referred directly or indirectly to them as they are represented in Aristotle. Not more than ten different propositions exist in this part of his work. Of these, two deal with first principles, three deal with astronomical truths, three have an astro-physical significance, one deals with procreation, and one with the nature of thought. The six dealing with astronomical or astro-physical theories undoubtedly have reference to the Pythagoreans. Of the two referring to first principles one seems to have resemblance to Anaximander, and the other to the dual principle

of the Pythagoreans. To the theory of right and left in procreation corresponds indirectly the Pythagorean idea of right and left as two first principles. To the postulate that "that which thinks is the nature of mingled parts in man and the excess is thought" there is no parallel in the Pythagorean doctrine. But Parmenides' own postulate on this point that "thinking will not be found without being, in which it is expressed" corresponds in substance to the belief of the Pythagoreans that soul and mind are properties of number (being), though Parmenides makes no mention of this Pythagorean symbol.

Thus it appears that the "opinions" of Parmenides, with few exceptions, bear resemblance to no other system so much as to that of the early Pythagoreans. The only obstacle in the way of this interpretation is that of chronology. Since Philolaus was the first literary exponent of the Pythagorean teachings, it has been customary to make him the intellectual editor of their works as well. So the quite universal practice has been to deny to the Pythagoreans before his time all metaphysical teachings. But this position is difficult to maintain. Besides, it is very questionable whether more than a single generation, if that much, elapsed between the appearance of Parmenides' poem and the ascendancy of Philolaus. So that the crystallized thought of the Pythagoreans at the time of Philolaus cannot have been radically different from what it was at the time of Parmenides. It is agreed on all sides that the metaphysical number theory was in vogue at the time of Philolaus. Now Aristotle, as we have seen, ascribes to some of the Pythagoreans at least a number theory involving metaphysical speculations. The real question, then, is how early can these statements of Aristotle apply to them. A number theory employed in the explanation of moral values is ascribed by the Stagirite to Pythagoras himself. If this is true, it shows that there was a number theory before 500 B.C. It is also very probable that the explanation of soul, mind, opportunity, and justice on the numerical basis was established by Pythagoras. These speculations were accentuated by studies into mathematics, music, and mystery. How long it would

take to pass to metaphysical speculations cannot be said. It is quite likely that at least two generations, perhaps more, passed between the ascendancy of Pythagoras and that of Parmenides. It is by no means impossible that men like Pythagoras, of acute abilities, developed a metaphysical theory of the universe, and that at least in incipient form, or as an esoteric doctrine, it was in existence in the time of Parmenides. This is all the more probable since they early became interested particularly in astronomy.

The fact that Parmenides does not specifically mention the number theory cannot be regarded as proof that it had not been developed. He does not mention in any of the extant fragments their ethical and moral science which Aristotle expressly states was developed by Pythagoras on the basis of number, and which must have antedated Parmenides by at least fifty years.

Furthermore, it is altogether unlikely that there then lived any now unknown philosopher to whom in particular these "opinions" might be referred. Such a thinker would have received recognition in Aristotle.

The course that offers least difficulty is to set as early as the time of Parmenides that amount of the metaphysical theory of the Pythagoreans which obviously corresponds to the "opinions" of Parmenides.

It seems evident, then, from this study (1) that the "opinions" of Parmenides refer in large part to the doctrines of the early Pythagoreans; (2) that his treatise on "truth" is largely concerned with a refutation of their arguments; (3) that not only his astronomical views but also his cosmological and ontological views generally were affected by the Pythagorean system; (4) that no violence to fact is done in setting the elementary metaphysical number theory of the Pythagoreans as early in time as the ascendancy of Parmenides.

VIII. — *On the Development of the Thank-offering among the Greeks*

BY PROFESSOR JOSEPH WILLIAM HEWITT

WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY

GRATITUDE is one of the noblest emotions of mankind. We take it for granted and despise him who fails to feel it and manifest it towards his fellowmen and towards his God. But though the psychology of gratitude towards men is still almost an untilled field, psychologists recognize that the emotion is far from simple¹ or primitive, but is one of the more developed products of our human nature. But gratitude to God must have arisen still later. It presupposes a considerable degree of anthropomorphism. Man believes that his gods desire the manifestation of gratitude for favors conferred only because he himself desires it, and because he conceives his gods to be of like passions with himself. It presupposes also that the purely magical stage of religion has been left behind. No thanks are due for benefits extorted from the god by magical formula or act. It is only benefits freely conferred that call forth the emotion of genuine gratitude. Man does not feel obliged to offer thanks for what he believes to be due to his own knowledge of a formula, rather than to his god's good will. The benefit he has thus received is not a gift and calls for nothing in return.

With the rise of the gift theory of sacrifice, it was perhaps inevitable that the recognition of the duty of gratitude to God should result in some sort of a thank-offering, but what were the steps of the process? It is from the standpoint of the Greek religion that I shall approach the subject in this paper.

Beyond a cursory mention in some of the manuals of Greek religion, there seems to be practically no literature upon the Greek thank-offering. Nor outside the field of Greek religion has the subject of the expression of gratitude to God in act and prayer been at all adequately treated; except for a few

¹ MacDougall, *Introduction to Social Psychology*, 132.

illuminating pages in Wundt's *Mythus und Religion*,¹ little light has been shed upon it. In Hebrew cult, notwithstanding the copious ritual literature of the Pentateuch, the very terminology of this kind of sacrifice is in such confusion, especially in the English versions, that it is hard to tell with any certainty what rites were thank-offerings.²

The subject was brought to my attention as I attempted to put in order a collection I had been making of passages dealing with propitiation, a subject on which there is a more abundant, though still woefully inadequate, literature. I found a number of cases where rites almost certainly propitiatory in the main were strongly impregnated with thanksgiving or even bore the technical name of the thank-offering.³ This at once posed the question of the relation of the two types of sacrifice. Were they of independent origin, or was one derived from the other? My own hypothesis, based on the study of a large number of passages which mention or suggest thank-offering, is that its origin is not simple, but that several different lines of cult were converging toward this lofty and complex feature of religion. The object of this paper is to present from my collection a number of passages, some of them not a little familiar, which seem to me to shed light upon this particular point and show the thank-offering already far beyond the stage of magic and in process of evolution from (*a*) the payment of a vow, (*b*) the sacrifice of propitiation, (*c*) the celebration banquet; with brief prefatory discussion of the evidence to be found in our earliest sources, the Homeric poems.

In a study of development it is the border line instances that are of most significance and the evidence in these poems is largely of this character. In spite of the remarkably ad-

¹ *Völkerpsychologie*, 2, Bd. II, 333 f., 338, 341 f., 447 ff., 461; III, 108, 144, 168, 657 ff.; he traces it back through propitiation to the primeval 'Zauber-motiv.' Its object is, partly at least, to retain for the future the favor of demons and gods, *e.g.* II, 333 f., 338.

² See Moore on Judges xx, 26 (*Intern. Crit. Comm.*), for the meaning of the term rendered "peace offerings" in the English version, and cf. Toy on Proverbs vii, 14, and H. P. Smith on 1 Samuel xi, 15 (same series).

³ *E.g.* Suidas, s.v. *προχαριστήρια*; Plutarch, *Camillus*, 7.

vanced type of religion that meets us in the epics, there is very little that is unequivocally thank-offering. As I ponder the instances that have been considered such, I suspect that few or none of them are at all pure thanksgiving. In *Iliad*, ix, 533, Artemis sends a wild boar to punish Oeneus for neglecting to pay the harvest offering (*θαλύσια*) to her. But was the harvest offering a thanksgiving? Seymour¹ so considered it, but glance through a list of more or less primitive harvest ceremonies, as, for instance, that in Frazer's *Dying God*,² and you will find surprisingly little that is unequivocally thank-offering. Such rites were brought into causal connection not with the crop just harvested, but with the fertility of the field for the succeeding year,³ and were probably, as Wundt⁴ maintains, magical in their origin. Of course they ultimately became thanksgiving and in Homer's time were already on their way to become such, how far on their way is precisely the question. Certainly the Homeric Greek had not attained the height of the Hebrew idea⁵ that thank-offerings were not required but were freewill gifts which God did not demand, but was of course gratified to receive. Artemis does demand the harvest offering, and the extreme vigor of her insistence imports into the rite a considerable element of propitiation: The impression the passage would leave upon the Homeric audience would be that the firstfruits must be offered⁶ to keep the deity in good humor and avert ill consequences. Gratitude so motivated is not yet gratitude.

The sacrifice offered by Nestor and his company at the southern point of Euboea⁷ after their voyage across the Aegean on their way home has also been interpreted as

¹ *Life in the Homeric Age*, 500.

² Pp. 20 ff.

³ Mogk, "Ein Nachwort zu den Menschenopfern der Germanen," *Arch. f. Religionswissenschaft*, xv, 425.

⁴ *Mythus und Religion*, II, 447.

⁵ See McClintock and Strong, *Cycl. of Bibl. Theol. and Eccl. Lit.* x, 300; cf. Briggs on Psalm I, 14 (*Intern. Crit. Comm.*).

⁶ A fully developed instance of *ἀπαρχαί* as propitiation appears in connection with the Attic Proerosia, where the Delphic oracle prescribed that *ἀπαρχαί* be brought to Athens to avert a pestilence. Bloch in Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexicon*, II, 1324.

⁷ *Od.* III, 178 f.

thank-offering for peril safely past. But the peril is not yet past; much of the journey remains to be accomplished, and the sacrifice is offered to Poseidon, the deity from whom they had most to fear. The sacrifice is, perhaps, not essentially different from that in 159 ff., performed on Tenedos. Neither has sole reference to the past, but each is chiefly a precaution in view of a perilous future enterprise.¹ I hesitate to say that no thank-offerings at all are recorded in Homer, but, if there are, the accounts of them are certainly very curiously confused. The contrast is striking between, *e.g.*, Longus, who relates the performance of repeated thank-offerings on every possible occasion,² and Homer, who makes no definite mention of gratitude nor of its expression in sacrifice even where it seems *a priori* inevitable. Take, for instance, the passage³ where Odysseus has at length been landed upon his native isle after twenty years of wandering. When he awakes and recognizes his whereabouts, he lifts up his hands and prays. But he prays to the Ithacan nymphs, who have had no hand in his return, and he says, "Rejoice for the present in kindly vows, but (in the future) we shall give you gifts as well (*i.e.* we shall pay our vows), just as we did before." Offerings are to be forthcoming, but they are not, specifically at least, thank-offerings for his preservation and safe return, but merely the resumption of the honorific (possibly propitiatory⁴) sacrifices he used to accord

¹ Cf. the sacrifice offered by the Argonauts after their deliverance from the Syrtis (Apollonius Rhodius, IV, 1594 ff.). Though offered to the deity who has served them, there is not a word of thanks, but the prayer is (1598):

Ἰλαθι, καὶ νόστοιο τέλος θυμηδὲς ὄπαζε.

Cf. 1547. In 649 f. there seems to be reference to a thank-offering, probably, however, in fulfilment of vows made in 587 ff.

² *E.g.* II, 31; IV, 26, 1 ff.; IV, 32, 3; IV, 37, 2.

³ *Od.* XIII, 355 ff., a prayer of thanksgiving, according to Ausfeld, *Jahrbücher*, Suppl. xxviii, 509.

⁴ In the Greece of old (Theocr. XIII, 44), as in the Greece of to-day (Farnell, *Cults of Greek States*, v, 426), the nymphs had an uncanny character and were felt to require propitiation (Frazer, *Pausanias*, v, 20 f.). With the address of Odysseus to the nymphs compare the Roman custom of greeting the Penates after a prolonged absence from home, Terence, *Phormio*, 311, and, for Greece, *Eur. Herc. Fur.* 599 f.

the nymphs before his departure from the island, "just as we did before" (line 350).

Among these Homeric instances we have found mention of undefined sacrifices offered at a time when propitiation might have been expected. Homer seems to know little or nothing of ritual propitiation; only the faintest traces of the propitiatory ritual, doubtless common long before, as it certainly was long after, his time, are found in these poems. But in one or two instances we find the terminology of propitiation attached to rites which otherwise would rather suggest thanksgiving. In the first *Iliad* (472) Chryses makes a sacrifice upon the restoration of his captive daughter, and entertains with a banquet the men who have brought her back. Wine and song enliven the occasion, and certainly then, if ever, we should expect Chryses to be performing a thank-offering. But the poet tells us οἱ δὲ πανημέριοι μολπήῃ θεὸν ἰλάσκοντο. Is, then, the rite that looked like a thank-offering really a propitiation? We must not say so too hastily. The only apparent need of propitiation is on the part of the Greek guests, whose king had insulted Apollo's priest, and such a rite would be more appropriate in the Greek camp than in the injured priest's house. Further, the normal rites of propitiation were peculiar and quite distinct, and the worshippers were usually forbidden to partake of the sacrificial meat. This feast has none of the regular earmarks of propitiation as we find it outside the Homeric poems. Then, too, need we translate ἰλάσκοντο by the meaning it had in the later literature? Does it mean anything more, here, than "make (or keep) benignant"? Even so, there would be a distinct suggestion of the necessity of keeping (*a fortiori* of making) the deity benignant. And observe that the song they use is the paeon, which, as Fairbanks¹ has shown, developed into its later festal use from a distinctly deprecatory and apotropaic significance. Observe, too, that it is to Apollo in his averting capacity of ἐκάεργος² that the song is addressed. And

¹ "A Study of the Greek Paeon," *Cornell Studies in Class. Philol.* XII (1900), esp. pp. 14-17 and p. 66.

² See Leaf *aa h. l.*

in the sixth *Iliad* (526 ff.) Hector promises that if Zeus will grant the Trojans to drive out the Achaean foe and circulate the winebowl freely in their halls, he will — thank the gods? No, he will appease (*ἀρεσσόμεθ'*¹) the gods. If the Homeric poet knows of the thank-offering, he evidently has at his command no terminology to describe it, but is struggling with language that still bears the flavor of the propitiatory sacrifice.²

There is one more Homeric instance which merits a word. It is the passage in the *Odyssey* (xii, 346 ff.) where the famishing companions of Odysseus determine to disregard his warnings and slay the sacred cattle of Helios. "And if we come safe to Ithaca, we will make a temple for Helios and statues." Had this promise, or vow, ever been fulfilled, it is easy to see that its performance might have been interpreted as a thank-offering for preservation; but in its context it is evident that the object of those who promised it was to disarm the god's wrath at the contemplated injury to his herds, — an attempt to purchase an indulgence, as it were. The development of the vow to the thank-offering is a very natural one; indeed, in some cases it can actually be traced. The votive offering is not unknown to Homer. This, at least in later times, regularly appears in payment of a vow, or as thank-offering, but there are instances in Homer where it is clear that not thanks for the past, but propitiation for the future, is the intent of the gift, for it is offered where no benefit has been received and is designed rather to secure than to acknowledge the divine favor. Such is the garment offered to Athena³ by the Trojan women in the stress of the siege. Herodotus⁴ includes expensive dedicatory offerings

¹ This word, though later it often means 'please,' in Homer regularly connotes placation of an offended person or deity. So, *e.g.*, *Il.* ix, 120; *Od.* viii, 396.

² In striking contrast to Homer's obscurity or silence is the clear and definite account of a thank-offering performed by a Homeric character as described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (i, 55, 2), who wrote when the thank-offering had obtained a recognized standing in the religious world. The practice of Apollonius Rhodius is nearer that of Homer. See p. 98, n. 1.

³ *Il.* vi, 88 ff.; cf. *Od.* xvi, 185.

⁴ i, 90 ff.; cf. Xen. *Cyr.* vii, 2, 19. In Luc. *Charon*, ii, these have become *μισθὸν τῶν χρησμῶν*.

among the means by which Croesus attempted to appease the Delphic Apollo, whom he had insulted by disbelief in the oracle. It is natural to suppose that the propitiatory significance of the dedicatory gift preceded its use as a thank-offering. Hock,¹ in his important work, *Griechische Weihebräuche*, finds its origin in the grave cult and the worship of the dead, where it would certainly not be a thanksgiving, nor even the payment of a vow, but would be very near the propitiation or the averting of harm that are so often found in connection with the cult of the dead, and are considered by Wundt² to be the most primitive type of real sacrifice.³ From its origin in the lower strata of religious practice, the dedicatory offering rose to be the payment of a vow made in time of peril. This brought it to the higher ranges of the domain of propitiation, whence it became an offering of thanksgiving. But this last step was a great advance, for it was progress from the mere payment of what was little more than a business obligation, to a rite involving the emotion of gratitude. As early as Xenophon⁴ the payment of a vow is called a thank-offering (*σωτήρια*) or, perhaps I should say, is called by a term that was becoming one of the two commonest words for thank-offering.⁵ The process of the evolution is well portrayed in the following familiar incident. Before Marathon the Athenians vowed to sacrifice to Artemis as many goats

¹ See *Bursians Jahresb.* CXL, III, 7.

² *Mythus und Religion*, II, 449.

³ If it be true that the *ἀνάθημα* rose from the cult of the dead to become a frequent accompaniment of the thank-offering, its development would be fairly paralleled by that of athletic games, provided, again, that these were, as Körte thinks (*Hermes*, xxxix, 226 ff.), originally employed at the burial of the dead. See also Gruppe, *Bericht über Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte, 1898-1905*, 351. (But for other views, especially of the Olympic games, see Cook in *Folk-lore*, xv, 398 ff., and Cornford in Miss Harrison's *Themis*, 212-259). The games at the funeral of Patroclus are clearly no part of a thank-offering, they are to honor or appease the dead. If such games regularly accompanied the funeral of those who had fallen in battle, they might easily come to be part of a celebration of the victory which the fallen had helped achieve, even when funeral rites are not stated to have been connected with the contests. See Arrian, *Anab.* v, 20, 1, compared with II, 24, 6 and v, 29, 1.

⁴ *Anab.* III, 2, 9.

⁵ Herodotus (I, 118) uses *σώστρα* of the thank-offering.

as they should kill Persians.¹ But finding it impossible to secure enough goats to pay their vow at once, they determined to pay it in annual instalments of five hundred each. Seven hundred years later they were still performing this annual sacrifice,² but as they had slain only 6400 Persians,³ the vow would have been paid off in about thirteen years if no interruption supervened. Evidently, in the joy of their signal deliverance, emphasized, perhaps, by the stirring events of ten years later, the Athenians had continued a joyous and doubtless popular feast, which had already come to be viewed in the light of a thanksgiving.⁴

Of Agesilaus, Xenophon⁵ says that he was grateful to the gods when he had good fortune, and that when he was out of danger he used to sacrifice more than he had vowed when he was in trouble. In this very utterance, which shows that a Spartan could feel real gratitude to God and desire to express it in act, we see that no thank-offering is thought of aside from the payment of the vow.⁶ It is still only a bonus added to what was due the gods as a matter of cold business, — not yet a separate sacrifice. Xenophon is perhaps the earliest Greek writer to lay marked stress upon the thank-offering.⁷ He reveals an almost anachronistic conception of man's

¹ Xen. *Anab.* III, 2, 12; cf. Schol. on Ar. *Eq.* 660.

² Aelian, *Var. Hist.* II, 25; by this time the number of the goats annually sacrificed had apparently been reduced to three hundred. Or Aelian may be in error in this detail, as he is regarding the date on which the sacrifice was made. See Sandys on Aristotle, *Pol. Ath.* 58, 1.

³ Herod. VI, 117.

⁴ On the analogy of this feast, others would be established, as, for instance, the annual thank-offering for the battle of Plataea, rendered to the nymphs of a cave on Mount Cithaeron (Plut. *Aristid.* 19, cf. 11), possibly in payment of some vow made before or in the battle. With this was coupled an offering to Zeus Eleutherios (*ibid.*), who would tend to absorb the whole ceremony. Though Pausanias knows of the Sphragitid nymphs (IX, 3, 9), he ascribes the cult to Zeus alone (IX, 2, 5 f.).

⁵ *Ages.* II, 2.

⁶ Cf. Psalm cxvi, 12, 14, 17, 18, where to the question "What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits unto me?" the twice uttered answer is "I will pay my vows unto the Lord."

⁷ *E.g.* *Anab.* IV, 6, 27; *Cyr.* IV, 1, 2; VII, 2, 28; *Hell.* I, 6, 37; IV, 3, 14; VII, 2, 23.

duty to God.¹ The loftiest and purest instance of thanksgiving I have found anywhere in Greek literature is that recorded of Cyrus the Great at the end of his life.² But some of the cases mentioned in Xenophon seem to have been payment of vows.³ Later in the century the references to thank-offering become fairly frequent, but they are often still curiously shot through with the terminology, the ritual, and even the spirit of propitiation.

In the dramatists the passages that refer to the thank-offering, or may reasonably be taken to imply its existence, are fairly frequent. Some of the instances that might be quoted as such, to be sure, do not bear critical examination. Eur. *Heraclidae*, 867 ff. is a case in point. There is a *prayer* of gratitude, but 877,

καὶ θεοῖς πατρώοις θύσειθ',

need mean no more, in its connection, than "you will get back home again."⁴ It is not clear that any special offering of thanks is meant. The *σωτήρια* and *τροπαῖα* of 402 are not thank-offerings and trophies, but propitiatory sacrifices to turn back the enemy and save the state. Nor does the promise in Aeschylus, *Cho.* 483 ff. refer to a thanksgiving for the aid that the brother and sister are praying their dead father to grant. What is promised is, on the one hand, the regular rites in honor of the dead,—and these were precautionary if not actually avertive; on the other, the marriage libations, *χαοὶ γαμήλιοι*, which are not to be considered in any sense a thanksgiving for the marriage (see Aesch. *Eum.* 834 ff.). So too, certain passages that unquestionably refer to thanksgiving have about them a curious flavor of something else. For instance at the end of the *Alcestis*, the people are ordered by Admetus *βαμούς τε κισᾶν βουθύτοισι προστροπαῖς* where the last word has the connotation of propitiation and

¹ *Ages.* II, 2.

² *Cyr.* VIII, 7, 3. This is also prayer; for prayer of thanksgiving and its comparative rarity see Ausfeld, *Jahrbücher*, Supplbd. xxviii, 509 f.

³ *Anab.* III, 2, 12 (but see *Rep. Lac.* 13, 8 and *Hell.* IV, 2, 20 for the suggestion of propitiation in this rite); III, 2, 9; IV, 8, 25. Cf. also *Mem.* IV, 3, 15 f.

⁴ Cf. [Eur.] *Rhesus*, 235.

the averting of evil.¹ Sophocles (*Ant.* 150 ff.) has a curious reference to *nocturnal* choruses to the temples of all the gods, at the deliverance of Thebes from siege. Aeschylus (*Ag.* 594) refers to the sacrifice offered by Clytemnestra on the news of Troy's fall. To be sure, we see that all the time it is, in the mind of the sacrificer, a propitiatory rite, but the situation presupposes the propriety and the likelihood of her offering a sacrifice of thanksgiving. *Suppl.* 980 ff. implies a thank-offering to Soter gods, and clear cases occur, *e.g.* in Sophocles, *Ajax*, 911 ff., and in Euripides, *Ion*, 1123 f., 1130.

Though the bonus was not required, the vow itself must be paid, or serious consequences might ensue. Camillus² at Rome neglected to perform a vow and was informed by seers that God's anger required propitiation and thanksgiving (*χαριστηρίων*)—a curious combination. In this sole instance Liddell and Scott render *χαριστήρια* by the word *supplicatio*, and possibly the double (propitiatory and gratulatory) significance of the Latin word, which he doubtless found in his sources, may have confused Plutarch. But we must remember that by his time the payment of a vow had come to be regarded as thanksgiving.³

The word *ἱλασμός* in this last passage conducts us naturally to another phase of the thank-offering. May not certain rites of thanksgiving have had their origin in actual and undisguised propitiation? The confusion of the two in Homer we have already discussed, and I believe it traceable far beyond the early epic. Theognis, urging a cheerful libation to the gods⁴ when the Medic invasion was threatening the

¹ Liddell and Scott recognize this fact, but perhaps not adequately; for example, as an instance of a colorless meaning for *προστροπή*, — 'any address to a god,' they cite Aesch. *Pers.* 216, where the object of the *προστροπαί* is explicitly stated to be

τῶνδ' ἀποτροπήν τελεῖν.

On the connotation of *προστροπαίος* see Hatch in *Harvard Studies*, XIX, 185 f., cf. Hewitt, *ibid.* III.

² Plut. *Cam.* 7; cf. *Dem.* XXI, 53.

³ Cf. Soph. *Aj.* 172 ff., which may denote neglect to keep a vow or failure to render a thank-offering.

⁴ 757 ff.; cf. 773 ff. Observe the use of the word *ἀρεσσάμενοι* and cf. n. 1 on page 100. The occasion calls for propitiation, the terminology suggests propitiation, but the cheerful tone of the passage suggests thanksgiving.

city, is on the border line between propitiation and thanksgiving; and a thank-offering voted by the Roman senate¹ to succeed immediately certain purifications instituted to avert *μίασμα*, is thanksgiving, if at all, only by anticipation. With the growth of a higher type of religion and the partial disappearance of the anxious fear which characterizes the lower stages, the transformation of the propitiatory to the thank-offering is quite natural.² The very etymology of the two commonest terms for the thank-offering (*σωτήρια* and *χαριστήρια*) seems to put us not after the event, looking back at it, but before the event and looking forward to it with a greater or less degree of apprehension. *σωτήριον* should denote a means of saving,³ *χαριστήριον* should signify a means of pleasing, perhaps of appeasing.⁴ But as early as Xenophon⁵ the neuter plural of these words has taken on a technical significance and denotes thank-offering. From Xenophon to about the time of the Christian era the two words are rare; they become common only when we find the thank-offering itself fully developed.

In fact, it is overdeveloped. It is going to seed. Real thanksgiving connotes real religion, and, in spite of Paul's compliment to the Athenians, I fear that the Greeks of the imperial period were not "very religious." More and more it became customary to institute so-called thanksgivings merely in commemoration of some happy event or of some human being to whom a city attributed its safety,⁶ and even at that

¹ Dion. Hal. v, 57, 5.

² In *Hec.* 136 ff. Euripides speaks as if the sacrifices to the dead were thank-offerings. The Greeks would be *ἀχάριστοι* to omit them.

³ See, for instance, Eur. *Phoen.* 918; *Heracl.* 402.

⁴ On the development of another common term, *εὐχαριστήρια*, a suggestive sidelight is thrown in an exhaustive discussion by Th. Schermann, "Eὐχαριστία u. εὐχαριστέιν in ihrem Bedeutungswandel bis 200 n. Chr." *Philologus*, LXIX (1910), 375 ff.; see especially 410.

⁵ *σωτήρια* most fully developed, *Anab.* III, 2, 9; *χαριστήρια*, *Cyr.* IV, 1, 2; VII, 2, 28; VIII, 7, 3.

⁶ Plut. *Aratus*, 53; cf. 14 ff. In Arr. *Anab.* v, 29, 1 the rite is both *χαριστήρια* and *μνημεία*. In Plut. *Lyc.* II it is doubtful which of the two a temple was intended to be; cf. Paus. IX, 22, 1. See Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. *Soteria*.

it is clear that display rather than gratitude was often the motive of the celebration.¹

I have space merely to mention certain specific instances of the development of rites from propitiation to thank-offering. The Attic feast of the Proerosia, an ancient propitiatory ritual,² employed before ploughing, was closely connected with thank-offerings sent to Athens from other communities in gratitude for relief from the pestilence which the Proerosia had been instituted to avert.³

And then there is the puzzling Procharisteria, or "thank-offering before the event,"⁴ an ancient rite held in spring when the crops were beginning to grow. The expression ὑπὲρ τῶν φυομένων καρπῶν⁵ may be interpreted either as propitiation or as thanks, but it seems curious to offer thanks for the half-grown crops at the most perilous stage of their growth,⁶ and I cannot find another instance of an agricultural feast of thanksgiving in the spring.⁷ It looks like propitiation, but, if it was, it acquired in some way a name that, in spite of its anomalous prefix, would suggest to every Greek a rite of thanksgiving.

¹ Paus. x, 11, 5.

² Farnell, *Cults*, III, 42; Schol. Ar. *Eq.* 729.

³ Schol. Ar. *Plut.* 1054. For a possible cause of the connection see Farnell, *Cults*, III, 43 f.

⁴ Suidas, s.v. Προχαριστήρια, Bekk. *Anec.* 295. Harpocration has προσχαριστήρια, but this form is pretty certainly wrong. See Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, 365¹.

⁵ ὑπὲρ perhaps suggests propitiation: *Il.* I, 444; Xen. *Oec.* 5, 20; Eur. *Phoen.* 913; Herod. VII, 114; but it is used also of thanksgiving: Arr. *Anab.* VI, 28, 3; Ditt. *Syll.* 209, 22; 649, 23, etc.; *Et. Mag.* 706, 44; Plut. *Aristides*, 19, etc.

⁶ Band, *Diasien*, 19 f.

⁷ Dion. Hal. I, 88, 3, thus describes the Roman Parilia: θύουσι . . . νομῆς θυσίαν χαριστήριον ἔαρος ἀρχομένου. But this is clearly not its original function (Wissowa, *Religion der Römer*, 166; Peter on Ovid, *Fasti*, IV, 721 ff.). Its connection with the Fordicidia, the use of sulphur and of the apotropaic laurel, the leaping through fire, etc., all point to a feast not of thanksgiving but of lustration and propitiation. When the Parilia became a feast in memory of the founding of Rome (Wissowa, *ibid.*), it was natural that the day should be spent, as Dionysius says, ἐν εὐπαθείαις and be considered a cheerful thank-offering, cf. Theognis, 775 ff. Farnell (*Cults*, IV, 287 ff.) has shown good reason to doubt that the feast that celebrated Apollo's return from the Hyperboreans came as early as the beginning or even the end of spring. And, in any event, such a festival is an epiphany feast rather than a thank-offering.

The Haloia is another rite of ambiguous significance, — so ambiguous that, while Nilsson¹ considers its object to be the prosperity of the germinating seed, Stengel calls it a harvest thanksgiving.² It may well have been the former, until the growth of the notion that God demanded the expression of gratitude caused it to be interpreted as a thanksgiving. The *εἰρεσιώνη* seems to have undergone a parallel change of significance. It is mentioned twice in Aristophanes,³ but with no hint that it was considered in any sense a thank-offering. It probably was, in fact, a charm hung over the door as a protection against famine.⁴ But the scholiasts speak of it as a thank-offering, apparently confusing it with the offering of *ἀπαρχαί*, to which one scholium⁵ refers rather vaguely *ὡσπερ χαριστήριον*, while another⁶ more explicitly uses the technical term for the thank-offering, the plural *χαριστήρια*. A scholiast on the same passage seems to be aware that it was instituted to avert a famine, but that does not prevent him from calling it a thank-offering, for such it probably was in his day. The same confusion of inconsistent ideas is illustrated by a page of Demosthenes, containing sundry oracles which prescribe thank-offering to Bromios⁷ and dances and the wearing of garlands and *μνασιδωρεῖν*, but mix therewith rites to be performed *ὅτι τὰς ὥρας παρηνέγκατε τῆς θυσίας καὶ τῆς θεωρίας* and sacrifices to Apollo Apotropaeus.⁸

The scholiast on *Pax*, 923 applies the term *χαριστήρια* to the pots of pulse which were placed before newly consecrated statues, apparently only those of minor deities. It seems to me, however, that he betrays (*a*) that the rite was really placatory; (*b*) that it properly and originally applied only to Hermes⁹ when he says that it was *ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ βραδύνειν παρὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν*, which probably means that Hermes the psychopomp was thus propitiated, so that at the resurrection he might lead up the soul of his worshipper without delay.

¹ *De Dionysiis*, 96 ff.; *Griechische Feste*, 329.

² In Pauly-Wissowa, VII, 2278.

⁴ Farnell, *Cults*, IV, 269.

⁶ On *Pl.* 1054.

⁸ On the genuineness of these oracles see Goodwin *ad h. l.* ⁹ Cf. *Pax*, 924.

³ *Plut.* 1054; *Eq.* 729.

⁵ On *Eq.* 729.

⁷ XXI, 51-54.

Of the two legends mentioned by Pausanias to explain the origin of the Olympic Heraea, the first¹ ascribes it to the gratitude of Hippodamia for marriage with Peleus. This is from the realm of myth and has a distinctly aetiological flavor, besides finding no justification in the rite itself. A more reasonable explanation is the second,² which has at least the outward appearance of being historical. Though it doubtless does not tell the whole story,³ it suggests propitiation and reminds us of the propitiatory procession of the Trojan women with a peplos to the temple of Athena.⁴

There can be little doubt that the *τροπαῖον*, raised after battle, was viewed as a thank-offering to the god to whom it was dedicated. I have suspected for some time, however, that it was in its origin an *ἀποτρόπαιον*,⁵ and I find my suspicion confirmed in a work on the Tropaeum Traianum.⁶ The derivation from *τροπή* seems to date only from Varro, and the trophy was not necessarily erected at the point where the flight began. To remove the arms from the dead removes his ability to execute vengeance on his slayer and is on a par with *μασχαλισμός*.⁷

Like the gratulatory significance of the trophy, the sacrifice of victory (*νικητήρια*) must have been a comparatively late development in Greek religion. Conservative Sparta honored the gods after victory with no sacrifices except that of a cock.⁸ Not even their great triumph at Mantinea called

¹ v, 16, 4. ² v, 16, 5. ³ See Cornford in Miss Harrison's *Themis*, 230.

⁴ *Il.* vi, 88 ff. This is perhaps a better parallel than those from Mexico and the Society Islands (Frazer, *Pausanias*, III, 593), though these may well illustrate the psychological basis of the Greek rite.

⁵ Possibly the name is merely an abbreviation, as the *θεοὶ ἀποτρόπαιοι* seem sometimes to have been called *τροπαῖοι*, Plut. *Parall.* 310 B; *Sept. Sap. Conv.* 149 D (Wytt.). I am not so sure now (cf. *Harvard Studies*, XIX, 109¹⁰) that this is not sometimes true when the title is applied to a single deity.

⁶ Tocilescio, *Das Monument von Adamklissi*, 127 ff., especially 132.

⁷ Rohde, *Psyche*⁴, 1, 322 ff.

⁸ Plut. *Ages.* 33; in *Marcellus*, 22, Plutarch qualifies this by adding that the general who gained a victory by deceit or persuasion sacrificed an ox (to Ares, *Mor.* 238 F.). Cf. Lucian, *Iup. Trag.* 15, where Zeus complains of such a nig-gardly thank-offering for preservation from peril at sea. See also Callimachus, *Epigr.* 56.

forth any recorded ceremony except a bit of meat from the common mess for the bringer of the good news.¹ We are not clearly informed to what deity the cock was offered.² Perhaps it was not really a sacrifice at all, but some obscure bit of magic.³ If the *υκητήρια* developed from a propitiatory or avertive sacrifice before battle to an offering of thanksgiving after battle, it would present an interesting parallel to the evolution of the paean from a deprecatory or propitiatory hymn before battle to a chant of victory after battle. But the *υκητήρια* I prefer to put with the *εὐαγγέλια*, or thank-offering for good tidings, and derive both from the celebration banquet. In Homer there is no sacrifice for good news. The bringer of good tidings is rewarded, as at Sparta, with a piece of meat or some such trifle and, very significantly, this reward is called *εὐαγγέλιον*,⁴ the singular of the term later applied to the sacrifice for good news. In Aristophanes⁵ he is crowned for his tidings, as also in Plutarch,⁶ but in each case a sacrifice to the gods is added. The sacrifice for good tidings is mentioned both in Aristophanes⁷ and in Aeschines.⁸ It is probably not mere accident that these are public sacrifices. Private offerings tended to take the form of *ἀναθήματα*, which seem to be derived from the vow; public offerings I believe to have developed rather from the banquet; for in both *υκητήρια* and *εὐαγγέλια* the feeling of joy regularly found expression in a feast.⁹ They were originally manifestations of joy rather than of gratitude.

The Homeric heroes, with their voracious appetite for meat, often sacrificed animals with no ostensible object other than

¹ Plut. *Ages.* 33.

² Possibly to Ares, if τῷ Ἄρει in *Mor.* 238 F. be taken also with ἀλεκτρούνα.

³ For a curious account of the use of the cock in magic see Pausanias, II, 34, 2. On its apotropaic significance see Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, 795.

⁴ *Od.* xiv, 152, 166, the plural is similarly used in Pollux, vi, 186.

⁵ *Eq.* 647; *Plut.* 765.

⁶ *Sertorius*, 11; *Ar. Eq.* 656.

⁷ See, in addition to the instances already quoted, also *Eq.* 1320.

⁸ III, 160; cf. also Aesch. *Ag.* 594 and p. 104.

⁹ See *Dem.* xix, 128, 139, 192; *Eur. Ion.* 1123 f. But a banquet might be promised in payment of a vow; *Ap. Rh.* iv, 1419.

to provide meat for a banquet. The suitors in the palace of Odysseus are continually sacrificing for their feasts,¹ and the same is true of the heroes in the Greek camp before Troy.² This is, of course, quite alien to the practices of many other nations³ and probably to earlier notions among the Greeks themselves.⁴ But in the Homeric poems we are face to face with dietary practices quite non-Hellenic. The problem has perhaps not yet found a satisfactory solution, but evidently such meals are not felt to be specifically religious acts. There are instances in the poems⁵ where, after the account of some great success, we might expect specific mention of thank-offering. Sometimes we are told that the Greeks sat down to a banquet,⁶ and if they do honor Athena or some other deity with a libation, it is only what they would do at any feast, and it does not make of the repast specifically a religious rite, any more than our grace before meat makes our meals religious exercises. But if we were dealing with a state of society where the sacral significance of meat eating had returned to consciousness, or, more probably, had never been obscured, we should find such a celebration banquet viewed as far more of a religious rite than Homer's Greeks evidently considered it. And after the epic period such a celebration, which even in Homer retained, if only in its terminology,⁷ the notion of sacrifice that in early agricultural communities seems inseparable from the eating of meat, would be felt by the more religiously inclined to be sacrifice, and would be interpreted as a thank-offering for benefits received. Among less religiously minded peoples or individuals, there was a contrary tendency to ignore the sacral aspect. When thank-offerings were decreed with motives purely political,⁸ to curry favor with a populace which enjoyed the banquets that invariably accompanied them, it was inevitable that the festal

¹ *Od.* xx, 3; xvii, 180 ff.; cf. xiv, 105.

² *Il.* xxiv, 123 ff.; ii, 402 ff.; cf. vi, 174.

³ Smith, *Religion of the Semites*², 222 f., 300, 307 f.

⁴ See Stengel, *Hermes*, xxviii, 1893 (489-500), especially 494 ff.; Hewitt, *Harvard Studies*, xix, 85, and cf. Farnell, *Cults*, i, 88 ff.

⁵ *E.g.* *Il.* x, 565 ff.; vii, 314.

⁶ *Il.* x, 578 f.; vii, 314.

⁷ *E.g.* the use of *λεπέω*.

⁸ *E.g.* *Ar. Eq.* 654 ff.

aspect be emphasized to the obscuration and ultimately to the practical elimination of every other feature. The feast is held for the pleasure of man rather than for the honor of God. The logical outcome is seen in the monstrous length of the Roman *supplicationes* when the thanksgiving aspect of that rite became prominent and it became a scene of jollity, prolonged over as much as fifty days in one instance.¹

¹ Cicero, *Phil.* xiv, 37; cf. the length of the Assyrian celebration banquet, Layard's *Nineveh*, II, 312.

IX. — *Officials Charged with the Conduct of Public Works in Roman and Byzantine Syria*

BY PROFESSOR WILLIAM KELLY PRENTICE

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

SOME months ago a colleague of mine asked me how I translated the phrase, common in certain classes of inscriptions, *ἐκ προνοίας καὶ σπουδῆς*, and I replied: *By provision and under the direction of*. But the more I thought about this answer, the more vague it seemed, until finally I was driven to collect inscriptions in which this phrase appears, at least in that part of the Roman world with which I am most familiar, namely Syria, in the effort to discover what these words really mean. And thereby I came upon certain information about the conduct of public works in Syria, which may be valuable to others, and may supplement Professor Liebenam's useful book, *Städteverwaltung im römischen Kaiserreiche*.

The possible meanings of the phrase *ἐκ προνοίας καὶ σπουδῆς* are limited by the following considerations: In the first place, though *πρόνοια* and *σπουδή* doubtless convey different notions, both are often ascribed to the same person or persons in the same inscription.¹ On the other hand, when either of these words is used in an inscription which shows a difference in authority among the persons concerned with some public work, *πρόνοια* is commonly assigned to those having the higher authority, *σπουδή* to those having a lower authority. For example, at Suwêdâ some public building was erected at a date unknown by the *πρόνοια* of the governor, but under the direction of Antiochos, a member of the town council (*ἐπισκοποῦντος Ἀντιόχου Σελεύκου ἀπὸ προεδρί[ου?]*), Lucius, a centurion, being the foreman in charge of the work (*ἐπι(δ)όντος Λουκίου* χ ρ).² At Kerratîn a tower,

¹ *E.g.* Waddington, nos. 1910, 1964, 1970, 2046, 2188, 2217, 2239, etc.

² *A.A.E.S. (Pub. of an Am. Archaeol. Exped. to Syria in 1899-1900)*, III, 432 c.

evidently designed for the security of the town, was erected by a certain Ioannes, either from his own funds or through his economical management of funds provided for other purposes by the emperor; but the tower was built by the *σπουδή* of Paulos, a deacon, who, as we learn from another inscription, was a brother of this Ioannes.¹ At Salamanestha (the modern Sâleh) a church was renovated in 574 A.D. by the *πρόνοια* of the community (*τοῦ κοινοῦ*), but by the *σπουδή* of two commissioners (*ἐπιμεληταί*), "who swear by the Holy Trinity that they made no profit out of the business."²

In the second place, it appears that neither *πρόνοια* nor *σπουδή* implies, necessarily, the initiative in the matter, *i.e.* the decision to undertake the work. For example, at Djenéneh, by the divine will (*ἐκ θείου νεύμ[ατος]*) of the emperor Julian, some person or persons, probably the community as a whole, built the temple of a god, by the *πρόνοια* of Sopatros.³ Again, at Dêr il-Mēyās, some one whose name is lost built some sort of a building *ἐξ* *(ε)ιδίων καμάτων*, in fulfillment of a vow to God; by the *πρόνοια* of Onenos, a builder (*οἰκοδόμος*), the court was completed in thirty-six days.⁴ A long inscription at Il-Anderîn⁵ testifies that the great barracks there were constructed in accordance with the plans and by the generosity of a certain Thomas. At the end of the inscription this sentence is added: "We began, with God, the foundations of the barracks by the munificence of Thomas, and the *σπουδή* of Iakobos, his nephew, on the 20th of May, 869 (= 558 A.D.)," etc.

Thirdly, there are many inscriptions which show that neither *πρόνοια* nor *σπουδή* involve, necessarily, at least, provision for the expense of the work.⁶

Furthermore, there are certain groups of inscriptions in which other expressions, evidently equivalent to phrases with *πρόνοια* and *σπουδή*, throw some light upon the meaning of

¹ *P.A.E.S. (Pub. of the Princeton Univ. Archaeol. Exped. to Syria in 1904-1905)*, III, B, 992-993. Cf. no. 915.

² Waddington, 2261.

³ Wad. 2187.

⁴ Wad. 2053 b.

⁵ *P.A.E.S.* III, B, 915.

⁶ *E.g.* Wad. 1963, 2053 b; *A.A.E.S.* 305, 306; Wad. 2497; *P.A.E.S.* 915, 992.

these words. For example, phrases with *ἐπί* and *διά*. At the ancient Bosana (the modern Būsân) a *πηγή* was constructed *ἐκ προνοίας καὶ σπουδῆς* of Pauleinos, a syndic, and of another person, both being *πιστοί*.¹ But in another inscription from the same place it is said that an *ἀψίς* was constructed *ἐπὶ συνδικίας* of Taënaëlos, son of Taurinos, *διὰ Ameros* and Tan[aëlos], *πιστοί*.² In still another inscription from this place the *καμάρα τοῦ δήμου*, whatever that may have been, was constructed *ἐπὶ συνδικίας* of Taurinos, son of Taurinos (perhaps a brother of the other syndic), and *διὰ* another Taënaëlos and a second person, *πιστοί*.³ In still another inscription from this place, some public work was completed *ἐπὶ* Dareios, a syndic, and two others, *πιστοί*.⁴ Whether, in these cases, the syndic was always one of the *πιστοί* is not clear. But certainly it appears that in the fourth case the *ἐπί* is practically the equivalent of the *ἐκ προνοίας καὶ σπουδῆς* of the first. In the other two cases, where the *ἐπί* applies to the syndic alone, *διά* to the *πιστοί*, it looks as if the *ἐπί*, in a stricter sense, was equivalent to *ἐκ προνοίας*, *διὰ* to *ἐκ σπουδῆς* or *σπουδῆ*. The same conclusions may be drawn from a series of inscriptions found at 'Auwas, perhaps the ancient Bosoā.⁵

In view of these considerations, I think it may be assumed that *πρόνοια* implies the making of the plan for an undertaking, *σπουδή* the execution of this plan, that is, the actual direction of the work. This opinion is corroborated by a passage in Polybios, vi, 13, 6, to which Professor David Magie called my attention: "*If there should be need to send an embassy, to settle a difficulty, or to convey an invitation, or to deliver a command, or to take possession, or to declare war, it (i.e. the senate) makes the arrangement (ποιεῖται τῆν πρόνοιαν).*"

Search through the inscriptions relating to public works in

¹ Wad. 2239, 365 A.D.

² Wad. 2239 a.

³ Wad. 2240.

⁴ Wad. 2238, 322 A.D.

⁵ Wad. 2042, 2043, 2044, and 2046. See also below, p. 116. Of these inscriptions, nos. 2043, 2044, and 2046 have been removed from 'Auwas and are now at 'Ormân.

Syria furnishes a list of officials, or boards, who had charge of public works of various sorts. In view of the meaning of the terms *πρόνοια* and *σπουδή*, an examination of the inscriptions in which such officials are mentioned affords some information as to the functions of these officials. This list includes, among others, the following: (1) ἄρχοντες, (2) πιστοί, (3) προνοηταί, (4) ἐπιμεληταί, (5) διοικηταί, and (6) ἐπίσκοποι.

1. Officials called ἄρχοντες I have found with certainty only once in Syria, namely, at Boṣrā, where, in 320 A.D., a temenos was constructed (ἐκτίσθη) by the πρόνοια and σπουδή of two persons with this title.¹ As Waddington says, these are probably the duumviri of the colony.

2. The title πιστοί occurs frequently in Syrian inscriptions. The word is not mentioned by Liebenam. Waddington was unable to decide what were the functions of this board, and was confused by the fact that the word seems to have a different meaning in pagan and Christian inscriptions. It seems to me clear that in the Christian inscriptions the word is used only as an adjective. As an official title the word occurs in inscriptions from Nabataea and Batanaea, occasionally also in Auranitis and Trachonitis. All the dates in these inscriptions fall within the fourth century after Christ; the undated inscriptions containing this title appear to belong to the same period. There is even some evidence that, at least in certain places, this title was not in use before the second quarter of the fourth century. At 'Auwaṣ, in 310 A.D., some public work was undertaken ἐπὶ two persons, two or four others being προνοηταί.² Fourteen years later, in the same town, a wall (τοίχος) and ἀψίδες were built ἐπὶ three προνοηταί, a certain Somenos being the οἰκοδόμος.³ Six years later still, in 330 A.D., a basilica and its doorway in the same town were dedicated ἐκ προνοίας κὲ σπουδῆς of four προνοηταί.⁴ In 394 A.D., however, a temple of the god The-

¹ Wad. 1910. Cf. ἐπὶ ἀρχῆς of Abilanos, Wad. 2557 c (Rakhleh). Also πρέεδρος καὶ συνάρχοντες, Wad. 1907 (Boṣrā).

² Wad. 2042. See also above, p. 115, n. 5.

³ Wad. 2043.

⁴ Wad. 2044.

andrites in this town was built *ἐκ προνοίας καὶ σπουδῆς* of four *πιστοί*.¹ Perhaps one of these titles denotes a permanent board, while the other denotes a special commission, and both may have existed at the same time. But I think it probable that during the sixty-four years between 330 and 394 A.D. it became the custom at 'Auwas for *πιστοί* instead of *προνοηταί* to have charge of the erection of public buildings, and I am inclined to believe that the title *πιστοί* was introduced there at that time.

Commonly two members of this board are mentioned, twice three, once four, twice five. In one instance the two *πιστοί* were from different villages and different tribes, perhaps belonging, however, to the same municipality. Once it is at least probable that one of two *πιστοί* was a syndic.² Four times in the same neighborhood two *πιστοί* are associated with a syndic, though it is not clear whether the syndic was a member of the board or not.³ Once the *πιστοί* are associated with a *βουλευτής ἔγδικος*.⁴ Once, one of three *πιστοί* was an *οἰκοδόμος*.⁵

In the inscriptions, practically always, the *πιστοί* are concerned with some building or other public work. But this fact does not indicate that they had no other functions. Most Syrian inscriptions were upon buildings, and have been preserved for that reason; other records of the activities of the *πιστοί* have been lost. Temples and shrines, with their appurtenances, were constructed by them.⁶ Also public buildings, apparently of a civil character, such as a *δημόσιος οἶκος*,⁷ or a *καμάρα τοῦ δήμου*,⁸ whatever that may be. Once a fountain (*πηγή*) was rebuilt by them.⁹ Once, if I understand the inscription correctly, a heap of ruins was cleared away and a sacred square levelled and paved, "for the good of the city."¹⁰

In one case, at least, the *πιστοί* expended the funds of a

¹ Wad. 2046.

² Wad. 2239.

³ Wad. 2219, 2238, 2239 a, 2240.

⁴ Wad. 2034.

⁵ Wad. 1984, reading *πιστο*[?] instead of the *πιστό*[s] of Waddington.

⁶ Wad. 2046, 2127, 2219, 2239 a, etc.

⁷ Wad. 2029.

⁸ Wad. 2240.

⁹ Wad. 2239.

¹⁰ Wad. 2034.

village for the erection of a temple or shrine of Τύχη.¹ In another, the tribe of Maniēnoi "completed a magnificent building" (ἔτελίωσαν ἔνδοξον οἰκοδομήν) by the πρόνοια of two πιστοί.²

In almost every case the πιστοί have the πρόνοια, commonly also the σπουδή, for the work in question. In one instance the court, altar, and temple of a god were constructed, through the πρόνοια (dat.) of two priests, by two πιστοί, "who generously contributed their own time"³; here, however, I am inclined to believe that the two πιστοί acted as private individuals. In another instance two πιστοί are associated with two προνοηταί in the building of a κοινὸς οἶκος.⁴

From these inscriptions it appears that the πιστοί were public officials, sometimes five or more in number. They existed in certain parts of southern Syria, particularly in Nabataea and Batanaea, in the fourth century B.C., perhaps for a longer time. They had charge of certain public works, civil and religious. They were high officials, for they had the πρόνοια, with or without the σπουδή. At least in some instances, they did not provide the funds. They were associated with σύνδικοι and ἔκδικοι, who might be members of their board.⁵ They were associated, in at least one instance, with a βουλευτής (who was also an ἔκδικος),⁶ and in another instance with προνοηταί.⁷ They do not appear, however, in towns where ἄρχοντες, πρόεδροι, or ἐπίσκοποι (in the pagan sense) are mentioned. I believe, therefore, that the πιστοί constituted, in certain Syrian towns in the fourth century of our era, the highest executive board of the local community, and were like the πρόεδροι in certain Asianic cities and perhaps in Boṣrā.

3. προνοηταί. These were officials whose functions appear

¹ Wad. 2127.

² Wad. 2427.

³ Wad. 2393-2395: ἀ[φειδῶς] ὑπη[ρ]ετήσαντες τὸν ἑαυτῶν χρόνον.

⁴ Wad. 2070 a.

⁵ These syndics or ecclics were special, or regular, officials, who represented their communities, commonly with full power, in negotiations with the central government. See Liebenam, *op. cit.*, p. 303 f.

⁶ Wad. 2034.

⁷ Wad. 2070 a.

in the inscriptions similar to those of the *πιστοί*. They are not mentioned by Liebenam; Waddington does not discuss them. Their number was sometimes two, sometimes three, once, at least, four. They also occur chiefly in inscriptions of the fourth century, though they appear in one inscription belonging probably to the end of the third.¹ They were concerned with the erection of both civil and religious (*i.e.* pagan) buildings. Sometimes they had the *πρόνοια*; in other cases, however, they are mentioned with *διά* or in other constructions. In one instance two *προνοηταί* built something (*οἰκοδόμησαν*), but Bassos, a third person, was the *οἰκοδόμος*.² In another, the *κοινόν* of the village and of the god built a sacred *καλυβή* through (*διά*) three *προνοηταί*, two of whom were *οὐιτρανικοί*, or sons of veterans (?), and the third a councillor.³ Again, some building was erected *ἐπὶ* four persons, of whom either two or all four were *προνοηταί*.⁴ Again, some building was erected for the god Herakles, *διὰ* an *ἐπιμελητής* and another person, both apparently *προνοηταί*.⁵ They were not associated with syndics or *ἔκδικοι*, nor are such officials mentioned in the same towns with them; in a case already mentioned,⁶ however, a *βουλευτής* was one of three *προνοηταί*. They were found at Boṣrā, where there were *ἄρχοντες* and *πρόεδροι*, at 'Uyûn, 'Auwaṣ, and Il-Mu'arribeh, where there were *πιστοί*, and at 'Aḵrabā, where there were *ἐπιμεληταί*.

Perhaps some light is thrown on the *προνοηταί* by two inscriptions in which the participle *προνοησάμενοι* appears. In one of these,⁷ under the emperor Antoninus Pius, a temple was built from the funds of the cult, *προνοησαμένων* three *ἐκδίκων* and three *ἱεροταμιῶν*. Here I judge that three special officers, representing the community in a matter which concerned also the central government, together with three regular treasurers of the cult, constituted a special committee

¹ On Wad. 1916, of the sixth century, see below.

² Wad. 1984 d.

³ Wad. 2546.

⁴ Wad. 2042.

⁵ Wad. 2413 c: *διὰ ἐπιμελητοῦ Ζηνοδώρου Κλυμένου καὶ Μάθου Νάμου προνοη(τῶν)*. Of course it is possible to read *προνοη(τοῦ)* or *προνοη(σαμένων)*.

⁶ Wad. 2546.

⁷ Wad. 2286.

for the erection of a temple. In the other inscription¹ the reading is somewhat uncertain. The abbreviation *προνν*, of which I know no other example, is read by Waddington *πρου(σητῶν)*; I am convinced, however, that *πρου(σησαμένων)* should be read. The text then is as follows: "By the generosity . . . of our lord Justinian . . . (something) was built (*ἐκτίσθη*), through (*διὰ*) Dusarios and Iobios, *προνοησαμένων χρυσοχ(όων) προβά(των) παρὸ τῶν δημοτικῶν*." Waddington is doubtless right in thinking that *χρυσοχόοι προβάται* (*probati*) are approved, or licensed, goldsmiths; but I think he is wrong in believing *παρὸ τῶν δημοτικῶν* equivalent to the stereotyped *ἐκ τῶν δημοτικῶν*, *from the public funds*, because it appears from the first line of the inscription that the work was at the expense of the emperor. So I think these words mean *approved goldsmiths chosen by* (or *chosen from*) *the public* (i.e. *licensed*) *members of the craft*. Now Waddington also says that the goldsmiths were often rich and important persons, and I think he meant to imply that these goldsmiths, for that reason only, were chosen to have charge of this particular work. But I think they must have been chosen because they were specially fitted to have charge, and I can think of no work to which such an inscription as this might apply, except the gilding (or gold-plating) of a statue or a shrine. Moreover, Waddington describes the inscription as found in the "château" at Boşrā, beside an embrasure in a bastion. And if, as I understand, the "château" is at least partly ancient, I wonder if this embrasure may not have been originally a niche, or at least if the inscription may not have referred, originally, to a niche or shrine in which there was a gilded statue.² In any case, I believe that the persons mentioned here had charge of some special undertaking, and did not constitute a regular board.

In view of the inscriptions cited above, and of the conclusions I have drawn from them, I believe that the *προνοηταί*

¹ Wad. 1916.

² Or even the statue itself, in spite of the word *ἐκτίσθη*, which seems to imply a building of some kind, but which may be accounted for solely by the barbarous character of the Greek in which the inscription is composed.

were special committees, which might or might not be associated with a regular board such as the *πιστοί* in the case already mentioned,¹ for the management of certain public works.

4. *ἐπιμεληταί*. These officials are discussed by Liebenam, p. 385, and elsewhere. The title appears in Syrian inscriptions from the first to the sixth century after Christ, in places widely separated. Their number varied from one to four. They might be quite distinguished persons, for at Shehbā (Philippopolis) an *ἐπιμελητής* was also a councilor and a syndic²; here the city set up a statue on a console on the wall of a certain building, through (*διά*) this *ἐπιμελητής*. At Kefr Nabō, in the northernmost part of Syria, in the third century, an oil-mill, apparently belonging to a cult of two gods, was built through (*διά*) four persons who were *ἐπιμεληταί*, two others who were *λευκοῦργοι* (*i.e.* workers in the white limestone, I think), and two others who were builders (*τέκτονες*).³ Once an *ἐπιμελητής* is associated with another person, both apparently being *προνοηταί*, for the construction of some building dedicated to the god Herakles.⁴ Again, some building (?) was erected from the funds of a cult and of a village, through (*διό*) three *ἐπιμεληταί*.⁵ Commonly, at least, the work under their direction has some connection with a pagan cult. One inscription, however, is unique.⁶ It was found at Sâleh and belongs to the latter half of the sixth century. The text is as follows: "This most holy church was restored by the *πρόνοια* of the community and the *σπουδή* of Georgios and Tios, *ἐπιμεληταί*, who swear by the Holy Trinity that they made no profit." This is the only Christian inscription, and the only inscription certainly later than the third century, in which I have found mention of *ἐπιμεληταί*. It is also the only inscription I have found in which *ἐπιμεληταί* have the *σπουδή* for a public work. Consequently I believe that this case differs from all the rest; here I believe the two *ἐπιμεληταί* were specially appointed to have charge of

¹ Wad. 2070 a.

² Wad. 2077.

³ P.A.E.S. 1170.

⁴ Wad. 2413 c.

⁵ Wad. 2556.

⁶ Wad. 2261. See also above, p. 114.

the rebuilding of a church, a matter which ordinarily was under the management of presbyters or deacons. Such ἐπιμεληταί cannot be distinguished from προνοηταί. It is evident, however, from one of the inscriptions already cited,¹ that ἐπιμεληταί were sometimes different from προνοηταί, where both existed together, for of two προνοηταί one was an ἐπιμελητής, while the other was not. One inscription, found at Palmyra² and dated 162 A.D., shows clearly what kind of an official an ἐπιμελητής might be: here an altar was set up by a certain Bolanos, "chosen ἐπιμελητής of the spring Ephka, by Iaribōlos the god." Regular ἐπιμεληταί, therefore, in Syria, were sometimes, perhaps always, superintendents of buildings or properties belonging to pagan cults. As such they might be associated with special προνοηταί or others in the construction of buildings connected with these cults. The office existed in the first three centuries, perhaps not much later. On the other hand, it is possible that some, for example the ἐπιμελητής in Philippopolis already mentioned, may have had larger responsibilities, like the official at Acalissos, ἐπιμελητεύσας ἔργων δημοσίων, or the ἐπιμελητεύσαντα τῆς πόλεως at Eleusis, cited by Liebenam.³

5. διοικηταί. This title is not mentioned by Liebenam. I have found it in five inscriptions, the participle διοικήσαντες in a sixth. Three of these belong to the fourth century; the others may belong to the same period. Three times, four διοικηταί are mentioned, once apparently thirteen, once no number is given; in the sixth case six persons, καλῶς διοικησάντων, are associated with the syndic of a tribe. They were high officials, for in every case where the noun is used they have the πρόνοια. Sometimes, at least, they were elected by the people, for one inscription says: "These, as being very zealous, the people of the village chose." I judge that they held office for a single year, for in Ḥarrân two different sets of four διοικηταί had to do with the erection of a building

¹ Wad. 2413 c.

² Wad. 2571 c.

³ P. 385, n. 1 and p. 295, n. 4. The Syrian inscriptions known to me containing phrases such as διὰ τῆς ἐπιμηλίας (Wad. 2037), ἐπιμελομένων, A.A.E.S. 395, etc., do not seem to throw any light on these questions.

in consecutive years.¹ As far as the inscriptions show, they were concerned with buildings only of a civil character, *e.g.* a gateway,² a *καμάρα*,³ a *δημόσιον πανδοχίον*.⁴ The gateway just mentioned was built *ἐκ προνοίας τῶν διοικητῶν τῶν ἐκάτων*, a phrase which Waddington confesses he could not explain. To me it suggests that the *διοικηταί* had charge of the revenues of some of these towns.

6. *ἐπίσκοποι* are found in two pagan inscriptions from Salkhad,⁵ one of which belongs to the third century. The participle *ἐπισκοπῶν* is more frequent; it occurs chiefly in inscriptions of the third century or near it, and always, I think, in the genitive absolute. It is used twice of a tribe,⁶ once of the senators of a tribe,⁷ — and this doubtless explains the phrase *ἐπισκοπούσης φυλῆς*, — once of a single senator,⁸ once of a *πρόεδρος*,⁹ once of persons without title,¹⁰ once *ἐπεσκόπ(ει)* is used of a trooper.¹¹ Aqueducts and temples were built under such *ἐπίσκοποι*, a *κτίσμα σὺν ἐργαστηρίοις*, a house, a gate, etc. In no case are such persons said to have the *πρόνοια*. I believe they were merely overseers, appointed to direct special undertakings. This same conclusion was reached by my colleagues, Professor Magie and Professor Stuart, in *P.A.E.S.* III, A, 2, no. 37 (p. 51).

This investigation has been confined to a limited number of inscriptions, namely, the Greek inscriptions of Syria. Its conclusions, therefore, should be regarded as somewhat tentative and preliminary. A complete investigation must include not only the Syrian inscriptions in other languages, especially in Latin, but also all that can be discovered about such matters in other provinces. Such an inquiry will lead to a more complete understanding of the local organization and administration of towns in the Roman and Byzantine empires. This seems to me a fruitful and interesting field of research, and it is one to which I propose to devote myself.

¹ Wad. 2462 and 2463.² Wad. 2184.³ Wad. 2220.⁴ Wad. 2462 and 2463.⁵ Wad. 1989 f.⁶ Wad. 2308 and 2310.⁷ Wad. 2309.⁸ Wad. 2412 e.⁹ *A.A.E.S.* 432 c.¹⁰ Wad. 2412 f.¹¹ Wad. 1911.

X. — *Horace, Epistles, II, I, 139 ff., and Livy, VII, 2*

BY PROFESSOR CHARLES KNAPP

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

IN a paper entitled "The Sceptical Assault on the Roman Tradition concerning the Dramatic Satura," *American Journal of Philology*, xxxiii, 125-148, I sought to confute various articles, particularly papers by Fr. Leo and G. L. Hendrickson, in which the effort had been made to nullify the Roman tradition that there had been at Rome a form of the drama to which the name Satura had been given. Whether I succeeded or not, much remains to be said on the general subject of the dramatic Satura and the assailants of the Roman tradition concerning the early forms of the Roman comic drama. At present, however, attention will be confined to certain comments by Professors Hendrickson and Leo on Horace, *Epp.* II, I, 139 ff., and Livy, VII, 2, the *loci classici* concerning the Versus Fescennini and the Satura.¹ This paper will deal, then, not directly with the dramatic Satura itself, but rather with some phases of the literary criticism to which the sceptical assault on the dramatic Satura has given rise. Since that criticism finally induced so sober an authority as Schanz to adopt, in part, its views,² it is of prime importance that its processes and its results shall, as often as possible, be carefully tested.

It has been customary, says Professor Hendrickson, to assert that Varro was the source of both Horace and Livy³

¹ See Hendrickson, "A Pre-Varronian Chapter of Roman Literary History," *A.J.P.* XIX (1898), 285-311; Leo, "Livius und Horaz über die Vorgeschichte des römischen Dramas," *Hermes*, xxxix (1904), 63-77.

² For Schanz' views and a discussion of them see *A.J.P.* xxxiii, 146-148.

³ So, e.g., Jahn, *Hermes*, II (1867), 225; Leo, *ib.* xxiv (1889), 76, 79 ff., etc. In *Hermes*, xxxix, 63-77 Leo was at great pains to point out how natural had been the attribution of the Horatian and the Livian accounts to Varro. However, following Hendrickson in part (*A.J.P.* XIX), he changed his views; he held finally that the Horatian account was pre-Varronian and that Livy's was un-Varronian, though not necessarily pre-Varronian. He refused to trace the two accounts back to Accius. In connection with Professor Hendrickson's comment

simply because Varro seemed the only natural source (288). He maintained, however, that the source was rather pre-Varronian, probably Accius, and that Accius drew not directly upon Aristotle, but upon some intermediate authority, perhaps Crates of Mallos, who came to Rome as ambassador of King Attalus of Pergamum, who began to reign after 159 B.C.¹ It is known that Crates wrote a work *Περὶ Κωμῳδίας*.

To prove this, Professor Hendrickson discusses the history of literary criticism at Rome, his purpose being (1) to distinguish Varronian and pre-Varronian strata in that criticism, and (2) to show that the Horatian-Livian account bears the earmarks of the pre-Varronian period.

Pre-Varronian literary criticism, runs the argument, was childish; witness, *e.g.*, the effort of Accius to show that Hesiod antedated Homer. Here we must cite in large part Gellius, III, 11 (I use Hosius' text):

Super aetate Homeri atque Hesiodi non consentitur. Alii Homerum quam Hesiodum maiorem natu fuisse scripserunt, . . . alii minorem, in quis L. Accius poeta. . . . M. autem Varro in primo De Imaginibus uter prior sit natus parum constare dicit, sed non esse dubium quin aliquo tempore eodem vixerint, idque ex epigrammate ostendi quod in tripode scriptum est qui in monte Helicone ab Hesiodo positus traditur. Accius autem in primo Didascalico levibus admodum argumentis utitur, per quae ostendi putat Hesiodum natu priorem: quod Homerus, inquit, cum in principio carminis Achillem esse filium Pelei diceret, quis esset Peleus non addidit: quam rem procul dubio dixisset nisi ab Hesiodo iam dictum videret. De Cyclope itidem, inquit, vel maxime quod unoculus fuit, rem tam insignem non praeterisset, nisi aequae prioris Hesiodi carminibus involgatum esset.²

on the lack of real authority for describing Varro as the source of Livy and Horace compare the closing paragraph of the present paper (page 142).

¹ Suetonius, *de Gramm.* 2. Hendrickson, 285, n. 1, scores Suetonius for erring about the date (Crates . . . missus ad senatum . . . inter secundum ac tertium Punicum bellum sub ipsam Ennii mortem); he refers to Leo's criticism of "Suetons ungenauer Ausdruck," in his *Plaut. Forsch.* 29, n. 1 (repeated litteratim in the second edition [1912], 31, n. 1). This is hypercritical. Since nearly three centuries lay between the embassy and Suetonius' narrative, the words *sub ipsam Ennii mortem* are accurate enough, particularly in so general a sketch as Suetonius is giving.

² In XVII, 21, 3 Gellius, discussing again the date of Homer and Hesiod, forgets his discussion of III, 11 (of such forgetfulness other examples can be cited); he writes thus: . . . de Homero et Hesiodo inter omnes fere scriptores constitit aetatem eos egisse vel isdem fere temporibus vel Homerum aliquanto antiquio-

Varro, says Professor Hendrickson (286, 289), refuted Accius' absurd arguments by an appeal to documentary evidence. But such documentary evidence! After reading again Gellius' words, I find it impossible to decide which type of literary criticism—the Accian or the Varronian—is the more absurd. Had Varro said nothing wiser, it would not be the fashion to ascribe to him everything whose authorship is not positively known.

Pre-Varronian literary criticism, continues Professor Hendrickson, was not merely futile;¹ it was extraordinarily imitative (287). "One of the most remarkable and extensive examples of this imitative literary history," he says further, is afforded by his demonstration in *A.J.P.* xv, 1-30 that "the dramatic *satura* described by Livy (vii 2) was but an assumed Roman analogue to the old Greek comedy," etc. Here, we may note, he was using matter itself debatable as sure proof of a new proposition.²

Professor Hendrickson now addresses himself directly to the question of the source of the Horatian-Livian account. He seeks to show that this account presents views which Varro distinctly refuted (289 ff.). The argument runs as follows:

As already shown, Accius erred concerning the period at which Hesiod lived; Varro corrected his blunder. Accius was in error also about the period at which Livius Andronicus lived, for he stated that Andronicus was captured at the fall of Tarentum in 209 B.C. and that he brought out his play eleven years afterwards, in 197, at the Ludi Iuventatis; thus,

rem, utrumque tamen ante Romam conditam vixisse Silviis Romae regnantibus annis post Troianum bellum, ut Cassius in primo Annalium de Homero atque Hesiodo scriptum reliquit, plus centum atque sexaginta, ante autem Romam conditam, ut Cornelius Nepos in primo Chronico de Homero dicit, annis circiter centum et sexaginta. Here Gellius gives a different view from that set forth in III, 11, and cites as authorities Cassius and Nepos, forgetting both Accius and Varro. See below, pages 128-129

¹ Yet the perpetrators of this futile literary criticism based their views directly or ultimately on Aristotle (according to Leo and Hendrickson), and were clever enough to invent a lie that went unchallenged for about nineteen centuries (at least so far as the early history of the Roman drama is concerned).

² How debatable it was I sought to show in *A.J.P.* xxxiii, 125-148.

as Cicero says in *Brutus*, 72: minor fuit aliquanto is qui primus fabulam dedit quam ei qui multas docuerant ante hos consules (197 B.C.), et Plautus et Naevius. Says Professor Hendrickson:

The correction of Accius' mistake is not, of course, due to Atticus, who in this work certainly only aimed to summarize the results of others, but to Varro, as Clinton (*Fasti Hell.*, vol. III, Int. xix) saw and as Leo has recently pointed out (*Plaut. Forsch.*, p. 58), comparing Gellius, xvii 21, 42, who gives the corrected date for the first production of plays at Rome and states that Ennius was born in the subsequent year, on the authority of *M. Varro in primo de poetis libro*.

Here again we must examine the words of Gellius, *l.c.*:

(42) Annis deinde postea paulo pluribus quam viginti pace cum Poenis facta consulibus C. Claudio Centhone, Appio Caeci filio, et M. Sempronio Tuditano primus omnium L. Livius poeta fabulas docere Romae coepit post Sophoclis et Euripidis mortem annis plus fere centum et sexaginta, post Menandri annis circiter quinquaginta duobus. (43) Claudium et Tuditanum consules secuntur Q. Valerius et C. Mamilius, quibus natum esse Q. Ennium poetam M. Varro in primo De Poetis libro scripsit eumque, cum septimum et sexagesimum annum haberet, duodecimum Annalem scripsisse idque ipsum Ennium in eodem libro dicere.

What is there in Gellius' words to connect Varro with the statement about the date of Livius Andronicus' play? For the statement in § 42 no authority is cited; in 43 Varro is indeed cited, but as authority for the date of Ennius' birth, not for the date of the first Latin play. It would be far fairer to argue from the specific mention of Varro in 43 in a different connection that he was not the authority employed in 42. The whole chapter is a very rapid summary of matters of moment in Greek and Roman history (see §§ 1-2); the several paragraphs are not necessarily in relation to one another either in contents or in source. Hosius (Gellius, *Praef.* I, LIV) derives the chapter "ex Varronis anal. et de poetis et Nepotis chronico." This is not altogether an accurate statement, as may be seen from the list of authorities definitely named by Gellius in the chapter: Libri Chronici, § 1; Cassius and Nepos, 3; Nepos, 8; Varro and Nepos, 24; Varro, 43; Varro and Porcius Licinus, 45. Clearly Gellius is not using merely a single authority in this chapter; clearly, too, we may not assume that wherever the authority is not

definitely named the source is Varro; we may not infer from the mention of Varro in 43 that he was the source also in 42. The author(s) of the *Libri Chronici* in § 1 he does not name; if I too may guess, he may have had several authors before him. As shown above, p. 126, n. 2, in § 3 he uses Cassius and Nepos as authorities about a matter on which, in III, 11, he had employed Accius and Varro as authorities; thus, at least once in this chapter, he forgot or disregarded views of Varro (once) known to him. It is plain, then, I think, that in declaring so positively that Varro was Gellius' authority in XVII, 21, 42, and that, therefore, we have clear evidence there of Varro's views concerning the early history of Roman comedy, Professor Hendrickson spoke without support.

To determine whether he was more successful, in method or in results, in his appeal, through Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.* 58, to Cicero, *Brutus*, 71-72, it becomes necessary to see exactly what Cicero said:

. . . et Odysssia Latina est tamquam opus aliquod Daedali et Livianae fabulae non satis dignae quae iterum legantur. Atqui hic Livius primus fabulam C. Claudio Caeci filio et M. Tuditano consulibus docuit, anno ipso ante quam natus est Ennius, post Romam conditam autem quarto decimo et quingentesimo, ut hic ait, quem nos sequimur. Est enim inter scriptores de numero annorum controversia. Accius autem a Q. Maximo quintum consule captum Tarento scripsit Livium annis XXX post quam eum fabulam docuisse et Atticus scribit et nos in antiquis commentariis invenimus, docuisse autem fabulam annis post XI C. Cornelio Q. Minucio consulibus ludis Iuventatis quos Salinator Senensi proelio voverat. In quo tantus error Acci fuit, ut his consulibus XL annos natus Ennius fuerit: cui si aequalis fuerit Livius, minor aliquanto is qui primus fabulam dedit quam ei qui multas docuerant ante hos consules et Plautus et Naevius.

Where does Varro appear here? Cicero declares that he learned the correct date not only from Atticus but also from *antiqui commentarii*. Are we to suppose that by *antiqui commentarii* he meant Varro? Even accepting the view that Cicero and Varro were not on very friendly terms,¹ we can hardly believe this.

¹ Even the account which Professor J. S. Reid gives in his *Academica*, pp. 32-34, of the relations between Varro and Cicero does not make such an assumption plausible; nay, it makes it all the more unlikely that Cicero would have referred to Varro in other than the clearest and most complimentary terms, especially after the fine reference to him in *Brutus*, 60.

Let us now examine Leo, *Plautinische Forschungen*, 58 (repeated *litteratim* in the second edition [1912], page 67):

Cicero hat das Material dieser Polemik aus Atticus, dieser hat es aus Varro; die *antiqui commentarii* führt Cicero so an wie wenn er ihr Zeugnis nicht im *annalis* des Atticus selbst gefunden hätte; möglich dass er Varro selbst hat nachschlagen lassen, der die Epoche 514 aus den Ädilen constatirt hatte. Dass das Zeugnis nebst der Polemik aus Varro stammt, zeigt Gellius XVII 21, 42: im J. 514 *primus omnium L. Livius poeta fabulas docere Romae coepit*, im Jahre vor der Geburt des Ennius, wie *M. Varro in primo de poetis libro* bezeuge: Cicero hat in *antiquis commentariis* gefunden, dass Livius 514 *primus fabulam docuit anno ipso ante quam natus est Ennius*. Wir sehen mit vollkommener Deutlichkeit, dass Varro der erste war, der aus den Archiven die entscheidende Epoche festlegte und dabei eine Ansicht ankämpfen musste, die nur bei vollständiger Unklarheit über die Chronologie jener Anfänge der Litteratur überhaupt bestehen konnte, die aber doch von der wichtigsten Autorität vertreten war.

I find myself wholly unable to see, on the basis of the so-called evidence cited by Leo, that Varro was the first to set the chronology right. Varro is cited in § 43 as Gellius' authority for the date of Ennius' birth; no one is cited in 42 as the source for the date of Livius' play. See the argument above, pages 128–129. Furthermore, the whole passage cited from Leo is a *petitio principii*. He does not dispose at all of the *antiqui commentarii*. He does not prove — he merely asserts — that by them and the great name Varro Cicero meant the same thing; he offers no proof whatever that Varro is to be connected with Cicero's words. He forgets, finally, Cicero, *Brutus*, 60:

His enim consulibus, ut in veteribus commentariis scriptum est, Naevius est mortuus, quamquam Varro noster diligentissimus investigator antiquitatis putat in hoc erratum vitamque Naevi producit longius.

Here, in words preceding our main passage by less than four pages, Varro and the *commentarii antiqui (veteres)* are set off sharply against each other. But about *Brutus*, 60, both Leo and Hendrickson are silent.

To sum up, Leo and Hendrickson have produced no evidence that Varro was Gellius' source in XVII, 21, 42, or that he was Cicero's source in *Brutus*, 73. Hence, since their efforts to distinguish Varronian, pre-Varronian, and un-Varronian strata in Roman literary history and criticism regard-

ing the early drama have as their avowed starting-point these paragraphs of Gellius and Cicero — and nothing else, — their papers become at once of no effect. Schanz,¹ too, who took their view without advancing any new considerations, is equally in error.

Lack of space obliges me to omit comments on Hendrickson's argument (290–293) that Accius' blunder with respect to the chronology of early Latin literature was widespread. On page 293 he takes up Horace, *Epp.* II, I, 139 ff. He asks us to remember that this account comes from the same source as Livy's.² He calls attention especially to 156 ff.:

Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes
intulit agresti Latio. Sic horridus ille
defluxit numerus Saturnius, et grave virus
munditiae pepulere; sed in longum tamen aevum
manserunt hodieque manent vestigia ruris,
serus enim Graecis admovit acumina chartis,
et post Punica bella quietus quaerere coepit
quid Sophocles et Thespis et Aeschylus utile ferrent.

He follows Kiessling in holding that Horace had Livius Andronicus in mind (was not Andronicus a *captus Graecus*?) and in seeing in Horace's words a reference to a remark of Cato the Censor, preserved for us in Livy's account (xxxiv, 4, 4) of the famous speech which Cato delivered against the abrogation of the *lex Oppia* in 195 B.C.: *eo plus horreo ne illae magis res nos ceperint quam nos illas. Infesta, mihi credite, signa ab Syracusis illata sunt huic urbi.* Here, that full justice may be done to my own argument and that no injustice may be done to Professor Hendrickson, I must cite the latter's words at length (294):

I have quoted this passage for the sake of comparing with it the comment of Livy on the bringing to Rome of the spoils of Syracuse after its capture in 212 B.C.: *ceterum inde primum initium mirandi Graccarum artium opera* (xxv 40, 2). From these two passages we have clear evidence of the time to which the words of Horace would carry the mind

¹ § 24, nn.

² He believed that this point was universally conceded. In *T.A.P.A.* XL, lii-lvi I gave reasons for declining to believe that Horace's account and Livy's are identical; if they are not identical, they need not be from the same source. See further *A.J.P.* xxxiii, 128.

of the Roman reader. That Horace was at liberty to give them another application in point of time is of course true, but we shall see that he saw no occasion for doing so. The origin of the catch-word *Graecia capta* . . . *cepit* carries us to the period of the end of the second Punic war, and . . . the text of Horace refers us to the same time, *post Punica bella*. *Serius* takes up *ferum victorem* again, after the intervening summary (*sic horridus ille* ff.) of the preceding description, and so binds *intulit artes* closely together with *Graecis admovit acumina chartis*. The two expressions are but different aspects of the same thought, and cannot be separated in point of time. *Intulit artes* is a figurative expression (and especially as here used of literature, which is not a commodity that can be imported and stored and drawn upon when desired), which is interpreted by the words *admovit acumina chartis*. . . .

I have quoted thus fully because I think it highly improbable that any one would believe that such arguments had been used did he not have the exact language before his eyes. Would any Roman reader—nay, would any reader not gifted with Professor Hendrickson's marvellous memory for words, his abnormal capacity for seeing surface resemblances¹—inevitably recall and associate the things Professor Hendrickson (after Kiessling) has put together (Horace, *Epp.* II, I, 156 ff., Livy, xxxiv, 4, 4, xxv, 40, 2)? Let us look more closely at these passages. Horace has *Graecia capta*, Cato² had expressed, in 195, his fear *ne illae res* (see page 133) *magis nos ceperint quam nos illas*. Verbal resemblance there is, yes, but is that resemblance evidence of the time Horace had in mind as the time when captive Greece effected the intellectual conquest of her conqueror? Again, Horace, II, I, 157 and Livy, xxv, 40, 2 both have the word *artes*. But surely in this coincidence there is no hint of the time Horace had in mind, especially if, going beneath mere verbal or literal resemblances, we notice that in Horace *artes* is abstract in sense, in Livy concrete. Furthermore, that Horace at least

¹ Compare my comments in *A.J.P.* xxxiii, 141, 145.

² So Professor Hendrickson declares, forgetting (as my colleague Professor Moore reminds me) that there may have been a wide difference between what Cato in fact said and his speech as it appears now in Livy's polished version. The original speech may not have contained any such expression. The mere fact that the words quoted sound like Cato is of small weight. Perhaps the next man to write on this subject will show us that Livy borrowed from Horace, as the chronology permits us to imagine he may have done.

would not be likely to connect Livius Andronicus and *artes* in the same passage is clear from this very Epistle, 69-78 (a passage too long to quote here). Horace and Livy both have the verb *infero*, but in one case the object is *artes*, in the other, in effect, *signa*, the one abstract, the other concrete. We need far stronger evidence than three passages, two of which seem alike because they contain parts of the familiar verb *capio*, two of which are compared because they include parts of the equally familiar verb *infero*, and two of which are compared because they contain the word *artes* (though in quite different senses), for fixing, at least for most persons, the time meant by Horace. Horace's *Graecia capta*, fairly interpreted, would carry a Roman reader (any reader) back to the war with Pyrrhus and Magna Graecia¹ or to the capture of Corinth. The one of these dates is long prior to 209-197, the Accian chronology, the other long subsequent.

The passages of Livy cited by Professor Hendrickson have to do with 212 B.C. and 195 B.C. What conquest of Greece could the Roman reader have associated with either year? Greece had no direct part in the Hannibalic war. In so far as the Sicilian Greeks figured in that war, they could not have been described, at least with justice, as at that time conquered.

A closer look at the two passages of Livy will be of profit in yet another way. In xxxiv, 4, 4 Cato's *illae res* covers not merely *Graecia capta* but *Graeciam Asiamque . . . omnibus libidinum illecebris repletam et regias etiam . . . gazas*. The remark in xxv, 40, 2 is not that of some speaker living between 212 and 195 B.C., but a remark of Livy himself, and so belongs after 19 B.C.² What possible light, then, can the passage throw on the date Horace had in mind? Surely two men, writing contemporaneously, may compose passages involving the word *artes* without referring, of necessity, to the same period, even if the word means the same thing in the two writers.

¹ So Professor Hendrickson himself interpreted (293) until he developed the theory that the Accian chronology is the one intended by Horace.

² See Weissenborn-Müller, *Livy*,⁸ 1, p. 10.

Again, Professor Hendrickson's interpretation of *serus enim*, etc. (161), seems open to serious question. He connects this line, it will be remembered, closely with *Graecia capta . . . Latio* (156-157), and finds thus evidence strongly confirmatory of his belief that Horace accepted for Livius Andronicus the later—Accian—date. But, if I mistake not, it is far more natural to connect *serus enim*, etc., with *sed in longum . . . ruris*, both on the general principle, wholly beyond challenge, that it is better to connect a clause with what is near than with what is remote, and in view of the flow of 156 ff. as a whole. The sense seems to be, 'traces of the old boorishness long remained, aye, they have endured to this day, for it was not till late that the Roman applied his finer powers to Greek literature,' etc. Stress is to be laid, as in the paraphrase, on *acumina*. To my mind, 156 *Graecia capta*, etc., and 161 *serus enim*, etc., do not at all denote the same time, as Professor Hendrickson affirms; rather, a long interval lies between the two periods indicated by these verses. Instead of having but one time indicated by 156-161 we have a series (the crude attempts at a native drama, described in 139-155), the first imitation of Greek models (156-157), the results of that first imitation—the partial removal of the old crudeness of form, and the development of *munditiae*, attended, however, *in longum tempus* by some of the old lack of art (157-160), the final development, late in coming, when the Roman applied his highest powers to the imitation of the best examples of the Greek dramatic art (161-163).¹ This interpretation of 156-163 is thoroughly in accord with all that has preceded in this Epistle, which is Horace's protest against the archaizing school of Latin literature;² see verses 50-138 entire, especially 50-78. There is nothing in Horace's words taken by themselves which requires us to interpret *post Punica bella*

¹ By looking at *sed in longum tamen aevum manserunt hodieque manent vestigia ruris, serus enim Graecis admovit acumina chartis* as a whole, we see how well *in longum aevum* and *serus enim* fit each other, on my interpretation.

² See the discussion in my paper on "Archaism in Aulus Gellius," *Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler* (1894), 126-141, especially 135-137.

quietus (162) of the time after the Second Punic War (Accian chronology).¹ If, as I have urged above, much time elapsed between *Graecia capta* and *serus enim*, then *post Punica bella* could be interpreted very well even of the Third Punic War. On the other hand, the interpretation which sees a long gap between *Graecia capta* and *serus enim* fits well the commoner view of our passage as a whole; *Graecia capta* may well refer to 240 B.C., *serus enim* to the time of Ennius, Plautus, Terence, Pacuvius, etc.

Unsatisfactory, too, is Leo's discussion of this passage, in *Hermes*, xxxix, 66. He admits that neither in *victorem cepit* nor in *defluxit Saturnius* is there definite hint of time. He rightly holds, against Hendrickson, that *sed in longum aevum . . . acumina chartis* "hängt eng zusammen." But to his next words I cannot subscribe: "Der Römer hat sich nie völlig in litterarischen Dingen civilisirt: dazu hat er zu spät angefangen die griechischen Dichter gründlich vorzunehmen, ein ὀψιμαθής, *serus studiorum*." This gives a wrong twist to verses 161-163, by making them far more derogatory than Horace could have meant them to be. These verses were meant not to condemn the Romans as wholly lacking in culture, in thorough-going mastery of the Greek literature; would Horace have made such a criticism of Vergil? of himself? They rather explain why that complete mastery came so late and why, therefore, what is early and old in Latin literature is not *per se* to be admired. That 161-163 are not so derogatory as Leo imagined is clearly seen from 164-167:

temptavit quoque rem, si digne vertere posset,
et placuit sibi, natura sublimis et acer,
nam spirat tragicum satis et feliciter audet,
sed turpem putat inscite metuitque lituram.

Of these verses three surely are words of commendation; 167, emphasizing defects of form, brings us back to *hodieque manent vestigia ruris*, 160.

When, asks Leo, did the Roman begin "too late" to apply himself to master fully Greek literature? Surely, he replies,

¹ Against Professor Hendrickson's assumption throughout of the identity of Horace, *Epp.* II, 1, 139 ff. and Livy, VII, 2 see above, page 131, n. 2.

after the Second Punic War; see 162-164. It is therefore clear that in 156-159 he had the same time in mind, the time of the beginning of literary productivity at Rome based on Greek models, the time of Livius Andronicus. Against all this lies what I said above against Professor Hendrickson's interpretation of 157-163. Other considerations, too, may be advanced against Leo's presentation. The beginning and the end of his brief discussion do not agree; at first he talks of the date at which the Roman "hat . . . angefangen die griechischen Dichter gründlich vorzunehmen"; at the end he talks of the beginnings of literary productivity at Rome after Greek models, and yet he wants us to believe that the dates for these different things are the same, were to Horace the same. In so far as his "gründlich vorzunehmen" reproduces Horace's *acumina* (161), he was logically bound to see, as I saw (above, page 134), a long interval between 157 and 161. We may compare here what Cicero says, *de Legibus*, I, 6 and *de Oratore*, II, 51-52, about the lateness of really worthy historical writing among the Romans.

On page 297 Hendrickson declares that Accius, spite of his error about the dates of Livius Andronicus, probably¹ still regarded Livius as the earliest historical figure in the history of Roman drama and of Roman literature. He could not, however, have believed that there was no drama at all at Rome before 197 B.C., for "men still living in Accius' youth² would have been able to recall such dramatic performances from childhood memories" (298). Tradition, then, put plays before 197 B.C. The Annalists, indeed, put the first *ludi scaenici* in 365.³ How was Accius to

¹ On the next page he waxes bolder, saying that Accius "knew" that "with Livius Andronicus . . . the history of the *væa* began." When did assertion become proof?

² Professor Hendrickson has to insist on Accius' youth in this connection because he believes that there were no written records concerning the drama. Persons whose memories could have gone very far back of 197 could have come into contact with Accius only when Accius was still young.

³ See page 299. Why should Professor Hendrickson have so readily accepted this date, seeing that he was so sceptical about other parts of ancient testimony? The errors of the ancients in the matter of dates were notorious. For the damage

account for this period? This question Professor Hendrickson answers on pages 298-299:

With Livius Andronicus, further, he knew¹ that the history of the *véa* at Rome began; therefore, if there was a period of dramatic history antecedent to Livius, what was the nature of the comedy of this period? To a Roman philologist moving emulously along the lines laid down by his Greek masters there could be, *κατὰ τὸ εἶκός καὶ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον*, but one answer. — an *ἀρχαία κωμῳδία*, such as the Greek literary historians described, and before that, the elements out of which it grew.

In a word, the false Accian chronology involved the making of another falsehood, the invention of a native drama prior to Livius Andronicus.

Now, if men alive when Accius was young could have told him about dramatic performances (and I do not deny that they could), would they not have told him such things about the nature of the drama before his birth that he would of necessity have recognized its kinship with the drama of Livius Andronicus — *i.e.* with the *véa*, not with the *ἀρχαία* at all? Did they know by experience any form of the comic drama (in the true sense of the word drama) other than the *véa*? Accius, according to Teuffel, § 134, Schanz, § 47 a, was born in 170 B.C.; hardly any one, therefore, could have been alive when he was young who could have told him of plays other than those with which he was familiar from personal experience; no such person could have had experience of plays other than those introduced by Livius Andronicus. Such persons could have known nothing by experience of any comedy but the *véa*. Had they talked to him at all about the character of the drama before his birth, as known to them, they would therefore most certainly have prevented him from inventing, as Hendrickson maintains he invented, a

which the acceptance of the Annalists' testimony to the year 365 does to the theory of Hendrickson, *A.J.P.* xv, and Leo, *Hermes*, xxiv, see *A.J.P.* xxxiii, 136. Further, the acceptance of 365 B.C. as the date of the first *ludi scaenici* works havoc for Professor Hendrickson in another way. Between 365 and 240, Livius' true date, there is a long period to be accounted for; the Varronian chronology could, therefore, as readily as the Accian, have given rise to invention to fill up this long gap.

¹ See p. 136, n. 1.

purely fictitious account of the comic drama. One might ask also what evidence there is that Accius cared at all about these matters when he was young. Professor Hendrickson now lays stress (300) on the fact that in Livy's account (VII, 2, 8) we have *Livius qui ab saturis primus ausus est argumento fabulam serere*, whereas Varro ap. Gell. xvii, 21, 42¹ says *primus omnium L. Livius poeta fabulas docere Romae coepit*. He interprets this to mean that Livy (with whom he believes Horace to have been in full accord: see above, page 131, note 2) thought of forms of the drama antecedent to the plays of Andronicus, whereas the authority of Gellius ("Varro") did not. Hence he says (300):

The two statements stand over against each other in marked and distinct antithesis, and are wholly irreconcilable. For while in the one (Livy) Livius Andronicus is given an organic place in the development of a native Roman comedy (a view which we have seen was the inevitable outcome of a false chronology), in the other (Varro) he is designated with marked and unmistakable emphasis as the absolute beginner of dramatic performances at Rome.

But are the two passages so far apart? Surely they lie far closer together than Horace, *Epp.* II, 1, 156, Livy, xxxiv, 4, 4 and xxv, 40, 2, which, as we saw above (pages 131-132), Professor Hendrickson unhesitatingly grouped together. Both Livy and Gellius make Livius Andronicus the first playwright, the first maker of true *fabulae*. What right have we to infer from Gellius' language that there had been, in his opinion, nothing prior to Livius Andronicus? On that point he is silent; we have no right to put words into his mouth. There are two significant words in Gellius' account, *poeta* and *fabulas*, both suggestive of some measure of artistic development; he is thinking in this paragraph, as throughout the chapter, of the really important things (§ 1). One need merely suggest that Livy, in a review of Roman history covering 142 books, could find time to go into details about the history of Roman comedy, but that Gellius, in a review of both Greek and Roman history covering only 206 lines,

¹ Once more let reference be made to the discussion on pages 128-129, above.

could hardly have included anything but the *summa fastigia rerum*.¹

So much for my own views of Hendrickson's arguments. Leo, *Hermes*, xxxix, 64, had, I found, taken ground similar to mine. He had pointed out that Livy does not speak in terms of *fabulae* before Livius Andronicus; he speaks only of "Wechselreden im Verse," then of "regelrecht für Gesang und Tanzbewegung componirten *saturae*"; the drama appeared first with Livius Andronicus, *qui ab saturis ausus est primus argumento serere fabulam*.² How far the "Urheber" of this account wished to give to the *saturae* a dramatic character is not clear; but it is to be noted, continues Leo, that he put the *saturae* between "den *alternis* gesungenen Fescenninen" and the *fabulae*.³ Thus, Andronicus figures as the creator of the Roman drama, to be sure, but as a creator who, "von den *saturae* ausgehend,⁴ diese durch Erfindung zum Drama erhoben hat." Varro, however, knew that Andronicus had found, indeed, "Volksbrauch und öffentliche Spiele," but no regular production, "an die er anknüpfen konnte oder anknüpfte"; he knew that Andronicus, born a Greek, imported the Greek drama.

Leo passes on now to declare (64) that Varro's phrase, *primus omnium*, in Gell. xvii, 21, 42, shows that Andronicus introduced something entirely new—the art of Sophocles and Menander; the words do not refer to an art developed

¹ If Professor Hendrickson meant to connect *primus* more closely with *omnium poeta* than with the verbal part of the sentence, his case is not thereby helped, for (1) such divorce of *primus* from the verb is more apparent than real, and (2) the first artistic dramatic writer might well have been first in literature in general; with literature in general Livy *l.c.* has nothing to do.

² On page 64, note 2, Leo remarks that in *A.J.P.* xv, 13 Hendrickson had taken Livy's words *argumento fabulam serere* differently: "*fabula* habe es vorher gegeben, nur ohne *argumentum*. Der Zusammenhang empfiehlt, wie mir scheint, diese Erklärung nicht." See also my discussion in *A.J.P.* xxxiii, 140. Leo's own view of Livy's words will not hold if *ab saturis* does not imply that Livy had written *saturae* (see note 4). It is most unfortunate that the interpretation of these important words should be so uncertain.

³ This would imply, I take it, progress toward plays proper.

⁴ Leo's words "von den *saturae* ausgehend" I take to imply a belief that Livius had at first written *saturae*; if so, Leo had changed his mind since writing *Hermes*, xxiv, 78 (on the latter passage see *A.J.P.* xxxiii, 139, n. 2).

out of rudimentary Roman sports. So, too, Varro's words in Cicero, *Brutus*, 73 (*qui primus fabulam dedit*) and in Cicero, *Tusc.* 1, 3.

On all this I make several comments. It has been shown above (pages 128-129) that there is no justification for finding in Gellius, xvii, 21, 42 or in Cicero, *Brutus*, 73 the views of Varro. Next, there is nothing in Gellius to show that Gellius or any one else had declared that Andronicus had introduced the art of Sophocles and Menander. Surely Gellius can say that some one wrote so-and-so many years after the death of Sophocles and Menander without implying that the author wrote in the manner of Sophocles or Menander.

Now, since Leo falsely accepts as evidence of the true Varronian views with respect to the early history of comedy among the Romans Gellius, xvii, 21, 42 and Cicero, *Brutus*, 73, we need not devote any time to the elaborate effort made by him in the rest of his paper to prove that Livy, vii, 2 is un-Varronian, though not necessarily pre-Varronian. Since he had no starting-point, his discussion was a waste of time. One may recall Professor Botsford's remarks about the fruitlessness of German efforts to recover and reconstruct lost historical sources (*A.J.P.* xxxiv, 88).

Presently Professor Hendrickson sums up his paper. The Accian chronology, he maintains, appears in Livy and Horace; both, then, are pre-Varronian.

Varro, . . . by discovering the true chronological position of Livius and the recorded facts of Roman dramatic history, was able to affirm with great distinctness and emphasis that he had nothing to do with any earlier dramatic performances, that, indeed, there had never been a drama at Rome (*primus omnium*) before Livius Andronicus.

Thus with the downfall of the chronology of Accius, the whole structure of artificial literary history to which it had given rise fell.

Thus Professor Hendrickson brought himself to deny completely, as he had not done in his first article, the tradition of dramatic performances at Rome prior to Livius Andronicus; in his first paper he had been content to banish the dramatic *satura*.¹

¹ That he had not succeeded even in this, my papers in *T.A.P.A.* xl, lii-lvi, and *A.J.P.* xxxiii, 125-148 have, I think, shown.

I have, I believe, shown that the arguments on which Professor Hendrickson relies in this second paper on the general subject of the early Roman drama are without weight. Even Archimedes needed a *ποῦ στῶ*. Before Leo and Professor Hendrickson can distinguish Varronian from pre-Varronian and un-Varronian views they must have a definite criterion. What did Varro really say? is, of course, the first question. Professor Leo cannot answer this question by his mere assertion; he cannot answer it by misinterpretation of Gellius and Cicero, by confusion of sections in reality different in theme and very likely different in authorship; he cannot answer it by forgetting, as he did in the case of *Brutus*, 73, something as important and as vital to his problem as the contents of Cicero, *Brutus*, 60. Nor can Professor Hendrickson answer this question by repeating, however eloquently, the unsupported assertions of another scholar. The basis of Varro's supposed views, in the papers of Leo and Hendrickson both, is Gellius, xvii, 21, 42 and Cicero, *Brutus*, 73; how badly they have handled these passages has been fully shown above, pages 128-129. Further, it has been shown that Hendrickson's attempt to connect Horace, *Epp.* II, I, 156 with Cato's speech of 195 B.C. as a means of determining the date Horace had in mind when he wrote *Graccia capta*, etc., though ingenious in the highest degree, is in no sense logical proof of his contention. Nor can his interpretation of *scrus enim*, etc., Horace, *Epp.* II, I, 161, be accepted by an unprejudiced reader. With the removal of the supports of the theory, the theory of necessity collapses.

Every student of Latin literature craves light on the earlier periods of that literature. But light cannot come through faulty reasoning or through combinations resting on foundations insecure or wholly non-existent.

One point more I note in conclusion. On page 303 Professor Hendrickson writes thus of his ascription of "the fiction of a Roman drama before Livius" to Accius:

I see nothing which stands in the way of such an assumption; nor is there, on the other hand, any figure in the pre-Varronian period to whom it can be referred with equal probability, nor any source from which it would more naturally have come than the *Libri didascalikon*. . . .

In a word, at the close of his discussion, Professor Hendrickson does the very thing for which, at the beginning of his paper, he had taken other scholars to task. They had wrongly ascribed certain things to Varro, he says, because they could think of no one else to hold sponsor for them; Hendrickson, having got rid of Varro, ascribes the same things to Accius, because, with Varro unavailable, he can think of no more likely source than Accius.

XI. — *Some of the Less Known Mss. of Xenophon's
Memorabilia*

BY PROFESSOR WILLIAM W. BAKER

Haverford College

THIS paper is a report of an examination of certain Mss. of Xenophon's *Memorabilia* made in Venice, Florence, and Rome in the autumn and winter of 1910-11. The Mss. in question are Venetus Marcianus 511 (referred to hereafter as Ven. 1); Venetus Marcianus 368 ("Ven." of Gilbert and Marchant, referred to hereafter as Ven. 2); Laurentianus plut. 55, 21 (= L); Laurentianus plut. 55, 22 (referred to below as L²); Laurentianus plut. 80, 13 (referred to below as L³); Vaticanus Graecus 1950 (= J); Vaticanus Graecus 1619 (= Vat. 2); Vaticanus Graecus 1336 (= Vat. 3); Palatinus Graecus 93. It should be said that the different amount of space given to the various Mss. is not altogether due to premeditation, but is in part the result of the exigencies of travel and of varying library hours. To the authorities of the Library of St. Mark's, of the Laurentian Library, and of the Vatican Library I am under great obligation for the courtesy so freely and uniformly shown. I would also make acknowledgment, with full appreciation, of friendly advice and assistance given by Professor Emeritus John Williams White of Harvard University, and Professor E. C. Marchant of Lincoln College, Oxford. For verification of my readings in certain cases in J, Vat. 2, and Vat. 3, I am greatly indebted to Professor E. K. Rand, Professor of Latin at the American School in Rome for 1912-13.

Codex Marcianus 511 = Ven. 1

Ven. 1, "in folio minori chartaceus foliorum 408," contains¹: f. 1 v. (a parchment fly-leaf), λύσιδος τοῦ πυθαγορείου ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς ἑπταρχον; 2 blank; 3 r. — 4 v., Xen *Anab.* II, 6, 10 — III, 1, 45, with a sign referring the passage to its

¹ Cf. A. Kirchhoff, ed. *Ath. Pol.* p. vi; Pierleoni, *Stud. Ital.* vi, 67 f.

proper place in the text; 5-6 blank; 7, table of contents in Greek and partly also in Latin and the inscription: βίβλ[ος] βησσαρίων[ος] καρδινάλ[εως] τοῦ τῶν τούσκλων; 8 ff., various of Plut. *Mor.*, thirty λόγοι in all (between nos. 25 and 26, on part of 119 v. — 120 r., a scrap from Plat. *Apol. init.*, not the whole, as would be inferred from the Library Catalogue); 141 r. — 325 r., Xen. *Cyr.*, *Anab.*, *Ages.*, *Hiero*, *Mem.* (f. 253 v., ξενοφώντος ῥήτορος σωκράτους ἀπομνημονευμάτ[ων] λόγος πρῶτος; 259 v., l. 5, ξενοφώντος ῥήτορος σωκράτους ἀπομνημονευμάτ[ων] λόγος δεύτερος; 266 v., l. 4, ξενοφώντος ῥήτορος σωκράτους ἀπομνημονευμάτων λόγος τρίτος; 273 v., l. 4, ξενοφώντος σωκράτους ἀπομνημονευμάτ[ων] λόγος τέταρτος), *Hipparch.*, *Hipp.*, *Luc. Pol.*, *Ath. Pol.*, *Poroi*, *Oecon.*, *Symp.*, *Cyneg.*; 325 v. blank; 326 r. ff., Arrian, *Anab.*; 397 v., ταφαὶ ἀλεξάνδρου συγγραφεῖσαι παρὰ (sic) (*i.e.* the beginning of Diod. Sic. xviii); 398 v. ff., τοῦ σοφωτάτου φιλή στιχοὶ ἐγκωμιαστικοὶ εἰς τὸν ἀλέξανδρον τὸν βασιλέα; finally at the end this note: ἐτελειώθη ἡ παρούσα βίβλος τοῦ πλουτάρχου σὺν ἄλλοις δὲ ῥητορικοῖς λόγοις ἐν ἔτει ςχοδ' (= 6674 A.M. = 1166 A.D.) ἰνδ. ἡ. δόξα σοι ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν δόξα σοι.

The actual date of the Ms. is commonly put a century later than that here given,¹ and I had thought that the ςχοδ' might be a carelessly written ςψοδ', but ἡ is not the indication number of either year. If the entire Ms., however, is in one hand, as seemed to me to be the case, it certainly cannot be earlier than the lifetime of "most wise Philes," apparently Manuel Philes of Ephesus, whose life is placed by Krumbacher² from about 1275 to 1345. Again "σοφωτάτου" implies that Philes' reputation was at its height, and this is most likely to have been the case in the closing years of his life or just after his death, when the asperities of early rivalries had been forgotten, and before his somewhat ephemeral fame had had time to disintegrate. So that a date not

¹ Cf. Schenkl, *Jahresb.* liv, 101. ("saec. XIII"); Bolla, *Riv. di Fil.* xxi, 366 ("recentior videtur"); Pierleoni, *loc. cit.*; Cerocchi, *Stud. Ital.* vi, 473 f.; Thalheim, *Xen. Scripta Minora*, I, p. vi ("s. XIII," but p. ix, "s. XII").

² *Gesch. d. byz. Litt.*² 774.

far from 1350 would seem most probable from this standpoint. The handwriting also appears to me not to be at all at variance with this conclusion.¹

There are corrections in the Ms. occasionally by the original scribe (pr. m.), but also by two others (m. 2 and m. 3), both considerably later, as will be shown below.²

Among the more noteworthy readings of this Ms. are the following: I, 1, 5 *καὶ οὐ ψευδόμενος* (dots by m. 2);³ 8 *οἰκῆσει* (cum BCJLL², L³, Ven. 2, Vat. 2, Vat. 3, al.); 9 *ἀθέμιτα* (c. Ven. 2 (?), L², L³, Vat. 3, al.); 2, 22 *ἐκκυλισθέντας* (c. CDV², Ven. 2, L², L³ m. 2, Vat. 3); 23 *ἐν γὰρ τῷ αὐτῷ* (c. BL²); 29 *αἰσθόμενος* (c. Ven. 2, L², J Vat. 3); 57 m. 3 *ἐπεὶ διωμολογήσατο* (c. Stob.; pr. m. *ἐπειδὴ ὁμολογήσας*(?))²; 3, 5 *τοῦτο* (CB₃EL₁V², JL², L³ corr.); 12 *οἶσθα ἔφη ὅτι* (c. CL²); 4, 1 *εἰ* ante *ἱκανὸς* add. m. 2 s.v. (c. B₃, L², L³ corr.); 8 *φρόνιμον* m. 2 (c. B₃, L² pr. m. s.v.); 10 *ὄν* s.v. add. m. 3 (later than L²)²; 6, 7 *ἐμέ . . . μελετῶντα* (c. CJL²)⁴; 9 *ἢ πλείων* (c. BCL²); 7, 3 *ταῦτη* (sic — perhaps adding slight support to Heindorf's *τοῦτ' εἴη*); III, 1, 7 *συντίθενται* (c. CDV², Ven. 2); 3, 7 *ποιήση* (c. C Stob. A); 14 *διενέγκοιεν* (c. CJ); 4, 5 *ἀν ἐθέλειν* (c. C Ven. 2, Vict.)⁴; 5, 1 *εὐδοξοτέραν* (c. BF); 26 *τί δέ γε* (c. CDEG); 28 *τι αὐτῶν* (c. B JL); 6, 2 *ἐπαρεῖς* (c. C(?) DRV²V³P)⁴; 3 *εἰπέ* (c. C Vict.); 10 *τήν γε* (c. CL); ἦδη om. (c. CJL); 18 *διενεγκῶν* (c. F Vict. (et C?)⁵) — the dots above *ι* are run together; cf. Ven. 2, *διένεγκῶν* according to O. Keller⁶; 7, 7 *σου* (c. B(?) JL al.); *διαλεγόμενου* (c. BCDEL); 9 *ὠφέληση* (c. C; ὠφέληση BL).

A tendency to agreement with C is marked even here; it is more apparent when, for example, the complete collation of Book I, given below, is compared with that of C as given

¹ Since writing this I notice the conclusion which Ruehl, *Xen. Scripta Minora*, II, p. vi, has come to, viz. that on the evidence of the handwriting this Ms. should be dated "saeculo XIV. ineunte." So Bernadakis, *Plut. Mor.* I, p. xxxviii.

² Cf. p. 149.

³ Schenkl, *Xen. Stud.* II, 31 (*Sitzb. Wien. Akad.* LXXX, 115) reports the reading as *καὶ οὐ*.

⁴ Cf. Schenkl, *op. cit.*, II, 92 (176).

⁵ Cf. Schenkl, *op. cit.*, II, 31 (115) and 92 (176).

⁶ *Philol.* XLV, 184 ff.

by Schenkl.¹ Such a comparison shows identity of reading in about three-fifths of the cases. It may be noted also that although the contents of the two Mss. as a whole are very different, both include, besides *Mem.*, *Agas.*, and *Hiero.*, [διοδώρου] ταφαὶ ἀλεξάνδρου and φιλιῆ [μανουήλ] στίχοι [ἐγκωμιαστικοὶ] εἰς τὸν ἀλέξανδρον.² These likenesses are sufficient to allow us to group Ven. 1 and C somewhat closely together, though hardly enough to prove immediate relationship. (The connection of Ven. 2 and L² with Ven. 1, from which they both were copied, is spoken of below.³)

The results of the collation of Ven. 1 for Book 1 follow. Readings in which L² is known to be in agreement are printed in black-faced type. As excerpts only were taken from the latter Ms., it of course does not follow that all cases of agreement are included. The basis for the collating is Marchant's Oxford text. It is to be assumed that words which Marchant puts in square brackets occur in the Mss. unless otherwise stated; conversely, that emendations, in angular brackets in his text, do not occur in the Mss. Readings which have been already given above are not repeated.

f. 253 v. ξενοφώντος ῥήτορος σωκράτους ἀπομνημονευμάτ[ων] λόγος πρῶτος. 1, 2 διετεθρύλλητο — αὐτῷ — 3 om. δὲ — 4 δὲ — ᾶ — ᾶ — 6 ὅπως ἄν — 7 αἰρετέα — 8 τὸ δὲ μέγιστον — 10 πρῶτῳ — 11 οἶδεν — ἐπεδείκνυε — 14 μεριμνώντων (corr. -ό-?) — κινεῖσθαι πάντα — 15 ὅτου δ' ἄν — τοιοῦτο — 16 ἀνδρία — καὶ ἀγαθοῦς (et 2, 2; καὶ per comprehend.) — 17 om. οὐ — 19 τὰ μὲν οἴονται τ. θ. — 20 περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς μὴ — 2, 3 αὐτῷ — τοιούσδε — 4 τ' οὐκ (ε eraso in L²) — 5 δὲ αὐτοῦ — 7 δὲ εἰ — ἐχη — 8 ξυνόντων αὐτῷ — 9 μωρὸν — καθίστασθαι — ἐθέλειν κεχρησθαι — 10 ἔσσεσθαι — ταῦτα — 12 σωκράτει καὶ — κατὰ (corr. pr. m. κακά) — om. τε (post ἀκρατέστατος) — 13 δε — 15 ὀμιλησέτην — 16 αὐτῷ μᾶλλον — συγγινομένων — 17 χρῆν — αὐτοῦς — ξυνοῦσιν — 19 γινώσκω — 20 ἐργουσιν ἀπὸ τ. π. ἁ. ὅμως — συμμιγῆς — αὐτὰς (corr. m. 2 αὐτῶ) — 21 ἐγγινομένην — 23 καὶ σῶμα τί —

¹ *Xen. Stud.* II, 92 (176) ff.

² Cf. Schenkl, *op. cit.*, 91 (175).

³ Pp. 148 f.

24 αὐτοῦ — 25 πεφύσημένω δὲ — 26 παρέσχετο — 27 καὶ κιθαριστῆς
 — ποιῆσαι — πατέρες αὐτοῖς — 29 ἐπετιμάτο — 30 οἱ αὐτῷ — προσ-
 κινᾶσθαι — ὕδρια — 31 οὔτε — οὔτε (s.v. add. m. 2) — οἱ τοῦ —
 32 σοὶ δοκεῖ — ἐλάττους καὶ — αἰσχύνοιτο — οἴοιτο — 33 ἀπαγγελ-
 θόντος — προηγορευομένων — δὲ — 36 μὴδὲ ἂν — ἦν πολὺ — ἴδω —
 37 τοῖς (τούτοις m. 2) — ἄλλων τῶν δικαίων — 42 δὴ (δεῖ s.v. m. 2)
 — τάγαθὰ δὲ ἐνόμισαν — κακὰ δὲ — 43 ὅσα δ' ἂν — καὶ ἂν — 44 ἀναγ-
 κάσει — 45 ποιεῖν τινα — 46 σαυτοῦ ταῦτα — 47 προσήεσαν (L² corr.
 add. ι subscr.) — 48 χαιρεσικράτης — οἱ ἐρμογένης καὶ — σιμμίας —
 φαιδώνδης — οἱ τε — οὔτε αἰτίαν — 51 αὐτῷ — 52 αὐτῷ — αὐτόν
 — 53 οἱ τε (post πατέρων) — διότι — γίνεται — 54 αὐτῶν — τούτου
 — 55 ὑπὸ ἄλλου — βούλοιο — 56 μῆτε — μῆτε — 57 δὲ — δὲ — ἄλλο
 τι — τὸ ὄνειδος — 58 ὄντινα δ' αὐ — βοῶντά — 59 τε ἂν — 60 αὐτοῦ
 — 61 γυμνοπαϊδείαις — συγγινομένους — 63 πολέμου γε — οὐτ' ἄλλου —
 64 ἔνοχος ἂν — οἶκος — 3, I ὁπόσων — γὰρ θυσία — 2 οἱ καὶ —
 εὔχετο — 4 τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν (οἱ ὑπὸ) — 5 ἦν μὴ διψῆ — 6 ἐπὶ
 δεῖπνον ἐβελήσειεν — καιρὸν ἐμπίπλασθαι — ἐφύλαττε — μὴ δὲ — 7 ὑπο-
 σχόμενον τὸ — καιρὸν — οὐδὲ — 8 ἀπέχεσθαι ἰσχυρῶς — εἶναι τὸν —
 9 ἄλλοιτο — II ἄρ' εἴη — ἀντ' ἐλευθέρου εἶναι (οἱ μὲν) — 12 οἱ
 εἶναι (m. 2 (?), super ras. * solo relicto) — ἡμιωβολιαῖα —
 13 ἐνίσσι τε — πόρρωθεν bis — ἴδοις — σοὶ δὲ — 15 ᾔειτο (sic) — 4, I
 ἔνι (οἱ add. s.v. m. 2) — 2 θεοῖς μηχανώμενον — ἀνθρώπων — 4 γένηται
 — ἔργα εἶναι — 5 οἱ ὁ — προστέθησαν — οἱ τῶν — 6 τότε — ἔργον
 — ἦθμόν — ἐμφύσας — ἐμπίπλασθαι — ἐπὶ δὲ — πορρωτάτω — 7 τεχνή-
 ματι — 8 σαυτὸν φρόνιμόν τι δοκεῖς — φρόνιμος (ν super s m. 2) —
 ἔχεις οὔσης — οἱ τὰ — 9 γινομένων — σεαυτοῦ — οὐδὲ — 10 ἐγὼ ἔφη —
 12 ταύτας — 14 τὰ ἄλλα — δὲ ἀμφοτέρου(?) (m. 2 -ων?) — 15 ἔλλη-
 σιν — 16 φρονιμώτατοι — 18 ἦν — γινώσκεις — καταμανθάνειν — λαμ-
 βάνεις — γνώση — 19 οἱ οὖν — 5, I αὐτὴν — ὄντιν' ἂν αἰσθανώμεθα —
 οἱ ἂν — 2 ἐπίστασιν — 3 μὴ δὲ — 4 ὄνειδει ἢ — 5 ἰκετεύειν —
 6, 2 σοφίας — σιτία — 4 τοῦ μοῦ — 5 λαμβάνωσιν — λέγω — 6 μᾶλ-
 λον τοῦ (m. 2 μᾶλλον του) — 8 ἄλλοτι — 9 ὁ τί τῶν χαλεπωτάτων
 δεόμενος μᾶλλον — ῥάστοις ῥάστως — 10 δὲ νομίζω — 11 μὲν δίκαιον —
 γινώσκειν — 12 ἐλάττω — 13 ὑμῖν — 14 γινώμεθα — καλοκαγαθίαν —
 15 δὲ — ἐπίσταιτο — 7, I εὐδοξία — τε pro τούτο — μὴ post καὶ in mg.
 m. 2. — ὧδε — 2 γὰρ ἂν — ἄξια (m. 2 ἔξω) — οἱ δ' — ἀνωφελῶς
 pro ἀλυσιτελῶς m 3. — 3 οἱ αὐτῷ — κυβερνᾶν τε — αἰσχυρῶς τε —
 5 τὸν οὐ — ἐξηπατῆκει.

The readings from Ven. 1, taken as a whole, are scarcely of epoch-making importance, but they do suggest, I believe, that it would be worth while to collate it for the whole of *Mem.* It appears to be a possible rival of C for first place among the *deteriores*.

Codex Marcianus 368 = Ven. 2

This is a paper Ms. of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century,¹ and contains:² by m. 1 (fol. 1 ff.), *Hell., Ages.*; f. 86 r. ξενοφώντος σωκράτους ἀπομνημονευμάτ[ων] τμήμα πρῶτον; f. 94 v. and again on f. 95 r. (after a “περιπτόν” passage from the beginning of *Mem.* III) ξενοφώντος ἀπομνημονευμάτων τμήμα δεύτερον; by m. 2, f. 99 r. — 100 v.; by m. 3, f. 101 ff.; f. 105 r. ξενοφώντος ῥήτορος σωκράτους ἀπομνημονευμάτων λόγος τρίτ[ος]; f. 115 v. ξενοφώντος (followed by a blank space)³ σωκράτους ἀπομνημονευμάτων λόγος τέταρτος; f. 125 r. *Hipparch., Hipp., Lac. Pol., Ath. Pol., Poroi, Oecon.* (by m. 1, f. 154 v., l. 6 — f. 155 r., l. 10; by m. 4, 155 r., l. 11 — 179 r.), *Symp., Cyneg.*; 179 v. — 182 v., blank; by m. 3, f. 183 r. — 184 v. = *Mem.* II, 1, 26 — 2, 13.

It is now generally taken for granted that Ven. 2 was copied from Ven. 1.⁴ This is, on the whole, borne out by such evidence as I have obtained in the course of an examination of several pages in different parts of *Mem.* Of variation from Ven. 1, I have noted only the following instances: the titles of Books I and II (though those of III and IV are plainly taken from Ven. 1); 1, 1, 1 ἔπεισαν Ἀθηναίους; 2 om. οὖν; αἰτιᾶσθαι; 4 σημαίνει; 8 γάρ τῶ (τοι super γάρ pr. m.); καλῶ(?); συμφέροι (c. B); 2, 10 γίνεται; 20 αὐτὰρ; 48 φαιδώνδας (according to O. Keller; I have not verified the read-

¹ Cf. O. Riemann, *Qua rei criticae tractandae ratione Hell. Xen. textus constituendus sit*, p. 5; Underhill, *A Commentary on the Hellenica*, p. lxxvi. Cf. also what is said below on the relations of Ven. 1, Ven. 2, and L².

² A very brief description and a few readings are given by O. Keller, *Philol.* XLV, 184. Cf. Pierleoni, *Stud. Ital.* VI, 69; 89; Tommasini, *ib.* x, 110.

³ Cf. the titles of Ven. 1.

⁴ Cf. Schenkl, *Jahresb.* LIV, 25; Marchant, pref. to *Oecon.* and *Symp.* (Oxford text, vol. II); *Stud. Ital. locc. cit.*; Thalheim, *Xen. Scripta Minora*, I, p. vi.

ing); 57 ἐπειδὴ ὠμολόγησε; 3, 11 ἄρ' οἶει (c. JL³); 4, 18 καταμανθάνεις (c. L³, Vat. 3); λαμβάνειν (s pr. m., s.v.). Some of these readings may imply collateral use of another Ms. than Ven. 1; the majority are merely careless mistakes.

In a number of cases Ven. 2 agrees with the original text of Ven. 1 rather than its corrector. This is so in the following passages (see the readings from Ven. 1); 1, 1, 5; 2, 12 (καὶ); 31; 37; 3, 12; 4, 1 (εἶ); 8; 6, 6; 7, 1; 2 (ἄξια). In all of these L² gives the correction, and generally as its only reading. The only apparent exceptions are that in 1, 2, 12 (κατὰ; corr. pr. m. κακὰ) both Ven. 2 and L² read κακὰ, L² with erasure of τ s.v.; in 1, 2, 20 Ven. 1 has αὐτὰς, m. 2 αὐτ', Ven. 2 correctly αὐτὰρ, L² apparently αὐτ'; in 1, 2, 42 (δὴ, corr. m. 2(?)·δεῖ) Ven. 2 reads δεῖ, but the reading of L² I have not; in 1, 4, 14 the reading and correction of Ven. 1 are doubtful, ἀμφοτέρου or ἀμφοτέρων, Ven. 2 gives both, L² ἀμφοτέρου. No one of these last instances would prevent us from concluding that corrections of m. 2 of Ven. 1 are later than the copying of Ven. 2 and earlier than the copying of L². The corrections in three cases from Book 1 are by the same test, as well as by that of the writing, later than both Ven. 2 and L², vz. 1, 2, 57 ἐπεὶ διωμολογήσατο; 4, 10 ὄν; 7, 2 ἀνωφελῶς (νοφ over a blot). We have then as our chronological order: Ven. 1 pr. m.; Ven. 2; Ven. 1, m. 2; L²; Ven. 1, m. 3.

The only additional readings of any importance which I have noted in a very brief examination of Ven. 2 are: 11, 3, 9 ἀν ἀγαθὸν (c. CJL, Vat. 2); 6, 10 ἑαυτοῖς (c. CDJ). It is very probable that both are due to Ven. 1.

Codex Laurentianus plut. 55, 22 = L²

Readings of this (fifteenth century?) Ms. in which it is in agreement with Ven. 1 have already been given. Others follow in which it varies from Ven. 1:

1, 1, 1 om. γὰρ — 2 αὐτῶ — 4 ἀπατώντων — 18 περὶ μὲν — 2, 4 ἡμέλι — 6 αὐτῆς — 20 καλὸς — 21 ἐπιθύμει (sic) — 23 καὶ σώματι — 27 ποιήσας — 33 ἀπαγγελθέντος — 34 om.

ἀφεκτέον . . . δῆλον ὅτι — 47 προσήεσαν (corr.) — 48 φαιδωνί-
 δης — οὐτ' αἰτίαν — 54 αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν — ἐπειδὴ ὁμολογήσατο —
 58 βοῶοντα — 3, 9 post ras. και λεωργότατον εἶναι — 12 ἡμιο-
 βολυαῖα — 15 ᾤετο — 4, 5 τῶν add. corr. 2 — 12 ταῦτα —
 15 ἔλλησι — 18 γινώσκεις sed η super ει pr. m. — λαμβά-
 νης corr. 2 — 5, 3 μῆδε — 6, 9 ὁ τὶ τῶν — 13 ἡμῖν (in ras.).

These variations are insignificant, while the agreement, as may be seen above, is extremely close, even in peculiar mistakes. When with this is put the fact that it gives the same selection from Xenophon as Ven. 1 except *Cyr.* and *Anab.* (i.e. *ξενοφώντος ῥήτορος λόγοι πολιτικοί*, as is written at the end of the Ms.), and in the same order, there can be no doubt that it was copied from Ven. 1, as Schenkl indeed surmised.¹ It was likewise a late copy, as the comparison with Ven. 2 above has shown, so that so far as the *Memorabilia* is concerned, I see no reason for revising Schenkl's judgment, given in connection with *Oecon.*:² "ganz werthlos."

Codex Laurentianus plut. 55, 21 = L

This Ms., a parchment folio of the fourteenth century,³ with two columns of writing to a page, and 276 leaves, contains:⁴ f. 3 r.,⁵ *Mem.*; 44 r., *Oecon.* (61 r. — 64 r., in a delicate, later hand, containing the end of *Oecon.* and beginning of *Cyn.*, which with *Symp.* had been lost⁶; 64 v. — 66 v. blank); *Cyn.*, *Cyrop.*, *Anab.* (190 r. — 193 r., 1st column by m. 3; 193 v. blank); *Hipparch.*, *Hiero*, *Hipp.*, *Lac. Pol.*, and the first part of *Ath. Pol.* fused into one with the last part of *Poroi*.⁷ At the end, τέλος σὺν θεῷ ἀμὴν | Ξενοφώντος ῥήτορος | πόροι ἢ περὶ προσόδων | τέρμα τῆς Ξενοφώντος βίβλου | θεοῦ

¹ Bursian's *Jahresh.* LIV, 102, n. 1; cf. *Stud. Ital.* VI, 89; 475; Thalheim, *Xen. Scripta Minora*, I, p. vii.

² *Xen. Stud.* III, II (*Sitzb. Wien. Akad.* LXXXIII, III); Cerocchi, *Stud. Ital.* VI, 477, finds it has corrections of value in the *Hipparch.*

³ Cf. Bandini, *Catalogus*, II, 285 f.

⁴ Cf. Kirchhoff, ed. *Ath. Pol.* p. ix.

⁵ I use the later, stamped numbering as more accurate.

⁶ Cf. Schenkl, *loc. cit.*

⁷ Cf. Ruehl, *Xen. Scripta Minora*, II, pp. vii-viii.

τὸ δῶρον. καὶ πόνος ταπεινοῦ | πέτρον¹ | τῷ συντελεστῇ τῶν
καλῶν θεῶ χάρις | η̄ μ̄ ὕ. On f. 2 v. is the inscription "Hunc
librum Sassulo Pratensi [the name *in rasura*] et discipulo et
filio dono dedi, cum a me discederet, ut esset monumentum
amoris nostri. Ego Victorinus Feltrensis manu propria
scripsi [sc. *this inscription*, not *the Ms.*] et donum obtuli."
It is said also to have belonged to Guarino of Verona,² a
teacher of Vittorino of Feltre, as the latter was of Sassuolo
of Prato.

According to Schenkl,³ writing with especial reference to
Oecon., the Ms. shows corrections by two hands, one con-
temporary and one only a little later which uses a light
shade of ink. In *Mem.* there appear to be at least three
correctors, not counting corrections made by the copyist at
the time of writing: vz., *corr.* = the chief corrector, appar-
ently the scribe himself, correcting with a blacker ink than
was used in the text and at the same time inserting the red
initials; corr. 2, a somewhat scrawly hand, using a drab
shade of ink; corr. 3, author of a few corrections in a light
brown ink. The Ms. itself has a good many stupid mistakes,
and the correctors not infrequently change the text for the
worse, but it has a considerable number of readings of impor-
tance. Schenkl gives about a dozen from Book I in his
critical apparatus, and in every case correctly.

Besides these, and those quoted above under Ven. 1 and
Ven. 2, the following perhaps deserve to be singled out from
the bulk of the variants. Readings with which Vat. 2 is
known to agree are indicated by an asterisk (*). 1, 1, 8 γάρ
τοι * (cum L³ pr. m.); 11 ἔφη * (ν super η pr. m.); 2, 32 σοι *
(corr. 3 οὐ; cf. A corr., B mg., L³ corr.) δοκεῖ *; 33 καλέσαντε
(σ eras.); 61 συγγιγνομένους * (συγγιν- ABC al.); 3, 1 ὑπο-
κρίνεται * (c. BL³ pr. m.); 5 τοῦτο pr. m. (c. B₃, Ven. 1, al.),
corr. τούτῳ (Vat. 2 τούτῳ); 5, 1 ὄντιαν (corr. 3 ὄντινὰ, Vat. 2
ὄντι ἄν); 5 ἰκετεύοντα; 6, 13 φίλον ποιῆται * (c. AB Vat. 3,
Stob. *Esc.*); 11, 1, 10 πότερον * (c. AB₁); 11 δοκεῖ * (c. edd.);

¹ Cf. Gardthausen, *Gr. Palaeogr.* 336.

² Cf. Bandini, *l.c.*; Sabbadini, *Le Scoperte dei Codici Latini e Greci*, 45, n. 16.

³ *Xen. Stud.* III, 11 (111).

12 ἀξιώσεις (c. CL³, Vat. 3); 19 χειρώσονται* (c. GJ, Vat. 3 pr. m., Stob. *Esc.*); 21 ὁποτέραν (c. DEVL³, Vat. 3, Stob.); 22 καθαρότητι* (c. CV¹, L³, Vat. 3); 23 ποιησάμενος (c. AGV³, L³ pr. m.); 2, 7 νεανίσκος ἔφη (c. J, al.?) ; 12 βούλει σοὶ* pr. m. (c. FGV³), corr. βουλήσῃ; 13 ἀποδόντας (c. ΑΒJV¹); 3, 9 ἦ (sic; ἦ J Vat. 2); 18 ἀλλήλαις ἐποίησεν* pr. m. (ἀλλήλαιν corr. 2); 4, 2 σφύζονται (*pr. m.; corr. -ωνται); 6, 17 δ (c. GJV²V³); 22 καρτερεῖν (c. A(?)BDEG); 29 τούτων δεῖσον* (corr. τούτου δεήσων (c. A)); 35 ἑαυτοῦ (c. ABDJV³); ἑαυτοῦ (c. BDV³); 7, 8 ἐπιμελησόμεναι (c. CF); 9, 5 προσκαλέσατο* (ἐ super π add. corr.); III, 1, 8 μὲν αὐτῶν (c. CJ); 2, 3 διὰ τούτον (c. Stob.); 4, 1 ἄμα δὲ καὶ (c. BC); πω (c. BG); 4 στρατιᾷ (c. B); 5, 22 συνηχέσαι (c. BF); 6, 2 ἐπαίρεις (c. BCJ); 11 ἴδωμεν (c. BFGJ); 12 σκόπτομαι (c. B₁EG₁J); 13 τοῦτο (c. BCJ); 7, 9 ὠφελήσῃ (c. B); 8, 7 pr. m. τό τε λιμοῦ (c. Vict.; corr. γε in ras.); 9, 2 ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι (c. BJ Stob.); 4 τὸ μὲν . . . τὸ (c. BJ); ἔκρινεν (c. B); 6 ἐνόμιζεν (c. BJ); 9 μέντοι (τι s.v. corr. 3 c. CV²); 11 ὁμολογήσειεν (c. BJ); 10, 1 ἡ εἰκασία (c. CDEGJ); 13, 2 ὑγιεινότερον φησὶν (c. DGJR); IV, 2, 6 om. οὐ (c. B₁, CJ); 12 ἑαυτῶν ἔχιοιεν (c. B, Stob.)¹; διεξηγήσασθαι (c. BGJV³); δύνωμαι (c. B); 13 ἐνταυθεὶ bis; 17 τὰς ἀθυμίας (c. CEFJ) τοὺς στρατιώτας (c. BC Stob.); 29 εἰδότες ὃ τι (c. C₂DEFG); 31 αὐτὸ ὑγιαίνειν (c. G₁); om. καὶ (c. CJ al.); 3, 8 γιγνομένοις (c. BJ); 4, 10 οὐδὲ εἰς . . . ἔσται (cf. DEG); 5, 4 εἰκότως (om. ἔφη c. BJ Stob.); 7 σωφροσύνη (c. BJ); 9 δίψος s.v. pr. m. (c. BJ Ven. 2 (et I?), Stob.); 10 καὶ τῶν τοιούτων (c. J Stob.); ἐχθροὺς (c. BDG Stob.); 11 τίνι γὰρ (c. B₁, DEGJ); 6, 1 τὸν τρόπον sine καὶ (c. BCDJV²V³); 2 om. ὃ ante εὐσεβῆς (c. B?); 6 ἔφη post κελεύουσιν om. (c. CFG); 14 μὲν οὖν sine ἔφη (c. BG); 7, 4 ἔνεκα τοῦ (c. BFGJ). These readings, and still more the others given below, show that, as was to be expected, L belongs to the eclectic group of Mss., with readings common to all three of the more important Mss., and with no very marked preponderance in favor of any one of the three.

In presenting the remainder of the variants of L, I indicate

¹ Cf. Chavanon, *Sources Principales des Mém.* (Paris, 1903), p. 57.

as before by an asterisk (*) agreement of Vat. 2, so far as this is shown by the limited number of excerpts (almost entirely from Books I and II) which I have from it; rarely a reading of Vat. 2 which varies from that of L is given in parenthesis with an asterisk *preceding* the reading.

f. 3 γ. Ξενοφώντος ῥήτορος ἀπομνημονευμάτων πρώτος.
 I, 3 om. δὲ* — 4 πλείστοι φασὺν* — ἐγίνωσκεν — ξυνόντων* —
 τὰ . . . τὰ (ἂ . . . ἂ* s.v. pr. m.) — 5 καὶ οὐ* — ἀληθεύειν
 7 αἰρετέα* — 8 φντευσάμενον* — οἰκήσει* — διὰ τούτου —
 9 ἀθέμιστα* — 10 προῖ* — εἶη* — 11 ὅπως οὖν — γίνεται* —
 ἐπεδείκνυεν* — 14 μὴ τὰ — ὄχλων — ἱερῶν* — βωμῶν* —
 ἄλλω* (ο s.v. corr. 3) — om. τῶν ante πάντων* — μεριμνόν-
 των* — τοῖς δὲ δοκεῖν — κινεῖσθαι πάντα* — οὐτ' ἀπολείσθαι*
 — 15 ὅτου δ' ἂν* — τοιούτῳ (ν corr. 3 s.v.) — ἦ — 16 καὶ
 ἀγαθοὺς* (et saepe καὶ ἀγ. pro καγ.) — 19 οἴωνται — 20 περὶ
 τοὺς* — μὲν οὐδὲ — 2, 3 οὐδὲ πώποτε (* οὐδέπω πώποτε) —
 τοιούσδε* — 4 ὅς δ' (corr. 3 ὡς δ') — 5 δὲ ἑαυτοῦ* — 6 ἀπεχό-
 μενος (ν super s corr. 3) — ἑαυτοῖς* — 7 ἐπαγγελλόμενος —
 8 ξυνόντων* — διαφθείρει — 9 μωρῶν* — καθίστασθαι* — κυ-
 βηνήτη (ρ s.v. corr. 3) — μῆδένα — κεχρηῆσθαι* — μῆδὲ* (et
 saepe) — 10 ἔσεσθαι* — ταῦτα* — om. οἱ δὲ . . . φιλοῦσιν* —
 11 ἡγείτ' — 12 σωκράτῃ (*-ῃ) καὶ* — κατὰ τὴν* — om. τε post
 ἀκρατέστατος* — post ὑβιστότατος add. καὶ βιαιότατος* —
 14 φιλοτιμωτάτῳ — 15 αὐτῷ (corr. 3(?) αὐτῶ)* — 16 αὐτοῖς*
 — om. ἂν — αὐτὰ μᾶλλον* — ὥσπερ γὰρ* — ἀποπηδήσαντες —
 17 χρῆν* — αὐτοὺς* — ἥπερ(*ῆ-) — ξυνοῦσιν* — κάλιστα —
 18 ὅτε (in ras. corr.) σωκράτει — 19 ἴσως ἂν* — μὴ μὴ* (sec.
 del. corr.) — om. τὰ post καὶ* — δὴ*(?) (corr. δεῖ) — 20 om.
 ὅμως* — διδάξεν (corr. -εο) — συμμιγῆς* — 21 ἐπιθυμῆιν* —
 23 ἐνδέχεται σωφροσύνην — τῷ γὰρ* — om. τῷ post καὶ* —
 24 ἀπαλλαγέντε (s eras.) — θεταλίαν (corr. 3 -ττ-) — χρώμενος*
 (ι add. corr. 3) — 25 ὀγκωμένω — 26 μὲν τοι* — 27 καὶ κθα-
 ριστής* — λάλος* (in mg. corr. 3 ἄλλο) — ποιῆσαι* — τῷ
 σώφρονι (ι in ras. corr.) (* τῷ σώφρονι εἶ) — τῷ — αὐτοῖς* —
 πλημελούντων — αὐτοῖς (αὐτοὶ * corr.) — 29 ἐπετιμᾶτο* —
 30 om. αὐτῷ* — προσκινῆσθαι* — ξιφίδια (ξιφί in ras. et mg.
 corr. 3) (* ἴδια) — 31 οὔτε γὰρ* — οὔτε αὐτὸς* — om. του* —

32 προστάτις (corr. -ης)—om. τε*—33 τὼ δὲ*—34 δηλονότι* (corr. in. ras.)—δηλονότι* (et saepe*)—35 ἄλλο τι*—36 μὴδὲ ἂν*—πολῆ (ω s.v. corr. 3)—om. ἀλλά . . . ὁ χαρικλῆς*—37 κατατετρέφθαι (*-τρυ.)—διαθρυλλουμένους*—τοῖς*—ἄλλων τῶν δικαίων*—38 ὀργίζοντο*—40 ἑαυτοῦ*—41 περίκλεες ἔχεις*—ἐπαινουμένου (om. τὸν μὴ)*—42 φρέζον (corr. 3 φράζον)—ἐνόμισαν*—43 ὅσα δ' ἂν*—καὶ ἂν*—τύρανος—44 τίς*—αὐτῷ ποιῆ (ἦ in ras. corr.)*—γάρ τοι*—45 τοῖς πολλοῖς*—ποιεῖν τινά—46 σαυτοῦ ταῦτα*—47 προσήσαν*—48 om. Ἐρμογένης καὶ*—Σιμμίας*—φαιδώνδης (corr. pr. m. φαιδων τίς)—καλοὶ τὰγαθοὶ (corr. pr. m. κ'ἀγαθοὶ) (*τ'ἀγ.)—52 ὄφελος—53 διότι*—γίνεται*—54 αὐτῶν*—ἀποκάειν* (sic; i subscr. add. corr.)—τούτου*—55 ταῦτα*—om. μὴ . . . τιμᾶσθαι*—56 ἀεργεῖα*—μῆτε*—μῆτε*—57 ἐπειδὴ ὁμολογήσαιτο*—τε εἶναι ἀνθρώπων*—δὲ ἀργεῖν*—ἀργούς ἀπετέλει—οὐδὲν in mg. corr. 3—ἀεργεῖα (*-η)—58 ἐπέεσιν*—διδείσεσθαι*—ὄντινα δ' αὐ*—βοῶντά*—σκήπτρον—ὁμοκλήσασκαί—οὔτε ποιττ'—59 ταῦτα (*-ᾶ)—τε ἂν (*τ'ἂν)—60 μακρὰ*—ἤθελοι (οἱ in ras. corr.)—61 γυμνοπαιδείαις*—62 βαλαντιοτομῶν*—τοιχορυχῶν*—64 ἔνοχος ἂν*—ὃ διαγραφάμενος*—ἢ πόλεις*—οἴκουσ*—3, I ξυνόντας*—οὔτως—2 εὐχετο* (corr. ηῦ-).—εὐχοιτο*—3 παρὰ (corr. in ras.) αὐτοῖς—om. τὰ post μᾶλλον ἢ*—ἰέρατ'—post ξένους ras. unius partis versus—4 παρὰ θεῶν*—τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν*—τὰ ἀνθρώπινα—5 σῶμα ἦν*—εἶη*—6 ἐβλήσειαν—καιρὸν ἐμπίπλασθαι*—ἐφύλαττεν(?)* (corr. ἐφυλάττετο)—7 ἐπισκόπων—τὸ ὑπὲρ*—καιρὸν (* corr.)—οὐδὲ*—8 ἄπτεσθαι (corr. ἀπέχεσθαι)—ἐφίλησεν—9 ὀράσεων* (corr. θρασέων)—κυβιστήσεται (corr. in ras.; s.v. corr. 2(?) σειεν)—ἄλλοιτο*—11 τί ἄρ' εἶη—om. μὲν εἶναι*—τὰγαθοῦ*—12 οἶσθα ἔφη (om. ὅτι)—ἡμιωβολιαῖα*—τὸ φρονεῖν—ἐξίστησιν*—13 ὅτι σοὶ (corr. s.v. ὑ)—ἐνίησί τε—om. ἂν—ὑγιῶς*—14 ἀφροδίσιαν—μὲν δεομένου μὲν*—προσδέξετο—ἀοροτάτων (corr. ἀωραιοτάτων)—15 οὔτως*—4, I om. εἰδέναι*—om. εἶ—ποιεῖ—2 θεοῖς μηχανώμενον—4 ἀλλὰ—γένηται—ἀτεκμαρῶς (*-μάρως)—5 om. ὁ—προετέθησαν—om. τῶν—ἐνεργάσθη*—6 τόδε—ἔργον—ἠθμὸν—ἐμπίπλασθαι—ἐπὶ δὲ—γνώμης in mg. (pr. m. ?)—7 τεχνήματι—8 σαυτὸν φρόνιμον τι

δοκεῖς* — φρόνιμος — ταῦτα — om. τὰ — 9 γινομένων — ἑαυτοῦ — post λέγειν ras. circa sex litterarum — οὐδὲ — 10 ἡγούμαι . . . μεγαλοπρεπέστερον in mg. corr. — αὐτῶ — 11 πλείον — θεάσασθαι — 12 γλωττάν τε — ἀρθροῦντες* — ἀλλήλους* — 13 ἐπιμελείσθαι — ἔστιν — τῶν ἀνθρωπῶν — εἰσὶν* — 14 τὰ ἄλλα — ἡδύνατ' — ἀμφοτέρου — ποιήσουσι — 15 φῆς — προσημαίνωσιν οὐδὲ — 16 εἰσι — 17 ᾧ ἀγαθὲ — τὸ σόσον — 18 ἦν μέντοι — καταμανθάνης — λαμβάνεις — τῶν ἀλλήλων — γνώση — 19 om. οὖν — 5, 1 καὶ ἀγαθὸν — προβίβαξε — τοιαύτην — μάλιστα ἂν — om. ἂν post τοῦτον — 2 ἢ παῖδας ἢ* — βία φυλάξαι* — χρημάτων — ἡγησόμεθα (γῆσο in ras. corr.) — ἀκρατήν — ἐπίστασιν — 3 κατοῦργος (τ in ras. corr.; κ s.v. corr. 2) — 4 ὀνειδεῖ ἢ — ἑτέρους (αι s.v. corr. 2) — 5 οὔτως* . . . μόνος* in ras. corr. — 6 ἐπιδείκνυεν — 6, 1 ποτὲ — 2 φιλοφρονοῦντας (σοφ s.v. corr. 2) — τῆς σοφίας — σιτία — ἀλλ' αὐτὸ — 3 κτώμενος — κεκτημένος — om. μιμητὰς — 4 εἶπεν* — om. ᾧ — om. ἂν ἐλέσθαι — 5 λαμβάνωσιν* — βούλομαι — σοὶ παρασκευάζει* — λέγω* — ὁ μὲν . . . δεῖται in mg. corr. — 6 πότε — μάλλον τοῦ — 7 ἐμοὶ — μελετῶντι — 8 αἰτιότερον — 8 ἡγούμενοι* — ἄλλότι — 9 ἢ — πλείω* — ἐκπολυορκηθείη* (pr. m.; ι s.v.) — δυνάμενος ἢ οἱ* — ῥάστοις ῥάστως — 10 δὲ νομίζω — 11 μὲν δίκαιον* — γινώσκειν — 12 ἐλάττω — 13 ποιεῖται — εὐφυῆ* — 14 ἄλλός τις — σχῶ — γινώμεθα* — καλοκαγαθίαν — 15 ἡγείτο* — δὲ οὐ — πότερος — 7, 1 ὄλος ἐπ' εὐδοξία — ὅτι . . . βούλοιτο in mg. superiore corr. — 2 ἐνθυμούμεθα — τί in mg. corr. — τὸν ἀγαθοῦς — πολλοὶ — ἐλεχθήσεται (γ s.v. corr.) — om. δ'* — 3 ὡσαύτως* — κυβερνήτης — om. αὐτῶ* — συμβαίνει — om. εἰ μὲν* — ἐπεθυμῶν (ι s.v. corr.) — ταύτη — ἀθεώτερον (λι s.v. corr.) (* ἀθαιώ-) — κυβερνᾶν τε — αἰσχροῦς — τε καὶ* — 4 ἀπέφαιεν* — αὐτοῦς* — ἱκανῶς* (ους s.v. corr. 2) — 5 ἀπατεῶνα* (αι super ε corr. 2) δὲ καλεῖ* — πειθεῖ* (οἱ s.v. corr.) — ἐξηπατήκει — ὡσεὶ κανὸς — post διαλεγόμενος add. ἐδόκει . . . προτρέπειν e libro II*, punctis subscriptis.

f. 12 r. Ξενοφώντος ἀπομνημονευμάτων Β'. 1, 1 γινὸς δέ — ἱκανῶς — μὴ ἀντιποιήσεται — ἄρξασθαι — τ' ἂν — 2 ἐθίζομεν (corr. ἐθίζοιμεν) — 3 ἐγκρατῆ (corr. ἐγκρατῆ) — πρῶν — ἀλλὰ ἐβελοντῆς — τί δέ . . . παιδευομένων in mg. corr. 2 — ἐπιτήδιον — ἔστι* — προσεῖναι — πολλὸν — 4 ἢ . . . ζῶα in mg. corr. 2

(* om.)—5 κίνδυνος — ἐνάλειαι (?) (* ἐναλείαι); corr. ἐνάδεια — ἐπικίνδυνα — ἦδει (corr. ἦδη) — κακοδαιμονῶντος ἐστίν — 6 πρὸς θάληπῃ* — 7 δυνάτους* — ἀντιποιησαμένους* — 8 τοῦτο* (corr. τούτω) — καταπράττειν* — 9 αὐτοῖς — om. γε* — τοῖνν* — 10 ζῶσιν ἡδίων* — om. οἱ post ἦ — om. Μαιώται . . . ἄρχουσι* — πότερα (*-ά) — οἱ post ἦ add. corr. — 11 ἐγὼ τοῖνν — δουλείαν αὐ — ἀλλ' ἵνα — ἡ ὁδός — 12 μέντοι — οὕτως — μήτε τοὺς — θεραπεύσης* — κλαίοντες καθιστάντες δούλους* — 13 ἔγωγέ — 14 ὅ τε σίδης* — πάντα ταῦτα — 15 ἦττω (v add. corr.) — οὐκὰν — οἴη — om. ἂν* — μῆδὲν — 16 ἄρα — ὅτ' ἂν (et saepe) — 17 ἂν add. corr. — ἐξανάγκης (et 18) — πεινήσωσιν — εἶτε καὶ* — om. καὶ ἀγρυπνήσουσι* — 18 εἰ ὁ* — ἐκῶν add. corr. — διψῶν (διψ in ras. corr.) — ὀπότ' ἂν — φρονῶν* — om. οἱ* — 19 τινὸς ἄξια ἐστὶ — ἑαυτὸν (ω s.v. corr. 3) — οἶσθα χρῆ — 20 ἐργάζεσθαι — οὐ δὲ μίαν — οἶμος ἐπ' — ἴκηται — δ' ἦπειτα — τ' ἀγαθοὶ (i corr. e littera incerta) — μή τι — κῶσ ὁ — ἔχεις — 21 τὸ περὶ τοῦ — 22 προίεσαι — κεκοσμημένα ἦν (?) (corr. -μένην) — κεκαλωπισμένην — δ' ἄμα* — 23 ἐγένετο πλησιέστερον — ἔση* — 24 σιτὸν (*σίτον) — om. ἦ ἀκούσας — ἀπτόμενος ἠσθεῖς — 25 σπανίως — τὸν — τί — ξυνοῦσιν — 26 ὄνομα . . . οἱ μὲν in ras. corr. — με κακίαν — 27 ante καὶ ἐγὼ ras. c. sex litterarum — ἡδυῖα — 28 ἴλεως . . . θεοῦς εἶτε add. corr. — τὴν γῆν φέρειν σ. κ. ἂ. (om. βούλει)* — ὀρμαῖς — 29 om. σοι — ἔξω (corr. ἄξω) — 30 om. ἔνεκα — ἀναμένους (*-ουσα) — ἐμπίπλασαι — φάγοις* — πίνης — στρομνὰς* — παρασκευάζεις — ποιεῖς — γυναιξίν — καὶ ἀνδράσι (om. τοῖς)* — ἑαυτῆς* — 31 ἀπερρίψῃ (corr. 2 ἀπερρίψαι) — ἑαυτῆς* (corr. 2 σεαυτῆς) — σαυτῆς* (post hoc ras. c. quinque litterarum) — νεότητας (*-τα) — om. μὲν* — 32 ἀνθρώπινον — μὲν γὰρ — παραστάτης (*-τις) — 2, 1 ἑαυτοῦ* — ἔμοιγ' — 2 ποτε (*ποτε) — om. οὕτω* — 3 εἴ τ' — ἂν μελζονα εὐηργετημένος (v s.v. corr. 3) — ἀπὸ* γονων (έ add. corr.) — ἄδικα οὕτως* — παύσοντες — 4 τοῦ (corr. τούτου) — 5 ἦς καὶ — διενέγκασα — ὄτου συμπάσχει* — om. τὰ post καὶ* — εἰδυῖα τίνα* — 6 ἀγαθὰ ἔχ. οἱ γ. — ἀλλ' ἂν* — τοῦτο* — 7 εἰ ταῦτα πάντα — πολοπλάσια — οἶε ἔφη — om. ἦδη — 8 πράγματα et κτὸς in mg. et ras. corr. — 9 αὐτῇ — ζημειώση — om. ἂ — ἀλλ' ἀγαθὰ (om. καὶ β. σοι)* — om. ἄλλω* — τοῦτο δέ* — 10 σοι ταύτην* — ἐπιμελομένην (v

super o add. corr.)—*ὕμάνην*(?) (*-*ην*)—*ἔση*—II *μὴδ' ἔπεσθαι* *—*μὰ δία*—12 *γείτωνι*—*γίνηται* *—*βοηθεῖ* *—*ἔγωγέφη*—*διαφέρει*—*ἔγωγ'*—13 *οἶσθα*—*ἀχαριστείας*—*οὐ κοσμῆ*—*ἐξετάζη*—14 *ἐθέλωσιν* *—*οὐ φυλάξη* *—*ἀτιμάσωσιν* *—*γοῦν* (?) (*-*εἶς*)—*νομήσειεν*—3, I *δ' ἐνός*—2 *πολίτων*—*δύναται* *—*ἀρκοῦντα*—3 *οὐ γιγνωσκομένους*—4 *om. μὲν*—5 *μικρὸν*—*om. τί* *—6 *ἀρκέσαι*—*χερεφῶν*—*ἀρέσκη* (corr. *-ει*(?))—*ζημία μὲν*—9 *μέγα ἂν ἀγαθὸν* *—*ἐπιχειρήσ*—II *ποιῆς* (*-*ῆς*)—*κατάρχοι ἂν* (*μι* add. corr.)—13 *ποιοῖση* (corr. *-ης*)—*ἤκοιμι* (corr. *ἤδοιμι*)—14 *πάντα* *—*ἄρξασθαι*—*φύσιν* *—15 *καθηγείσθαι* (corr. *καθ' ἡγ*)—*ἔργον καὶ λόγον* *—16 *καὶ οὐ*—*ἰπήξαι*—*ὦ ἀγαθέ* *—*om. ὡς* *—*ἔλλοις* (**ἔλοις*)—*διδοίης* *—*δ' ἀγαθοὺς καὶ καλοὺς*—17 *φιλονεικήσειεν* corr.—*om. καὶ* post *σου*—18 *διακείσθαι*—*τούτω*—19 *om. πεποιημένοις . . . ὠφελεία* *—*τᾶλλα τέως* (**τ' ἕως*) *ἀδελφὰ*—*ὀργύας* (*ι* add. corr.)(**ὀργὰς*)—*ὀργῶν* *—4, I *περὶ φίλου* *—*ἐπιμελουμένους* *—*πάντως* * (*ὸ* s.v. corr. 3)—*ὀρᾶν* * (corr. 3 *ἐρᾶν*)—2 *ὀρᾶν . . . πολλοὺς* in mg. corr.—*οἱ ὄντε* (**οἰόντε*)—*ἑαυτοῖς* *—3 *τ' ἄλλα πρὸς ὑγίαν*—4 *ἐθέασαν* (*-*έα-*) (corr. *ἔθεσαν*)—*τούτοις* *—*τοσοῦτων* (corr. 3 *τοσοῦτον*?)—5 *πάνχρηστον* *—6 *πράξεον*—*ταράττει* *—7 *διανύττουσι*—*αυτοῦ* (sic)—*πρὸς τοὺς φίλους*—*ἐξείρκεσεν* (corr. *-ή-*)—*μὲν δένδρα*—*παμφοροτάτου*—5, 2 *om. φίλων*—*δύο*—*ἡμιμνέου* (*αι* s.v. corr.)—*τὰργύρια*—*ὥσπερ ὥσπερ*—3 *ἡμιμνέου*—*om. ἂν*—4 *ἀκούω*—5 *ἀπόδοται*—*τῶν πονηρῶν φίλων*—*πλείον*—6, I *ἐφεκτέον*—2 *ἀλλὰ εἰ*—*πλησίον*—*μισεῖν*—*om. γ'*—3 *δυσξύμβολός*—*δὲ οὐ*—*οὗτος ἐστι*—4 *ὅτις*—*om. τι*—5 *οἶμαι μὲν χειρήσομεν φίλον ποιείσθαι ἐγκρατῆς* (*ἐγκρα* in mg. corr. 3)—*μὲν εἶναι* * (corr. 2 s.v. *εἶη*)—*εὐορκος* *—*εὐξύμβολος* * (corr. 2 *-βουλος*)—*φιλόνεικος*—*ἑαυτὸν*—6 *om. ἂν*—7 *τί λέγεις*—*ὑστέρους* *—*τοῖς π. ὀρῶ* *—*καὶ ἄλλοις*—8 *ὃ ἂν ἡμῖν δοκεῖ* *—10 *οἱ ἂν* *—*βούλονται*—*ἑαυτοῖς* *—*om. οἱ* *—11 *τις ἦν* (*ἦν* del. corr. 2)—*δεῦρο* (*δεῦρ'* * corr.)—*ὀδυσεῦ* *—12 *νομῆς* *—13 *αὐτόν* bis—*ἑαυτῇ*—14 *λέγων*—*κτήσεσθαι*—*om. καὶ* post *εἶναι*—16 *δί' οὐκ ἔφη*—*μου*—18 *ἐπιμελουμένοι*—*om. καὶ . . . προσιέμεναι*—*ἔχωσι*—20 *γένειτ'*—21 *ἄλλοις* (corr. 2 *ἀλλήλοις*)—*διχογνωμοῦντες* (corr. 2 *-μονοῦντες*)—*μισητὸς*—22 *om. πάντων*—*διαλυομένη*—*ἡλωμένοι* * (corr. *ή-*)—23 *νομίμων*—*μεταλησόμενον*—

φίλων ἐαυτὸν (corr. 2 φ. ἐαυτῶν)—25 αὐτός τι—26 δηλός*—
 om. οὖν ἐκεῖ*—πῶς οὖν (οὐ s.v. corr. 3)—27 πολεμεῖ—om.
 ἐὰν—ἀντιτάττεται—εὐεργετῶν—28 γιγνόμενος—ξυνεῖναι—
 29 σοὶ erasum—om. μὴ . . . γενέσθαι*—om. πρὸς*—31 ἔν-
 εστιν—ἀπό τε σκύλης—32 προθήσεις—ἐχθροὶ (corr. 2 et 3
 αἰσχροὶ)—33 βούλει—34 προκατηγορήσω—ἐὰν (ἂν corr. 3)—
 35 ἔξεστί—βούλει—ὅπως . . . γί in ras. corr.—ἀποκάμνης—
 om. ἀνδρὸς*—36 διαγελλούσας—ὠφελεῖν ἐπινεῖν(?) (ἐπαινεῖν*
 corr.)—37 ἄρα (et saepe)—μέν τοι—om. δοκῶ σοι* (spatio
 relicto)—om. τὰ (σε in ras.)—38 οὕτως—σοι erasum—πόλις
 ἢ ὑπὸ—ιδίω—om. τε—39 βούλει—μελέτητη—ὑμᾶς—γινώ-
 σκεις—7, 1 κουφίσομεν—2 καταλελειμένοι (μ super μ corr. 2)
 —τεσσαρεσκαίδεκά—3 δι' s.v. (*διένδειαν)—ἐγὼ δὲ—4 πονη-
 ρωτέρων—ἀπορίας—δὲ—5 χειτωνίσκοι—χλαμίδες—om. γ'
 . . . παρὰ—6 om. οὐκ—κυριβὸς—ἔχωσιν—7 εἴη (corr. οἶει)
 —χρησασθαι—δὲ—8 ἀφῆς αὐτὰ ἐπίστασαι—ὠφεληθησόμεναι
 —om. δ'—om. εἰ post ἢ—9 ἐγὼ οἶμαι—προσγεγονυῖαν—
 προστάτης ἧς (sic)—αὐξήσεται (corr. 3 -τε)—10 καὶ προπο-
 δέστερα (s.v. eadem m. στατα) . . . κάλλιστα in mg. corr.—
 λυσιτελεῖ ἢ καὶ ἐκείναις*—11 οὕτως—ὑπομένειν—12 om. δὲ
 ante ἔρια—ἐαυτὰς—ἀλλήλας—om. τὸν—τὸν ἐν—14 δία—
 δύνασθε*—ἀπόλλησθε—om. οὖν—8, 1 ἰδὼν διὰ χρόνον—
 δέεσθαι—δανοιζοίμην—2 μὴν γ' ἔφη—δαπανήσης (ης del.
 corr. 3)—δεήσει—3 κρείττων—πλείωνα—ποῦ (pro τοῦ)—
 om. τοὺς—4 ἐπιμελόμενοι—5 εὐρεῖν ἔρω—ποιήσαντας—δια-
 γίνεσθαι—6 τοὺς τε—ποιεῖν . . . δύνασαι in mg. corr.—ὅσα
 δ' ἂν πράττεις—ἦκιστα μέν—9, 2 γάρ με—ἐθέλοι τε in mg.
 corr.—ἴσθ' ὅτι—4 κερδάνειν—συγκοφαντῶν—συγκομίζει—
 ἢ ἄλλω τῶν—5 ἀνευρήκει—ἀποτίσαι—6 αὐτῶ—7 ἐπὶ δὲ
 (sic)—ἦδε τότε—ἔχει—βούλωνται—οὕτω καὶ τοῦ κρείττωνος—
 8 αἰσχόν—post πειρᾶσθαι verba τοῖς . . . πειρᾶσθαι erasa—
 —κρείττωνος (ω corr. in ras.)—10, 1 σοι*—ἀνακομίση*—
 2 σώστρατον ἀνακηρύσσειν—3 παράμονον*—om. ποιεῖν—
 ἔχειν . . . ἱκανὸν in mg. corr.—5 οὔτε ἐκεῖνω—6 εὐφραίνει.

f. 22 v. Ξενοφάντος ἀπομνημονευμάτων Γ. 1, 1 ἐπαγγελό-
 μενον—ξυνόντων—om. τῆς . . . ταύτης—τυγχάνειν (in mg.
 corr. 3 στρατηγεῖν)—3 μαθεῖν μᾶλλον ἀμελῶν (om. τοῦτο)
 —ἐρεθῆναι (αἰ super ἐρ add. pr.m. (?))—4 δοκεῖν—γεγε-

ρανὸν (corr. -ρόν)—καὶ οὕτω—οὐδὲ ἐὰν—5 om. ἢ post τις
 —ἄλλο—6 πολοστὸν—ἀ δεῖ—8 τοὺς τε πρώτους ἀρίστους
 δεῖ—τοὺς τελευταίους—δὲ μέσῳ—ὠθοῦνται—9 om. ἔφη—
 ὠφελος—διαγιγνώσκειν—10 om. οὐ—om. μὴ—φιλαργυροτά-
 τους—ἄρα τε—11 ὅποι—τακτέων—τ' ἐστὶ—om. πρὸς . . .
 τάττειν—λέγειν—ἦν γὰρ—ἀναιδήση—2, 1 om. τὸν ποιμένα
 . . . ἔσονται—διῆς (sic)—ἐνεκα στρατεύονται—ἔσονται—
 2 τε καὶ—προεστήκει—3 ἐπιμελεῖται—τούτοις—ἡγεμῶνες—
 4 post καὶ οὕτως eadem verba deleta—ἡγείται—3, 1 οἶάδε
 (τ in mg. corr. 3)—om. οἶ—ἐπεὶ . . . γε in mg. corr.—2 ἰπ-
 πέων—3 ἔργον—4 παρέχονται—οὕτως—μῆτε τάξαι—ἰππέων
 —5 om. οὐκοῦν . . . ἔφη—οὕτως—6 δεῖ—ἄμμον—οἴοιπερ
 (σ add. corr.)—πολέμιοι—οὖν—7 om. τί . . . ἔφη—οὔσπερ
 —ποιεῖν—8 ἵπων—9 βελτίους—ἐν νοήσω—10 πρᾶον ἢ οἴσει
 —11 ὅτε (corr. 3 (?) ὅτι)—κάλλιστα διδάσκονται—12 γίγνεται
 —γίνεται—14 τοῦτο διενέγκειεν—νομίσειεν—15 ὠφελήθηση
 —4, 1 κατὰ λόγου—3 φιλόνεικος—4 νικομάχης—5 εἰρίσκη-
 ται καὶ προαιρεῖται εἰκότος—om. ἂν post μᾶλλον—ξὺν—ξὺν
 —φυλακῇ—6 σύ λέγεις—ἐνᾶν (sic) γινώσκει—7 om. οἶ post
 ὡς—ἴθι δὲ—8 om. οὐκοῦν ἔφη—προστάτειν ἐκάστοις (om. τοῖς)
 —9 om. σφόδρα . . . προσήκει—τὰ αὐτὰ—11 παριεῖς—οὕτω—
 ἐναργῶς—ὄρῳ (corr. 3 ὄρᾳ)—12 οὐδέτερα—ὄσοι—πλημελοῦσι
 —5, 2 οὐδὲν in mg. corr.—βοιοτῶν—4 λεβαδία—δὲ add.
 corr.—om. φρόνημα—οὐδὲν—πελοπονησίῳν (ν s.v. corr., ut
 infra, 11)—ἐάντους—βιωτίαν—βιωτοῖ—5 εὐαρεσκοτέρως—
 θάρσος—6 τεκμήρα δ' ἂν καὶ—πολέμους—δεῖδωσιν—7 ἀνε-
 ρεθισθῆναι—8 ἐξορμῶμεν—ἐπειδὴ τοῦ μὲν—ἐπιμελούμενοι—
 9 διδάσκομεν and three following lines indented about six let-
 ters—εἰς τοὺς—παλαιοτάτους—10 τῶν ἐφ'—πελοπονήσῳ—
 11 οἷε ἐκείνων (οἶ in ras. corr.)—ἐάντους—θάλασσαν (corr.
 -ττ.)—ἐαυτοὺς—12 ἐλάδι—13 γε—εἰ ἢ—om. τὸ—οἶμαι ἔφη
 —ἄλλοι—κατάρθημῆσαντες—15 καλοκάγαθίαν—σωμάσκη-
 σουσιν (σκ in ras. corr.)—ἐπιμελουμένων—16 οὔτοι—μάλ-
 λιστα—αὐτοὺς—17 ἀπειρία—ἐμφυτεύεται—πόλει εἰ—19 τοί-
 ος—ἰππεῖς—καλοκάγαθία—20 ἀρρίῳ—τ' ἄλλα (et saepe)—
 —21 ὄσοι τούτων ἄρχουσιν—22 om. μαθεῖν—23 ἔχεις—
 24 καὶ . . . λέγεις in mg. corr.—με τοῦτον—25 ὄρη τε καθή-
 κοντα—προσάντις—διέζωσται—26 τί δέ σε—γε—27 οἷη—

κατεσκευασθαι—28 ἀρέσκειν—κατὰ πράξης—6, 1 ὄντων—
 2 γλαῦκον (sic)—ἐάν τι διαπράξῃ—ἔση ter—om. αὐτὸς . . .
 δὲ—τοῖς φίλοις—τοὺς πατρώους οἶκους—θεομιστοκλῆς—
 3 τιμᾶσαι—4 διεσώπησεν ὡσάν—ἄρ'—5 ἂν οἴῃ—ἔχωσιν—
 ἀλλὰ δὴ ἔφη—6 διανοεῖ—ἀναβαλλοῦμεθα (ou in ras. corr.)—
 7 γε—om. ὄντα—προσαποβάλοιο—8 om. ἔφη ante τόν—δὴ
 πολεμῆν—om. ἢ—συμβουλευεῖ—πείθει—9 οὕτως—ἐνεγκαί
 —οὐ γέγραπταί—10 om. ἤδη—καὶ ὅποσαι . . . ἱκανοὶ εἰσι
 in mg. corr.—συμβουλευεῖν—11 ἄγωγε—καὶ ἄπτεισθαι—ἂ
 τρέφει πότερον—12 τὰργύρια—ἀφίξαι (corr. ἀφίξει)—αὐτή—
 13 om. χρόνον—προσδέεται—om. γε—σε πότε—ἔχεις—
 14 προσδέεται—δέ ἐστιν—δέεται—πλείωσιν—ἂν γε—δύνετο
 —πλείω (corr. πλείω)—οὐκ ἐπιχειρητέον—15 ἐθελει—om. ο
 (signo ' solo relicto)—πείθειν—δύνεσθαί σου—16 om. ἢ
 post ταῦτα—τυγχάνει—18 βούλη—7, 1 νομίζεις—2 τῆς πό-
 λεως τῶν—ὀκνεῖ ἤδη—ε (corr. 3 ἐ vel σὲ?)—3 με καταμαν-
 θάνεις—σύνειμι—ἀνακινῶνται—4 πλήθει ἀγωνίζεσθαι ἢ—
 5 ἢ . . . ὀμιλίας in mg. corr.—δίδαξον—αἰσχυνέι (et 6)—
 6 γραφεῖς—σκυτεῖς—χαλκεῖς . . . ἐμπόρους ἢ τους in mg. corr.
 —πλείονας (o super a corr. 3) οὐπωλῶνται—7 οὐ—διαλεγο-
 μένου—ὀκνεῖν—9 ὃ ἀγαθὲ—ἀποραθῆμει—διὰ τείνου—σ' ἀντῶ
 —8, 1 δ' ἐπιχειροῦντος—ἐπ' ἀλλαχθῆ—πράττειεν—2 εἰδεῖει—
 δεικνοίῃ—ἐνοχλεῖ—ἥπερ—3 ἄρα γὰρ—εἶ ὅτι—4 εἶ τε—
 καλὸν post τὸ τῶ—καὶ ἄλλος—πάλιν (corr. πάλην)—προβα-
 λέσθαι—5 σοι δ' οἶε—ἄλλον δὲ—ταῦτα πάντα—φ. π. ταῦτα
 —εὐχρηστον—6 χρυσή—εἰ ἢ—εἶναι τὰ αὐτὰ—7 δία—
 8 ἔμοιγεδοκεῖ—ἐπισκοπεῖ—ἄρα—9 ἐν τοῖς—ὁ ἥλιος in mg.
 corr.—χμαμαλώτερα—10 καλίστη—εἶη in ras. corr.—ἐμφε-
 νεστάτη—ἠδότας—9, 1 εἰ ἢ—τόλμην—2 τολμήσειεν—θρα-
 ξιν ἐν—σκύθαις ἐν—3 καὶ τοὺς ἀμβλυτέρους in mg. corr.—
 βούλονται—4 σοφίαν—εἰδότας—κ. νωθεῖς πάντας—οἶόν τε—
 5 ἀρετῇ (corr. -ῆ)—ὅτ' ἂν—ἐπισταμένους οὐ—ἄλλα—καλά
 γε—6 γε . . . μανίαν in mg. corr.—σοφίαν—μὴ ἂ οἶδεν—
 οἶεσθαι καὶ—ἀγνοοῦσιν—7 ἰσχυρῶς—τῶ—8 ἐξέυρισκεν—ἀνι-
 μένους—ὑπεμίμησκεν—οὕτως—μὲν φρονίμῳ—δεῖ—9 τίς—
 ἔφη εἰρίσκειν—τον (τοῦ s.v. corr.)—10 βασιλεῖς—11 ἠτῶν-
 ται (corr. 3 κτῶνται)—πράττωσι—12 ἔξεστιν—τοῖς . . . πεί-
 θεσθαι in mg. corr.—τε—μὴ . . . λέγοντι om.*—13 πότε—

— οἷη σώζεσθαι—ταῦτα—14 ἐρωμένου in ras. corr.—αὐτῶ—
 om. οἶμαι—om. τε καὶ μελετήσαντα—10, 1 ἐκμιμῆσθαι—
 2 ἀμφομοιοῦντες—ράδιον ἐνὶ—ποιεῖται—3 om. τὸ—πιθανό-
 τατόν τε—ἀπομιμῆσθαι—μιμητόν ἐστιν—4 ἄρ'—πώποτε—
 τόγε—ὄμμασιν—συνδοκοῦσιν—ἐπί με—5 σωφρονητικόν—
 διαφέρει—ἀληθῆ—μιμήματα—ἦθη s.v. corr.—μιμητά—
 6 δρομείς—ἀνδράσιν (i super ρ corr.)—7 ἄρ'—ζώτων (corr.
 add. ν)—τὰ ἀνασπώμενα—ἐκτεινόμενα—8 τι (corr. τί)—ποιεῖν
 —om. ἦ—γε—9 εἶργασμένους—τῶ—10 τί οὔτε—om. πλείο-
 νος—om. δὲ—ἐπειδεικνύων—ἐστίν—11 ἄρρυθμα—ἀρῦθμῳ—
 12 ᾧ σῶκρατες (corr. 3 ὁ σωκράτης)—ᾧ ἐὰν—εἶεν—13 κρεμ-
 μανύμενοι—γίνονται—δεῖ—14 διόπερ—15 τότε (bis)—μὴ
 τοὺς—καὶ ταυῶν—11, 1 οἶα—om. τῶ—τοῦ λόγου κρείττων—
 2 ἐκτέον—3 λέγει—ἐπειδᾶν—ὑποκνιζόμενοι—4 om. τε ante
 καὶ—δεοδότῃ ἔσθῃ—προσώδους—τὰπιτήδεια (i super π corr.)
 —5 ἦρα—βοῶν καὶ αἰγῶν φίλων δὲ—6 προσήκοντος—τοῦτο
 —7 οὕτως—θηράσσειν—8 ἦ in ras. corr.—ἄλλας οὖν—ἀλί-
 σκονται—ιστάσι—ἴν' . . . συμποδίζονται· τοῖνι (i in ras.) in mg.
 corr.—9 om. οὖν—ἐὰν δὲ—μηχανήσῃται ὅπως ἂν—10 κατα-
 μαυθάνει (?)—τρυφόντα—ἄριστοί—om. σοι—11 παρὰ μόνιμόν
 —12 σμικρότατα—γίγνονται—13 καὶν—προσφέρει—προσ-
 σφερη (sic)—14 ὑπομιμνήσκεις bis—δέονται—15 om. οὐ—
 om. με—ζητήσης—μηχανᾶσει—16 αὐτοῦ—ἐαυτῶν—ἐπωδᾶς
 —17 σιμμίαν—παραγίνεσθαι—ἐπωδῶν—18 ὑποδεξοῦμαι—
 ἐὰν—12, 1 ιδιώτης μὲν—ὄλυμπία (et λ s.v.)—2 τοῦ σώματος
 (ὦν . . . ὦν s.v. pr. m.)—om. τε post ζῶντες—δουλεύσωσι—ἐὰν
 οὖν οὕτω—ἐκτίσαντες—om. πλείω—3 οἷη—ράφ—4 σφάζονται
 (om. τε)—5 ἦ πόλις οὐκ ἂ. δ.—6 δοκεῖς ἐλαχίστην—χρεῖαν—
 λήθη κτλ. (i subscr. add. corr. quater)—7 κύνδυνος—ὑπο-
 μένειεν—8 γηράσαι—om. καὶ κράτιστος—13, 1 οὐκ ἄντι ante
 οὐκ del. corr. 3—ἀπήντισάς—2 διδάσκειν—ἐρωμένου—3 πίνει
 —ᾧστε λούσασθαί ἐστιν—om. τε—λουόμενοι αὐτὸ—om. πότε-
 ρον δὲ λούσασθαι . . . ἂ. ἔφη*—κυνδυνεύεις—4 om. τί—βλα-
 κώτατος—5 φοβεῖται—εἰ add. corr.—ἡμέρας (?) πλείονας—
 6 om. πότερον—om. ἔφη—φέρων—ᾧη—om. δὲ—τοσοῦτω e
 τοσοῦτου (?) pr. m.—14, 1 τὸ δείπνον—om. καὶ post οὖν—
 2 τινα τῶν ξυνδ. (om. ποτε)—om. δὴ—ἀλλ' οἶμαι οὐπω—γε
 τούτῳ—3 αὐτοῦ—γ' ἂν (corr. γὰρ)—σίτον ἐσθίων—4 αὐτὸν—

6 γέλοιόν—προσγίνεται—ἢ μὴ—7 ἐσθλείς—προκείσθαι—
 ἵνα—μήτε δυσεύρετα (ύ in ras. corr.; σ add. corr. 3)—ἀνετίθη*.

f. 33 r. Ξενοφώντος ἀπομνημονευμάτων Δος'. 1, 1 διότι—
 ὅπου οὖν—ὅτω οὖν—ὠφελεί—2 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις (per compend.)
 —om. τε—εἰκέιν (οι s.v. corr. 3)—3 εἶη—om. αἰ—ἀναχθεί-
 σας—4 παιδευθέντας δέ—om. πλείστα . . . γίγνεσθαι—διό—
 ἐογάζονται—5 ἐπίπῃ—ἐφραίνου—μωρός (bis)—ἡλίθιος εἶ (εἶ
 in ras. corr.)—οὔτε—δόξει—δοκεῖν—2, 1 ἐπὶ—οὔτως—ἦν
 ὅποι ἰόντι—εἶη τῶν καθ'—2 θεσμιτοκλῆς—διήνευεγκεν—εὔηδες
 (θ s.v. corr. 3)—τὸ μὲν ὀλίγου—ταυτομάτου—παραγίνεσθαι—
 3 συνέδρας—εὔδηλόν ἐστιν—δημιγορικῶν—4 τούτους(?)—μοι
 τινα—ἀπαυτομάτου ἐπήειμι—5 αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ—ἔρχεσθαι—ἐμαν-
 τοῖ (corr. 3 ἐμαντοῦ)—δ' ὅτε—7 ὅσωνπερ—ante δῆλον erasa
 δῆλον οὖν—καταρχὰς—8 om. καὶ ὁ εὐθύδημος—ἔτι τε (?)—
 9 ἦρα—om. γε—χρυσίου εἰ (οἱ s.v. corr. 3)—10 διεσώπησεν
 —ἄρα—οὐκοῦν—σε φησὶν ἐπὶ—om. πάντα—11 om. ἔφη—διά
 —τ' ἐστὶ—12 κατήργασαι—ἦττον (et saepe)—μέντοι γ'—om.
 ἔφη post οὖν—14 om. ἐν—om. οὐκοῦν . . . ἀδικίαν—μὲν
 ἀνδραποδιζέσθαι—15 ἐξανδραποδιεῖται—ταῦτ' ἐρωτᾶν (corr.
 -ᾶν)—πάντα ἃ πρὸς—εἶη—16 διωρισόμεθα—17 φαρμακίας—
 ἀναθυμία—18 δεινὰ πλοιζέσθαι (corr. 3 δεῖν ἀπλ.)—19 φόβην
 —20 ἀναγιώσκει—δὲ τὸν μὴ—om. μὴ—21 φράζον—τότε
 quater—δηλὸς—om. ἃ—23 οἶει μὴ—ἐρωτόμενον—om. ὁδοῖν
 —24 om. γε—ποῦ—προσσχες (corr. προσεχές (?))—ἐπεχειρί-
 σας—om. ἄν—25 εἶδεν corr. in ras.—οἴονται—ἰσχυρὸς ἐστιν
 —om. τὰ—αὐτοῦ—om. οὔτως . . . δύναμιν—26 οἱ ἀνθρώποι
 —om. γὰρ—om. τε ante ὧν—28 ἐντυγχάνοντες—τούτου ὑπὲρ
 αὐτῶν—τε ἑαυτῶν—29 δέ—ἐπιχειρήσουσιν—ἑαυτοῖς—ὅσοι
 ἐὰν—κρείττωσι—30 δοκούσιν ᾧ σ. ἔφη—ἑαυτῶν—οὔτωσὶ σοὶ
 (σὶ in ras. corr.)—ὀπόθεν δὴ ἄρξασθαι—31 ταῦτ'—με γὰρ—
 ὑγαίνειν φέροντα . . . καὶ τὸ in mg. corr.—32 ναυτηλίας—
 ἀπόλλοντο (corr. -ώ)—μετέχωσιν—33 ἀναμφιβητῆτως—δέ-
 δαλον (in mg. corr. 3 δαίδαλον)—ἐπεὶ χείρων—ἡδυνήθη—
 φιλοσοφίαν (φιλο del. corr.) ἀναρπάστους—34 συντηθείη—
 εὐδαιμονοῖη—35 ἄρα—om. καὶ—τῶν ἐν τοῖς—ἀπόλλυνται—
 36 μὴ τὸ—παρασκεβάζη—37 καὶ . . . ἔγωγε om.—ἄρα οἶσθα
 —38 om. καὶ ante νῆ—40 προσίεσαν—βλακωτέρους—δ'—
 ἄλλος—μμεῖτο—3, 1 δεκτικούς—συσχόντας (συντυ s.v. corr.)

—3 παρέχωσι—4 τὰς ὥρας τῆς νυκτὸς—6 καὶ φυτεύειν—
 7 om. ἔφη—8 ἐπειδ' ἂν—τράπηται (πηται in mg. corr.)—
 φυλατόμενον—μάλιστα—9 ψύχος—πήγνυτο—10 ζῶον (et
 saepe)—ὕδν—ἵππων καὶ βοῶν—χρῶνται—ὁμογνωμόνως—
 11 προσθῆναι—ἀπολάβωμεν in ras. corr.—τὸ δὲ . . . τῶν τε
 in mg. corr.—οἷς περὶ—ἐσθανόμεθα—ὅποι—om. ἀγαθῶν—
 12 καὶ εἰ ἄ.—ταύτην—γίγνυντο—13 ἔξαρκεῖ—γὰρ καὶ—τὰ
 ἀγαθὰ—ὕγιῃ—ἀναμαρτήτως ὑπηρετοῦντα—τόδε—14 om. ὁ
 —θεᾶσθαι—οὔτε κατασκήψας—om. γε et ἡ—αὐτῇ (ι subscr.
 eras.)—17 τούτου—ἡ ἴσως—18 δὴ μὲν—4, 1 στρατιαῖς—
 2 ἐπέστρεψε—ἦν—3 οὐδ' ἐπέιθετο—5 δικαίως—μέγιστα εἶναι
 —εἶναι ὅποιαν—7 εἰ (^ del. corr. 3)—ἀποκρίνη—om. οὐδείς
 —ἂν εἰπεῖν—8 ἦρα—ἀντιδοκούντες—om. ἂν—10 ἦσθησαι
 (ησαι in ras. corr.)—11 με—εἰς (ς add. corr.)—τὸ δὲ s.v.
 corr.—12 δοκῆ (ῆ in ras. corr.)—ἀρέσκη (ῆ in ras. corr.)—τὸν
 νόμον—13 ἔγωγ' bis—μὲν ἔφη πράττοι—πῶς . . . δίκαιος om.
 —14 om. αὐτοῖς—αὐτοῖς οἱ—ἐράμεναι (ou super á pr.m.) αἰ—
 om. οἶει—φαυλίξειν—καταλύοιεν—om. ἂν—εἰ τοὺς πολεμίους
 —15 λυκούρδον (γ s.v. corr. 2)—μάλιστα οὐς—om. ὅτι—
 16 post ὁμοιοῦσιν ras. unius versus—οὐδὲ ἴνα—οὔτε οἶκος—
 17 om. τιμῶτο . . . ἡ τίνα μᾶλλον—ῶ ἂν—om. μὲν—18 ὦ in
 mg. corr.—γινώσκεις—19 om. ἔφη ante ὦ—ταῦτα—20 οὐκ
 ἔτι—τί δὲ—αἰσθάνομαί τ. ἔφη—21 ἀλλ' ἂν—γέ τοί γε—τῷ
 δίκην—23 om. ἔφη post ὅτι—om. τὰ τῶν μὴ ἀκμαζόντων—
 σπουδαιά—om. οὔτω post γε—om. ἂν—24 om. τὴν—χρηῆσθαι
 τούτοις—αὐτῶν—5, 1 ἡσκηκῶς αὐτὸν—2 om. περὶ—4 πότε-
 ρον—6 ἐμβαλεῖν—αἰσθανομένου—7 δέ . . . τίμη in ras. corr.
 —τοῦτ'—λυτικώτερον (spatio duarum litterarum ante relicto)—
 ἀκρασίας εἶναι—ἀναγκάζοντος—8 τὸ τῶν—ἄριστον . . . εὐθύ-
 δημε in mg. corr.—ἡ ἐγκράτεια—9 εἰκότος—ὥσπερ ἡ μὲν—
 δίψαν (ος s.v. pr.m.)—δὲ ἀναπαύσασθαι—καὶ περιμείναντας—
 ἦδεσθαι s.v. corr.—10 κρατήσει—μὲν γὰρ—11 μόνους—ἔργω
 καὶ λόγῳ (λόγῳ δια in ras.)—καὶ τὰ γένη—κακῶν—6, 1 σφά-
 λεσθαι—σφάλειν—2 σκοπεῖ—om. ἔφη post μοι—τοῦτο ποιεῖν
 —3 τούτους ποιοῦν—om. ὡς δεῖ post εἰδῶς—4 om. posterius
 τὰ—ὠρισμένως—5 τε—ἄλλα—καθὰ δὴ (δεῖ s.v. corr. 3) πρὸς
 ἀλλήλους—τ' ἀνθρώπεια—6 οἶσθα ἔφη—om. γὰρ—οἶμαι—
 ποιεῖν ταῦτα—οἶομαι—om. ἡ—om. οὔτοι—om. ἄρα—7 ἐπι-

στῆμης—γὰρ ἔφη ἄλλω τις ἂν—10 om. δὲ—μὰ—εἰσὶ—γε τῶν γε—διά—11 ἀλά—κακοὺς . . . ἔφη in mg. corr.—om. ἄρ' οὖν . . . ἔφη—μόνοι γε—κυνδύνοις—δὲ μὴ ἀμαρτῶντες τοῦτο—12 νόμον—om. μὲν ante τὴν—13 τοῦ—14 γὰρ οὐ—ἄρα—εἰκότως—om. δοκεῖ—7, 1 μάλιστα ἐμὲ δ' ἐν τῷ—προθυμώτατα—3 δυσξυνέτων—ὠφελήμων (et 5)—4 γιγνώσκοντα—6 ἠβουλήθησαν—7 μὲν γὰρ λέγων τὸν αὐτὸν—om. τε—ὡς—κακαθ' ὀρώσω—ὅτι καὶ—om. δὲ post ὑπὸ—τὸν πάντα—λαμπρότερος—8 συνδιέξεισι—9 προέτρεπε—ὑγείας—πόμα—ὑγιεινότερα—αὐτῷ—ὑγίαν—ἑαυτοῦ—10 συναίνουσι (sym in ras.)—8, 1 om. μὴ ante τότε—δικαιώτατα—2 ἀποθνήσκειν—καίτοι τῶν—3 ὃν ἂν—εὐδαιμονέστατος—4 μέλη τοῦ—5 om. δὲ—ἀθήνησι—ἀχθεσθέντες—6 om. μέχρι—ἑμαυτοῦ—7 μέχρι s.v. corr.—ἠσθανόμην—ἑμαυτὸν—οἶωνται—8 βίόσομαι—ἐπιμελείσθαι—καὶ ἔ. ἀποβαίνειν (ἀποβαίνειν in ras. et mg. corr.)—καὶ . . . βελ in mg. corr.—χειρῶν—9 ὅτι οὖν—10 καταλιπομένην—μαρτυρεῖσθαι—τοὺς σὺν ἐμοὶ—11 ὃν ὃν—ἑαυτῷ ἐγκρατῆς γὰρ*—προσδέεσθαι ἀλλὰ—ἱκανῶς (post τοιαῦτα)—δοκιμᾶσαι—ἐξελέγξαι—καλοκαγαθίαν corr. 2 (del. ' corr. 3 (?))—ἐδόκει δὲ—ἀρέσκη (*-η) ταῦτα ἄρ—ἄλλου* (ou in ras.).

Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1619 = Vat. 2

Vat. 2, the close relationship of which to L is plainly apparent even from the comparatively few excerpts reported above, is a fifteenth century Ms. in three parts by as many different hands: a) On parchment, f. 1–54 v., writings of Manuel Palaeologos; f. 55 blank. b) On paper, f. 56 r. ξενοφώντος ῥήματα ἀπομνημονευμάτων α^{τος}; 69 v. ξενοφώντος ῥήτορος ἀπομνημονευμάτων β^{τος}; 85 r. ξενοφώντος ῥήτορος ἀπομνημονευμάτων Γ^{ος}; 101 v. ξενοφώντος ῥήτορος ἀπομνημονευμάτων δ^{ος}; 118 r. *Cyn.*; 135 r. *Hipparch.*; 145 v. *Hiero*; 157 r. *Hipp.*; 169 v. *Pol. Lac.*; 179 r. *Pol. Ath.* c) On paper, f. 186 r. other works of Manuel and f. 211 r.—228 v. Plutarch's ἀποφθέγματα βασιλέων καὶ στρατηγῶν.¹ The following readings, not already reported above in connection with other Mss., may be mentioned: 1, 2, 48 φαίδων δὲ (c. B₃,

¹ Cf Schenkl, *Xen. Stud.* II, 29 (113), n. 1; *Stud. Ital.* VI, 69 f.; 486 f.

L³ marg.); 5, 5, *ικέτευον* (c. A pr. m.)¹; 11, 1, 9, *αὐτοῖς τε* (c. L³ pr. m., Br., Spp., Marchant); 4, 2, *κτῆσονται* pr. m. (c. C, Ven. 2),² ω s.v.

Agreement of Vat. 2 with L has already been shown in numerous instances. In some of these cases, it is true, other Mss. also have the same reading, but many, apparently, are readings or omissions peculiar to Vat. 2 and L. Variation between the two does, however, exist not infrequently. Thus besides the instances of disagreement given above incidentally in the report of the readings of L, we have in Book I: 1, 14 *δὲ δοκεῖν* and *μὲν δοκεῖν* in L and Vat. 2, respectively; 20 *οὐδὲ* and *οὐδὲν*; 2, 4 *ὅς δ'* and *ὅσα δ'*; 8 *διαφθείρει* and (in ras.) *διαφθείροι*; 11 *ἡγείτ'* and *ἡγοῖτ'*; 16 *ἐλέσθαι* and *ἐλέσθαι ἄν*; 16 *ἀποπηδήσαντες* and *-τε*; 18 *ὅτε* (in ras.) and *ἔστε*; 23 *σωφροσύνην* and *σωφρονήσαντα*; 24 *ἀπαλλαγέντε* (s eras.) and *-τες*; 27 *αἰτίαν ἔχουσιν* and *ἔτι ἀνέχ.*; 43 *τύρανος* and *τύραννος*; 45 *ποιεῖν τινά* and *τ. π.*; 51 *γε ἔφη* and *γ' ἔφη*; 52 *ὄφελος* and *ὄφελος* (in ras.); 54 *ὄνυχας* and *ὠνυχας*; 57 *δ' ἐπεὶ* and *ἐπεὶ*; *ἀπετέλει* and *ἀπεκάλει*; *ἔργον δ'* and *ἔργον*; 58 *ὀμοκλήσασκαί* and *-κέ*; 3, 1 *οὕτως* and *οὕτω*; 3 *θεοῖς ἢ τὰ* and *θεοῖς ἢ*; post posterius *ἔρδειν, ἰέρατ' . . . ξένους* iterum Vat. 2; 4 *τὰ ἀνθρώπινα* and *τὰνθρώπινα*; 6 *ἐβλήσειαν* and *-ειεν*; 7 *ἐπισκόπτων* and *ἐπισκώπτων*; *τὸν καιρὸν* and *τῶν*

σειεν

καιρῶν (corr. *τὸν καιρὸν*); 9 *κυβιστήσεται* (in ras.) and *κυβιστήσειε*; 14 *προσδέξεται* and *-αίτο*; *ἀροράτων* (corr. *ἀρωρασιῶτων*) and *ἀρωρασιῶτων*; 4, 1, *ποιεῖ* and *ποιεῖν*; 12 *τε* and *γε*; 13 *ἐπιμελείσθαι* and *-μεληθῆναι*; *ἔστιν* and *ἔστι*; *τῶν ἀνθρώπων* and *τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ*; 17 *ὦ ἀγαθὲ* and *ὦ ἄγαθῆ*; 5, 1 *καὶ ἀγαθὸν* and *κατὰ ἀγαθὸν*; *προβίβαζε* and *προυβ-*; 2 *χρημάτων* and *χρήματα*; *ἀκρατήν* and *ἀκρατῆ*; 6 *ἐπιδείκνυεν* and *ἔπε-*; 6, 2 *ἀλλ' αὐτὸ* and *ἀλλὰ τὸ*; 3 *κτώμενος . . . κεκτημένος* and *-μένους, -ους*; *μαθητὰς* and *μαθητὰς μιμητὰς*; 4 *ἀντιφῶν* and *ὦ ἄ.*; *ἀποθανεῖν* and *ἄ. ἂν ἐλέσθαι*; 6 *πότε* and *ποτε*; 7, 1 *ὄλος* and *ὄλος*; 2 *ἐνθυμούμεθα* and *ἐνθυμώμεθα*; *τὸν* and *τοῖς*; *πολοὶ* and *πολλοὶ*; 3 *συμβαίνει* and *-οι*.

¹ Cf. Chavanon, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

² Cf. O. Keller, *Philol.* XLV, 188; Schenkl, *op. cit.*, 92 (176).

Many of these differences are trivial and such as might naturally be expected, even in original and copy. Others cannot be explained so easily. In a great number of cases L is in error, and Vat. 2 gives the correct form.¹ An incomplete examination of the readings of Vat. 2 for Book II shows more than fifty instances of this sort, including half a dozen omissions of L correctly supplied in Vat. 2. Rarely L has the accepted reading, Vat. 2 a mistake: II, 6, 37 ὠφέλειν and ὠφέλει; II, 7, 10 καὶ ἐκείναις and ἐκείναις. Occasionally both are wrong: II, 1, 24 σιτῶν and σίτων; 30 ἀναμένους and ἀναμένουσα. The differences in the titles of the books of *Mem.* and the different selection of Xenophontine works which the two Mss. contain should also be noted. The cumulative effect of all these variations seems to be to make it impossible that *Mem.* of Vat. 2 should have been copied directly from L, even with extensive collateral use of another Ms. It would, however, appear to be in accord with the facts, were we to assume that both Mss. were copied, so far as *Mem.* is concerned, from one and the same original. Certainly their relationship is much closer than that which is commonly suggested for Vat. 2 and B.²

Codex Laurentianus plut. 80, 13 = L³

This Ms. of the early fourteenth or late thirteenth century,³ with 187 leaves, contains: by m. 2 (later⁴) and on paper, ff. 1-18, *Ath. Pol.*, *Poroi*; by m. 1, on parchment, ff. 19 ff. *Hipparch.*, *Hiero*, *Hipp.*, *Lac. Pol.*; f. 55 r., ξενοφώντος ῥήτορο[s] ἀπομνημονευμάτων πρῶτον, f. 67 r., ξενοφώντος ἀπομνημονευμάτων δεύτερον, f. 80 r., ξενοφώντος ἀπομνημονευμάτων τρίτον, f. 93 v., ξενοφώντο[s] ῥήτορο[s] ἀπομνημονευμάτων τέταρτον; then *Oecon.*, *Symp.*, two pages of *Cyneg.*, and two blank leaves; by m. 3, three excerpts from Books VI, XVIII,

¹ Yet Schenkl, *Xen. Stud.* II, 29 (113), n. 1 says, "(Vat. 2) sieht nachlässiger aus" than Vat. 3.

² Cf. Schenkl, *Xen. Opera*, II, praef. p. vi; Cerocchi, *Stud. Ital.* VI, 487.

³ Cf. Bandini, III, 202 f.; Schenkl, *Xen. Stud.* III, 11 (111).

⁴ Kirchoff, ed. *Pol. Ath.* p. vii: "saeculo scriptus XIV vel, ut Roberto visum, XV ineunte."

and x of Polybius; "Catonis carmina paraenetica a Maximo Planude e latino in Graecum translata"; several collections of proverbs and proverbial phrases and lexicographical notes. With regard to *Mem.* the most noticeable feature is the large number of corrections that have been made, both by erasure and otherwise. There are also many marginal variants. These additions and corrections are in at least two, probably three, different hands, and show the use of one or more excellent Mss. Most important among them are the following: 1, 1, 5 καὶ ψευδόμενος (οὐ eras.; cf. Ven. 1); 2, 22 ἐκκυσθέντας (ἐκ in ras. corr.); 32 σοι δοκεῖ (corr. del. σ); 48 φαίδωνδης, mg. φαίδων δὲ; 62 βαλλαντιομῶν (c. Vat. 3, al.?). 3, 5 τούτω (?), corr. τούτο; 6 et 7 καιρὸν, corr. κόρον (c. AB₁); 13 ἂν (ante ἕσως) in mg.; 4, 1 εἰ add. corr. s.v.; 6, 10 δέισθαι corr. (εἰ in ras. duarum litterarum); 13 εὐφυῆ (?), corr. εὐφυᾶ; 11, 1, 20 τὰ μαλακὰ in ras.; μῶεο corr.; 30 σαντῆς (σ in ras. corr., pro ἐ?). Among the uncorrected readings by the first hand of L³ are: 1, 3, 3 ad fin. δ' om. (c. DV² Vat. 3); 6, 13 φίλον ποιεῖται (c. CDFJV²V³); 11, 1, 12 θεραπείσεις (c. C Vat. 3). Various other readings have been already quoted in connection with Ven. 1, L, and Vat. 2. The Ms. belongs, of course, to the mixed class. Of the three great Mss., it comes nearest in resemblance to C, but relationship to the A and B groups, especially the latter, is often evident. Not infrequently also, in common with L and other Mss., it has readings, — generally, to be sure, wrong, — which are not found in A, B, or C. Enough of value, however, was, I believe, revealed by my brief examination to warrant giving further attention to the Ms. The same is true also of the following.

Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1336 = Vat. 3

This is a fifteenth century paper Ms., which formerly belonged to Musurus and later to Fulvio Orsini, as is evidenced by the inscriptions on the fly leaf: at the top, *μουσούρου καὶ τῶν χρωμένων* and *Florentiae, 1493*; in the middle of the page, *Ex libris Fulvii Ursini*. It was No. 80 of the Greek Mss. bequeathed by Orsini to the Vatican. It contains: f.

1 r., *ξενοφώντος ἀπομνημονευμάτων* | *πρώτου* (in brown ink and a different hand from the other titles); f. 12 r., *ξενοφώντος ἀπομνημονευμάτ[ων]* | *Β' ου*; f. 24 v., *ξενοφώντος ἀπομνημονευμάτ[ων]* | *Γ' ου*; f. 38 r., *ξενοφώντος ῥήτορος ἀπομνημονευμάτ[ων]* | *Δ' ου* (the last three titles in red); f. 51 r., *Socratic Epistles*; f. 58 r., *Epistles of Isocrates*; ff. 71–78, blank; f. 79 r., *ῥητορικαὶ μελεταί* of Dion Chrysostom (and at the bottom of 198 v., in connection with the last few lines of text artificially arranged, the words *ἐν φλωρεντία* | *τέλος τῶν τοῦ δίωνος τοῦ χρυσοστόμου λόγων*); ff. 199 r.–206 v., by m. 2, *προλεγόμενα τῶν ἀριστείδου λόγων* (and in the upper right corner of 199 r., the enigmatical inscription, *candā 1491*).¹

The decoration of the Ms. with large initials in red has been only partly completed. In a number of places initial letters at the beginning of lines have been omitted, but the ornamental substitutes never inserted. Occasionally there is found in the margin, in a different hand from the text, a brief indication of the subject matter. Punctuation is regularly indicated: besides the mark of interrogation (;), the double point (:), the high point (·), and the middle point (·) are used.

According to Schenkl, Vat. 3, as well as Vat. 1 (= Urbinas 63, which has long been, and is still, lost²) and Vat. 2, agrees with B.³ My own excerpts, however, do not substantiate this statement. With the evidence of perhaps two hundred readings from Vat. 3 (mostly from Book 1) to draw on, I find that although the Ms. agrees with B about twice as often as with A, it agrees with C about twice as often as with B. In the case of omission of words or phrases, I have record of agreement with AB once, B once, BC four times, and C nine times. This Ms. must rather be put, then, in the great mixed class than in the B group. Of readings of importance, besides those already quoted, I may cite: 1, 1, 5 καὶ

¹ It perhaps refers to the Florentine, Pietro Candido, as suggested by De Nolhac, *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini*, 150. The latter believes our Ms. to have been written by Musurus himself.

² Cf. Schenkl, *Xen. Stud.* II, 29 (113), n. 1; Chavanon, *op. cit.*, 18, n. 2.

³ *Xen. Opera*, II, praef. vi; *Xen. Stud.* II, 30 (114): "ziemlich genau mit B übereinstimmen."

ψευδόμενος (οὐ om., c. ABL², Ven. 1 corr., L³ corr.); 2, 12 ἀκρατέστατος τε (τε om. CDJLV², Ven. 1, L³); 4, 5 πάντων τῶν (τῶν om. BCJL, Ven. 1, L³); 6, 10 δέισθαι (c. DV², V³, L³ corr.); 13 εὐφῦᾶ (c. DFV², L³ corr.); 11, 1, 18 πονῶν corr. pr.m. (c. Stob.).

Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1950 = J

This Ms. dates from the fourteenth century;¹ it is of poor, speckled paper, and was written by six different hands. Its contents are described, not over accurately by Schenkl, following R. Schöll.² The *Anabasis*, which now, with *Apol.*, *Ages.*, *Hiero.*, *Lac. Pol.*, *Ath. Pol.*, *Poroi*, follows the *Cyropaedia*, originally stood at the beginning, as is proven by signatures still visible in the lower left-hand corner of right-hand pages. The *Anabasis* begins now on f. 108 r. On f. 116 r. is the signature β', and signatures occur regularly thereafter,—allowing for a wrong numbering by which the numbers, 146–149, are omitted,—until on f. 264 r. we have κ'. The *Poroi* breaks off incomplete on f. 271 v. and ff. 272–279 are blank. Now on f. 1, as we have it, at the eleventh line, begins Book II of the *Cyropaedia*. On f. 6 r. is the signature κγ', and signatures follow in regular sequence up to κθ' on f. 54 r., which is the last that I found. All this much of the Ms., i.e. ff. 108–271 and 1–66, is by the first hand. The second wrote 67 r.—103 v.³ As for *Mem.*, on f. 280 r. we have ξενοφώντος ῥήτορος ἀπομνημονευμάτων ᾠ; 294 r. ξενοφώντος ἀπομνημονευμάτων (and in the margin) β'; 310 r. ξενοφώντος ἀπομνημονευμάτων Γ'; 325 v. ξενοφώντος ἀπομνημονευμάτων Δ'. All of this (through 340 v.), as well as what follows through 404 v., are by the third hand, except a part of 337^a r. and v., which is in a fourth (and later) hand, not noticed by Schenkl. Slight errors in the remainder of Schenkl's description (ff. 405 r.—545 v., by the

¹ Or "s. xv ineunte" according to Wilamowitz (cf. Kirchhoff, ed. *Rep. Ath.* p. iv).

² *Xen. Stud.* III, 72 (172) f. Cf. also Usener and Wotke, *Wien. Stud.* x, 175 ff.; Kirchhoff, ed. *Rep. Ath.* p. iii; J. Stich, *Adnot. Crit. ad M. Antoninum*, p. 4.

³ Schenkl, *l.c.*, ascribes ff. 1–103 to man. 1, and 108–271 to man. 2.

fifth and sixth hands) may be passed over as unessential to our present subject. There are extremely few corrections of any sort in the Ms., at least in the section which contains *Mem.* Those that do occur, with only one or two exceptions, appear to be by the same hand that copied the text.

A collation of J was published by Gail,¹ although with so many inaccuracies as to be hardly usable without verification, and the Ms. is frequently cited by Schenkl and Gilbert in their critical apparatus. As I am not in a position to give a complete list of all Gail's errors, it must suffice to mention a number of corrections which should be made in the notes of the two latter scholars. Some of the mistakes go back to Gail, others do not. In most of the cases given, Professor E. K. Rand, as noted at the beginning of the paper, has been kind enough to reëxamine the Ms. and verify my readings. I, 4, 16 J reads *καὶ ἀνθρώπους*, not *κ. τοὺς ἀ.* (as Gail; Sch. cr. n. and *Xen. Stud.* II, 31; Gil.); 6, 13 *εὐφυῆ*, not *εὐφυᾶ* (Sch. *Xen. Stud.*, *ib.*); II, 1, 24 *δὲ ἔση*, not *δεήση* (Sch.); 2, 12 *βουλήση*, not *βούλει σοι* (Sch.); 9, 5 *προεκαλέσατο*, not *προσεκαλέσατο* (Sch.); III, 8, 7 *τό γε λίμον* not *τό τε λ.* (Sch., Gil.); 9, 7 *ἐπίθεσθαι*, not *ἐπιθέσθαι* (Gil.); II, 14 *ἐμποιεῖν τῶν*, not *ἐ. τῷ τῶν* (Sch., Gil.); 13, 6 *κενός* (om. *ἔφη*), not *κενός ἔφη* (Gail, Gil.); 14, 4 *τῷ σίτω ὄψω ἢ τῷ ὄψω σίτω*, not inverted (Gil.); 6 *ἐπεσθένειν*, not *ἐπεσθίειν* (Sch., Gil.); IV, 2, 12 *διεξηγήσασθαι*, not *ἀν διηγήσασθαι* (Gail, Gil.); 31 *ἔπειτα αἴτια*, not *ἔ. καὶ α.* (Gail, Gil.); 4, 5 *διδάξασθαι μὴ εἶναι*, not *δ. τὸ δίκαιον μ. ε.* (Gail (?), Gil.); 19 *ἔχοις οὖν ἀν εἰπεῖν*, not *ἔχοις ἀν εἰπέειν* (Gail, Gil.). All other citations from J given by Schenkl or Gilbert are, so far as I have noticed, correct.

The following readings also from J, none of which is cited by Schenkl or Gilbert, and for most of which Gail gives either negative evidence only, or none at all, seem to deserve mention: I, 2, 29 *αἰσθόμενος* (c. Ven. I, al.); 37 *τούτοις* (c. A al.); *τοιούτων* (c. AB); 46 om. *ταῦτα* (c. AV²); 58 *ὄν δ' αἶ* (alone of all Mss. of Xen. ?); 3, 5 *τοῦτο* (c. B₃, L pr.m., al.); 15 *παρεσκευασμένος* (c. A); 4, 5 *προσετέθησαν* (c. BVV³);

¹ *Œuvres Complètes de Xén.* VII (Paris, 1808), 501 ff.

6, 7 ἐμέ . . . μελετῶντα (c. Ven. I, C, al.); II, I, 8 ἐκλείπειν (c. AB₁, L³ pr. m. ?); 23 ποιήση (c. BC, Vat. 3, al.); 24 σιτίον (c. C², Vict.); 30 πίνουσα καὶ ἴνα (c. C, Clem. Strom.); ποιήσεις (c. Stob.); 2, I αὐτοῦ (c. AC, Pal. 93); 7 νεανίσκος ἔφη (c. L, al. ?); 3, 9 ἦ (c. Vat. 2; cf. L B, Stob.); 6, 5 ἦ τῶν (cf. B); 10 ἐαυτοῖς (c. CD, Ven. 2, et Ven. 1 ?); 22 ἐγκαρτερεῖν (c. C al.); 35 ἐπί γε (c. A al.); (ἀγάλη οὐχ ἦ. ἦ ἐ. τ.) ἐαυτοῦ (c. L al.); 7, 10 ἔοικεν (c. A); III, 3, 10 om. τε (c. B); 14 διενέγκοιεν (c. C, Ven. I); 5, 21 οἱ τούτων ἄρχοντες (c. B); 6, 12 σκώπτομαι (c. L al.); 13 τοῦτο (c. L al.); 7, 5 αἰσχύνη (αἰσχύνει Steph.); 7 σοῦ ῥαδίως διαλεγόμενος (c. G al. ?); 8, 4 προβάλεσθαι (προβάλλεσθαι BDV² pr.); IV, I, I om. εἰ (c. C₁ (?), Hartung, edd.); 2, 19 ὄμην (cf. C, Stob.); 29 εἰδότες ἄ (c. C₁); 3, 8 γιγνομένοις (c. BL); 10 ἄνθρωπος (c. B, qui ó add., G); 12 γίγνοιτο (c. BCE); 4, 10 οὐδὲ εἰς . . . εἶη (cf. B); 12 τὸ νόμιμον (c. CDV²); 14 αὐτοῖς οἱ (c. C, al. ?); 5, 8 ἐγκράτεια sine ἦ (c. B); 9 δίψος (c. B al.); 6, 1 τὸν τρόπον sine καὶ (c. B al.); 3 εἰδὼς εἰδείη (c. B); 6 ταῦτα ποιεῖν (c. B, Stob.); 7, 5 πλανήτας τὲ (cf. B, Eus.).

Codex Palatinus Graecus 93

This Ms., "bombycinus in f. saec. XIII, fol. 197," and according to the book-plate at the beginning, formerly in Heidelberg, was sent as spoil to the Pope Gregory xv in 1623 by Maximilian I, Duke of Bavaria. It is written in a scraggly hand with many abbreviations. The book is now much worm-eaten. Among its miscellaneous contents are a large number of excerpts from Xenophon, including about thirty, mostly very brief, and often condensed, from *Mem.* (f. 147 v.-151 r.). I note below the only variants worth recording: I, 2, 7 ἐθαύμαζε δὲ (c. Ven. I); 29 αἰσθόμενος (c. Ven. I al.); 30 ἕκκον αὐτῷ δοκοῖη (most Mss. om. αὐτῷ); προσκεῖσθαι (v add. s.v. pr. m.); 56 ἀεργίη and μήτε . . . μήτε (c. BC al.); 58 βοσῶντά (c. B); 3, 11 δοῦλος μὲν εἶναι ἀντ' ἐλευθέρου (c. AB); 12 ἡμίωβελία (sic, supporting Gilbert's correction); τοῦ φρονεῖν (c. C al., Stob.); 6, 11 δίκαιον μὲν (c. AB); II, 2, 1 αὐτοῦ (c. ACJ); III, I, 5 ἄλλο (c. B₃ C al.); IV, 2, 3 εὔ-

δηλον (om. *ἔστιν* c. B); 4 ἀπὸ ταυτομάτου (sic; cf. DV²);
33 ἀνασπάστους (c. BG mg., Stob.); 7, 3 αὐτὰ ἱκανὰ (c. J);
7 καὶ ὅτι (c. BJ, Stob., Euseb.). The presence of so many
interesting readings in only eight pages of Ms. certainly
speaks well for the character of its source.

XII. *The Development of Copulativ Verbs in the Indo-European Languages*

BY PROFESSOR CLARENCE LINTON MEADER

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

IN Bain's *Logic* (1889), p. 44, occurs the sentence: "We cannot impart, by language, the smallest item of knowledge without uttering what is called in grammar, a sentence, which always contains a noun and a verb." Probably few teachers of language and few psychologists would fail instinctively to recognize the errors and misconceptions of this statement. The readers of these *Transactions* scarcely need to be reminded that there are languages in which verbs, in the sense at least in which we commonly use the word, do not exist, all the sentences of such languages being expressed wholly by means of other parts of speech, especially by nouns and adjectives. Even in the English language verbless sentences are very frequent. Yet the prevalence of the verbal type of predication in all the Indo-European languages and the long training of European and American scholars in the traditional grammatical system makes it difficult for us to approach the general problems of sentence structure in an open-minded and unbiased spirit. Even the distinguished scholar and keen thinker Wilhelm Wundt is misled into stating in his *Logik*², I, 163: "Die copula gehört ihrer ganzen Entwicklung nach dem Prädicat an,"—the inaccuracy of which statement will become apparent from the evidence advanced below. The Dutch scholar Jac. van Ginneken, *Principes de la Linguistique psychologique* (= *Bibliothèque de Philosophie expérimentale*, vol. IV), p. 109, writes on the other hand "*la copule primitive est un pronom*" (the italics belong to the original). Even the eminent American philologist Wm. Dwight Whitney in one of his treatises makes the assertion that a student's grammatical ability must be dispaired of, if he is unable to grasp the fundamental fact that a noun *names* and a verb *asserts*.¹ Van Ginneken's dogmatic assertion cannot in the light of our present knowledge be

¹I trust Professor Whitney is not misrepresented by this citation from memory.

either provd or disprovd. That the verb is not a *sine qua non* to the sentense even in a modern European language is clear from the folloing sentenses, like which thousands of others mite be sited. Shakespeare makes Hamlet say to his mother,

But I have that within which passeth show,
These but the trappings and the suits of woe.

Note also the folloing:

Na samas tasya manuṣa, 'There is no other man like him.'—*Mahābhārata*, 3, 54, 27.

Omnia praeclara rara.—Cicero, *de Senectute*, 64.

Volodiâ starshe meniâ, a iâ men'she vsêkh, 'Volodya (is) older than I, and I (am) youngest of all.'—Tolstoi, *Childhood*, chap. 1.

I davno on zhe zdês', 'Has he bin here long?'—Gogol', *Revizor*, 1, iii.

In such cases as these the idea which is more commonly exprest by the copulativ verb finds expression in the folloing ways:

It lies in the nature of language that, if two or more ideas ar closely related to each other logically or ar closely connected in consciusnes, the words simbolizing them. wil tend to stand adjasent to each other. This is true of all languages, but it is probably more conspicuous in the non-inflected languages. The mere juxtaposition, therefore, of subject and predicate is favorable to the expression of the copulativ relationship. But for various reasons (among them the fact that the attributiv relationship is also very close) it woud be erroneus to assert that juxtaposition alone servs as a simbol of the copulativ idea. That it, along with other elements, coöperates in the expression of such an idea cannot be douted. Other contributing and commonly more important elements, always present in discourse, yet too frequently overlookt (inasmuch as they do not find expression in any specific word or fraze), ar: (a) the general control exersized by the unit of thot¹ over the organization of the sentense in the mind of the

¹By unit of thot is here ment the relatively complete mas of thot and feeling that lies at the basis of a sentense and of which the sentense is the expression.

speaker; (*b*) the sphere of experience, *i.e.* the situation in which both speaker and listener find themselves, and which both appreciate in roughly the same way;¹ (*c*) the general purpose of the speaker, as appreciated by both speaker and listener; (*d*) intonation of voice and stress; (*e*) rhythmic elements of discourse, particularly the relative speed of utterance of words and phrases, as also pauses. In the writer's opinion a careful examination of specific instances would show that these five factors, especially the first and the second, are more important and significant than the mere juxtaposition of words; and it is only with this reservation that one can accept the statement of Heinrich Winkler:² "Das prädicative verhältnis dessen inneres band unser *sein* darstellt, kommt auch im türkischen, wie wir auch im finnischen gesehen haben und weiterhin oft sehen werden, durch die Stellung des prädicativen substantives, adjectives, adverbs hinter dem als subject fungirenden nomen zum Ausdruck; also *mensch gross* = (der) mensch ist gross." The Russian sentences *Zděs' li on?* and *On zděs'?* 'Is he here?' do not depend upon the order or succession of words for the expression of the predicative or copulativ relationship.

These five classes of symbols are very important for the part that they play in the development of copulativ words, of whatever type they may be. They form a group of controlling elements which go far towards determining the specific force of each word in a sentence, the copula of course not excepted, as we shall see later on. They may be designated as 'general' or 'diffuse' symbols, as contrasted with the following:

1. The ordinary copulativ verb.
2. Case and gender suffixes. The Balto-Slavic languages, particularly Russian, afford a beautiful illustration. Primitive Balto-Slavic possess a simple adjectival declension, corresponding to and largely identical with that of Latin *fulvos fulva fulvom*, 'tawny.' Under certain circumstances the old

¹ In most written discourse this sphere of influence is represented in large part by the wider context of the given sentence.

² Zur Sprachgeschichte, pp. 18 ff.

demonstrativ pronoun, *is ia ie* (postpositiv in relation to the adjectiv) was used in connection with such adjectivs, and the fraze thus originating developpt later into a compound adjectiv declension (the so-cald 'definit' adjectiv declension), ized of course for the most part attributivly. In most of the Slavonic languages the two sets of forms hav bin redused more or les completely to a single paradim, but in Russian matters hav so shaped themselvs that the long and short forms hav becum specialized in the attributiv and predicativ functions respectivly, and ar correspondingly designated in Russian grammars. Furthermore, sinse the present tense of the copulativ verb *est'* has becum nearly obsolete in Russian, the original Indo-European case, gender and number suffixes hav cum to expres also the copulativ relationship, e.g. *loshad' bélaia* or *bélaia loshad'* means 'a (or the) white horse,' *bělá loshad'* or *loshad' bělá* means 'a (or the) horse is white' (formerly *loshad' est' bělá*).¹ It must hav bin by a similar shift of meaning that the instrumental case has cum to be associated with predication in Finnish, Balto-Slavic, Sanscrit and other languages. The accusativ has also taken on predicativ associations in Arabic in sentences formd with the verb *sara*, which ment originally 'travel.' Compare English "It is me" and "It is her." The Latin indeclinable adjectiv *frugi* went thru a similar development. Note also such sentences as *exemplo est Regulus*.

3. Les frequently perhaps than case and gender suffixes, pronouns appear in the copulativ function. Altho we ar unable to agree with van Ginneken sited abov, yet we cannot but be grateful to him for the material he has collected on this point. He sites Basque, several languages of northeast Africa, Mexican (Nahwatl) and the language of Encounter Bay. He also sites, apparently inaptly, Holtzmann, *Grammatisches aus der Mahābhārata*, p. 34, for the usage in Sanscrit. We may ad that the usage occurs in Telugu, a semi-Aryan

¹ If one may take the evidense of the ritten language as conclusiv also for the spoken, the non-employment of the present tense of *est'* is a usage which has developpt during the past 400 years. It is regularly employd in the erlier Russian texts.

language of modern India, and that the Arabic pronoun for 'he' is also so used. Professor Worrell calls my attention to its occurrence in Coptic. Here, also, the Russian affords good examples, e.g. Constantin Levin — *on-she* Lyov Tolstoi, 'Constantine Levin is Leo Tolstoi.' *On-she* is the determinativ pronoun of the 3d person with the enclitic particle *she* (= Latin *quidem*, Gk. γέ). Professor Ovsianiko-Kulikovski, *Rukovodstvo k izucheniiu russkago iazyka*, 229 ff., says of the pronoun *etot, eta, eto*, 'this, that' in the sentence *negry — eto* aboriginy Afriki, 'the negroes are aborigines of Africa': "Here *eto* is a supplement to the subject *negry*, but at the same time it in part supplies the lacuna in the verbal expression which arises from the common omission of the copula *est' sut.*"¹

4. Lastly, the French exclamations *voilà* (also *voilà donc*) and *voici* used as copulas. Examples: L'adhésion absolue d'un fait *voilà donc* l'essentiel psychologique du verbe; L'adhésion d'une chose *voilà donc* la signification fondamentale du nom; Nous *voici* donc au but de . . . (all from van Ginneken's book cited above, pp. 74, 38); Aimer et s'occuper *voilà* le vrai bonheur. Perfectly parallel with the French construction is the usage of Russian *véd'* (also an imperativ of the verb meaning 'see' or 'know'; cf. Greek *φείδω*) and *vot* 'lo,' in such sentences as: *Īa véd'* bolen, 'I am sick'; *Lik Khristov — vot osnovaniâ i tochka*, 'The body of Christ, lo! the beginning and the end'; the last from Leonid Andreev, *Khristiane*, p. 279 (vol. III, ed. "Znanie"). The emotional content of these exclamatory expressions is closely akin to the asseverativ force often associated with the copulativ verb.

In general the development of the copulativ verb is not

¹ The process by which *eto* and *on-she* in the above sentences gained the copulativ force, seems to have been identical, in part, at least, with that by which Latin *punctum* and *passum* acquired in French (*point* and *pas*) a negative meaning through long association and eventual fusion with the negative meaning carried by *ne*. *Eto*, in particular, occurs frequently in close association with the copulativ verb in such sentences as the following: *Zabota o detiakh eto bylo glavnoe prizvaniâ eia*, — literally, 'Care for the children — that [was] her chief occupation.' It is especially to be noted in this sentence that the copula *bylo* agrees in gender and number with *eto* (neuter) and not with the subject *zabota* (feminine).

essentially different in its character from that of the 2d to 5th classes of 'specific' copulas just enumerated, inasmuch as the general process consists in a shift of meaning brought about under certain types of environment.

It is generally believed that the copulative verb developed out of verbs of concrete meaning, and not infrequently statements to that effect have been printed. As far as I am aware, however, no special attention has been given to the matter, and little has been printed on the subject, beyond such casual observations as that the above holds true of some copulative verbs; for example, Italian *stato* in *Io sono stato*, from Latin *statum*, past participle of *stare*, 'to stand.' Similarly Kühner-Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, II, I, pp. 3 and 42 f., quote some thirty "Kopulaartige" verbs. The list, however, is very heterogeneous and contains many verbs, the resemblance of which to a copula is limited to the fact that they are used with a predicate nominative. The same criticism may be made in part upon the paragraph dealing with the matter in T. Terwey's *Niederländische Sprachkunst*¹², p. 60, par. 156 (1900). Speyer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 2, offers some further material. Ovsianiko-Kulikovski, *op. cit.*, p. 46, undertakes a more detailed classification, distinguishing between degrees in the development of the copula. He says: "Copulas are (1) abstract (*otvlechnenyâ*), e.g. *byt'*, *est'*, *byl* and *budu*, 'to be, is, was, and I will be'; (2) semi-abstract (*poluotvlechnenyâ*) or semi-significant (*maloznachitel'nyâ*), e.g. *byvat'* (iterative aspect of *byt'*), *stat'*, lit. 'to stand,' usually meaning ('to become'), *stanovit'sia* 'become,' *sdelat'sia* 'become,' *iavliat'sia* 'appear,' 'show oneself'; (3) *znamenatel'nyâ* (significant), e.g. *On lezhit bolnoi*; *On khodit grustnyi*, lit. 'He lies sick, He goes about sad.' In these two sentences, however, the concrete meanings of the verbs are much less in evidence than in the English translations given. Virgil's 'Ast ego, quae divum *incedo* regina Iovisque et soror et coniunx' (*Aeneid*, I, 46) appears to fall into Ovsianiko-Kulikovski's third class. Probably one half of Kühner-Gerth's "Kopulaartige" verbs are too concrete to appear even in this third class. Of course no sharp line can be

drawn between such classes. This Russian attempt at a classification, however, has the advantage of forcing a more careful examination of the precise meaning of the copula in each particular instance and thus fostering a better appreciation of the character of the evolution involved.

The verbs discussed in this paper are classified according to their concrete meaning. We take first as being most common and most widely known :

1. *Verbs meaning 'stand'*

Corn *stands* at 40 ¢. The mercury *stands* at 4 above. The nation *stands* ready for war at any moment. He *stands* six feet in his stockings. He *stands* third in the list. He *stands* between two fires. Es *steht* zu erwarten, zu befürchten, zu hoffen. Es *steht* fest. Io sono *stato* alla stazione. J'ai été malade. In Spanish *ser* (from Latin *esse*) and *estar* (from Latin *stare*) stand side by side as copulativ verbs, each having a full complement of inflectional forms. According to Hanssen, *Spanische Grammatik*, p. 135, "*ser* wird gebraucht um dem subject dauernde, charakteristische Eigenschaften beizulegen; *estar* braucht man bei vorübergehenden, zufälligen Eigenschaften." This distinction is seen not to have been so sharply marked in Old Spanish. Ona *stoiála* kamennaia, lit. 'She stood as if petrified,' but really she was sitting on a log railing beside a canal. — Boris Zaitsev. Irae . . . altis *stetere* urbibus causae, cur perirent funditus. — Horace, *O.* 1, 16, 17–20. *Atiṣṭan* manujendrānām mūrḍhṇi, 'He stood at the head of men.' — *Mahābhārata*, 3, 54, 2. Also Irish *tao* (from **staiō* or **stao*), 'I am,' and Arabic *kana* meant originally 'stand.' The old Russian suffix *sta* meaning 'there was,' formerly common in the popular tales, but now obsolete, testifies to the antiquity of the usage in that language, since the original "concrete" verb had not only been reduced to a copula, but by generations of usage had passed into a rigid, stereotyped suffix.

In the Russian language, from which a large part of the material on which this paper is based has been derived, the aspect (modality, Actionsart) of the verb has played an im-

portant part in its development. In primitiv Slavonic there were three parallel forms of the old Indo-European verb meaning 'stand': (1) the nasal form *stanu*, *stanes'*, etc. 'I stand, yu stand,' etc. (the infinitiv *stat'*, however, has no nasal), having terminativ, perfectiv modality. This modality is preservd in the usual meaning 'becum' of this form in Modern Russian. (2) The iterativ form *staiat'*, Russian *staiu*, *staiesh'*, etc. (3) The durativ form *stoiat'*, Russian *stoiu*, *stoiish'*, etc. Of the three aspects terminativ, iterativ, and durativ, clearly the durativ is by its meaning best adapted to take on the copulativ function, and as a matter of fact we find *stoiû*, *stoiish'*, etc., past tense *stoiâl* (*stoiâla*, *stoiâlo*, *stoiâli*) in Russian more widely used in the copulativ meaning than ar any other forms. Two particularly happy illustrations ar: *Ně kotoroe vremiâ stoi tishina*, 'For sum time there is silense.' — Andreev, *Chernyiâ Maski*, sc. 2, end (in the stage directions). *Pogoda stoiâla chudnaiâ* 'The weather was glorious' (in a descriptiv passage). — A. A. Tolstoi, *Vospominaniâ*, p. 4. The forms *stanu*, etc., appear to hav acquired copulativ forse in much the same way in which Latin *novi* (also perfectiv), lit. 'I hav found out' (the present tense *nosco* means 'I am becuming acquainted with'), acquired the meaning 'I know,' *i.e.* by the passing over of the interest from the act of attaining the goal to the permanent state of mind that results from its attainment.¹ So *stanu*, 'I wil arise, I wil get into a position or situation, I wil becum,' passes into 'I wil exist, I wil be.' Examples: *I (on) vo vsem stanet podoben drugim liudiam*, 'and he wil be like other persons in all respects.' — Andreev, *Zhizn' Chelověka*, v. 118 (ed. "Shipovnik"). The reflexiv form of the word is commun in the fraze *mozhet stat'siâ*, *e.g.* *Ochen' ochen' mozhet stat'siâ*, 'It may very very wel be.' — Pushkin, *Roslavlev* (iv, 326). Closely akin to this is the development of *stanovit'siâ*, a secondary, denominativ, reflexiv derivativ, usually meaning 'becum'; *e.g.* *grani, gdě vdrug vse stanovitsiâ neponiatnym*, 'the limit, at which all is of a sudden incomprehensible.' — Andreev, *Proklatie Zvěriâ* (vi, ed.

¹ Compare Latin *percipio*, 'I am grasping,' and *percepi*, 'I understand.'

“Shipovnik”). The older meaning of this verb appears to persist much more strongly than does that of *stat'*. The primitiv reduplicated form of the word is retained in Sanscrit *tistati* (durativ modality) sited above, and we shall meet it again in compound verbs.

The desendents of this Indo-European verb appear frequently as copulas when compounded with prepositions (really, of course, adverbs) meaning ‘with.’ Here belong:

(1) the *-io* formation (primitiv), as in Latin *constare* (for earlier *-stata-*), ‘consist.’ As a specimen of the usage of this Latin verb, see Lucretius, I, 479 “exist,”¹ 480 “is,” 484 “are formed of,” 500 “consist of,” 502 “exists,” 504 “exist,” 509 “exists,” 512 “exist,” 515 “is,” 518 “consists of,” 523 “would be,” 566 “are,” 581 “are,” 588 “are . . . constant,” 594 “would be,” 602 “consists of,” 607 “exist,” 626 “are.” Where Munro translates “consists of,” there is in the text a descriptiv ablativ with modifying adjectiv; where he translates “are,” or “is,” we find, in five places, predicates nominativ and in two, descriptiv ablativ, which would suggest that Munro rote “consists of,” rather from an acquired “translation habit” than because he desired to imply any difference in meaning between the two words; and this conjecture is borne out by the fact that in the two identical frazes,

601

id nimirum sine partibus extat
et minimā constat naturā nec fuit umquam
per se secretum neque posthac esse valebit

and 624

fateare necessest
esse ea quae nullis iam praedita partibus extent
et minimā constant naturā,

he translates the first “consists of a least nature” and the second “are of a least nature.” In both cases he is speaking of atoms (*primordia rerum*). It is furthermore plain from the following passage that other motifs than the meaning of *constare* determined the choice of words on the part of Lucretius also:

¹ The quoted words are Munro’s translations.

520 tum porro si nihil esset quod inane vocaret,
 omne foret solidum ; nisi contra corpora certa
 essent quae loca complerent quaecumque tenerent
 omne quod est, spatium vacuum constaret inane,

in which the parallelism between *foret* and *constaret* is complete and the meaning identical. Munro translates both "would be."

The copulativ forse of *constare* is mentioned by Burger in *Thesaurus L. L.*, IV, col. 530.

Lucretius, I, 581 at quoniam fragili natura praedita constant,
 584 quoniam generatim reddita finis
 crescendi rebus constat vitamque tenendi,

show furthermore that this verb has not only taken on copulativ meaning, but has also entered upon the earlier stages of development into an auxiliary verb.

Costar, the Spanish derivativ of *constare*, is used as an equivalent of *ser* and *estar*. Hanssen, *op. cit.*, p. 43, remarks of the various "concrete" equivalents of the copula: "zu deren Gebrauch das Spanische in hohem Grade neigt."¹

(2) The Russian equivalent of *constare* is *sostoiat'*, which, however, is a durativ formation. It is extremely common both in the written and the spoken language in the meaning 'to be.' (The prefix *so-* is the semasiological equivalent of English *with*.) Examples: Vse *sostoit* blagopoluchno, 'All is favorable'; Zděs' *sostoit* blizhe, 'This way it's nearer' (both from conversation); Klarens L. M. *sostoit* profesorum v universitetě Michigana 'C. L. M. is professor . . .' (from a letter of introduction). Note that the predicate *profesorum* is in the instrumental case. Quantities of illustrations can be gathered from the Russian daily newspapers. It is frequently used, as in the last case above, in stating someone's profession, occupation or position. In the following sentence from Tolstoi's *What is Art* (Moscow ed., p. 370), *Effekty sostoiat* preimushchestvo v kontrastakh, 'Emotional effects lie chiefly in contrasts,' it occurs with a slightly different connotation in connection with

¹ I am indebted to my collegag, Prof. C. P. Wagner, for the Spanish material contained in this paper.

the preposition *v*, 'in.' The reflexiv form *sostoial'siâ* is also extremely commun. .

(3) A reduplicated form appears in Latin *consistere*. See Apuleius, *Met.* VIII, 20, *Nepos meus . . . in extremo vitae iam periculo consistit*, '. . . is in great danger of dying.' In one of the present riter's manuscripts is found the sentence, "The sentence proper consists in the organization of this indefinit mas of thot and feeling. . ." The words *consists in* ar striken out and abov them is ritten the word *is*.

(4) A fourth tipe of compound with the preposition *so* is met with in the sentence: *Osnovaia tsifra predel'nago biud-zheta sostavliat 336,110,000 rublei*, 'The basal figure of the budget is 336,110,000 rubles.' — Guchkov, Speech deliverd in the Russian дума. (See *Rěch'*, 5/28/1908.)

In this connection may be mentiond another compound of this same causativ form, *predstavliat' soboř* (likewise a reflexiv), corresponding closely in formation to *bestehen* and meaning 'presents in itself,' lit. 'with itself,' *soboř* being an instrumental. Its copulativ meaning appears in such sentences as *Zemlia predstavliat soboř spliŭsnutyi u poliŭsov shar*, 'The erth is a sfere flattend at the poles.' Note that, even tho the predicate word *shar* may be accusativ as far as its form is consernd, that fact does not preclude its interpretation as a predicate noun. We hav seen abov that oblique cases not infrequently occur as predicat "nominativs." The sentence quoted is a formal definition, and indeed this verb as a copula does usually giv a slitley formal tone to its sentence. This is notisable also in the folloing: *Serbiia predstavliat soboř tipichnoe krestianskoe tsarstvo*. — *Novoe Vremia*, No. 13163. English *form* has a corresponding meaning in such sentences as "The book that forms the subject of this review. . ." Similarly the word *constitute* in the clause "which hav constituted the main idea in most definitions of a sentence," where *constituted* has bin substituted for *bin* of the original draft. In Dutch *doet zich voor* is used as a copula with the predicate nominativ.¹

¹ Mr. John Muyskens has furnisht me with considerable material illustrating Dutch usage. Grateful acknowledgment is here made for the same.

Other compounds of the verb 'stand' ar *extat* in the passages from Lucretius sited abov (p. 181), where Munro translates "is," and *exstitit* in Nepos, *Timoleon*, 1, 1, *Sine dubio magnus omnium iudicio hic vir exstitit . . . 'was great'*; cf. *Milt.* 5, 5, and Tacitus, *Dialog*, 16 end.

2. Verbs meaning 'sit'

The action simbolized by these verbs, like that of verbs meaning 'stand,' is most naturally and most communly viewd in its durativ aspect, in which case it carries the connotation of continuous existense, abiding, which is also usually to be found in the copula. This commun element of meaning facilitates the development of such verbs into copulas, altho they appear to be far les frequently and les widely used in this way than ar words meaning 'stand.' Samyantrito 'yam *āste* rathaḥ 'My chariot is halted' (insipient auxiliary?)—Kalidāsa, *Çakuntalā*, 100, 21; *Alta sedent* civilis volnera dextrae 'Deep ar the wounds of sivil war' (erlier meaning of the verb partly preservd: 'deep-seated')—Lucan, *Pharsalia*, 1, 22; Na telëgë sidit medvěd' 'A bear is in the wagon'—Leo Tolstoi, *Medvěd' na povoskě*; On sidit golodnyi, bez grosha¹ 'He is hungry, penniles'; On sidit v tiurmě 'He is in prison.' In connection with what is sed abov conserning the bearing of modality on the development of the copulativ verb it is important to note that the perfectiv form of this verb does not hav the meaning of the copula.

3. Verbs meaning 'lie,' 'lean'

These verbs ar akin in meaning with the two classes alreddy sited, inasmuch as they also imply a continuous, relatively unchanging state and ar, accordingly, mostly viewd in their progressiv aspects. The usage of *lie* in English appears to be quite limited as to the range of situations in which it occurs, being found chiefly in connection with predicate frazes containing prepozitions indicating plase relations.

¹ Ovsianiko-Kulikovski sites these two sentences as examples of "true" copulas in contrast with the same verb in the sentence On *sidit* v komnate 'He is sitting in the room.' However, On *sidit* doma means simply 'He is at home.'

Examples: The connection between Nahuatl and Indo-European *lies* within the range of possibility; The reason appears to *lie* in the fact that . . .; He *lay* two years in prison. We can say with practically no difference in meaning either: The greatest charm of his companionship *was* the atmosphere of . . . or . . . charm *lay in* the atmosphere of . . . The Russian sentence *No dělo v tom woud be translated by probably eight out of ten persons 'but the main point lies in this, that' or '. . . is that.'* Quite common is Russian *lezhat'* in this meaning, as is also Dutch *liggen*, e.g., *Hij legt ziek* 'He was sick.' See the sentence cited above in the passage taken from Ovsianiko-Kulikowski's grammar. The Böhrling-Roth dictionary quotes Sanscrit *çrayate* 'lie, lean' in the meaning "sich befinden in." Cognate with this is Armenian *linim* 'to be,' which occurs in the present and imperfect subjunctive and the future forms. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, 1er Theil, p. 451, unjustifiably doubts this connection on the ground of the meaning. The other forms of the Armenian copula are supplied from the same source as *est*, *ἔστω*, *ist* and *is*.

4. *Verbs meaning 'remain'*

The idea of continuous abiding, which we noted as a connotation of the three classes of verbs just discussed, appears as the predominating element of meaning in 'remain.' The difference between 'be' and 'remain' is one of minor connotations. Gothic *wisan* 'remain, abide, be,' is cognate with Sanscrit *vasate* and meant originally 'dwell, remain.' Its present-day cognates are numerous in all the Germanic languages, e.g., Eng. *was*, *were*, German *war*, *gewesen*, etc. Akin to it are the Irish nouns *feiss* and *foss*, both meaning 'rest.' With it is also related Armenian *goy* 'ist, existiert, ist vorhanden.' The English usage is illustrated by the sentence *It must, however, be admitted that the choice between the two aspects, definite and indefinite, remains one of the most obstinate difficulties of Russian.* — Harper's English edition of Boyer and Speranski's Russian Reader, p. 245. The usage may be due here to the influence of the French *reste* of the

original. In clozing a letter, we say, indifferently, "I am yurs truly," or "I remain yurs truly." Russian *ostavat'siâ ostat'siâ* supplies abundant evidense. The Stockholm pease conferense last year past resolutions expressing its simpathy for Finland in her Russian troubles. A Russian newspaper makes a member of the congres say to a Finnish member *Îa naděius'*, chto vy *ostanetes'* dovol'ny, 'I trust that yu will be satisfied.' Perhaps the language used was French, in which case *resterez* may hav bin responsible for this example also. In any case *ostat'siâ* is commun in this usage, being sited by Ovsianiko-Kulikovski as a "semisignificant" copula; cf. L. N. Tolstoi, *Okhota pushche Nevoli* (3d Reader, p. 24) and Andreev, *Zhizn' Chelověka*, l. c. Dutch: War *blijft zij* toch 'where ar you anyhow?' — 'wo *bleiben* Sie doch?' German: Wo *bleibt* das denn versteckt? 'where is it hidden?'

5. Verbs meaning 'go' or 'walk'

All the words heretofore discust imply a state of rest. We pas now to verbs of motion. Many of the best examples ar found in Russian, the verb in question being *khodit'*: Vse Mikheich starostoï *khodit'* 'Mikheich is (lit. 'goes') stil bailif — L. N. Tolstoi, *Tikhon i Malan'ia*, p. 143; Anna Andreevna *khodila* kak poteriannaia. 'A. A. was as tho distracted.' — Dostoevski, *Unizh. i Oskorb*, p. 21. Commodian, the erly Christian versifier, has *venire = esse* in the sentense *Venit inops animi, lapidem pro filio sorpsit* 'He was a fool: he swallowd a stone insted of his son.' *Convenio* is a copula in late Latin. Cognates of *venire* occur as copulas in Irish, Cimric, Breton and Cornish. A derivativ of *venire* is found in Spanish: Senorita yo *vengo* muerta 'I am ded tired' — Moratin, *El sí de las viñas*, act II, sc. 16. So *vendra* bueno 'wil be wel,' act I, sc. 9. Cf. Italian Come *va?* Similarly Latin *eo* in the passage, Plautus, *Aulularia*, 721, Male perditus pessume ornatu *eo* 'I am in a sorry plite.' Stokes *Altkeltischer Sprachschatz*, p. 25, in defining primitiv Celtic *eimi* (= Skr. *emi*, Greek *εἶμι*, Latin *eo*, all meaning 'go'), uses the expression '(gehe), bin.' Returning to Spanish we find *andar* and *ir* (Latin *ire*): Quién sabe donde *andaré* 'Who knows

where he will be' — Nuñez del Arce, *El Haz de Lena*, III, 1. . . . *iba* derecho come un huso 'He was as strait as a distaf' — Valera, *Doña Luz*, p. 27; cf. *Don Quixote*, part 2, ch. 36, buen caballero me *iba*. Greek $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ is commun as a copula in Homer. It is durativ in meaning, refering to a condition which abides for sum time. Like Italian *come va?* sited abov is Dutch *Hoe gaat het?* *Hoe gaat het u?* *Het gaat wel*. 'How goes it? How ar yu? It is wel'; cf. German *Wie geht's?* It shoud be borne in mind when dealing with such frazes as these, that many of them hav made more or les progres toward the same goal which English *farewel* has reacht, that is, the individual words hav either partly or wholly lost their distinctiv meaning and the fraze as a whole has cum to stand for a single sumwhat simple situation or mental state; so that it is not always possible to compare, e.g., *gaat* in *Het gaat wel* with *is* in *It is wel*.

Of kindred meaning is Arabic *sara* 'travel,' which takes on the meaning 'becum' and may thus be described ruffly as the terminativ aspect of the substantiv verb. Of like meaning is Greek $\eta\kappa\omega$ 'arrive,' which is used by the Greek dramatists as a copula (see Jebb's note on Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 905). Here, also, belong Spanish *llegar* (Latin, *placare*) 'arrive' and Russian *prikhodit'siâ*, a compound, reflexiv verb) 'arrive' which is widely used in the popular language in such sentences as: *On mnë prikhoditsiâ diadeiû* 'He is my uncle.' I noted in A. Kondratiev the sentence, *Kogda Aleksei podros, emu ochividno bylo, kto prikhoditsiâ ego ottsom* 'When Alexis grew up, it became apparent to him who his father was.' — *Gazetta Rech'*, no. 226, 1910.

In this fifth group we may also include Spanish *seguir* (Latin *sequi*) 'follo' as a durativ verb. *Como sigue usted?* *Sigo muy débil* 'How ar yu? I am very weak.' *Marchar* also is sed to be so used.

6. Verb meaning 'fall'

I hav found only one verb of this meaning, used strictly as a copula, Dutch *vallen*, as in the sentence *Ik val wat driftig* 'I am a little hot-heded.' However, as a substantiv verb

employd in existential judgments, Russian *popadat'siā* (iterativ and flexiv) is very commun: I *popadaĩutsiā iādovityiā* (sc. mukhi) 'and there ar poizonous (sc. insects)' = 'Es giebt giftige.'

7. Verbs meaning 'revolv, turn about'

The best example of this group is German *werden* 'becum, be' and its cognates in the other Germanic languages, includ ing English *worth* (now obsolete), familiar from Sir Walter Scott's Woe *worth* the chase, woe *worth* the day, that . . . (*Lady of the Lake*). It is akin to Sanscrit *var̥tate* 'turn,' Latin *vertitur* 'revolv' and Russian *vereteno* 'spindle' and *vertlo* 'auger.' In Sanscrit the simple verb *var̥tate* as wel as its compounds *abhivartate*, *pravartate* and *samvartate* ar all uzed as copulas. The last mentiond appears to hav past thru the stages of meaning 'turn out,' 'becum,' 'be.' In Latin the intensiv *versari* is occasionally met with in Cicero and Caesar in a sense hardly distinguishable from the copula, e.g. Minturnenses . . . aeterna in laude *versantur*—*pro Planc.* 26; cf. *in Cat.* 2, 23 and Caesar *B. C.* III, 110, quod in simili culpa *versabantur*.

I hav notist only one verb of more violent fizical motion approaching the copula in meaning. This is the Russian reflexiv *prikinut'sia*, lit. 'thro or hurl onesself.' Its usual meaning is 'pretend.' The terminativ, perfectiv forse given to it by the preposition *pri* implying the attainment of a goal appears to hav led to the meaning 'becum,' further than which it seems not to have gone. Illustration: On *prikinulsīā* ogorchennym 'He became embitterd'—Griboedov, *Gore ot Uma*, p. 29. For the perfectiv modality compare *stanu* 'becum' in group I.

8. Verbs meaning 'gro,' 'be born'

While the verbs previously sited imply merely a temporary change in the state or relationships of the subject, these verbs imply a permanent change, inasmuch as there is no return to the former condition. There appears to be complete agreement among comparativ filologists that English *be*, German

bin, 'I am,' Irish *bin* 'I am,' and other Celtic copulas, Latin *fui*, *fore*, etc., Lithuanian *biti* 'he was,' Russian *budu* 'I will be,' Old Bulgarian *byti* (subjunctiv), and Sanscrit *bhavati* or *bhavate* (passiv *bhūyate* and occasionally *bhūyati*) ar akin to Greek *φύω*, 'gro' and Albanian *bin* 'sprout,' and that the ansestors of these words ment 'gro.' Latin *fito* 'becum' also belongs here and not with Sanscrit *dhīyate* passive of *dhā*- 'put, do' (see von Planta, *Grammatik*, II, p. 252).

Closely akin with these words in meaning ar thozе meaning 'be born,' which ar found as copulas. Examples: Rakto hi *jāyate* bhogyah 'A lover is to be enjoyd' — *Panchatantra*, I, 155. Greek *γίγνεται* is very commonly so uzed and occurs in the past tenses in existential judgments, so also its compound *παραγίγνεται* 'be at hand' (cf. Russian *prikhodit'sia* 'arrive' 'occur'). See Xenophon, *Anab.* I, 10, 7, 'Ἐπισθένης . . . ἐλέγετο φρόνιμος γενέσθαι 'Episthenes was sed to be prudent.' In Latin *natus est* has enterd upon the same path of development.

9. Verbs meaning 'liv'

In various languages the ideas 'be alive' and 'pas one's life' ar exprest by the same verb, as in English "He stil livs" and "He livs happily."

The latter idea, involving, as it usually does, the durativ aspect of the verb and implying existense in the midst of varying surroundings, is particularly wel adapted to use as a copula. When a Russian inquires conserning the helth of a friend or acquaintanse, he ordinarily says "Kak vy *poshivаете*?" or "Kak *zhivёsh'*?" both meaning "How ar yu?" the latter having a sumwhat more familiar tone.¹ In the sentense He livs in perpetual fear of punishment, *livs* approaches the copula in meaning. An admirable Russian example is found in the folloing anser of a messenger, who carries a valuable document, to one who inquires where it is. The latter says "A bumaga!" 'But the paper?' The anser cums "Ona za pazukhoi u menia *zhivet*" 'It 's in my blous,' lit. 'It *livs* in

¹ See the remark under group 5 conserning Dutch Hoe gaat het? and German Wie geht's?

my blous.' So Latin *vivo*: Si non mecum aetatem egisset, hodie stulta *viveret*, 'If she hadn't past her life with me, she'd be a fool today' — Plautus, *Mil. Glor.* 1320; cf. Horace, *Sat.* 1, 6, 70, *vivo* carus amicis; Catullus, 10, 32, molesta *vivis*. Very close to this word in meaning ar *valeo* and *vigeo*, both meaning 'be strong, flourish' and both occasionally used as copulas. Note also Spanish *Vefame precisado a vivir* con la mayor cautela — *Gil Blas*, ch. VII.

10. Verbs meaning 'appear,' 'be seen'

The best example of this group is the Russian reflexiv *îavlîat' sîâ* (perfectiv form *îavit' sîâ*) 'appear, sho oneself,' cognate with Sanscrit *âvis* 'manifest,' *αἰσθάνομαι* 'perseve,' *ἀέω* 'hear,' Latin *audio* 'I hear.' It has cum to be one of the most widely uzed copulas in the Russian language. The predicate noun or adjectiv uzed in connection with it is usually put in the instrumental case. The predicate comunly opens the sentense, the verb follos and is in turn follod by the subject. There ar, however, many exseptions to this rule. Opasnym orudiem . . . *îavlîaetsîâ* prabo davat' obrazobanie 'A dangerous weapon is the rite to provide education' — Falborg, *Vseob. obraz. v Rossii*, p. 29 (predicate noun). Morgan Shuster *îavlîatsîâ* chinovnikom persidskoï sluzhby, 'M. S. is an official in the Persian servis' — *Novoe Vremîa* no. 12832 (editorial). V kachestvĕ lektorov *îavlîaîutsîâ* vsĕ litsa podvergshîiasîâ. . . 'In the capacity of lectors ar all persons who hav enterd upon . . . ' — Falborg, *op. cit.*, p. 390 (prepositional fraze as predicate). Other kinds of predicativ expressions also occur. Altho the word is uzed chiefly in timeles statements (*e.g.* in general truths), it occurs also in the present, past and future, in both the imperfectiv and perfectiv aspects and with the "subjunctiv" participle *by*. Sanscrit *vidyate* (cognate with Greek *φίδω*,¹ Latin *video*, English *wit*), a passiv form, is one of the most widely uzed words of this group. It appears mainly in negativ sentenses, as: Nāsato *vidyate* bhāvo, nābhāvo *vidyate* sataḥ 'non-existent is

¹See note on group 11.

the unreal, not unexistent is the real' — *Bhagavadgītā*, 2, 16; see also *Hitopadeṣa*, 1, 75; *Nala Episode*, 26, 5 (cf. 17, 5). It is used as a substantiv verb, e.g. *Bhagavadgītā*, 2, 40 *nehābhikramanāḥo 'stī pratyavāyo na vidyate* 'There is no loss of effort nor is there transgression.' Observe that here the word stands in complete correlation with *astī* ('*stī*') both in construction and meaning. Two other Sanscrit words meaning 'see' and having occasionally copulativ meaning are *dr̥cyate* and *lakṣate* (= *φαίεται ὄν*). In the English sentence, "In the noun *puer* the *e* of the nominativ appears thruout, while in *ager* it is found only in the nominativ case," *appears* approaches the copula in meaning. I am informed by a colleague that Greek *φαίεται* is so used in the tragedians, but have found no examples. In this category belong also *δείκνυμι*, which, however, is so used only in the passive voice. Russian *okazat'sia* (reflexiv) 'show oneself, appear' is a compound of *kazat'sia* 'appear, seem' and cognate with Sanscrit *ākāḥya* 'gazing' and *kāḥate* 'gleam, shine.' Examples of its copulativ use are *Vsīa eta massa ts̄nosteī okazalas' sm̄shannoī ogrudoīu* 'All this mass of valuables was (we should say in English. "formed") a confused heap' — *Novoe Vremia*, 12825; *vse eto okazalos' pustīakami* 'All this was rubbish.' Concerning *okazat'sia* Boyer and Speranski, *op. cit.*, say "In most cases it would probably be wrong to translate this word by any other word than 'be.'" We may conclude this list with Spanish *mostrarse* (Latin *se monstrare*) 'show oneself' as in the example: *Hasta el león se mostró manso* 'Even the lion was gentle' — Bello-Cuervo, *Gramática Cast.*, Notas, p. 30, and Dutch *schijnen* and *blijken* meaning 'seem' and 'appear' respectively: *Hij blijkt eerlijkt* 'He is honest.'

II. Verbs meaning 'find'

This group is also best represented by a Russian verb, *nakhodit'sia* (reflexiv) 'find' a compound of *na* 'upon' and *khodit'* 'go,' 'cum,' 'walk' and hence corresponding in formation to Latin *in-venire* and showing the same development of meaning as English *find oneself* and *be found* used with

predicativ expressions.¹ *Nakhodit'siâ* is uzed chiefly with predicate expressions in the form of frazes indicating the plase, state or conditions in which the subject "finds itself." Examples: . . . vysoty *nakhodivshëisîâ* v polu versty ot go-roda ' . . . an eminense which was (lit. finding itself) half a kilometer from the sity' — Pushkin, *Kapitanskaîâ Dochka*, ch. 7. So, also, M. Gor'kiî *nakhodivshîisîâ* v Italii 'Gorki, who is in Italy.' Similarly *nakhodit'siâ* v sviâzi s etim 'in connection with this,' v luchshim polozhenii 'in a better situation,' pod controlem 'under control,' etc. Latin *invenior* and *reperior* ar sed to be so uzed especially in the perfect passiv, but I hav found only cases in which they ar uzed as substantiv verbs, Caesar, *B.G.* I, 52, 4, *reperiti sunt* complures qui . . . 'there were several who'; cf. Cicero, *pro Sest.* 109; haec sola *inventâ est* causa in qua, 'this is the only case in which'; Cicero, *in Cat.* 4. In Greek εὑρίσκω 'find' is found in the aorist passiv in two passages in Sophocles' *Ajax*:

κεῖνος δ' ἀπ' οἴκων εὐθὺς ἐξορμώμενος
 ἄνους καλῶς λέγοντος ἡ ὑρέθῃ πατρός (763)
 κλέπτῃς γὰρ αὐτοῦ ψηφοποιὸς ἡ ὑρέθῃς (1135).

Here belong also German *Wie befinden Sie sich?* 'How ar yu? and Spanish *hallarse* and *encontrarse*. Example: *hallarse* enfermo 'to be weak' (mentiond by Hannsen, p. 43). English: The ultimate sources of these changes *ar* the variations of sound and meaning in the speech of the individual — Peck's Websterian Dictionary, p. 7. In the author's manuscript the sentense ran "changes *ar found in*" and was altered by the author to read as abov.

12. Verbs meaning 'giv' and 'hav'

For the most part verbs of these meanings hav not gone further in their development than the stage of the substantiv

¹ Sanscrit *vidyate* mite hav bin included in this group, sinse it is plain that it may be regarded as the passiv form corresponding to the present form *vindati* 'he finds' as wel as to the present form *vetti* 'he knows.' The older meaning 'sees' of this verb is found sporadically in Sanscrit. It seems, on the whole, more plausible that the meaning 'be' developot from the meaning 'find' rather than directly from the meaning 'see.'

verb 'there ar,' 'exist.' They ar represented by Russian *imēl'siā* (cognate with Latin *emere* 'take,' 'buy'): Nichego ne *imētsiā* 'There is nothing,' 'Es ist nichts vorhanden'; Inikh ne *imēiūtsiā* 'There ar no others,' 'Es *gibt* keine anderen'; U nego svoi prichiny *imēiūtsiā* 'He has his reasons,' 'Ei *sunt* causae.' *Imēl'siā* is so uzed both in the present and the past tenses and the progressiv future form. Modern Greek ἔχει is its nearly exact equivalent especially in the frazes θὲν ἔχει 'There is not,' ἔχει 'There is,' and καλῶς ἔχει 'It is wel,' or 'good.'¹ The fact that these two expressions ar comunly uzed in ansers as equivalentes to 'no' and 'yes' shows that the note on group 5 applies in sum cases to this word. Priscian quotes εὐσεβῶς ἔχει 'is reverent' from Demosthenes. Nearer to the tru copulativ forse is Latin *se dare* in sentences of the tipe, Ita *dat* se 'So it is' (see Terence, *Hec.* 380; Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* II, 66; Livy, XXVIII, 5; and compare German Es *verhält* sich so). Russian *dano* (past partisiple, passiv) is stil in the substantiv stage: . . . vo vsiakoī glagolnoī forme *dano* ukazanie no deiateliā ' . . . in every verbal form there is a referense to the agent' — Ovsianiko-Kul., *Sintaksis*, p. 40. *Dano* is a perfectiv form and has undergone the same shift of meaning that is mentiond in connection with the verb *stanu* in group I, in which the senter of interest is transferd from the action itself to the resultant state.

In the Innuite language is found a close parallel to *habet* and ἔχει. As Innuite does not make use of adverbs as a part of speech, it abounds in verbal infixes which ar the characteristic marks of the so-calld Innuite modes.² The first mood, having the infix *-ngkã-* or *-ngkĩ-*, forms the third person singular in *-ngkãtök* and the first person in *-ngkãtöä*, e.g. *ëkãmrängkãtöä* 'I hav a sled' (*ëkãmrä* 'sled') but *kittët kwĩqtängkãtök* 'There is a river in front of them' (*kwĩk* 'river').

¹ Cf. Terence, *Phormio*, 429, bene tibi *habent* principia, on which the scholiast (apud Schlee, p. 63, 15) remarks: id est sunt, nam habere pro esse ponitur interdum secundum Priscianum de constructione [II, 397].

² These correspond in part to "moods," in part to aspect (Actionsarten) and in part to other types of expression.

13. *Miscellaneous Verbs*

Under this caption are included a number of verbs of various meanings, on which too little material has been accumulated to admit of detailed study.

'Be left.' Akīrtir maranād ati *ricyate* 'Dishonor is worse than death' — *Bhagavadgītā*, 2, 34. Spanish: Se partió alegre 'He was happy'; so also *marcharse* 'to leave.'

'Be deep.' Innuī: ētōk 'It is deep,' or 'It is,' e.g. Agīyūm ētōk 'God is.'

'To act.' Innuī: pēūgñā 'I am doing,' pēūnok 'the doing,' pēūgwōā 'I am, I exist.' Russian *sđelat'siā* means 'become.'

'To begin.' Greek (Modern): *θὲν ὑπάρχει*, equivalent to *θὲν ἔχει*, *θὲν εἶναι*, 'There is not.'

'To touch.' Latin: *contingere*. See *Gesta apud Zenophilum* in Ziwwa's edition of Optatus, index.

'To serve.' Russian: Iskhodnoī tochkoī *sluzhit* vopros o Dardanellakh 'The problem of the Dardanelles is the starting point.'

'To resemble.' Russian: Kartina dēiatel'nosti Īapontsev v Koreě za 1903-1909 gody *poluchaetsiā* ves'ma razlichnaiā 'The picture of the activity of the Japanese in Korea . . . is extremely varied.'

'To hold.' Russian: Moroz vse *derzhal* krepkiī 'The cold still remained (i.e. was) intense' — Leo Tolstoi, *Okhota pushche Nevoli* (p. 25 of T.'s 4th Reader). The reflexive form *derzhat'siā* is the more usual literary form.

Altho it is not the purpose of the present paper to enter upon a discussion of the nature of the copulative verb, there are one or two points that must be touched upon. The traditional views of the older, formal logicians on the subject of the judgment were characterized by the analysis of the judgment into three distinct and separate parts; subject, predicate and copula, and the assumption of a relationship between the subject and the predicate, of which relationship the copula was regarded as the symbol. As is well known, the trend of present psychology and logic has been toward the lessening of

emphasis laid on the difference and distinctness of the subject and the predicate, and more and more stress has come to be laid on the unity of the judgment as a mental process — on what may with a considerable degree of propriety be designated as the two-in-one-ness of the subject and predicate. It has been repeatedly asserted, and so far as I know, the assertion has passed unchallenged, that linguistic forms marking off subject and predicate as two different categories were responsible for the older, misguided view of the judgment as a mental process. I think, however, that a careful examination of the linguistic categories of subject and predicate, and especially a more careful examination of the copulative verb, will show that the trouble has lain not in the forms of language but in the logicians' interpretation of them; and that in reality there are to be found in these forms many indications of the essential unity, the two-in-one-ness, of the subject and predicate. We merely refer without discussion to the patent facts, that in many inflected languages the plural suffix of the verb does not indicate the plurality of the verb at all, but rather that of the subject, and that in such languages the subject and the verbal predicate are commonly fused into one inseparable form, as, for example, *dico*, 'I say.' In German colloquial language also *willst du* 'wil you' has become *willste*, to which a *du* is frequently added. At the beginning of this paper Wilhelm Wundt was quoted as holding that the copula by nature ("seinem ganzen Wesen nach") belongs to the predicate. That this is at least not universally true is shown by the existence of the pronominal and interjectional copulas cited above. On the contrary there are proofs that it is commonly very closely associated with the subject. For example, in the vast majority of cases the verbal copulas discussed in this paper are developed out of middle verbs. In the above groups we find: *stand*, *stat'*, *stoiat'*, *sostoiatsia*, *stavat'*, *stare*, *constare*, *costar*, *consistere*, etc., *aste*, *sedere*, *sidit'*, *çrayate*, *linim*, *lic*, *legen*, *remain*, *blijven*, *διαμένω*, *manet*, *vasate*, *wisan*, *wesen*, *goy*, *was*, *ostat'sia*, *khodit'*, *sara*, *venire*, *venirse*, *ire*, *irse*, *incedere*, *andar*, *πέλομαι*, *ἤκω*, *llegar*, *prikhodit'sia*, *seguir*, *fallen*, *popadat'sia*, *vartate*, *vertitur*, *versari*, *prikimut'sia*, *worth*, *be*, *bin*,

biti, etc., *jayate*, γίγνεται, *shih'*, *pozhivat'*, *vivere*, etc., *iavliat'-sia*, *mostrarse*, φαίνεται, *vidyate*, *dyksate*, *laksate*, *nakhodit'sia*, εὐρίσκεται, *sich befinden*, *encontrarse*, *hallarse*, *imēt'sia*, *se dare*, *habere*, *se habere*, *ricyate*, *štök*, *gwōä*, *slushit'*, *nazyvat'sia*, *ispolnit'sia*, *dovodit'sia*, *contingere*, -ngkã-, *derzhat'*. If those not listed here but mentioned in the course of the paper, and also the verbs cognate with these but not mentioned in the paper, were added to this list, the total number of middle verbs would considerably exceed 100. As we are interested mainly in the meaning of the words, and not particularly in their forms, we use the word "middle" in a broad sense, including under it also reflexives and, in fact, all verbs the action of which either consists in sum alteration or transformation of the subject or else involves or effects sum minor change in it, — which change, small though it be, nevertheless engages prominently the attention and thus plays an important part in the sentence. Such verbs, middle in meaning, though not in form, are: *stand*, *lie*, *lean*, *liv*, etc. It is self-evident that this class of verbs not only do not belong "ihrem ganzen Wesen nach" to the predicate, as Wundt asserts, but by their very nature they look directly back to the subject, and so keep the attention centered upon it. They are thus admirably adapted to express the two-in-one-ness of the subject and predicate, or rather of the judgment. In Russian particularly the reflexives are much in evidence (the verbs ending in *-sia*, a worn-down reflexive pronoun), while in Sanscrit the regular middles predominate. English *is* (*ist*, *est*, ἐστίν, *asti*, etc.) has not been discussed in this paper, since it so early developed into a copula that clear evidence of its previous meanings has been lost. It has been thought, however, to be akin to Sanscrit *vasate* 'dwell' or Sanscrit *asus* 'breath' 'breathing,' both of which ideas are middle in nature.

Another point brought out by the above material concerns the part played by belief in the judgment process. Brentano, as is well known, makes belief identical with the judgment. Mark Baldwin, following him, asserts that the copula is the special linguistic form in which this element of belief finds expression. From the linguist's point of view this theory of

Baldwin's does not appear to be tenable, at least in the form which would assert belief to find its chief expression or symbolization in the copula, and which would assert that in all cases the copula affirms this element of belief, at least in sum degree. The following considerations make against the Brentano-Baldwin view: (1) There are, as we have seen above, countless instances in which there is no specific form (in the sense of special movements of the vocal organs represented by alphabetical signs) through which the copulativ element finds expression. In fact, from all the evidence accessible to linguists it would appear that the copula is a comparatively late development in language; as, indeed, we should expect from its highly abstract character. It is especially among peoples whose thinking is of a concrete type that we find specific forms of copulativ expressions least developed. (2) Of existing or adequately testified copulas there are only two types (*i.e.* those included under paragraphs (3) and (4) at the beginning of this paper) and those comparatively rare ones, which appear to be especially fitted to express the "belief" element. These are the imperativ and the demonstrativ copulas *voilà*, *voici*, *on-zhe*, *ved'*, etc. Russian *eto* is in origin a reinforced demonstrativ, while the *zhe* of *on-zhe* is identified by filologists with the Sanscrit particle *hi*. All three of these have a strong asseverativ force, which fully comports with the feeling of belief even in its more intense form which we call conviction. It is interesting to note in this connection that according to Delbrück, *Altindische Syntax*, p. 13, the copula is regularly left unexpressed in certain types of sentences in which *hi* appears. The same is true of sentences containing the Greek, verbal in *-τέος* or the Sanscrit gerundiv in *-yas*. See Delbrück, *op. cit.*, p. 397), both of which express necessity, inevitability, and hence a strong conviction. A mild belief is also connoted in the words meaning 'appear' (note especially the English word *apparently*). Yet even in these last cases (the gerundivs and verbals) it does not necessarily follow that the idea of conviction is the motive that determines the non-use of the copula (really auxiliary). It finds no use in innumerable other cases in other languages under circumstances in which the 'belief'

element can play no prominent part. Instances will occur to every one. (3) On the other hand, if this element of belief, as a constant and distinctively characteristic element of the judgment, finds its specific expression in the copula, we should expect the copula to show clear indications of the fact as a general rule and not merely in special cases. Of course no one would deny the element of belief does usually enter as a factor into judgments. When we speak, our hearers instinctively assume, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, that we do believe, or at least wish to imply that we do. The very fact that we speak implies it. When the copulative expression is absent, as in the passage from *Hamlet* cited at the beginning of this paper, our belief finds not less vigorous expression. In fact, it appears as a rule to be diffused throughout the sentence instead of being confined to any one word. It is expressed in a greater degree by the firmness of utterance, facial expression and gestures. This "diffuse" expression of the belief element comports, we may remark incidentally, with the notion of the unity of the judgment.

In the course of this paper mention has been made several times of the part played by modality in the development of the copula. With few exceptions the verbs discussed are such as we view most naturally in their progressive or durative aspects. It is also worthy of note, that while the idea of appearing often presents itself in its inceptive aspect, 'to put in an appearance,' it is not out of this force that the copulative usage develops. Similarly, although we usually regard the actions of giving and finding in their perfective aspect, it is not out of this force directly that the copulative usage develops, since the sender of interest shifts from the completion of the action to the resultant state.

Since the developing copulative verb is usually a middle verb, it throws the attention back upon the subject and thereby not only favors the clear and distinct appreciation of any qualities (expressed by predicate noun, adjective, etc.) of that subject which may enter into a given situation; but also (for this very reason) favors the gradual disappearance from consciousness of its own specific concrete meaning. This

disappearanse is due chiefly to the eaze with which one may simultaneously appreciate the specific state or action exprest by the verb and the qualities of the subject exprest elsewhere in the sentence. This compatibility of the verbal and the predicativ ideas makes possible the use of these verbs in connection with a great variety of predicativ ideas. As these predicativ elements comunly play a far more important part in the sentence than do the ideas exprest in the verbs, the verbal element sinks more and more from the pozition of a dominating to that of a non-dominating element, and thereby takes on stil another of the characteristic marks of the copula. This, in itself, involvs a les vivid appreciation of the specific concrete meaning of the verb, and this loss of specific meaning is stil further effected by the continual occurrense of the verb in connection with varying predicate attributes. In this way the former concrete verb becums an abstract tipe. Those who wish to go more deeply into this shift of meaning, woud do wel to consult Professor Pillsbury's study of tipes to be found in his *Psychology of Reasoning* (see index *s.v.* Types) and his paper on the "Role of the Type in the Simpler Mental Processes," reprinted from the *Philosophical Review*, vol. xxii, no. 5 (Sept., 1911). From the former I take the liberty of quoting (p. 78): "The word which we hav in reason or memory is not the sum of particular experienses; it is always a mas of particulars workt over and cristalized about standards . . . (p. 92): What makes a consept a consept is not the quality or character of the conscious element, but the connections into which it enters. If we begin with a particular¹ as a wel-defined tipe, feature after feature may drop away and the function stil remain the same."

One further general observation may be added. It must not, of course, be assumed that after the abov-mentiond verbs hav developpt into copulas they ar identical in meaning or even interchangeable. As a matter of fact, in any given language, as, for example, in Russian or in Spanish, in which such secondarily developpt copulas ar comun, each verb,

¹ This particular corresponds, for example, to the word *stand* ized in its literal sense in any given sentence.

even after its original concrete meaning has quite vanished, is, nevertheless, usually associated with certain types of situations, certain fixed phrases, certain ranges of usage, which, though constantly shifting slowly, are still relatively stable; nor would a native Russian fail instantly to recognize as "wrong" the substitution of one such copula for another. Thus, though a superficial observer might regard the existence of a dozen or more copulative verbs in a language as a luxury, yet, in reality, they can be taken only as indicative of the richness of thought and flexibility of mind of the nation that developed them. As illustrations of this "individualism" of copulas, we may mention the following: in Sanskrit, *vidyate* as a copula is largely confined to negative sentences; in Russian, *khodit'* is commonly used in stating a person's profession, or the official position with the connotation of his service in that position, while *sostoiat'* gives the position with the connotation of the holding of the given position. *Ťavliat' sja* is used freely in formal argumentative discourse, such as editorials, essays, and scientific or humanistic treatises, often with long and elaborate predicative expressions in the instrumental case; *stoiat'* is found chiefly in briefer sentences; the entire absence of copulative verb is frequent in very brief sentences and especially in connection with past passive participles, such as *vidno*, 'It is plain,' *poniatno*, 'it is intelligible,' and the like. The construction is most widely current in general truths, other timeless sentences, and referring to the present time, although it is occasionally used of past and future.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

FORTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

HELD AT WASHINGTON, D.C., DECEMBER, 1912

ALSO OF THE FOURTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE

Philological Association of the Pacific Coast

HELD AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA .

NOVEMBER, 1912

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 Clarence W. Mendell, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
 Truman Michelson, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.
 C. W. E. Miller, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
 Frank Gardner Moore, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
 Wilfred P. Mustard, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
 Paul Nixon, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.
 Marbury B. Ogle, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt.
 Charles Peabody, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
 Mary Bradford Peaks, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
 Ernest M. Pease, New York, N. Y.
 Charles W. Pepler, Trinity College, Durham, N. C.
 William Peterson, McGill University, Montreal, Can.
 Clyde Pharr, Urbana, O.

Henry Preble, New Brighton, N. Y.
William Kelly Prentice, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
John Cunningham Robertson, St. Stephen's College, Annandale, N. Y.
David M. Robinson, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
John Carew Rolfe, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
H. J. Rose, McGill University, Montreal, Can.
Julius Sachs, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
Henry A. Sanders, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
D. T. Schoonover, Marietta College, Marietta, O.
Henry S. Scribner, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
T. Leslie Shear, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
Emily L. Shields, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
F. W. Shipley, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
Charles F. Sitterly, Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J.
Charles S. Smith, George Washington University, Washington, D. C.
Kirby Flower Smith, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
R. B. Steele, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.
Duane Reed Stuart, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
Edgar Howard Sturtevant, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
Mary Hamilton Swindler, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Helen H. Tanzer, Normal College, New York, N. Y.
Lily R. Taylor, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Willmot Haines Thompson, Jr., Acadia University, Wolfville, N. S.
B. L. Ullman, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Harry Brown Van Deventer, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
Henry B. Van Hoesen, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
La Rue Van Hook, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
Anthony Pelzer Wagener, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
Alice Walton, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.
Monroe Nichols Wetmore, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
James R. Wheeler, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
Harry Langford Wilson, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
Willis Patten Woodman, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y.

[Total, 121]

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

I. PROGRAMME

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 27

FIRST SESSION, 2.45 O'CLOCK P.M.

CLARENCE W. MENDELL

The Anticipatory Element in Latin Sentence Connection (p. li)

R. B. STEELE

Quintus Curtius Rufus (p. li).

LA RUE VAN HOOK

Ψυχρότης ἢ τὸ ψυχρόν (p. lix)

GEORGE M. CALHOUN

Documentary Frauds in Litigation at Athens (p. xix)

EDGAR HOWARD STURTEVANT

The Pronunciation of *cui* and *huic* (p. 57)

WILLIAM GARDNER HALE

The Classification of Sentences and Clauses (p. xxix)

WILLIAM W. BAKER

Some of the Less Known Mss. of Xenophon's *Memorabilia* (read by title, p. 143)

EDWIN W. BOWEN

Did Tacitus Malign and Traduce the Character of Tiberius in his Portrait in the *Annals* (read by title)¹

SAMUEL ELIOT BASSETT

A Fragment of Sophocles (read by title, p. xviii)

Plato, *Apology*, 27E, μήτε θεοὺς μήτε δαίμονας μήτε ἥρωας (read by title)

¹ Published in the *Classical Weekly*, vi, 162 ff.

JOINT SESSION WITH THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
AND THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND
EXEGESIS

8 O'CLOCK P.M.

THOMAS DWIGHT GOODELL
An Athenian Critic of Life :
Annual Address of the President of the Association¹

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 28

SECTION MEETINGS, 9.30 O'CLOCK A.M.

A. ORIENTAL

W. SHERWOOD FOX
Old Testament Parallels to *Tabellae Defixionum* (p. xxv)

HENRY A. SANDERS
The Genealogy of Jesus²

B. CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

RICHARD MOTT GUMMERE
Further Notes on the Seneca Tradition (p. xxvi)

KIRBY FLOWER SMITH
Note on Satyros, Life of Euripides, Oxyrhynchus Papyri, IX, p. 157³

GRACE HARRIET MACURDY
The Origin of a Herodotean Tale (p. 73)

CHARLES DARWIN ADAMS
Are the Political "Speeches" of Demosthenes to be regarded as
Political Pamphlets? (p. 5)

WILLIAM KELLY PRENTICE
Officials Charged with the Conduct of Public Works in Roman and
Byzantine Syria (p. 113)

GORDON J. LAING
The Religious Inscriptions of the City of Rome (read by title)

¹ Published in the *Yale Review*, II, 540 ff.

² Published in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XXXII.

³ Published in *American Journal of Philology*, XXXIV, 62 ff.

JOINT SESSION WITH THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

2.30 O'CLOCK P.M.

ELMER TRUESDELL MERRILL

Cicero to Basilus, *Fam.* vi, 15 (read by title)¹

MAURICE HUTTON

The Mind of Herodotus: Second Paper (p. xxxix)

WILLIAM PETERSON

The Romance of the *Dialogue* of Tacitus²

JOHN MACNAUGHTON

What is the Matter with American Scholarship?

MONDAY, DECEMBER 30

SECOND SESSION, 9.30 O'CLOCK A.M.

SAMUEL GRANT OLIPHANT

Legenda Strigis (read by title)

ROBERT B. ENGLISH

Parmenides' Indebtedness to the Pythagoreans (p. 81)

HERBERT PIERREPONT HOUGHTON

Lucretius as Satirist (read by title, p. xxxiv)

JOSEPH WILLIAM HEWITT

On the Development of the Thank-offering among the Greeks (read by title, p. 95)

CHARLES KNAPP

Horace, *Epistle*, II, 1, 139 ff.; Livy, VII, 2 (p. 125)

HAMILTON FORD ALLEN

Greek Mummy-Labels in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (read by title)³

F. W. SHIPLEY

A Problem in Latin Secondary Accent (read by title)⁴

WALTON BROOKS MCDANIEL

The Ferentinum of Horace (read by Professor Rolfe, p. 67)

ROY C. FLICKINGER

The Accusative of Exclamation in Epistolary Latin (read by title)⁵

¹ Published in *Classical Philology*, VIII, 48 ff.

² Published in *American Journal of Philology*, XXXIV, 1 ff.

³ *Ib.*, 194 ff.

⁴ Published in *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, XXXIII.

⁵ Published in *American Journal of Philology*, XXXIV.

GEORGE DEPUE HADZSITS

The Personality of the Epicurean Gods (read by title, p. xxix)

GERTRUDE HIRST

Notes on *Aeneid*, VII and VIII (read by title, p. xxxiii)

WALTER WOODBURN HYDE

A Criticism of Some Recent Views of the *Bacchanals* of Euripides
(read by title, p. xli)

THIRD SESSION, 3.30 O'CLOCK P.M.

JOSEPH E. HARRY

Emendations in the Greek Tragedians (p. xxxii)

THOMAS FITZHUGH

Caesius Bassus and the Hellenization of Latin Saturnian Theory
(read by title, p. xx)

ASHTON WAUGH MCWHORTER

On "The Mood of the Question" and "The Mood of the Answer"
(p. xliii)

CLARENCE LINTON MEADER

The Development of Copulativ Verbs in the Indo-European Lan-
guages (read by Professor Sanders, p. 173)

ROLAND G. KENT

Dissimilative Writings for *ii* and *iii* in Latin (read by title, p. 35)

HENRY MARTIN

Provisional Oaths of Inscriptions (read by title, p. xlix)

HERBERT CUSHING TOLMAN

Περσικὴ ἔσθῆς, Μηδικὴ ἔσθῆς: An Erroneous Reversal of Terms (read
by title, p. liv)

HENRY B. VAN HOESEN

The Parentage and Birth Date of the Latin Uncial (read by title,
p. lvii)

SECOND JOINT SESSION WITH THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL
INSTITUTE

8 O'CLOCK, P.M.¹

¹ See Minutes, p. xvii.

II. MINUTES

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 27, 1912.

The Forty-fourth Annual Meeting was called to order at 2.45 P.M. in the new National Museum (room 44), the President of the Association, Professor Thomas D. Goodell, of Yale University, presiding.

The Secretary, Professor Frank Gardner Moore, of Columbia University, read the list of new members elected by the Executive Committee, as follows:¹—

William Wilson Baden, Baltimore Polytechnic Institute.
Dr. Susan H. Ballou, University of Chicago.
Miss Margaret Bancroft, Columbia University.
Prof. Gertrude H. Beggs, University of Denver.
Dr. Harold H. Bender, Princeton University.
Albert Billheimer, Pennsylvania College.
Dr. Cornelia C. Coulter, Ferguson, Mo.
John R. Crawford, Columbia University.
Prof. Arleigh Lee Darby, University of West Virginia.
Lindley Richard Dean, Princeton University.
Prof. Sidney N. Deane, Smith College.
Donald Blythe Durham, Princeton University.
Prof. Allan C. Johnson, Princeton University.
Prof. Robert J. Kellogg, James Millikin Jr. University.
Prof. Robert McD. Kirkland, Lebanon Valley College.
Dr. Henry Wheatland Litchfield, Harvard University.
James Loeb, Munich, Germany.
Prof. Christopher Longest, University of Mississippi.
Prof. James Sugars McLemore, University of Virginia.
Dr. Clyde Pharr, Urbana, Ohio.
Dr. Katharine C. Reiley, Baltimore, Md.
Joaquin Palomo Rincon, Mexico City, Mexico.
Rev. P. H. Ristau, Lakefield, Minn.
Dr. Frank Egleston Robbins, University of Michigan.
Prof. H. J. Rose, McGill University.
Prof. D. T. Schoonover, Marietta College.
Miss Mary Hamilton Swindler, Bryn Mawr College.
Eugene B. Tavenner, Normal School, Murfreesboro, Tenn.
Miss Lily R. Taylor, Vassar College.

The Secretary reported the publication of the *TRANSACTIONS* and *PROCEEDINGS*, Volume XLII, in October.

¹ Including a few names added later by the Committee.

The Treasurer's report was read and accepted as follows :—

RECEIPTS	
Balance, December 27, 1911	\$685.01
Sales of Transactions	\$100.96
Membership dues	1462.00
Initiation fees	80.00
Dividends	6.00
Interest	15.87
Offprints	16.00
Philological Association of the Pacific Coast	190.00
Total receipts to December 26, 1912	<u>1870.83</u>
	\$2555.84
EXPENDITURES	
Transactions and Proceedings (Vol. XLII)	\$1400.45
Salary of Secretary	300.00
Postage	50.70
Telegram40
Printing and stationery	42.94
Express	1.55
Press clippings	5.10
Index to Volumes XXXI-XL	<u>75.00</u>
Total expenditures to December 26, 1912	\$1876.14
Balance, December 26, 1912	<u>679.70</u>
	\$2555.84

The Chair appointed as a Committee to audit the Treasurer's accounts, Professors Charles Edward Bishop and Joseph E. Harry.

Appointment of a Committee on the Place of the Next Meeting was deferred.

Professors James R. Wheeler and Harold N. Fowler and Principal Maurice Hutton were named by the Chair a Committee to draft a resolution in memory of Professor William Watson Goodwin, of Harvard University.

The Executive Committee reported by the Secretary that a design for a seal would be presented for adoption or rejection at the business meeting, and that the design was placed before the members in advance for their criticisms.

The remainder of the session was given to the reading of papers.

In connection with the reading of Professor Hale's paper Professor John C. Kirtland made a brief report for the Committee on the Harmonizing of Grammatical Terminology, and Professor Hale, as chairman of the Joint Committee of the Modern Language Association, National Education Association, and American Philological

Association, begged leave to print their report, when finished, without waiting for approval by the next annual meeting. Action was postponed until the business meeting.

JOINT SESSION WITH THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
AND THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND
EXEGESIS

Friday evening, December 27.

The three Societies met in the auditorium of the National Museum at 8 P.M., the President of the Institute, Professor Francis W. Kelsey, of the University of Michigan, presiding.

After greetings in the name of the Smithsonian Institute had been brought by its Secretary, Dr. Charles D. Walcott, and on behalf of the Washington Society of the Institute by its President, Charles Henry Butler, Esq., and Professor Lewis B. Paton, of the Hartford Theological Seminary, President of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, had responded for the three Societies, the President of the Philological Association, Professor Thomas D. Goodell, of Yale University, delivered the customary annual address, on *An Athenian Critic of Life*.

SECTION MEETINGS

Saturday morning, December 28.

The meetings of this morning (9.30) were arranged in four sections, at the first of which, the Oriental, this Association was represented by two papers. At the second, that of Classical Philology, Principal William Peterson, of McGill University, presided, and later Professor Charles Knapp, of Columbia University. This session was honored by the presence of the British Ambassador, Mr. James Bryce, who took part in the discussion of a paper on Demosthenes.

JOINT SESSION WITH THE INSTITUTE

Saturday afternoon, December 28.

The Societies met at 2.30 P.M. at the National Museum, rooms 42-43, but were obliged later to adjourn to the Auditorium for lack of space. The President of the Association presided, and the session was devoted to the reading of papers.¹

¹ In the evening, at the close of a reception given to the Societies by the Washington Society of the Institute at the Pan-American Union, addresses were made by the Director of the Union, the Ministers of Bolivia and Peru, and by the British Ambassador. Mr. Henry White, late Ambassador to France, presided.

SECOND SESSION OF THE ASSOCIATION

Monday morning, December 30.

The Association met at 9.30 A.M. in room 46-47 of the National Museum, the President presiding. Papers and discussion occupied the entire session.

THIRD SESSION

Monday afternoon, December 30.

The Association met in the same room at 2.00 o'clock for the business meeting.

The Executive Committee gave notice of its intention to propose one year hence an amendment to the Constitution, Article IV, Section 3, so that the said section shall read as follows:—

Any person may become a life member of the Association by vote of the Executive Committee, and by the payment into the treasury of thirty dollars, if the said person be fifty years of age; of forty dollars, if between the ages of forty and fifty; or fifty dollars, if under forty years of age.

The Executive Committee further reported that, should this amendment be adopted, it would recommend that it be the policy of the Association to fund the sums received for life memberships.

The Secretary reported from the Committee that a year ago it had voted to excuse from the payment of further dues all members who had been such for thirty-five years, and had reached the age of sixty-five; that under this vote a dozen veteran members were now exempt from further dues.

An invitation from the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast to a joint meeting at San Francisco in the summer of 1915 was read by the Secretary, who was instructed to acknowledge the receipt of this invitation, and to express the grateful appreciation of our members.

The Executive Committee raised the question of the design for a seal upon which it had received the favorable report of the Committee on the Seal, Professor Frank Cole Babbitt, Chairman.

On motion of Professor Charles Knapp,

Voted, That the design for a seal laid before the Association at the present meeting be adopted.

The Executive Committee further reported that its attention had been called by a former President of the Association to the need of prompt action upon the part of scholars to secure the repeal of the

customs duties upon books printed in foreign lands. It was thereupon

Voted, That the President be instructed to appoint a Committee of two, to draft a resolution, in the name of the Association, urging that certain books printed in foreign countries be admitted free of duty, and that the Committee appear before the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives in the furtherance of this request.

The President appointed Professors Kirby Flower Smith and Mitchell Carroll such a Committee.

The Committee appointed for the purpose at the first session reported by its Chairman, Professor James R. Wheeler, the following resolution, which was adopted by a rising vote :—

The American Philological Association desires to place upon its records an expression of its sense of loss in the death of Professor William Watson Goodwin, of Harvard University. Professor Goodwin was one of the early members of the Association, and was twice its President. In the pages of the Transactions are numerous articles by him which have a permanent value, and which were admirable examples of his fine, sane scholarship. His clear thinking and remarkable powers of lucid statement have made his work of immense influence in the development of American scholarship, and this influence was strongly felt, especially by students of grammar, in England also.

Professor Goodwin was among the earliest of American scholars to devote himself to careful study of Athenian Public Antiquities and of Attic Oratory, and his editions of the orations of Demosthenes *On the Crown* and *Against Midias* testify to his careful and clear judgment in this field of work. For all who knew him personally, the memory of his generous nature and benignant presence will remain as a permanent possession.

The Committee to audit the Treasurer's accounts reported by its Chairman, Professor Charles Edward Bishop, that it had examined the accounts, compared the vouchers, and certified that the report of the Treasurer was correct.

On recommendation of the Committee on the Time and Place of the Next Meeting, reporting by its Chairman, Professor Charles Darwin Adams.

1. *Voted*, That the decision as to time and place of the next meeting be referred with power to a Committee consisting of the President, the two Vice-Presidents, and the Secretary.

2. *Voted*, That the Association recommend to that Committee that the next meeting be held in connection with the meeting of the Modern Language Association, if satisfactory arrangements to that effect can be made.

It was further ordered that the report of the Committee be placed upon the Minutes as follows :—

Our Association has received only one formal invitation for the next meeting. This is an invitation from St. Louis. In view of the understanding that we are to meet in the West one year in three, and that the meeting of 1911 in Pittsburgh is regarded as a western meeting, your Committee did not feel at liberty to recommend the acceptance of this invitation for our meeting of 1913. Your Committee were assured by Professor Capps that the Association would be heartily welcomed at Princeton, and our Secretary had received from Professor Grandgent, the President of the Modern Language Association, a telegram expressing the hope that we will meet with them next year, and stating that their meeting will probably be held at Cambridge. As we have only these informal invitations from individuals, it seems to be necessary to leave the ultimate decision to a committee.

Your Committee believe, however, that it is wise for the Association to express itself definitely on the question whether we shall hold the next meeting in connection with the Archaeological Institute, or in connection with the Modern Language Association, or by ourselves. This question so far involves that of the policy of the Association for more than one year that we beg permission to express our opinion on this larger question.

In our judgment it would be well to broaden our affiliations; in some years to meet with the Archaeological Institute; in other years to seek other affiliation, as with the Modern Language Association and the Historical Association; and we believe that in some years we ought to meet by ourselves.

We are led to propose that next year we meet with the Modern Language Association by the following considerations:—

1. We believe that an effort should be made to increase the coöperation between the representatives of the ancient and the modern languages and literatures.
2. We are assured that there is a growing desire on the part of members of the Modern Language Association to further such coöperation, and that desire now finds expression in the word sent to us by their President.
3. It is altogether likely that at the time of our next meeting a preliminary report by the joint committee on grammatical terminology will be ready for discussion by both bodies. A joint session for such discussion seems to us to be highly desirable.

We should not wish this recommendation to be interpreted as intended to sever our relations with the Archaeological Institute. With at least a part of their work our own connection is immediate and vital. Some of our members are necessarily in responsible positions in that organization. But it seems to us that the attempt to provide for joint meetings every year may be at too great cost to our own more specific work. We therefore recommend a policy that shall provide for a change of affiliation from time to time. We believe also that occasional meetings of the Association by itself, preferably in some of the smaller college towns, would do much to strengthen our own work and to promote the closer personal relations of our members.

CHARLES DARWIN ADAMS.
EDWARD CAPPS.
B. L. ULLMAN.

On motion of the Secretary,

Voted, That the Committee on the Readjustment of English and Latin Work in the Preparatory Schools, Professor Edwin W. Fay, Chairman, appointed at the Providence meeting, be discharged.¹

In accordance with the request of Professor Hale at an earlier session (p. x f.) it was

Voted, That the Committee on the Harmonizing of Grammatical Terminology be continued; and that the Committee have permission to print a preliminary report before the next meeting.

In the absence of any member of the Committee on Nominations the report of the Committee was presented by Professor John Carew Rolfe, recommending the election of the following officers:—

President, Professor Harold North Fowler, Western Reserve University.

Vice-Presidents, Professor Frank Frost Abbott, Princeton University.

Professor Carl Darling Buck, University of Chicago.

Secretary and Treasurer, Professor Frank Gardner Moore, Columbia University.

Executive Committee, The above-named officers, and

Professor Charles Knapp, Columbia University.

Professor Henry A. Sanders, University of Michigan.

Professor John A. Scott, Northwestern University.

Professor Kirby Flower Smith, Johns Hopkins University.

Professor Arthur L. Wheeler, Bryn Mawr College.

Upon motion of Professor Thomas FitzHugh, the Secretary was instructed to cast a single ballot for the above-named officers, and they were declared duly elected.

The report of a Joint Committee with the Classical Association of the Middle West, consisting of Professors Henry A. Sanders, J. E. Harry, and Alexander L. Bondurant, was then called for, and Professor Sanders reported that the following resolution had been received from the Classical Association of the Middle West and South:—

Resolved, That the President be authorized to appoint a Committee of three from the membership of the Classical Association, who will be in attendance upon the next meeting of the Archaeological Institute and the American Philological Association, to confer with a like Committee of the Institute and the Philological Association as to the possibility of coöperation between the two organizations for mutual helpfulness in the promotion of classical studies, provided that this proposition is acceptable to the Executive Committee of the Archaeological Institute and of the Philological Association.

¹ See XLI, xiii.

The report of the Committee was accepted and adopted as follows:—

In accordance with the accompanying resolution of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South the following opinion is expressed by the united committees:—

Mutual effort in the promotion of classical studies would be best subserved by the resolution that a joint meeting is desirable, whenever either of the National Societies may arrange to hold its meeting within the territory of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South.

HENRY A. SANDERS,

J. E. HARRY,

ALEXANDER L. BONDURANT, *Committee.*

On motion of Professor Monroe Nichols Wetmore, the following vote of thanks was adopted by a rising vote:—

The members of the American Philological Association are agreed that this meeting of the Society at Washington has been most profitable and most highly enjoyable. In addition to those members who have presented papers and taken part in the discussions, our especial thanks are due to many others who have contributed to our pleasures. Therefore be it

Resolved, That we hereby express our deep feeling for all their kindness and courtesy to

The Washington Society of the Archaeological Institute ;
His Excellency, the British Ambassador, and Mrs. Bryce ;
The Rector of Georgetown University ;
The Cosmos Club ;
The University Club ;
The Washington Club ;
Mrs. Boardman and Miss Mabel Boardman ;
Hon. John Barrett ;
The Smithsonian Institution ;
The Local Committee of this Association.

In particular the Association is greatly pleased to express to His Excellency, the British Ambassador, its appreciation of his interest in our work, as shown by his attendance at one of our sessions, as well as by his valuable and scholarly discussion of one of the papers.

Finally, be it

Resolved, That the Secretary be authorized to send a copy of these resolutions to each of the persons and organizations mentioned above.

The Chair announced the appointment of Professor Edward D. Perry, of Columbia University, as a member of the Standing Committee on Nominations.

After some notices had been given, and some suggestions offered with regard to *σοσίστια* at the next meeting, the remainder of the session was given to the reading of papers.

SECOND JOINT SESSION WITH THE INSTITUTE

Tuesday evening, December 30.

The Societies met at eight o'clock in the Auditorium of the National Museum, Professor Andrew F. West, of Princeton University, presiding.

Reports on the American excavations at Sardes and at Quirigua were made by Professor Howard Crosby Butler, of Princeton University, and Mr. Edgar L. Hewett, of the School of American Archaeology, respectively.

The President of the Institute, Professor Francis W. Kelsey, of the University of Michigan, delivered an address on The Province and Scope of Archaeology.

The next meeting will be held, in conjunction with the Modern Language Association of America, at Harvard University, 29, 30 and 31 December, 1913.

III. ABSTRACTS

1. A Fragment of Sophocles, by Professor Samuel Eliot Bassett, of the University of Vermont.

The Schol. Victorin. ad *Iliad*. T, 292 (= Cramer, *Anecd. Gr. Paris*. IV, 26) cites a fragment of Sophocles ἐπιτείνεται τῇ ὄψει τὰ παθήματα καὶ Σοφοκλῆς :

ὄψις γὰρ ὠτῶν κριτικωτέρα πᾶσι.

The genuineness of this fragment was questioned, first by Näke (*Index Lect. Bonn.*, 1821), and then by Ellendt (*Lex. Soph.*¹ s.v. κριτικωτέρα), and Nauck ignores the fragment. Näke regarded the line as nothing more than a gloss on *O.T.* 1238, ἡ γὰρ ὄψις οὐ πάρα. But in that case we should expect ἀκοῆς instead of ὠτῶν, and at any rate the absence of the article with ὠτῶν marks the phrase as poetical. Ellendt's objection that the first short syllable of κριτικωτέρα makes the line unmetrical has greater weight. For while it might be urged that Sophocles once takes advantage of metrical lengthening, so common in the epic (cf. ἀρώσιμοι, *Ant.* 569, with ἄροσις, etc.), yet a single instance is not sufficient to warrant the reading κριτικωτέρα, and even then a trochee in the sixth foot, which Ellendt apparently did not notice, is impossible. However, the line was evidently intended to be read as a trimeter, and the thought is certainly Sophoclean: to compare, besides the passage from the *Oedipus, Electra*, 761 f.

ὡς μὲν ἐν λόγοις
ἀλγεινά, τοῖς δ' ἰδοῦσιν, οἷπερ εἶδομεν,
μέγιστα πάντων ὧν ὄπωπ' ἐγὼ κακῶν.

Aias 1000 f.

ἐκποδῶν μὲν ὧν
ὑπεστéναζον, νῦν δ' ὀρῶν ἀπόλλυμαι.

and *Trach.* 896 f.

ἄγαν γε μάλλον δ', εἰ παροῦσα πλησία
ἔλευσσεσσι οἷ' ἔδρασε, κά.τ' ἂν ᾤκτισας.

Furthermore,—and this seems to be conclusive,—the use of πᾶσι as a substantive and in this sense is apparently to be found only in Sophocles (*O.C.* 1446, ἀνάξια γὰρ πᾶσιν ἔστε δυστυχεῖν, and *O.T.* 40, νῦν τ, ὦ κράτιστον πᾶσιν Οἰδίπουν κάρα). That the same thought occurs in the Histories of Herodotus, the friend of Sophocles (I, 8,

ὅσα γὰρ τυγχάνει ἀνθρώποισι ἔοντα ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν) is only an added reason for believing in the genuineness of the fragment if the metrical difficulties can be overcome.¹ A possible emendation is suggested by a fragment of Heraclitus, with whose theory of sense perception the poet doubtless was familiar: frg. 101 a, Diels,² ὀφθαλμοὶ γὰρ τῶν ὠτῶν ἀκριβέστεροι μάρτυρες.

It seems probable that the scholiast was quoting from memory² under the influence, perhaps, of Theophrast. *de Sens.* 43, κριτικώτατον δὲ ἡδονῆς τὴν γλώτταν, or the like (cf. Arist. *de Sens.* p. 442), and that Sophocles really wrote:

ὄψις γὰρ ὠτῶν πᾶσιν ἀκριβεστέρα.³

2. Documentary Frauds in Litigation at Athens, by Dr. George M. Calhoun, of the University of Texas.

Forgery and other improper practices in connection with documents were not infrequently resorted to by litigants in the Athenian courts.

Wills, written agreements and contracts, account-books, and letters, all of which could be used as evidence of transactions, seem not infrequently to have been forged, improperly altered, replaced by spurious documents, or concealed. Persons were occasionally tricked into signing papers which they had not read. On one occasion, a forged letter is alleged to have been used to bolster up a false charge of homicide.

Depositions, since they did not purport to be written by the deponents themselves, offered no opportunity for forgery. After they had been attested, they seem to have been carefully guarded by the court officials, if notice was given of a perjury prosecution. In one case a deposition is said to have been stolen in an arbitrator's court. Ecmartyriae could be forged with the connivance of the attesting witnesses.

Court papers, public records, registers, laws, etc., seem not infrequently to have been tampered with by dishonest magistrates, or even by private citizens.

There are several allusions to documentary frauds of which the precise nature and intent are not at all clear.

¹ Cf. *Class. Rev.* xxvi (1912), 217.

² As Eustathius not infrequently did (Jebb, *Antigone*, appendix, on v. 292).

³ For the use of ἀκριβής in this sense, if another example is needed, one may compare Theocr. 22, 194, ἀκριβῆς ἄμμασι.

The protection and proof of documents have been partially discussed by Bonner (*Evidence in Athenian Courts* [Chicago, 1905]; "The Use and Effect of Attic Seals," *Class. Phil.* III, 399-407) and Wyse (*Isaeus*, notes). The measures for protection seem often to have been inadequate and forgery not difficult. The methods of proving documents, judged by modern standards, were very lax. Little attention was paid to the original instrument, and its authenticity was generally established by witnesses, who were often ignorant of its content. Attacks on documents show the same indirectness and inattention to the actual instrument, which are not to be taken as indicating always that the charges are false. The importance of documentary evidence was lessened by the large size of juries and the Athenian partiality toward arguments based on general equity.

This paper will appear in full in *Classical Philology*.

3. Caesius Bassus and the Hellenization of Latin Saturnian Theory, by Professor Thomas FitzHugh, of the University of Virginia.

The *Carmen Arvale* in Latin and the Hymn to St. Patrick in Old-Irish have revealed to us a new basis for Indo-European accent, rhythm, and metre, in the tripudic principle of the double and triple stress. In my last paper on "Tyrannio Amisenus and the Hellenization of Latin Accentual and Rhythmic Theory"¹ I showed how Tyrannio falsified our classic tradition of the original Indo-European double accent and accentual tetrapody with his artificial μέση προσωδία. In the present paper I shall show how Bassus falsified our pre-classic tradition with his artificial Greek ictus. The fraud in each case was the same — the fraud of hellenizing. Tyrannio made use of a fraudulent Greek accent; Bassus, of a fraudulent Greek ictus. Bassus violated the Latin law of the accentual thesis by using the artificial ictus (s) twice in the same iambico-trochaic dipody:

$$\begin{array}{c} \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \quad | \quad \cup \cup \cup \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \quad || \quad \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \cup \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \quad | \quad \cup \cup \cup \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \\ \text{Duello magno} \quad \text{dirimendo} \quad \text{regibus} \quad \text{subigendis.} \\ \text{A-} \overset{\text{a}}{\text{G}} \quad \text{A-} \overset{\text{a}}{\text{G}} \quad | \quad \text{A-} \overset{\text{a}}{\text{A}} \text{-G} \quad || \quad \overset{\text{a}}{\text{A}} \text{-O-} \overset{\text{a}}{\text{G}} \quad | \quad \text{A-} \overset{\text{a}}{\text{A}} \text{-G} \end{array}$$

Such artificialities as *duelló magnó*, *immórtalés*, *conçiliari*, etc., while occupying any position in the wholly artificial technique of epic or lyric poetry, had always to be distributed between different dipodies in the more natural iambico-trochaic technique of the drama. The

¹ PAPA, XLII, xxiv f.

Greek slave Andronicus had dealt less mercilessly with Roman art than the hybrid Ennius of *tria corda* fame :

A. The Technique of Livius : Iambico-trochaic.

$\frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \mid \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \mid \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}}$
 Solemnitusque deo litat laudem lubens: vid. Nonius, s.v. *solemnitus*.
 A- $\overset{\circ}{\text{O}}$ - $\overset{\circ}{\text{O}}$ - $\overset{\circ}{\text{A}}$ -G | $\overset{\circ}{\text{A}}$ - $\overset{\circ}{\text{A}}$ - $\overset{\circ}{\text{A}}$ G | A- $\overset{\circ}{\text{G}}$ A- $\overset{\circ}{\text{A}}$ G

Only one artificial ictus to the dipody.

B. The Technique of Ennius : Dactylic.

$\frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \mid \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \parallel \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \mid \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \mid \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}}$
 Deducunt habiles gladios filo gracilentos.
 $\overset{\circ}{\text{A}}$ - $\overset{\circ}{\text{A}}$ - $\overset{\circ}{\text{G}}$ | A- $\overset{\circ}{\text{G}}$ || A- $\overset{\circ}{\text{G}}$ A- $\overset{\circ}{\text{G}}$ | $\overset{\circ}{\text{A}}$ -A-G

No limit to the artificial thesis.

Bassus used fraudulently the dactylic ictus in an assumed iambico-trochaic connection :

$\frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \mid \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \parallel \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \mid \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}}$
 Duello magno dirimendo regibus subigendis.
 A- $\overset{\circ}{\text{G}}$ A- $\overset{\circ}{\text{G}}$ | A- $\overset{\circ}{\text{A}}$ -G || $\overset{\circ}{\text{A}}$ - $\overset{\circ}{\text{O}}$ - $\overset{\circ}{\text{G}}$ | A- $\overset{\circ}{\text{A}}$ -G

Bassus was careful, however, not to be lavish with such patent examples of his fraud, whereas Leo in his *Saturnischer Vers* has innocently perpetrated dozens of them : vid. *Sat. Vers* from beginning to end. It is the stock in trade of *Classical Philology* and journalistic pragmatism generally. And so just as Tyrannio & Company had made away with our only tradition of tripudic accent, Bassus & Company made away with the only remaining tradition of tripudic rhythm. The result of the combined fraud was completely to turn upside down all scientific theory of Indo-European accent, rhythm, and metre, and to convert this fundamental side of Indo-European philology into a hopeless chaos of irreconcilable hypotheses and pragmatistical guessings, where shallow learning and impudent dilettantism are as rampant to-day as they were in the centuries of Tyrannio, Bassus, and the Graeco-Roman grammarians. Tyrannio's fraudulent accent and Bassus' fraudulent ictus constitute the rotten basis of our entire accentual, rhythmical, and metrical tradition. The tangled web is traceable in every field, even one so remote as Keltic, where we find Zimmer applying Bassus' *pollex honestus* to the Old-Irish Saturnian of the hymn to St. Patrick, pretty much as Leo has recently done to the Old-Latin Saturnian of the *Arval Hymn* (Zimmer, *Kelt. Stud.* II, 162) :

/ .	/ .	/ / .	/ .	/ .	/ / .
Genair	Ptraicc	inNemthur	ised	atfet	hiscelaib
A-G ⁸	A-G ⁸	A-Á-G		A-G ⁸ A-G ⁸	A-Á-G

But let us be thankful for the fortunate accident that has preserved for us Bassus' own confession of metrical legerdemain: Rufinus, Keil vi, 555 f.: Bassus ad Neronem sic dicit, 'Iambicus autem, cum pedes etiam dactylici generis adsumat, desinit iambicus videri, nisi percussione ita moderaveris, ut, cum pedem supplodes, iambum ferias; ideoque illa loca percussione non recipiunt alium quam iambum et ei parem tribrachyn, aut alterius exhibuerint metri speciem. quod dico exemplo faciam illustrius. est in Eunucho Terentii statim in prima pagina hic versus trimetrus,

Exclusit, revocat: redeam? non si me obsecret.

nunc incipe ferire, videberis heroum habere inter manus: ad summam paucis syllabis in postremo mutatis totus erit herous,

Exclusit, revocat: redeam? non, si mea fiat.

ponam dubium secundo loco pedem, quo propius accedam,
heros Atrides caelitum testor fidem.'

No one who has become acquainted with Bassus' fraudulent ictus in *duelló magnó* can fail to detect the very jargon of the metrical prestidigitator and scientific mountebank in his iambic philosophy, and we have only to apply his doctrine to the Saturnian verse to see how the fraud was conceived and executed: *Tripudium* autem, cum pedes etiam *iambici* generis adsumat, desinit *tripudium* videri, nisi percussione ita moderaveris, ut, cum pedem supplodes, *tripudium* ferias. Thus the same dactylic ictus that will falsify the iambic trimeter will falsify any other rhythm, if the quantities can be found or forged to suit. Hence the *sub rosa* jests involved in his Saturnian "examples" for the amusement of his little Neronian clique, who were, of course, party to the fraud: He is preparing a trap for greedy thrushes,

Turdis edacibus dolos comparas, amice (Keil vi, 265 ff.),

referring, of course, to his gullible pupils. The crafty Archimedes has won a victory over no mean adversary,

Quem non rationis egentem vicit Archimedes.

He is even impudent enough to use the *authority* of Naevius, whom he is preparing to falsify,

Consulto producit eum quo sit impudentior.

As a conquering hero he overcomes all opposition and settles the great conflict (*i.e.* between the *rhythnici* and the *metrici*),

Duello magno dirimendo regibus subigendis
Fundit fugat prosternit maximas legiones.

The nine Muses themselves do honor to the conquering hero,

Ferunt pulchras crateras aureas lepistas
Novem Iovis concordes filiae sorores.

Thus hellenizing cliquism will give the poet Naevius the mischief,

Malum dabunt Metelli Naevio poetae.

And the final comment on his own villainy,

Quid inmerentibus nocēs, quid invidēs amicis?

Our conquering hero recognizes himself as a contemptible knave! How the clique regarded the achievement is told us very plainly by one of them, though wholly misinterpreted by their modern brethren: Persius, *Sat.* vi, 3-6:

Mire opifex numeris veterum primordia vocum
Atque marem strepitum fidis intēdisse Latinae!
Mox iuvenes agitare iocis et pollice honesto
Egregius lusisse senes!

“Wondrous craftsman to have tuned to orthodox numbers the primeval-ancient utterances and e’en the virile drumbeat of the Latin lyre! Peerless soon to busy the young with thy nonsense, and with thy honest-seeming thumbstroke to dupe completely their elders!” On these transparent words, *vid.* the lucubrations of our hellenizing editors and philological jōurnalists.

Thus the hellenizing artificiality of Roman classicism from Ennius down bore its natural fruit in the hellenizing fraud of Tyrannio Amisenus and of Caesius Bassus. Bassus’ Saturnian fraud was the last act in that lamentable drama of artificiality in art and of cliquism and insincerity in philology, which began with Livius Andronicus and his Aventine *collegium scribarum histrionumque*, and has canker-eaten Indo-European accentual, rhythmic, and metrical theory ever since. At a critical point in our tradition this flippant mountebank and his little philological clique succeeded in falsifying our only extant testimony to the original rhythm of the Indo-European race, the tripudic dimeter or accentual tetrapody, from which all Indo-

European types of versification, syllable-counting and quantitative, as well as accentual, are obviously derived :

∪ ∪ | ∪ ∪

Enos Lases iuvate : Tripudic Dimeter Acatalectic (Accentual Tetrapody).

Á-AG Á-AG | Á-Á-G

∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ | ∪ ∪

Advocabitis conctos : Tripudic Dimeter Catalectic (Accentual Tripody).

Á-O-Á-O-G | Á-G

The syllable-counting and quantitative tetrapody and tripody of Indo-Iranian and Greek verse are but the faded reminiscences of the natural stress-rhythm of the Indo-European home. Where the original stress-accent has faded into the musical pitch, syllable-counting, quantity, and thesis-arsis determination and regulation must replace the natural ictus of stress-accent in the parent rhythm. Thus arise the syllable-counting and quantitative systems of Indo-Iranian and Greek verse. Hence in rhythmic content the *Carmen Arvale* antedates all other monuments of Indo-European rhythm, and furnishes us the natural source of Westphal's "Sechzehnsilbler" and Usener's "Achtsilbler," which accordingly appear as the syllable-counting or quantitative *alter ego* of the original Indo-European accentual tetrapody. Thus the Indo-European *tripudium* becomes the source and explanation of all phases of Indo-European accent, rhythm, and metre.

When Caesius Bassus came to treat of the Saturnian verse, he might have immortalized himself by handing on to us the genuine tradition of the double accent, while saving philology from two thousand years of error and confusion, of guessing and pragmatism. He preferred instead to blot out the only tradition that had escaped the falsifying reconstructions of hellenizing artificiality, and to receive for his forgeries the admiring plaudits of his philological clique. Instead of revealing to us the double accent in speech and the tripudic dimeter in verse, and thus providing philology with the only key to Indo-European accent, rhythm, and metre, the result of his flippant hoax is the tangled web of our current theories, and the putting of Greek and Indo-Iranian quantitative and syllable-counting formalism and artificiality at the centre, instead of at the periphery, of Indo-European accentual and rhythmic evolution.

Oh, what a tangled web we weave,
When first we practise to deceive !

4. Old Testament Parallels to *Tabellae Defixionum*, by Professor W. Sherwood Fox, of Princeton University.

The ban of God was placed upon sorcery and witchcraft among the people of Israel. This was in strict harmony with the official theology, for the mere recognition of the spirits invoked by the magician was *ipso facto* a denial of monotheism. But in spite of the ban these "devices of the heathen" gained great vogue among the lower classes. It would be natural to expect that by a sort of osmotic process these practices would pass in some degree into the higher religious life of the nation and find expression in its sacred writings. This is just what occurs in six Old Testament passages we are about to discuss, for in them we see a remarkable kinship to the Greek and Roman *tabellae defixionum*, or magic curse-tablets.

The passages are as follows :

I. Jud. xvii, 1-2 : The curse of Micah's mother against the thief who had stolen her eleven hundred shekels.

II. Mal. iii, 8-9 : God's curse on those who withheld tithes and offerings.

III. Zech. v, 2-4 : God's curse entering into the houses of thieves and perjurers to destroy them.

IV. Jer. li, 60-64 : Jeremiah instructs Seraiah to cast the written curse against Babylon into the Euphrates and thus secure that city's destruction.

V. Ezek. iv, 1-3 : God bids Ezekiel besiege a sketch of Jerusalem drawn on a tile and thus overthrow the city should its people not repent of their sins.

VI. II Kings xiii, 17-19 : Joash shoots three arrows into the ground and thereby foreordains for Israel three victories over Syria.

These passages when subjected to the analysis ordinarily applied to *tabellae defixionum* reveal as a group all the characteristics of this type of magic, and one passage (no. v) conforms to the type in its entirety. The following are the several items of the analysis :

1. Against whom the curses are directed.
2. Authors of the curses.
3. The prompting causes.
4. Intended effects.
5. Whether the curses are written or spoken.
6. The materials on which the curses are written.
7. Is symbolism involved or not?

8. Are the curses secret or public?
9. Obligamentum magicum.

The last item requires the fullest treatment of all. This magic bond may be said to be present when the authors of the curses by magic act, word, or symbol, or by the implication of any or all of these, forcibly binds a god or a human being to their will and control. As magic in general is in the last analysis only a subjective matter, it is easy to see that this detail, the magic bond, is subjective also. In other words, it exists or does not exist jointly according to the point of view of the author and of the traditions of the art. Consequently, to determine its existence in this or that case one has first of all to ascertain the mental processes with which it is uttered and those with which it is received.

In bringing this test to bear on these Old Testament instances of magic we find that from the popular point of view a magic bond was virtually present in every case. The rank and file of the nation, still untouched by the higher theological conceptions of the prophets, seemed to look on God as the Great Magician who, with his own word, bound himself.

The oldest Greek *defixiones* extant are assigned to the fifth century B.C., but we know from Zech. v, 2-4 (which dates 520-516) that the written curse was known to the Hebrews as early as the sixth century. From Jud. xvii, 1-2 we learn that the spoken curse was known to them in the tenth century. As such customs do not spring up in a night, it is safe to conclude that both written and spoken curses were in vogue among the Hebrews long prior to these definite dates. It seems probable that these practices had a pronounced shaping influence on Greek and Roman *tabellae defixionum*.

5. Further notes on the Seneca Tradition, by Professor Richard Mott Gummere, of Haverford College.

There are a few additions to be made to the masterly essay of Professor Summers, on "Seneca's Prose: Its Critics and its Debtors," which appeared as section C, in the introduction to his edition of "Selected Letters of Seneca."

The first author of later times than Seneca's, to whom Professor Summers has not awarded a place in his list, is Thomas à Kempis (1380-1471?). See Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, p. 331. There are justifiable grounds for comparison, due to the mysticism and aloofness of both these men. Cf. Bigg, *The*

Imitation, pp. xix ff., 274 ff., 245, 48, 28 ff., 92, and 262. With pp. 28 ff. compare Sen. *Ep.* 5, 2. For a direct quotation from *Ep.* 7, 1 and 3, cf. Bigg, p. 36.

Barclay's English version of Brandt's *Narrenschiff* (1509). Cf. 1, 184, ed. Jamieson, where Seneca is mentioned as a sage, in company with Socrates and Plato.

Etienne Pasquier says of Montaigne's volume of *Essays*: "'Tis a French Seneca." Cf. Tilley, *Lit. Fr. Renais.*, 1, 303.

Francis Meres (1565?–1647) in his *Wit's Treasury*, uses the trumpet-figure which is found in *Ep.* 108, 10.

Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) quotes the Letters in his *de Jure Belli et Pacis*, especially no. 117, about laws being the result of consent. (See B. Rand, *The Classical Moralists*, pp. 206 and 210.)

One would hardly expect much of a contribution to this subject from the wilderness of America in the seventeenth century; but we find a reference in Governor William Bradford's *History of the Plymouth Plantation*, to *Ep.* 53, 1–4. The Latin alludes to Seneca's qualms when travelling by water off the coast of Naples.

Anna van Schurman (born 1607) was early trained in Seneca. She was a Labadist from the Low Countries. See Una Birch's *Life of A. van S.* pp. 16, 72, 167. Similarly with Princess Elizabeth of Bohemia, a friend and correspondent of Descartes. See E. Godfrey, *A Sister of Prince Rupert*, pp. 170 ff. and 175.

Thomas Trahearne (c. 1630) wrote a book in the style of the *Thoughts* of Marcus Aurelius, and entitled it *Centuries of Meditations*. Scriptural quotations form the backbone of the work. Traces of Stoic pantheism, 2, 21; Senecan paradoxes,—"Nothing is more glorious, yet nothing more humble; nothing more precious, yet nothing more cheap; nothing more familiar, yet nothing more inaccessible." There is a quotation from Seneca (1, 15), "Seneca philosophized rightly when he said: 'deus me dedit solum mundo, et totum mundum mihi soli'" (ed. Bertram Dobell, 1900); cf. the bold phrases of 1, 51, etc.

Langbaine, in his essay on Dryden, remarks, when criticising the *Indian Emperor*, plagiarisms from "Plutarch, Seneca, Montaigne, etc." And Thomas Rymer (1641–1713) says: "It was then a strange imagination in Seneca to think his dry morals and a tedious strain of sentences might do feats or have any wonderful operation in the drama." See Spingarn, *Lit. Crit. in 17th Cent.* II, 211 ff. William Wotton also helps the current of adverse comment (*id. ib.* III, 218), comparing Pliny the Younger and Seneca with Tully.

Montesquieu (*Lettres Persanes*, no. 33, Ushek à Rhedi): "When some European meets with misfortune, his only resource is the reading of a certain philosopher called Seneca."

Dr. Johnson is an exception to this list of detractors: "For Seneca I have a double reverence, both for his own worth, and he was the heathen sage whom my grandfather constantly studied." Boswell's "Hypochondriacs," *London Magazine*, 1778, p. 173. See also Birkbeck Hill's edition of Boswell's Johnson, III, 295 f., v, 296, and number 102 of the *Rambler*, which refers to Seneca, *Ep.* 70, 1 ff.

Sydney Smith, master of wit, who dwelt in a country where empiricism was the prevalent creed, is a bit put out with the philosopher. On being left one-third of a fortune by his brother Courtenay, he writes: "After buying into the Consols and the Reduced, I read Seneca on 'The Contempt of Wealth.' What intolerable nonsense! I have been happier every guinea I have gained." And, "The longer I live, the more convinced I am that the apothecary is of more importance than Seneca."

I find nothing now except cut-and-thrust criticism. Cf. Coleridge, *Aids to Reflection*, p. 113, ed. Pickering, "Luther considered the pretensions of free-will boastful, and better suited to the budge doctors of the Stoic fur than to the preachers of the Gospel." Cf. also *ib.* p. 146. In Aphorism no. 30 of the same work, he appends to the text "Vanity may strut in rags, and humility be arrayed in purple and fine linen," Seneca's "magnus qui fictilibus utitur tamquam argento" (*Ep.* 5, 6), not, however, in any derogatory sense. But he rises to appreciation in approving the "sacer intra nos spiritus" of *Ep.* 41; *ib.* p. 104.

Charles Lamb mentions him in a sort of non-committal fashion in the *Recollections of Christ's Hospital*. See also Leigh Hunt, *Autobiography*, I, 121.

De Quincey stamps him with approval as a master of *rhetorica utens*, ed. Masson, x, 217. See also II, 194 and VII, 13.

Emerson, however, gives his unqualified admiration. Both these writers were brilliant, vivid, disjointed, epigrammatic. See the quarryings in the new volumes of Emerson's *Journals*, ed. E. W. Emerson and W. E. Forbes, e.g. "The soul is no traveller: the wise man stays at home with his soul"; from *Self-Reliance*, first series, p. 90. "If there were many philosophers, the world would go to pieces, — *all sand, no lime.*" (Recall Suetonius, Caligula's remark about Seneca.) "Let us learn to live coarsely, dress plainly, and lie

hard." *Conduct of Life*, Fireside ed. vi, 148. Emerson appreciates Montaigne's chapter on Seneca and Plutarch, *Journal*, 1833-1835, p. 539. Cf. *ib.* 1820-1824, p. 203. Also Fireside ed. vii, 201 f. His fundamental doctrine coincides with that of the Roman. "A man must put himself into harmony with the constitution of things."

But Macaulay and Niebuhr put Seneca out of court. Nietzsche, *Fröhliche Wissenschaft*, p. 23, denounces "Seneca et hoc genus omne,

Das schreibt und schreibt sein unausstehlich weises harifari,
Als gält es *primum scribere, deinde philosophari.*"

"A brilliant phrase-monger," says Merivale; but "stimulating to the intellect," says Matthew Arnold.

That he is coming to his own again, numerous editions and favourable essays prove; Eucken and Maeterlink have shown that he is in line with present-day thought. And Mr. E. V. Arnold's book on Stoicism puts him in the higher position which he deserves to hold.

6. Personality of the Epicurean Gods, by Professor George Depué Hadzsi, of the University of Pennsylvania.

This paper lays emphasis upon the personality of the gods as understood by the Epicurean school of philosophy, claiming that the gods were much more clearly visualized to the Epicurean vision than is commonly conceded.

7. The Classification of Sentences and Clauses, by Professor William Gardner Hale, of the University of Chicago.

The ordinary classification of sentences¹ (declarative, interrogative, imperative and exclamatory) is based upon two entirely disconnected and dissimilar things. The "imperative" is a mood. "Interrogative" is not a mood, but a function, a *way* in which a mood-idea may be used. "Declarative," as understood and illustrated in books (for instance, "the horse runs") is both a mood and a function, namely, the indicative mood, used to declare. Indeed, some English grammars expressly say that "declarative sentences assert that something is true."

A division of all sentences according to things that have nothing in common is impossible. It is like dividing mankind, for example,

¹ This goes back to Aristotle, who had also two more categories, optative and vocative. Those to whom the origin of the scheme would make it sacred should accept it as it left the master's hand.

into men and tall people. But the case is still worse with our present classification of sentences, since "declarative" covers both use and mood. It is as if we were to divide mankind into tall men, men, and tall people. Our classification must either carry out mood consistently, or carry out function consistently.

It is obvious that if we should go on to fill out the list of moods begun by the mention of the imperative, we should get a complete list of mood categories, such as grammars already give under the express heading of "Moods." It is also obvious that this is not the purpose of the division. That would seem to aim rather at *function*. Here, then, lies our problem. Starting with "interrogative," we are to complete the list of ways in which the mood-idea may be presented.

In a question, I *ask* whether my interlocutor's mood (attitude of mind) is so and so (thus in "is it too late?"), or, if the mood is taken for granted and the question is only one of detail, I ask what the detail is (as in "who came in just now?").

Now the opposite of asking is *telling*. Thus I may answer, "it is too late," "John came in," etc. And, of course, I may say these things, not in answer to a question, but point-blank. In a word, I may tell, or I may ask. These are the two contrasting functions. I may *convey* my own attitude of mind (or a detail involving my attitude of mind), or I may *ask some one else* what *his* attitude of mind is (or what *his* idea is about a detail involving the attitude of mind in which my question is framed).

The same division holds for subordinate clauses, except that it does not cover every function. There is still another, in which the speaker neither tells nor asks, but *assumes*. If, for example, I say "If I killed him, I had good reason for it; but I did not kill him" (Quintilian, iv, 5, 13), the first part neither tells that I killed him nor asks whether I killed him, but *assumes* the killing, in order to tie something else with that assumption. These three, then, are the functions of clauses.

The same function of assuming may appear in effect in independent sentences also, though in *form* the independent sentence is either a statement or a question, as in "you laugh, he shakes all over." As a matter of convenience, then, in order to get a formula of universal application, we may say that sentences and clauses communicate or inquire or assume.

Any expression whatever, if uttered with heightened feeling, may

become an exclamation. Sentences may therefore be either non-exclamatory (tranquil) or exclamatory. Only one type of exclamation has a distinguishing mark, namely, in certain languages, order or phraseology. One who is writing often indicates his heightened feeling by an exclamation mark. Thus with imperatives, with indicatives, and even with detached clauses, as in "if only I had known!"

It remains to adopt technical names for our categories. "Interrogative" is perfect. For the opposite function, the most exact word would be "enunciative." But this has too learned a sound. Our best device is to employ the word "declarative," in its original sense of "making clear," emptying it of its present accrued implication of fact. Thus *it*, "he is going," declarative of my perception of fact, *eat*, "let him go," declarative of my will. These examples stand as opposites of *itne?*, "is he going?" and *eatne?*, "shall he go?" interrogative (asking respectively for the perception or the will of the person addressed). Every mood-idea may be put either declaratively or interrogatively, except that the idea of wishing can be expressed interrogatively only by a periphrasis, as in "do you wish that he may recover?" In every sentence, then, there are two elements, the mood-idea, and the *way* in which the sentence as a whole is used, — communication on the one hand, or inquiry on the other.

For the use which assumes, the best word is "assumptive" because it is accompanied by a corresponding noun and verb, "assumption," and "assume." The word "conditional" would be less satisfactory, because the corresponding verb does not describe the process of thought. In "if I killed him," we can say that the clause *assumes* (for the moment) the killing, but not that it *conditions* the killing. The word "condition" refers, not to the mental process in the clause expressing it, but to the relation of the clause to something outside itself.

An assumptive clause may be introduced by a conditional conjunction (*if*, etc.) or by a relative. In the latter case, the assumption is a generalizing one, as in "who steals my purse, steals trash."

In Greek and Latin, important results in the placing of mood-uses follow at once from our threefold division, declarative, interrogative, assumptive, as follows:

In Greek, a generalizing assumptive clause is steadily in the subjunctive. Thus the first clause in "who steals my purse, steals trash," would, if put in Greek, be in the subjunctive. "Who steals" does not *declare* that any one steals, but only *assumes* the case.

In dealing with clauses, the student of Greek may often guide himself to the right explanation by asking himself, "does this clause declare, or inquire, or assume?" or, what comes to the same thing, he may often with profit ask himself, in dealing with a clause, "who is this person?" If the answer is "anybody," then the clause is a generalizing one, and the mood is accounted for.

The same is true for the student of Latin; but the mood of the generalizing clause (if a general assumption of *fact*, as it usually is) is the indicative, not the subjunctive. The statement holds almost always, even if there is a negative antecedent, or an underlying relation of cause or opposition. This is pointed out only in the Hale-Buck Grammar, 579, note 1. Our text-book writers and editors often go astray through failure to make the distinction. Thus Lindsay *ad Capt.* 462 (Sed ille est miserior, qui et aegre quaerit et nihil invenit), remarks, "we find the subjunctive in Merc. 709, *Miserior mulier me nec fiet, nec fuit, Tali viro quae nupserim.*" But the two passages differ. The first is generalizing, and, though an underlying relation of cause is present, is for that reason in the indicative. The second deals with the actual individual, and the causal subjunctive is therefore in place.

The paper will be published in full elsewhere.

8. Emendations in the Greek Tragedians, by Professor Joseph E. Harry of the University of Cincinnati.

Several verses were emended without the alteration of a single letter, and all of them with but slight changes. The writer agreed with von Wilamowitz (Aesch. *Cho.* p. 147: "[die wissenschaft] verfällt in einen kaum leichteren fehler wenn sie vergisst, dass das, was wir notgedrungen als überlieferung hinnehmen, sehr tiefe schäden enthält . . . die verteidigung des buchstabens quand même, die immer mehr mode wird, ist nur zu oft eine tochter der ignoranz.")

In Aesch. *Ag.* 288 read προῦκχεῖ for πέκη, and in 304 ὄτρυν' ἔθ' ἔσμὸν ἰζέσθαι πυρός. In Soph. *El.* 21, ξυναπτέον λόγουσιν οὓς ἐνταῦθα μὲν (he must *listen*, not simply *talk*), or ὡς ἐνταῦθα νῶν; 1458, κἄνα δ' οἰγύναι; 1466, ἀν' εὖ φανούμενον. The following emendations were proposed in the *Philoctetes*: 22, εἴτε χεῖ; 42, παλαῖον κηρί; 425, ὁ στέργων γόνος (which became ὄσπερ γόνος); 533, προσκύσαντ' ἔς τήν; 782, ὦ παῖ, δέδοικα μὴ τελεῆς εὐχὴν μὲν οὐ; 1146-1155, ὅδε χάρος should be ὅδε χωρίς. The rest of the nine verses are sound *in toto*. The

demonstrative refers to Philoctetes himself. ἀνέδην must be construed with ἔρπετε. Philoctetes, his voice choked with emotion, says: ἀνέδην — ὄδε χωρὶς ἐρύκεται — ἔρπετε.

In the passages from the *Medea* not a single letter was changed: 107, τάχα νάσσει (*Medea* is subject, νέφος object); 127-128, λῶστα βροτοῖσιν τάδ' ὑπερβάλλον τ' | οὐδὲν ἂ καίρῳ δύναται θνητοῖς. In *Bacch.* 679 read ὑπῆξ' ἀκρίζον.

This paper will be published in full elsewhere.

9. Notes on *Aeneid*, VII and VIII, by Professor Gertrude Hirst, Columbia University.

The object of the paper was to compare some passages in these two books with others in the first six, and to consider whether any conclusions could be drawn as to the relative dates of Vergil's writing. This investigation will be continued and reported on at another time. Some other points in connection with passages in these two books were also taken up, e.g. VII, 597-598,

nam mihi parta quies, omnisque *in limine* portus,
funere felici spoliior,

where the phrase *in limine* has caused much discussion among commentators. Is it not helped out by the line about Turnus above (579),

stirpem admisceri Phrygiam; se *limine* pelli.

—the young man disappointed on the threshold of his marriage, the old man on the threshold of his tomb? Cp. also *Aeneid*, XI, 423-424,

Cur indecores *in limine* primo
deficimus?

and Tacitus, *Annals*, III, 74, ut *in limine* belli dispositis castellis.

VIII, 385-386, aspice qui coeant populi, quae moenia *clausis*
ferrum acuunt *portis* in me excidiumque meorum.

For closed gates as a sign of war, cp. Horace, *Odes*, III, 5, 21-23.

vidi
portas non clausas.

VIII, 668-669, te, Catilina, minaci
pendentem scopulo.

Various explanations have been given of this. Could it not refer to the same form of punishment as that suffered by Ajax, *Aeneid*, I, 45,

scopuloque infixit acuto?

673-674, et circum argento clari delphines in orbem
aequora verrebant caudis aestumque secabant.

Are not the dolphins introduced here exactly as on ancient coins, —as a conventional representation of water?

682-683, parte alia *ventis et dis* Agrippa *secundis*
arduus agmen agens.

Cp. Tacitus, *Agricola*, 38, 5, *secunda tempestate ac fama*.

704, arcum intendebat Apollo.

Cp. Horace, *Odes*, II, 10, 19-20,

neque semper arcum
tendit Apollo.

10. Lucretius as Satirist, by Professor Herbert Pierrepont Houghton; of Amherst College.

Satiric elements in *de Rerum Natura*:

I, 136-139, Nec me animi fallit Graiorum obscura reperta
difficile inlustrare Latinis versibus esse,
multa novis verbis praesertim cum sit agendum
propter egestatem linguae et rerum novitatem.

Here is a veiled thrust at both the obscurities of Greek philosophy and the poverty of the Latin language; the poet's pride in his work is hinted at in the words: *novis verbis* and *rerum novitatem*.

831-832, quam Grai memorant nec nostra dicere lingua
concedit nobis patrii sermonis egestas,

reëchoes the same sentiment on the difficulty of the Latin tongue.

641-644, trans. Bailey: "For fools laud and love all things more which they can descry hidden beneath hidden sayings, and they set up for true what can tickle the ear with a pretty sound and is tricked out with a smart ring."

Satire worthy of a Persius; here sounds the poet's pride which looks down upon the unlearned; a thrust at sophists.

In II the very opening continues this view in 7-8:

sed nil dulcius est, bene quam munita tenere
edita doctrina sapientum templa serena.

And in fact the whole prooemium is filled with satiric touch, its

o miseras hominum mentes, o pectora caeca!

reminding us again of Persius. 22-36 are especially to be noted as they satirize luxury, and again war, religion, pomp.

54: the whole of life is but a struggle in the dark.

1026-1029 are sententious: "Nothing is so easy but that at first it is more difficult to believe, and likewise nothing is so great or so marvellous but that little by little all decrease their wonder at it." (Bailey.)

1038-1039 have a fine satiric theme, man's self-sufficiency:

quam tibi iam nemo, fessus satiate videndi,
suspicere in caeli dignatur lucida templa!

Even the gods are not spared as subjects of satire by this able assailant, as we see in the passage II, 1090-1104, especially in the words:

"who can avail to rule the whole sum of the boundless, who to hold in his mighty hands the guiding reins of the deep, who to turn round all firmaments at once, . . . to be at all times present in all places."

The whole passage is one of exceptional grandeur and is filled with keen satirizing of the gods:

"with the thunderbolt . . . make havoc of his own temples." (Bailey.)

Another topic of satire is found in 1150-1174. It is the stock theme of the "good old days" and the decay of the present:

"our pastures scarce wax great, though aided by our toil; we wear out our oxen and weary the strength of our husbandmen; we wear out our iron, scarcely fed after all by the tilled fields; (Munro) . . . the aged ploughman shakes his head and sighs . . . to think that the labors of his hands have come to nothing; and when he compares present times with times past he often praises the fortunes of his sires . . . the sorrowful planter of the shrivelled vine impeaches the march of time . . . and does not comprehend that all things are wasting away, passing to the grave forespent by age and length of days." (Munro.) Vanity of vanities! Cf. Persius, *Sat.* I, 1; v. Gildersleeve, *Pers. Sat.* I, 1, n.

III yields several interesting satiric elements:

55-56, quo magis in dubiis hominem spectare periculis
convenit adversisque in rebus noscere qui sit;

and from there on through 73, especially 68-73, we hear the voice of the censorious satirist:

unde homines dum se falso terrore coacti
 effugisse volunt longe longeque remosse,
 sanguine civili rem conflant divitiasque
 conduplicant avidi, caedem caede accumulantes;
 crudeles gaudent in tristi funere fratris
 et consanguineum mensas odere timentque.

78 also rings with satire :

“Some wear themselves to death for the sake of statues and a name.”
 (Munro.)

In 260 Lucretius harks back to the satiric theme found in 1 when he says :

“against my will the poverty of my native tongue holds me back.”

Again in 307-313 :

sic hominum genus est. quamvis doctrina politos
 constituat pariter quosdam, tamen illa relinquit
 naturae cuiusque animi vestigia prima.
 nec radicitus evelli mala posse putandumst,
 quin proclivius hic iras decurrat ad acris,
 ille metu citius paulo temptetur, at ille
 tertius accipiat quaedam clementius aequo.

523-525: . . . true fact is seen to run counter to false reasoning, and to shut off retreat from him who flees, and with double-edged refutation to put falsehood to rout. (Bailey; Munro.)

931 sq. remind us again of the later satirists :

Denique si vocem rerum natura repente
 mittat et hoc alicui nostrum sic increpet ipsa
 ‘quid tibi tanto operest, mortalis, quod nimis aegris
 luctibus indulges? quid mortem congemis ac fles?
 nam gratis anteacta fuit tibi vita priorque
 et non omnia pertusum congesta quasi in vas
 commoda perfluxere atque ingrata interiire :
 cur non ut plenus vitae conviva recedis
 aequo animoque capis securam, stulte, quietem?

The last two verses reëchoed in Horace, *Sat.* I, 118-119. The whole section from 894-1023 ending with the verse :

“The life of fools, in short, becomes a hell on earth,”

is in itself a satire on life here and hereafter, the particulars of which cannot be entered upon in so brief a paper, but are clearly seen from a careful reading of the entire passage.

Although this theme practically continues to the end of the book, perhaps the finest satiric picture of the whole is given in 1060-1067 :

exit saepe foras magnis ex aedibus ille,
esse domi quem pertaesumst, subitoque revertit,
quippe foris nilo melius qui sentiat esse.
currit agens mannos ad villam praecipitanter,
auxilium tectis quasi ferre ardentibus instans ;
oscitat extemplo, tetigit cum limina villae,
aut abit in somnum gravis atque oblivia quaerit,
aut etiam properans urbem petit atque revisit.

1078-1079, certa quidem finis vitae mortalibus adstat
nec devitari letum pote quin obeamus,

reminds us again of Horace, *Sat.* II, 6, 93-97.

While IV yields but little in the way of satiric elements, apart from one or two hidden thrusts, as for example, 181-182, 816-817, and 849-850, the whole or at least the greater part of the description and nature of love is the work of one who has seen the futility of love — perhaps an unrequited love, if we can believe Tennyson — and who now sets forth from his own experience, for the instruction of his reader, the vanity of seeking or hoping to gain satisfaction, even in love. The general scheme of this *satura amoris* is this: Venus brings more cares, the greater the desire for her; the greater the indulgence, the greater the pain; the vanity of the lover's pleasure; his fruitless search for satiety; the very search only whets his desire still more; Venus squanders the lover's strength, honor, and wealth; leads him to crime through jealousy; how Venus makes the lover overlook the beloved's defects; even the most beautiful is not free from human frailties, etc.

Of course the most startling picture in this satire on the vanity of human love is the long passage 1141-1191, wherein we see the poet's power at sketching in Juvenalian style the various persons concerned. The description reaches its height in 1160 sq.

nigra melichrus est, inmunda et fetida acosmos,
caesia Palladium, nervosa et lignea dorcas,
parvula, pumilio, chariton mia, tota merum sal,
magna atque inmanis cataplexis plenaque honoris.
balba loqui non quit, traulizi, muta pudens est ;
at flagrans odiosa loquacula Lampadium fit.
ischnon eromenion tum fit, cum vivere non quit

prae macie; rhadine verost iam mortua tussi.
 at tumida et mammosa Ceres est ipsa ab Iaccho,
 simula Silena ac saturast, labeosa philema.
 cetera de genere hoc longum est si dicere coner.

v is, as we should expect to find, shot through with satire.

The following examples may be of interest :

39-56: . . . the earth even now teems in such abundance with wild beasts, and is filled with trembling terrors throughout forests and mighty mountains and deep woods; . . . unless the heart is cleansed, what battles and perils must then enter into us despite our will? What sharp pangs of passion must rend the troubled man? yea, and what fears besides? what of pride, filthiness and wantonness? what havoc they work? what of luxury and sloth? etc. (Bailey.)

223-234: . . . the child, like a sailor tossed ashore by the cruel waves, lies naked on the ground, dumb, lacking all help for life, when first nature has cast him forth by travail from his mother's womb into the coasts of light and he fills the place with woeful wailing, as is but right for one for whom it remains to pass in life through so much trouble. . . . Then follows by contrast the condition of the young of animals at their birth.

828-836: Time changes the nature of the whole world and all things must pass on from one condition to another, and nothing continues like to itself: all things quit their bounds, all things nature changes and compels to alter. One thing crumbles away and is worn and enfeebled with age, then another comes into honor and issues out of its state of contempt, etc. (Munro.)

925-930: the race of men in those days in the fields was much hardier than now, as was fitting . . . and it was built on a groundwork of larger and more solid bones within, and knit with more powerful sinews was the frame of flesh; nor was the race so prone to be disabled by heat or cold or strange kinds of food or any illness of the flesh.

999-1001: In those days a single day did not give over to death many thousands of men marching with standards spread; nor did the stormy waves of the sea dash upon the rocks so many ships and men.

Characteristic of Lucretius' dislike of war and the sea.

1007-1010: In those days lack of food would give over the drooping limbs to death; nowadays it is plenty brings to ruin. Then they would pour out poison for themselves unwittingly, nowadays with nicer skill men give poison (to their enemies). Two fine satiric touches are here felt.

1105 on through practically to the end of v yield satiric material. Examples can be given by reference only here, with the principal theme of satire implied:

1114-1119, Riches; the clinging of the poorer to the richer.

1120-1130, Pomp and power.

1131-1135, Ambition and its vanity.

1151-1160, Crime; fear of punishment; retribution.

1161 sqq., Religion.

1194 sqq., Religion again.

1233-1240, Obsequious fear of the gods.

1273-1280, Power of gold; change of all things.

1305-1307, War.

1430-1435: "Mankind therefore ever toils all in vain and to no purpose and wastes life in groundless cares, because surely enough they have not learned what is the true end of getting, and up to what point genuine pleasure goes on increasing: this by slow degrees has carried life out into the deep sea and stirred up from their lowest depths the mighty billows of war." (Munro.)

In vi satiric elements are found in 379-422. The subject of this "satire" is again Religion.

II. The Mind of Herodotus: Second Paper, by Principal Maurice Hutton, of University College, Toronto.

Plato, Aristophanes, and Herodotus constitute the Greek Trinity. Herodotus is the third person of the Trinity and perhaps the least incomprehensible. I have attempted in the first paper to set forth his virtues; he had the defects of his qualities, the qualities of the traveller and the polymath: he touched a little more than he adorned.

This is apparent in his excursions into philosophy and science: travellers would do well to leave such subjects, requiring continuous thought and previous preparation, alone. Herodotus thinks it sufficient to meet materialistic science and Darwinian biology with the objection that its arguments are "to me at least unpleasing"; (ii, 64) his philosophy also is "in King Cambyses' vein": he quotes an experiment of that monarch to show that custom is everything, and that beyond and beneath custom there is nothing, and to clinch his point quotes Pindar: and his quotation is even worse than his philosophy and murders Pindar (iii, 38). There is a natural antipathy between travellers and philosophers, as between philosophers and poets. A second blemish also derives from the travelling mind: Herodotus relates stories, not because he believes them, but because they are eerie, gruesome, grotesque: further, the Greek, like the

French mind, has a certain lubricity: it leans to the morbid and pathological: a Roman may outrage nature by soaring to heights too high, by asceticism and self-repression: a Greek outrages nature by morbid excesses and exploitations of the flesh: and Herodotus, as a Greek, hankers occasionally after the forbidden and the unwholesome and suggests decadent French novelists.

But apart from these trifles his work is most valuable: all the more valuable that he tells us what he heard, and does not attempt to become a modern scientific historian and report only facts. Had he done so, his work would have been profitless to himself and to us. The romancer who writes like Herodotus to instruct and entertain, with fact, if possible, with fiction, if fiction be more illuminating and 'ben trovato,' is unconsciously the best of historians, while the scientific historian may be the worst. Herodotus has recorded his own ideas and the ideas of the people he met and has so proved himself a true humanist and a student of humanity. The so-called scientific historian, Thucydides, wrapt in *mauvaise honte* and self-consciousness and a false dignity, has told us very little, when he could have told us so much.

It is scarcely Herodotus' fault if the Greeks are less near us than the Romans; the Greeks were literary men and philosophers and professors and, as such, unreal to the men of other nations, modern or ancient, even as professors and philosophers are unreal to-day to the man in the street and constitute a third sex of their own; but further, the other Greeks draped themselves and posed until such human nature as they had was hidden beneath the acting. Herodotus never did this, and is as much a creature of flesh and blood as it was given to his nation to be: not as real to us as Cicero or Cato, but more real than Demosthenes or Thucydides or Sophocles, or even Socrates himself.

Herodotus was natural and expansive and he had his reward; for Nature rewards the natural man, but withholds her secrets from the severe historian and the meticulous antiquarian and the scientific archaeologist. These seek only after facts, but from them are taken away, as knowledge advances, even the facts which they seem to have. Herodotus' histories are a consolation and an encouragement to the humanist.

Other virtues, his humour and his pathos, allied qualities, are peculiarly his own: his humour covers both wit and humour proper: "the Greeks write to the right and the Egyptians to the left, but the

Egyptians say that, nevertheless, they write in the right way and the Greeks in a gauche way." Similar to this is the wit of Democedes, the surgeon: more humorous is the history of the prodigal Amasis, culminating in the allegory of the deified foot-bath. Both bath and master had been vessels of dishonour, but have come into their own: have crossed into the promised land, where swine-pastures and Jordan are forgotten.

As for the pathos there is the legend of Psammenitus; "and Cambyses ordered them to save Psammenitus' son from among the murdered boys, and those who went to save him found him already dead": pity is the virtue of our age, and Herodotus as a master of pathos speaks our own language: or again there is the parable of Cleobis and Biton, which illustrates the most passionate and profound of Greek proverbs, the one classical proverb, perhaps, which still retains its passion for the children of the new dispensation, "whom the gods love die young."

Yet, after all, though Herodotus is humanist more than man of science, his science is continually being verified. His story of the circumnavigation of Africa is rendered plausible by the very circumstance which made it hard of belief to him; the crossing of the equator and the transference of the sun from the right to the left shoulder of the eastward gazing mariner: his story of the African pigmies has been verified: his account of the alliance between the crocodile and the trochilus might even have been extended without passing the truth. Nothing can be more scientific than his speculations about the delta of the Nile: infinitely more scientific than the pseudo-science borrowed from them by Thucydides, when he speculates on the delta of the Achelous, but succeeds only in discovering a mirage of science or a mare's nest: for the Achelous, it appears, forms no delta, except to the imitative historian.

12. A Criticism of Some Recent Views of the *Bacchanals* of Euripides, by Dr. Walter Woodburn Hyde, of the University of Pennsylvania.

This paper is a discussion of the long-debated question whether the *Bacchanals* represents a retraction of earlier views of religion on the part of the aged poet. At first glance the play seems merely to record a phase of religious history—the victory of the late introduced cult of Dionysus into Greece: the persecution of the god in Thebes and his bloody revenge seem but echoes of the early opposi-

tion to the cult, in an age long before the primitive worship had become spiritualized by Orphism in the sixth century B.C. But a closer examination discloses a deeper motive. The choral odes are all religious in spirit and denounce τὸ σοφόν, *i.e.* the speculative philosophy of the day, and urge faith in the established religion. We are almost persuaded that the drama was written with the intention of apotheosizing this faith.

In most of his other plays Euripides shows only contempt for the traditional theology. Beside such iconoclastic sentiments, these religious ones of the *Bacchanals* seem to point to a complete renunciation of speculation and a reaction to orthodoxy. On this hypothesis many critics have explained the play. But since it was first attacked by Hartung in 1844, this theory has had equally strong opponents, who have read into the play quite different meanings. Many recent writers have discovered in it both comic and ironical signs, and so have looked upon it as a thinly veiled polemic against religion.

But neither the "recantation" nor "irony" theory can satisfactorily explain the drama. Nor is there any such essential change in the poet's religious views as is so often assumed. The conception of Dionysus throughout the play is rationalistic. Euripides does not conceive of him as a personal god at all, but as a rationalized principle, in much the same spirit as that in which the Orphics seemed to have conceived both Dionysus and Eros, as "potencies." The god in the play becomes a "higher personification of passion in religion and joy in life." And so the main problem of the drama is not a question of orthodoxy opposed to scepticism, but rather, as James Adam has pointed out, the relative value of "reason" and "enthusiasm" in life. Human knowledge, though good, is inadequate in comparison with the greater mysterious knowledge beyond, and he is a fool who closes his mind to the influences of the latter. Nor did Euripides actually deny the basis of religion as his contemporaries and many of his modern critics assume. He only denounces dogmatism, and in his plays there are many passages which show that he had definite notions as to the nature of the god-head, passages which furnish the basis of a constructive theology.

Still a change has come over him; a change to be explained by the circumstances of the composition of the play in Macedonia. Away from Athens, he has now freed himself from his doubts and subtleties, and finally — like so many other great minds — has sought

peace in a form of mysticism. This was the mystic worship of the Wine-god, whose power he first came to understand in Macedon. Ethical and philosophical doubts no longer trouble him, and he preaches "faith," the one thing new in the drama, a phenomenon unknown in Greece of his day.

So the *Bacchanals* is a companion piece to the *Hippolytus* written twenty-three years before, and the lesson of both is the same: the two great necessities of humanity, enthusiasm and love, the rationalized Dionysus and Aphrodite, cannot be reasoned away without entailing terrible effects, which are illustrated in the fate of both Pentheus and Hippolytus. Nor should we think that the new vision would have proved permanent had the poet lived. Toward the end of the drama the earlier iconoclastic spirit reappears. Thus this powerful play discloses the same perplexity, the same contradictory views as his other works, and so is a true child of the poet's mind, which, though impressionable to every influence, never arrived at definite conclusions in religion or philosophy. His great problem was to reconcile this imperfect world with a beneficent God: the absence of the problem in the *Bacchanals* does not prove that he had found its solution. It is more probable that he died without finding any harmony between his intellectual doubts and his moral yearnings.

13. The "Mood of the Question" and the "Mood of the Answer," by Professor Ashton Waugh McWhorter, of Hampden-Sidney College.

A. The observations suggested in this paper have to do with the well-known syntactic formula that "The mood of the question is the mood of the expected or anticipated answer." If the question is real — *ἐρώτησις*, the answer, *i.e.* an answer of some sort, is *expected*; if, however, the question is asked merely for rhetorical effect, as in typical *ἀπορία*, it amounts to an exclamation of grief, of despair, an admission that the course indicated is impossible, and no answer, therefore, is expected, for it is already *anticipated*.

1. On the basis of the principle laid down, the character of the answer, if given, determines the character of the question. That is to say, if the reply is a statement of fact, a matter of information only — in which case the verb will of course be found in the indicative mood — the verb of the question will likewise be some form of the same mood. It is a question of fact that calls for a statement of fact, and hence inquiry after the ascertainment of truth expects a correspond-

ing declaration of truth. A question of fact as such lies outside the realm of personality and finds its answer in the colorless, impersonal mood of categorical assertion—the indicative. If the answer is an expression of command—the imperative, the question will reflect, or foreshadow, this imperative character, and accordingly voice itself in a mood of will, the subjunctive or some equivalent.

2. According to the character of the answer received or implied, therefore, questions may be classified as I, Indicative, and II, Imperative. Under I are included all questions of fact, inquiry after truth, requests for information, etc. The matter in question does not concern the will, but only the intellect, of the speaker, and therefore the form of the verb employed—the indicative—is described as impersonal, colorless, non-modal. Under II fall all those questions which have to do with the will, the responsibility, the duty of the speaker,—which expect in reply some form of command, exhortation, or suggestion of moral obligation. It is with the second class that the present study is concerned.

B. If the answer actually corresponds to the question, the equation is perfect and the mood in the one case is definitely fixed or easily ascertained by that in the other. But the answer *expected* does not always follow, and then, in addition to the verb form itself and its functional use, the context must be relied on to indicate the point of departure between question and answer. In other words, the normal rule may be expected to hold, and for any divergence the situation itself will have to speak.

If a son ask for bread, will his father give him a stone? The answer to the petition for bread is expected, and a refusal, under the circumstances, would be a surprise, a disappointment. If the question, then, is in terms of bread, the answer expected will be in corresponding terms. In like manner, if the question asks for guidance, instruction, the answer will normally be in terms of guidance, instruction, etc. But a question of a course to be pursued, of a task to be done, has reference to some personality, some one as the agent, the doer, and must therefore express itself in terms of a personal mood, a mood of responsibility, obligation, of moral possibilities and attributes—a mood of will. And the answer expected must likewise be given in that mood whose prerogative it is to issue orders, give commands, determine the action of another—the mood of exhortation, command, entreaty. Given therefore an answer in the imperative mood, the question must normally be stated in some form

involving the element of personality, some form carrying modal function, speaking in terms of the will; for in order that there may be the authority of a will to issue the orders in the imperative mood, there must be a will for submission to that authority proclaimed by the mood of the question. The speaker, expecting an order in the rejoinder, voices his expectation in that language which signifies his ability, his willingness to meet the obligation, to carry out the order. Hence where an answer is given in a mood of command, or its equivalent, the reasonable expectation is, that the question will likewise be couched in the language of a mood of will, or its equivalent.

C. But what type of question gets or expects a command as its answer?

1. Naturally and regularly it is a question of the first person—for one normally asks for directions, instructions touching oneself and not another. The echo question and the use of the third person in this way are only apparent exceptions, as both are easily reducible to recognized types, the former being the equivalent of the ordinary second person which it echoes—" (Do you ask) What will I do?" from "What will you do?"—and the latter being a substitute for the deliberative first—"What is one to do?" = "What am I to do?" The question that looks for an imperative answer necessarily involves the relation of one person's will to that of another; and it is only in the first person that this double relation is or can be presented. Thus "Shall I?" belongs to class II (above); while "Will you?" is confined to class I, for here the actor is the person to will, he is the master of the situation, and the answer can be only in the nature of information. In other words, the type under consideration is necessarily that of the Deliberative Question.

2. Moreover, as the Imperative Question is confined to the first person, so it occurs less frequently in the plural number, for one generally assumes responsibility for oneself and not for others. The number of plurals for the three authors examined is far below that of the singulars, and while it is true that the occasion for the use of the plural is not as common, yet the usage seems to show that the presence of the second person involved in the first person plural, *when felt*, does modify the imperative element as it appears in straight deliberation. For Aeschylus we have in the subjunctive 1 plural to 49 singulars; for Sophocles 7 plurals to 30 singulars; and for Euripides 31 to 121. The use of the plural *as such* in these

examples involves the hortative rather than the direct imperative element, and in so far marks a deviation from the type. "What shall we do?" addressed *inter nos* implies or expects "Let us do so-and-so." If the unit rule prevails, the plural is equivalent to the singular and may receive a direct imperative answer.

3. In the next place, as commands cannot be retroactive (cf. the case of the perfect imperative in the paradigms of the Greek verb), the past moods and tenses cannot be employed in this type of question. And conversely, as orders are carried out only after they have been issued, at some date in the future, immediate or more remote, it follows that a question expecting an imperative answer must select, and select only, one of the future moods or tenses. The choice of mood or tense here must be determined by the *kind of time involved*, whether momentary, or durative, ingressive, static, or effective; *i.e.* the present or aorist subjunctive and the future will constitute the range for this choice. The degree of personality, of responsibility, *i.e.* the *choice*, will lie between present and aorist subjunctive, on the one hand, and future indicative, on the other — or even some impersonal periphrasis, usually with $\delta\epsilon\lambda$, $\chi\rho\acute{\eta}$, etc. The tabulation of examples here is interesting. Aeschylus has 15 present subjunctives, 35 aorists, and 7 futures; Sophocles, 11 presents, 26 aorists, and 13 futures; Euripides, 38 presents, 114 aorists, and 76 futures. (a) The aorist, therefore, is seen to be the favorite, and this is natural, for more orders of a specific character are to be expected than general, and in the working out of tragic situations more issues will be raised for the moment than as a matter of general policy, and the entrance upon a course of action laid down will be contemplated rather than the continuance in such a state. (b) That fewer futures should be employed seems natural, too, because the type is largely and clearly fixed as subjunctive. The use of the future at all shows a survival of its modal character, enforces the theory of its formal kinship with the subjunctive, and may be interpreted as an effort to tone down the stronger will element of the subjunctive, or as a conscious desire for variety in the mode of expression. The tendency of the future in the majority of the examples — though not in all — is to range away from genuine deliberation to the more or less colorless sphere of speculation. (c) The impersonals frequently emphasize moral responsibility, universal obligation as the underlying principle, and thus avoid the bluntness of a more direct attack. "One must" is less likely to be offensive than "You ought." The impersonals

also suggest propriety of conduct, the fitness of a given course, etc. — as milder and more tactful methods of approach. But as in the case of the future of rigid command, *e.g.* "You will see that this is done," the impersonal is sometimes used in stating a cold, formal command, as in "It is necessary that one follow the prescribed rules." The tone will give the key to the situation.

4. Once more, as this type of question calls for active participation, positive effort, it will normally choose those forms of the verb that express or involve a more active relation on the part of the agent, the subject. Hence the passive voice, though not wholly excluded, will not be found a favorite in this sphere — which is essentially one of activity; and the same statement of course applies to verbs of state and being and to all others of passive or less active signification in their root meaning. No verb passive in fact or in effect can hope or expect to receive a downright imperative answer. And in so far, therefore, as passive forms are found in this relation, they register the toning down or even effacement of the will element, which is the prominent feature in the deliberative question. If the view here taken is correct, the number of passives in the type under consideration should be limited, and when employed should select the milder, less emphatic modes of expression. The investigation made for the three Tragedians, showing the relative number of passives (in value) employed and the character of the modal relation involved, speaks very well in confirmation of this view. For Aeschylus there are 7 examples of future — 1 in the singular and 6 in the plural. From an examination of these examples it appears that they are either less active in signification or entirely non-modal in character. Thus *ἔξομεν*, *Sept.* 101-2, is passive rather than active and is marked by the *time* element, *when* — is temporal rather than modal; so *πεισόμεθα*, *Suppl.* 776-8, is wholly passive in meaning. The count for Sophocles is, for the future, 8 singulars and 5 plurals; and of these the majority are clearly non-modal or passive in signification. In some cases there is a distinct reference to the future as such, and the temporal element, as in the example cited from Aeschylus, is the more prominent. Euripides shows a freer use of the future than either of the preceding authors, furnishing a total of some 75 examples, 50 singulars and 25 plurals. But here again an examination shows that a considerable number do not belong to the deliberative type of question at all, but to the speculative type, where — as pointed out in a previous paper, *TAPA*, xli,

157-167 — the future in its non-modal character is natural and necessary. Here belong questions for information (not advice or instruction) about the future; and Euripides illustrates with significant frequency the thesis that the passive or less active relations show a decided preference for the future. (Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 160.) That he shows a larger use of the future has been found to mean notably that he furnishes more examples of the passive or speculative type of question, and further that the future has been given the preference in these cases *because* the relations expressed were of a milder or less active signification. The large number of plurals in the future as against that for the present and aorist subjunctive also points in the same direction. Aeschylus has in present subj. plural, 0, in aorist subj. plural, 1, and in future plural, 6; Sophocles — in the same order — 4, 3, and 5; Euripides, 21, 10, and 26. That is to say, the number of plurals increases exactly in proportion as the future rather than the subjunctive is used. Or again, whereas the singulars far outnumber the plurals in both present and aorist subjunctive, the proportion, when it comes to the future, is greatly reduced, where the figures are: for Aeschylus, singular 1, plural 6; for Sophocles, 8 and 5; and for Euripides, 50 and 26. (A number of the singulars in Euripides are themselves not true deliberatives, but speculatives, permissives, etc. But look at the proportion in the subjunctive for the same author: present, singulars 17, plurals 21; aorist, singulars 104, plurals 10.)

Hence if the regulation form of question is employed and at the same time no mood of will is or can be expected in the answer, it is evident that the question must be passive in character; and the usage examined tends to show that the passive notion in such cases is expressed preferably by a distinct future form or by a verb whose meaning fixes it as a passive in value, even though a subjunctive in form, the mood of will. And when the will element is detected here, it is found to be toned down from the relation of direct command and immediate responsibility to propriety, fitness, suggested obligation, etc., or it may even sink to the merely passive notion of destiny, fate, as against the direct normal opposite of determination, free-will. In other words, the effect of the passive here will be to demodalize a regular modal relation. And this milder idea of volition will look to some periphrasis, to some field not already otherwise preëmpted, — and as a matter of fact it is for this reason that we have the not infrequent substitutes with $\chi\rho\eta$ and $\delta\epsilon$.

D. Now the converse of all the foregoing discussion will also

appear ; viz., that when any form, in itself non-modal or less adapted to express the will relations, comes to be employed, whether from caprice, or from a desire for variety, or from force of circumstances, in a sphere charged with the force of the will, it naturally, if not inevitably, becomes itself charged with modal force, becomes modalized by association, by environment — especially if such a form once on a time possessed the modal attributes before it became differentiated or specialized, or both, for a separate, if more or less kindred, use. *a.* Thus, in light of this view, the explanation for the use of the passive (permissive) and the future *still* in the deliberative type of question — and there are examples of the future approaching or approximating the subjunctive in this construction — will appear simple and clear. The peculiar form of the question, interrogative and first person, is obliged (other things equal) to have a modalizing effect, and any available material — such as the future with its leanings to the subjunctive — might easily be pressed into service.

b. As for the passive, it can hardly be conceived that substitutes for a well-established subjunctive usage should be arbitrarily made. There ought to be — nay, there must be — some affinity. What, then, is the situation? Simply this : The counterpart of determination, the active relation in a mood of will, is destiny, the passive relation. Hence for those ideas involving destiny, submission, etc., the passive in certain expressions may be appropriately employed with modal value. Thus *τί πάθω* ; the counterpart of *τί δράσω* ; occurs commonly as a permissive passive, involving a modal relation.

14. Provisional Oaths of Inscriptions, by Professor Henry Martin, of Wells College.

This article deals in brief and somewhat cursory fashion with the oaths having a proviso attached and found in Latin inscriptions, both pagan and Christian, dating from the second century B.C. to seventh and eighth centuries A.D. Their parallels in the Greek were not considered, nor were the "Defixionum" nor the forms of the absolute curse. It was undertaken to discuss this group of oaths in themselves chiefly, leaving out of account, for the present, those principles which underlie them in common with all profanity, in the hope of establishing at some time in the future certain of their wider connections.

These oaths were, of course, a vital part of the inscription, were usually ascribed to the deceased, and naturally their purpose was to provide against desecration of the tomb, or, on the positive side, to

enforce sundry attentions from passers-by. On a purely formal basis they divide themselves into two groups: (1) A prayer or statement followed by an oath conditioned on their observance. (2) A condition outlining the offence followed by curse in conclusion, the difference between the two being merely formal. In the sense that they do not differ in this way from the poetical or bookish oath, they may be considered almost as literary themes. And it is no detraction from the belief in their efficacy to say that they lack spontaneity and fervor; none the less, they show an interesting cast of popular belief and of the magical formula. In the following examples one has the entire class, for they are characterized by singular monotony. Group (1) *Vicinas mihi carpe rosas, mihi lilia pone, ita beatum, C.I.L. vi, 17,505; Hospes . . . ut tu hic nihil laeseris, etc., ita post obitum sit tibi terra levis, C.I.L. vi, 7579.* Group (2) *Si quis forte mea gaudet de morte iniqua, huic sit iniqua Ceres perficiatque fame, C.I.L. vi, 7898; Si quis hunc amoverit, eundem dolorem experiscatur quem ego experta sum, C.I.L. vi, 7308.* From these it may be judged that the curse involves physical punishment, lack of burial, personal suffering, and in many cases, a penalty to be paid in terms of the offence. In the last analysis such imprecations are not isolated themes nor mere word jumbles, but true oaths, the test being that they affect that which is dearest to the heart of the offender. In form they frequently have an exact correspondence to the official decree, showing that definiteness and precision were desired, and it is also an interesting proof of their magical character and of the supposed efficacy of the written symbol to restrain.

The attempt was also made to connect them with prayers and such prayers as the following, numerous enough in the inscriptions themselves: *Morare gressum et titulum nostrum perlege, C.I.L. i, 1009; ne grav(e) si(t) tumul(um) visere saepe meum, C.I.L. viii, 15, 716.*

In Christian inscriptions attention was largely confined to the oath by Judas Iscariot, which takes the form: *Siquis tentaverit isto monumento, abeat parte com Iuda Iscariota, I.H.C. 403 (Spain).* It was held that this was a truly popular oath of wide dissemination and an offshoot of the more complete and learned ecclesiastical oath used in excommunications and attached to conveyances and other legal documents; *e.g. Si quis tamen contra hoc magnum testamentum ad irrumpendum venerit, orbatus . . . et suis propriis oculis habeat participationem cum sociis tenebrarum . . . in eternum habeat regis ira et . . . confusio dupla quo maranatha, Dathan et Abiron meritis et Iudas*

traditor sit eius socius, *Esp. Sagrada*, xxxiv, 434. This oath was also shown to have interesting Romance connections, since it appears in several old Spanish poems of the earliest period.

15. The Anticipatory Element in Latin Sentence Connection, by Professor Clarence W. Mendell, of Yale University.

The purpose of the paper was, first, to show that *all* contiguous sentences in connected discourse are related to each other in the mind of their author; second, that this relation is conveyed to the reader by means more fundamental than conjunctions. These means are to be found in either of the two sentences or in both. Their force is based on either one of two general principles: repetition or incompleteness. The present paper deals only with two types which make use of the latter principle, and which occur in the first of two contiguous sentences, having therefore anticipatory force. The first is the use of suggestive emphasis on a word or phrase of the first sentence, not explained by anything preceding. This anticipates a contrast to follow. This anticipatory incompleteness suggestive of contrast to follow is gained, for example, by the use of a negative statement which is by itself irrelevant, or by a contrary to fact condition. The second type discussed is the use of the imperative in consecutive discourse without literal imperative force. The effect is equivalent to that of a conditional clause, anticipating a statement of result to follow.

16. Quintus Curtius Rufus, by Professor R. B. Steele, of Vanderbilt University.

If the work of Quintus Curtius Rufus ever contained any definite statements in regard to the author and the time at which he wrote, these must have been in the first two books which have been lost. We may properly infer that he was a rhetorician, following Livy very closely in matters of style, and portraying the life of Alexander, not to secure greater historical accuracy, but for rhetorical and ethical purposes.

In only two passages does he mention the source of his statements, but everywhere are the evidences of his verbal indebtedness to Livy. This statement applies not only to the minutiae of phraseology, but also to the portrayal of figures similar to those found in Livy. The effect is that of a simile, if the reader has in mind the words of

Livy. Let a single illustration suffice. Curtius says of Hypsides, vii, 7, 37, *Itaque subditis calcaribus equo in medios hostis se immisit et memorabili edita pugna obrutus telis est.* He might truthfully have added: sic Livius de Hasdrubale scribit (xxvii, 49, 4) 'concitato equo se in cohortem Romanam immisit. ibi, ut patre Hamilcare et Hannibale fratre dignum erat, pugnans cecidit.' The words of Livy, it is true, are not copied, but there is similarity enough to indicate the picture which Curtius had in his mind's eye when he portrayed the death of Hypsides. In some instances there is variational quotation, in which there is more than a mere suggestion. One illustration will be enough for this, Curtius, v, 7, 4, 'quin igitur' *inquit* 'ulciscimur Graeciam et urbi faces subdimus.' Omnes incaluerant mero. This account of the revellers before Persepolis is but a changed form of Livy's i, 57, 7, 'quin conscendimus equos invisimusque praesentes nostrarum ingenia.' incaluerant vino; 'age sane' omnes. This method is employed in showing men in many environments, political, military, and religious, as well as in giving the environments themselves, as in viii, 11, 6, *petra non . . . in sublime fastigium crescit, sed in metae modum erecta est,*—with an eye to Livy, xxxvii, 27, 7, *ipse collis est in modum metae acutum cacumen a fundo satis lato fastigatus.*

There is occasionally a poetical reminiscence, but there is little to suggest the utilization of prose writers other than Livy. A part of the work of Pompeius Trogus covered the career of Alexander, yet if we judge by the abbreviation of Justinus, it was not used by Curtius to verify his own statements. Curtius was also independent of Valerius Maximus. Similar incidents are given by both, but the words are different. There is the same difference between Curtius and Seneca in the statement of facts. Curtius says that it was a letter of Parmenio's which warned Alexander against Philip; Seneca says the letter was from Alexander's mother. Seneca accepts, while Curtius rejects, the story that Lysimachus was thrown to a lion; and in general, Curtius commends Alexander, while Seneca condemns.

Other statements in Curtius correspond to some in the works of Tacitus, but the articles of Wiedemann in *Philologus*, xxx, and xxxi, make it seem reasonable that both may have drawn from Livy. In the case of the parallel passage in Pliny's *N.H.*, there is probably a common source. Among the many pieces of information brought back to Alexander by Nearchus and Onescritus according to Curtius, x, 1, 11, was one about an island which was said 'auro abun-

dare, inopem equorum: singulos eos compererant . . . singulis talentis emi.' Pliny states the fact, but says, VI, 198, Clitarchus vero Alexandro regi renuntiatum adeo divitem ut equos incolae talentis auri permutarent.

The speeches in Curtius have occasional reminiscences of Livy, though the subjects discussed are, for the most part, widely different in the two writers. This phase is, however, of interest only as an indication of the complete conformation to the type of historical presentation shown in Livy.

On few subjects involving chronology have there been wider differences of opinion than on the date of Curtius. The last sentence (x, 10, 20) indicates the survival of an Alexander cult, the existence of which cannot be proved later than 229 A.D. Allusions to Parthia and the Parthians antedate the fall of the Parthian Empire in 226 A.D. The reference to Tyre, IV, 4, 21 (nunc tandem longa pace cuncta refovente sub tutela Romanae mansuetudinis adquiescit), is generally taken as referring to a time before Septimus Severus when Tyre became a colony, though neither *longa pace* nor *sub tutela* is very definite. Compare *Dialogus de Oratoribus*, 38, 17, mediis divi Augusti temporibus, postquam longa temporum quies; and Livy's use of *sub umbra* and *sub tutela*. But it is held that the date of Curtius is practically settled by some similar passages in Curtius and Seneca (VIII, 10, 29: *Ep.* 59, 12; VII, 1, 4: *Ep.* 56, 9; X, 9, 3: *Cons. ad Polyb.* 13), and especially by the last parallel:

qui noctis, quam paene supremam habuimus, novum sidus inluxit.	sidus hoc, quod praecipitato in profundum et demerso in tenebras orbi refluxit, semper luceat.
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But Curtius had already described Alexander (IX, 6, 8) as *Macedoniae columen ac sidus*, and what he says of the night is suggested by Livy, VI, 17, 4, though it is specific, while Seneca's darkened world is fanciful. As Seneca is not dependent on Curtius for his facts in regard to Alexander, we may suspend judgment in regard to the relation of the two until we have examined some other points in the work of Curtius.

How long after the appearance of the original work, a work as closely imitative as that of Curtius might be expected, is purely a matter of conjecture. It is Livian instead of Ciceronian throughout, even in the speeches, though as late as Fronto Cicero was still regarded (Fronto, p. 63 Naber) *caput atque fons romanae facundiae*. The grammar is the grammar of Livy, though it is the same as that

of Florus in the avoidance of *causa* with the gerund and gerundive, and, in the sparing use of the supine, ranks with the late Latin historians.

The final judgment passed on Alexander, x, 5, 26, is in the main favorable: *bona naturae eius fuisse, vitia vel fortunae vel aetatis*. Fifteen strong points are enumerated — *ingentes profecto dotes erant*. Of his weaknesses, apart from those of fortune, it is said: *Iam iracundiam et cupidinem vini sicuti iuventa irritaverat, ita senectus mitigare potuisset*. Other strong points are given elsewhere, as are his failings, while some of his worst acts are atoned for by a later repentance. This stressing of moral values indicates that the work was written, not for general purposes, but for specific application.

At the shrine of Ammon, Alexander manifested concern in regard to his father, but later, Alexander tells the Macedonians, ix, 6, 26: *mihi maximus laborum atque operum meorum erit fructus, si Olympias mater immortalitati consecretur, quando excesserit vita*; and in x, 5, 30 Curtius gives this as the proof of his *pietas*. This statement, too, may be taken to have a specific application.

Curtius mentions the wonderful skill as an archer of Catenes in vii, 5, 41, *adeo certo ictu destinata feriebat, ut aves quoque exciperet*. *Nunc forsitan, sagittarum tam celebri usu, minus admirabilis videri ars haec possit*. The time at which this would be the most forcible statement would be after the wonderful feats of archery shown by Commodus, 180–192 A.D. See Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. iv.

Later than Commodus the work of Curtius would fall at the time of Alexander Severus, the early part of whose reign saw the downfall of the Parthians. A work strongly portraying the qualities of the Great Alexander would be eminently appropriate during the early years of the younger Alexander, and we are told that he was a great admirer of such a work. At this time also would there be an occasion for the pious wish that there should be consecrated to immortality a woman — the mother of the new Alexander, in contrast with the measure of justice handed out by the senate to the mother of Elagabalus.

17. *Περσικὴ ἐσθῆς, Μηδικὴ ἐσθῆς*: An Erroneous Reversal of Terms. By Professor Herbert Cushing Tolman, of Vanderbilt University.

The real Persian costume was the high cylindrical hat or the broad headband, the gracefully flowing robe, and the native shoe (*εὐμαρῖς*,

Tolman, *PAPA*, xli, lxx). We must reverse the opinion current for centuries and strengthened by such statements as those of Hdt. (οἱ σκυτίνας μὲν ἀναξυρίδας, σκυτίνην δὲ τὴν ἄλλην ἐσθῆτα φορέουσι, I, 71 ; τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐσθῆτα νομίσαντες τῆς ἑωυτῶν εἶναι καλλίω φορέουσι, I, 135) that the dress described above is "Median," and the round hat, tightly fitting doublet, and trousers are "Persian." The question is now settled through the decipherment of the inscriptions above the heads of the national types of the empire on the Grave of Darius at Nakš-i-Rustam. That each of these types had a trilingual superscription designating his nationality was conjectured by Oppert as early as 1859 (*Expédition en Mésopotamie*, II, 192), and Dieulafoy (1885) speaks of seven which were noted by his co-workers, F. Houssay and Ch. Babin (*Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, IV, 13, 23). These have been read from the photographs and published by Weissbach (*Abhandlungen der k. sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1911).

Fig. 1 wears the long robe reaching to the ankles, girt at the waist, and falling in vertical folds in front and oblique folds at the side. Above his head is the inscription which forever removes all doubt as to his nationality; *iyam pārsa*, 'this is a Persian,' Elam. *hi I par-sir-ra*, Bab. *a-[ga-a] amelu par-sa-a-a*.

Fig. 2 shows the tightly fitting coat and the trousers, while the superscription with almost equal clearness (the supplement is not doubtful) defines his native country and costume; *iyam [māda]*, 'this is a Mede.'

In the light of this discovery it is obvious that there must be an exact reversal of the terms "Persian" and "Median" dress, so that we read "Persian" where "Median" occurs in our commentaries and histories, and *vice versa*.

Persian.—We see the Persian costume as worn by the monarch at Persepolis on (1) the door-jambs of the Darius Palace, the South-east Edifice, the Hall of 100 Columns, where he is sculptured struggling with lion, bull, or fabulous monster, but in the fight the dress is high girt and swung over the shoulder, and on his head is the simple broad band generally worn by attendants; (2) door-jambs of Central Edifice, Darius Palace, Hall of 100 Columns, showing king with staff and lotus escorted from palace by umbrella-bearer and fly-flap-bearer, who also wear the Persian dress; (3) the 28-figured throne relief at east door of the Central Edifice, the 14-figured throne relief on both doors at the south, and the great Audience relief on the

eastern and western door-jambs of antechamber to the Hall of 100 Columns.

It is worn again by the sovereign on (4) the royal graves at Persepolis and Naḫš-i-Rustam as he stands on a pedestal of three steps wearing the kidaris on his head, the beard frizzled, left hand holding the bow, the right raised in supplication; (5) the Behistan relief as he tramples Gaumāta, the Pseudo-Smerdis, beneath his feet, but in place of the fluted tiara he wears the royal crown ornamented with rosettes and with a saw-toothed border.

The Persian costume appears prominently on (6) the Persian representatives in the tributary procession of the magnificent frieze between the staircases of the Xerxes Hall, the official introducers on the right in the tribute procession facing the inscriptional tablet and ascending the steps of the Darius Palace, the Persian type on the three panels supporting the dais on the 28-figured throne relief, with the similar type (Fig. 1, described above) among the bas-reliefs on the royal graves; (7) the guards sculptured on south stairway of the Darius Palace, the staircase of the Xerxes Hall, the western steps and quadruple eastern stairs of the Xerxes Palace, the upper row and the four lower rows (alternately Persian and Median) on the Audience Relief which we must picture as standing in long line before the throne; (8) the domestics (alternately Persian and Median) who ascend the stairs in the palaces of Darius and Xerxes with banqueting utensils; (9) the court servants who attend the king as he is represented sitting upon the throne (at which function they wear the bashlyk) or as he appears in the act of leaving the palace (in which case they wear the simple headband); (10) the door-keepers on the Southeast Edifice and on the Darius Palace, where they wear the headband and carry the wicker shields (*γέρον*, Hdt. vii, 61); (11) high officials as seen on one of the figures (Gobryas?) beside the throne (perspective places it behind) on the Audience relief, and the two chieftains who stand with Darius on the Behistan Rock, wearing the broad headband ornamented with rosettes; (12) the Persian Pretenders Gaumāta, Vahyazdāta; (13) the upper body of the oft-recurring symbol of Ahura Mazda, whose right hand is extended and left holds the ring of empire. The Susian dress differs from the Persian only in the twisted headband, 'Susian mitre,' often worn in place of the fluted tiara as shown on (14) the warriors of the Archer Frieze at Susa, giving us a picture of the 10,000 immortals (Hdt. vii, 83), who wear the long tunic with hanging sleeves; (15) the Susian Pretenders

Aθrina, Martiya at Behistan. The Persian dress is worn by (16), the Susian representative on the Darius Grave (Fig. 3), above whose head is the superscription, *iyam uvaja*, 'this is a Susian,' Elam. *hi I ha-tamt[i]-ra*.

Median.—The short doublet and the trousers of the Median dress are recognized on (1) the official introducers on the left of the tribute procession in the Darius Palace; (2) the domestics (alternately Persian and Median) sculptured on the stairway of the palaces of Darius and Xerxes; (3) the guards (alternately Persian and Median) on the four lower rows of the Audience relief; (4) fig. 1 (read from right to left) of the tributary nations on the 28-figured throne relief, fig. 1 (read from right to left) of the subject nations on the throne relief on both south doors in the Hall of 100 Columns, and fig. 2 (described above) of the tributary nations on the royal graves; (5) the person (evidently of high rank) received in audience in the Audience relief; (6) one of the court officials (Aspathines?) beside the king in the Audience relief; (7) the two pretenders, the Median Fravarti and the Sagartian Ciθra(n)takhma (Sagartia being part of the province of Media) on the Behistan Rock.

The Median dress is worn on the royal graves by representatives of (8) Parthia (fig. 4, *iyam parθava*, 'this is a Parthian,' Elam. *hi I par-tu-[ma-ra]*); (9) Bactria (fig. 6); (10) Armenia (fig. 20); (11) Cappadocia (fig. 21).

18. The Parentage and Birth Date of the Latin Uncial, by Dr. Henry B. Van Hoesen, of Western Reserve University.

The arbitrary term "uncial" is generally defined as a rounded modification of the "square capital," but the analysis of an uncial alphabet—taken, say, from the Versailles gospels¹ or the Vatican palimpsest of Cicero's *de Re Publica*²—shows this definition to be inadequate.

New curves appear in A, D, E, F, H, L, M, N, T, U, X; but the letters A, D, G, H, M, O, R, Q, U, have certain other evident traits unfamiliar in their "capital" progenitors and not sufficiently accounted for by the tendency to roundness.

These additional traits are cursive. Compare:

A, with none or only partial roundings in *Oxyrh. Pap.* 737, Pompeian graffiti and Rainer papyrus (Wessely, *Schrifttafeln*, n. 9).

¹ Zangemeister and Wattenbach, tab. 20.

² *Ib.*, tab. 17.

D, rounded and prolonged in Rainer papyrus (Wessely, n. 1), graffiti.

G, no more rounded than the capital, but with tail instead of transverse, in Wessely, n. 1, *Oxyrh.* 737, graffiti.

H, with diminished shaft, with straight or curved lines in Wessely, 1, graffiti, *Genève P. Lat.* 1.

M, angular or rounded, in Wessely, 1, *Genève P. Lat.* 1, *Berlin P.* 7124.

O, not quite round, made with two strokes, in Wessely, 1.

Q, with small circle and long tail, in Wessely, 1, *Berlin P.* 7124.

R, with diminished bow and tail, in Wessely, 1, graffiti.

U, rounded in two strokes, in Wessely, 1, *Oxyrh.* 737, *Genève P. Lat.* 1.

Further, uncial letters which are simply rounded modifications of square capitals are likewise cursive. Compare :

AAA ΔΔ
D D

ε C Λ S

H h hb

m m m m

a 9

P P 9

u u u u

ε ε ε

f F

l l

N N

τ τ TT

χ χ

E, in Wessely, 1, *Oxyrh.* 737, graffiti.

F, in Wessely, 1, *Genève P. Lat.* 1.

L, in Wessely, 1.

N, in Wessely, 1, *Genève P. Lat.* 1.

T, in Wessely, 1, *Oxyrh.* 737,

Genève P. Lat. 1.

X, in Wessely, 1, *Oxyrh.* 737.

The perfected uncials of A and M alone are not quite identical with cursive forms of the first and of the early second century, and these forms are also wanting in the earliest manuscripts whose writing is called uncial — e.g., *Oxyrh.* 30.

It was doubtless by these similarities between uncial and cursive that Wessely (*Schrifttaf.* p. 6) was led to call some of the early cursives — as well as the rustic capitals of the Herculanean fragments — “Unciale im

weiteren Sinne.” But it could only be “im weiteren Sinne” as the particular cursive letters and the general cursive irregularity are in strong contrast to the formality of the literary uncial.¹

¹ Cp. Tangl in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1899, col. 1791-1795.

The uncial then, far from being the immediate descendant of the square capital, is a combination, more or less mechanical, of capital and cursive. Capital characteristics are the general formality and conventionality, and capital letters such as Β, Ρ, Σ; but the immediate origin of most of its letters is the cursive.

Our earliest uncial manuscripts bear no dates. But the similarity of their letters to the early cursive letters and the dissimilarity to the later cursives indicate the first or early second century as the time when the uncial came into being.

19. *Ψυχρότης ἢ τὸ ψυχρόν*, by Professor LaRue Van Hook, of Columbia University.

In this paper the results were given of a study of the history and meaning of the word *ψυχρότης* (τὸ *ψυχρόν*) as a metaphorical, technical term of Greek rhetoric and literary criticism. *Frigidity*, the literal and obvious English translation, is by no means an exact rendering of the Greek word, which designates a vice, or rather vices, of style. *Fustian* is a closer equivalent.

The earliest treatment of *ψυχρότης* (and the *locus classicus* for its discussion is to be found in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, III, 3) where τὰ *ψυχρά*, or frigidities in language and style, are said to arise from four causes; the use of compound words; obscure, foreign or obsolete words; epithets, long, *malapropos*, or too-numerous, and inappropriate metaphors. According to Aristotle, frigidity in prose is caused by the use of poetical diction and the employment of extravagant, figurative language. Although Aristotle's treatment of τὰ *ψυχρά* forms the basis for subsequent discussions of the subject, yet his definition is very considerably enlarged by later writers.

In the treatise *On the Sublime*, extant under the name of Longinus, τὸ *ψυχρόν* is said to be due to the craze for novelty, to the straining for the unusual, and to the use of hyperboles. It is caused by puerility, the tawdry, and the affected. It is certain that in this discussion Longinus is following Caecilius of Calacte.

In the *de Elocutione* of Demetrius are found numerous references to τὸ *ψυχρόν* with illustrative comment. According to Demetrius, frigidity is largely due to exaggeration, to hyperbole, to distortion, and to the pompous. Furthermore, it is to Demetrius that we are indebted for the excellent definition of Theophrastus: τὸ *ψυχρόν* ἐστὶ τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπαγγελίαν.

While Hermogenes does not devote a chapter to frigidity, yet

his discussion of *Affectation* (περὶ κακοζήλου) really defines also τὸ ψυχρόν.

The last Greek writer, so far as I have been able to ascertain, who discusses frigidity is a certain Joseph Rhakendytes (cf. Walz, *Rh. Gr.* III, p. 540) in a chapter entitled, περὶ ψυχρολογίας, in which we meet a novel definition and application of the term. According to the pious Joseph the worst form of frigidity is the profanation of sacred writings!

In Greek Comedy, and especially Aristophanes, who first uses the word metaphorically as applying both to compositions and to writers, we find numerous references to stylistic frigidity. Theognis, the tragic poet, is lampooned as the chief offender.

The true answer to the question of the origin of the metaphorical use of the term τὸ ψυχρόν is likewise to be seen from the passages in Aristophanes (cf. *Acharn.* II, 138, and *Thesmophor.* 170, 848). The listener or reader, who is keyed up in warm anticipation of the pleasure and profit which is to result from an admirable literary production, is chilled by disappointment; his interest is cooled by the forced, inartistic, exaggerated, or inappropriate style of the speaker or writer.

PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST

I. PROGRAMME

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 29

FIRST SESSION, 9.50 O'CLOCK A.M.

J. E. CHURCH, JR.

The Non-Relationship of the Mother to Her Child: A Discussion of
the Contention of Apollo in the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus¹

CARLOS BRANSBY

The Personal and Literary Relations between Cervantes and Lope
de Vega (read by title, p. lxxvii)

J. ELMORE

Notes on the Dramatic Element in Martial (p. lxxi)

A. T. MURRAY

Notes on the *Odyssey*

GEORGE R. NOYES

The Essential Elements in Tolstoy's Ethical System

OTTO E. PLATH

Washington Irving's Influence upon Wilhelm Hauff

SECOND SESSION, 2.15 O'CLOCK P.M.

CLARENCE PASCHALL

The Etymology of *pfliegen* (p. lxxiii)

E. B. CLAPP

Plutarch's Quotations from Pindar (read by title)

C. G. ALLEN

The Literary Debt of José Zorrilla to Victor Hugo (p. lxxvii)

¹ To be published in full elsewhere.

Association of the Pacific Coast

H. R. FAIRCLOUGH

Horace's View of the Relations of Satire and Comedy¹

R. SCHEVILL

D. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo

WILLIAM FREDERIC BADÈ

Iron Taboo among the Greeks (read by title)

FRANZ SCHNEIDER

Die Essex — Dramen des Corneille, Bangs und Coello, und Lessings
voreingenommene Kritik

THIRD SESSION, 8 O'CLOCK P.M.

LEON J. RICHARDSON

Some Observations on Vergil's *Georgics* :

Annual Address of the President of the Association (p. lxxiv)

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 30

FOURTH SESSION, 9.40 O'CLOCK A.M.

S. A. CHAMBERS

"The Burial of Sir John Moore" and its So-called French and
German Originals (p. lxxviii)

TORSTEN PETERSSON

Cicero during the Years immediately preceding His Exile : A Sec-
tion from a Projected Narrative Study of Cicero (p. lxxiii)

HENRY DAVID GRAY

The Evolution of Shakespeare's Heroine (p. lxxii)

GILBERT CHINARD

Importance et nécessité d'une édition critique des *Natchez*

JAMES T. ALLEN

- a. Two Alleged Conventions of the Early Greek Theatre
- b. Lexicographical Notes on the *Ichneutae* of Sophocles
(*Oxy. Papyri*, IX, 1912)

¹ Published in the *American Journal of Philology*, xxxiv, 183 ff.

FIFTH SESSION, 2.20 O'CLOCK P.M.

ARTHUR PATCH MCKINLAY

Boethius and the Interrelationship of His *de Syllogismis Categoricalis*
and *Introductio ad Syllogismos Categoricalis*

J. T. CLARK

Some Features of Lexicographical Vitality in French (p. lxx)

HERMANN JOHANN HILMER

Wundt's Views of the Laws governing "Regular" Semasiological
Development

CORNELIUS BEACH BRADLEY

The Proximate Source of the Siamese Alphabet (p. 23)

GEORGE HEMPL

Specimen Minoan Inscriptions¹

¹ To be published elsewhere.

II. MINUTES

The Philological Association of the Pacific Coast held its Fourteenth Annual Meeting on November 29 and 30, in the San Francisco Institute of Art, the President of the Association, Professor Leon J. Richardson, of the University of California, presiding.

FIRST SESSION

Friday morning, November 29.

The meeting was called to order by the President at 9.50 A.M. After the minutes of the last meeting were read and approved, the following report of the Treasurer was presented: —

RECEIPTS		
Balance on hand December 1, 1911	\$ 42.38	
Dues and initiation fees	233.00	
	<hr/>	\$275.38
EXPENDITURES		
Sent to Professor Moore (May 28, 1912)	\$190.00	
Paid to the Pacific Association of Scientific Societies	15.00	
Printing	19.00	
Stationery and postage	8.23	
Clerk hire	3.65	
Miscellaneous	5.50	
	<hr/>	\$241.38
Balance on hand November 29, 1912	34.00	
	<hr/>	\$275.38

The Chair appointed the following committees: —

Nomination of Officers: Professors Clapp, Martin, and Schilling.

Time and Place of Next Meeting: Professors Searles, Fairclough, and Merrill.

Treasurer's Report: Professors Church, Schevill, and Espinosa.

Membership: Professors Noyes, Allen (C. G.), and Pinger.

Arrangements: Rev. W. A. Brewer and Dr. Linforth.

In accordance with the recommendation of the Executive Committee, the scope of the Committee on Time and Place was extended to include a consideration of the question as to whether the Association should hold two meetings next year.

Professor J. Elmore gave notice of an amendment to Article IV, section 1, of the Constitution, striking out the word "five" and sub-

stituting the word "three" in the amount of the initiation fee for incoming members.

The number of persons present at this session was thirty-one.

SECOND SESSION

Friday afternoon, November 29.

The Association met at 2.15 P.M.

The Committee on Treasurer's Report stated that the accounts had been examined and found correct. Adopted.

In accordance with the recommendation of the Executive Committee, it was voted to extend to the American Philological Association an invitation to meet in San Francisco in 1915.

The number of persons present at this session was forty.

THIRD SESSION

Friday evening, November 29.

At 8 P.M. the members of the Association and their friends met at the University Club of San Francisco to listen to the address of the President, whose subject was *Some Observations on Vergil's Georgics*.

FOURTH SESSION

Saturday morning, November 30.

The Association met at 9.40 A.M.

The entire session was given to the reading and discussion of papers.

The number of persons present was forty-two.

FIFTH SESSION

Saturday afternoon, November 30.

The Association met at 2.20 P.M.

The Committee on Nominations made its report; whereupon the following officers were elected for 1912-1913:—

President, C. Searles.

Vice-Presidents, J. T. Allen,

J. Elmore.

Secretary-Treasurer, O. M. Johnston.

Executive Committee, The above-named officers, and

R. Schevill,

B. O. Foster,

J. E. Church, Jr.,

George R. Noyes.

In accordance with the recommendation of the Committee on Time and Place of Next Meeting, it was voted to hold the next annual meeting of the Association at the San Francisco Institute of Art, on the Friday and Saturday following Thanksgiving Day, 1913. The Committee also recommended that, in addition to the annual meeting in November, another meeting be held sometime during the spring. The matter was referred to the Executive Committee with power to act.

A vote of thanks for hospitality was extended to the Regents of the University of California, the Directors of the San Francisco Institute of Art, and the Directors of the University Club of San Francisco.

The number of persons present at this session was thirty-two.

Two meetings of the Executive Committee were held, one November 29, and the other November 30. The Committee voted to hold a meeting of the Association next spring, as had been recommended, the time and place to be determined by the Pacific Association of Scientific Societies. In accordance with the recommendation of the Committee on Time and Place, the Executive Committee also authorized the Secretary to secure the services of a stenographer and such other clerical assistance as may be necessary.

The following persons were elected to membership: —

- Prof. Gilbert Chinard, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
- Mr. E. G. Atkin, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
- Mr. William Girard, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
- Mr. Emilio Goggio, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
- Miss Caroline Bates Singleton, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
- Prof. Mary P. Barnett, Mills College, Cal.
- Prof. Herbert F. Allen, College of the Pacific, San José, Cal.
- Dr. Edward R. Von Janinski, University of Nevada, Reno, Nevada.
- Mr. F. P. Anderson, Reed College, Portland, Oregon.
- Miss Sophia Cramer, Palo Alto, Cal.
- Prof. W. D. Ward, Occidental College, Los Angeles, Cal.
- Prof. Allison Gaw, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Cal.
- Prof. Ruth W. Brown, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Cal.
- Miss Anna Shipley Cox, Stanford University, Cal.

Through transfer from the American Philological Association there have been added: —

- Prof. Kelly Rees, Reed College, Portland, Oregon.
- Mrs. Elizabeth Perkins Lyders, San Francisco, Cal.

III. ABSTRACTS

1. The Literary Debt of José Zorrilla to Victor Hugo, by Professor C. G. Allen, of Leland Stanford Junior University.

Zorrilla himself is loth to admit such a debt; and indeed the difference in the environments of the two men, in their temperaments and sympathies, and in the subjects they treat, makes direct borrowing difficult. There are, however, certain concrete cases of borrowing, almost entirely from the *Odes et Ballades* and the *Orientales*, as: "Napoleón," from "Buonaparte" (*Odes et Ballades*), "A la niña C. D. E." from "À une jeune fille" (*ib.*), the oriental beginning "De la luna á los reflejos," from "La Captive" (*Les Orientales*), the oriental beginning "Dueña de la negra Toca" and the one beginning "Corriendo van por la vega," from "Lazzara" (*ib.*), the "Desafío del Diablo," from "La Légende de la Nonne" (*Odes et Ballades*), "La Torre de Fuensaldana," from "Aux Ruines de Montfort l'Amaury" (*ib.*). In general, it is ideas and not words which are borrowed.

2. The Personal and Literary Relations between Cervantes and Lope de Vega, by Professor Carlos Bransby, of the University of California.

It is the purpose of this paper to inquire into the relations existing between the father of the Spanish novel and the father of the Spanish drama.

Cervantes was born in the year 1547 and Lope de Vega fifteen years later. The age in which they lived was the most remarkable in Spanish letters. Poetry, both lyric and dramatic, became the passion of the times. Not only the men of the learned callings were wont to produce it in overwhelming abundance, but tailors, sextons, tinkers, masons, and even illiterate women tried their wits at composing it. In the midst of the general excitement and of the strife for recognition and fame, it was natural that rivalries should arise and that animosities should be engendered.

One would have thought that, among that vast throng of honor-hunters, Cervantes and Lope de Vega would have stood, the giants that they were, far above all jealousy and pettiness. Such, however, was not the case.

These two men were brought together several times in the course of their long and busy lives. They saw each other for the first time

when Lope was a beardless youth and Cervantes was trying to have his plays staged. Between 1584 and 1588, when Lope was beginning to be known to fame, they met often and likely talked about their work. Cervantes gives high praise to Lope in the first part of his *Galatea*, published in 1584.

Cervantes removes from Madrid to Seville and Lope becomes the monarch of the drama. Between 1600 and 1604 Lope visits Seville twice and clashes with Cervantes, owing, doubtless, to a sonnet insulting the former, the authorship of which was attributed to the latter, and to criticisms of himself that Lope must have seen in the manuscript of the first part of *Don Quijote*. In a letter written from Toledo in 1604, Lope wrote that, speaking of poets, none was so bad as Cervantes and none so silly as to read *Don Quijote*. It is a fact that Lope never praised *Don Quijote*, though in some of his writings he does refer to some of the other work of Cervantes in rather flattering terms.

In 1609 Cervantes, living once more in Madrid, joined there a congregation of lay brothers, and in the following year Lope became a member of the same congregation. They must have met often at its headquarters, probably already reconciled to each other, and also at the academies or literary clubs.

In 1614 appeared the spurious second part of *Don Quijote*, which caused Cervantes the greatest annoyance and grief that he ever experienced in his checkered career. Some have attributed the authorship of it to Lope, but without good reasons.

The two writers were neighbors in Madrid during the last days in the life of the author of *Don Quijote*, and it seems probable that Lope called on Cervantes during the last illness of the latter.

3. "The Burial of Sir John Moore" and its So-called French and German Originals, by Professor Samuel A. Chambers, formerly of the University of California.

Many errors seem still rife in regard to this much-discussed poem and its author. The accounts of Charles Wolfe in all the works of reference, even the latest, are full of faults. These are the facts: The poem was written in 1814 or 1815; first published in *Currick's Morning Post* in 1815; later in *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1817. The poem, as published in the *Post*, was signed with the initials "W. C.," which have been omitted in all subsequent reprints. They are probably a misprint or a slight disguise for "C. W."

The poem was attributed to the best writers of the day, even to Byron, who denied the authorship. Wolfe claimed this in 1816 in a private letter to a friend, in which he copied the poem. That he never put forth a public claim is probably accounted for by the fact of his ill-health and the absorbing duties of a country parish of which he had taken charge. He died in 1823.

The poem being thus anonymous, in 1841 a Scotch schoolmaster put himself forward as its author. This aroused the Irish friends of Wolfe, and they proved by private letters and by oral testimony that the poem was beyond any doubt written by Wolfe. The first two stanzas were, in fact, composed while the poet was on a visit to the Rev. Samuel O'Sullivan, a college chum, who gave a minute account of the circumstances of their production. Thus, by about 1850, the question seemed to be settled. (For the whole matter, see *Proc. Royal Irish Acad.* for 1844, p. 89; also *Blackwood*, I, 277; *Notes and Queries*, N. S. I, 158.)

In 1861, however, a new kind of doubt was stirred up by *Europa*, of Leipzig (no. 10, p. 391), which produced two poems, one German, one French, astonishingly like the English one in incident, sentiment, and even metre. It was claimed for the German one that it was found in the convent of Avila, near Danzig; was written in the seventeenth century to celebrate the death of the Swedish general Torstenson, who was buried in haste at night by his fellow-soldiers. It was stated that the French one was taken from the *Mémoires* of Lally-Tollendal (Paris, 1778-1779, 4 vols. and several volumes of supplements), and was composed in honor of the Breton Colonel de Beaumanoir, who was buried under circumstances similar to those attending the burial of Sir John Moore. These finds were discussed in the *Six-pence Magazine* (June, 1869), and in *La Revue Britannique* (February, 1876, pp. 435-492), and elsewhere. The various critics concluded either that the German was the common original of the other two, or that the poems were produced in the sequence German, French, English.

As to the German poem, General Torstenson died in his bed and was buried in Stockholm, and the poem has a suspicious modern ring for a seventeenth-century production. As to the French one, no such poem exists in the *Mémoires* of Lally-Tollendal, and the circumstances of the death of Colonel de Beaumanoir are not clear. Still, this does not entirely dispose of the claims of these poems.

In *Bentley's Miscellany* are to be found the very poems produced

by *Europa* (the French one, I, 96; the German one, II, 632). It is, moreover, evident that all the historical information furnished by *Europa* was gathered from the very plausible introductions printed there.

Now, just what are these poems? The French one is simply a hoax gotten up by the ingenious Father Prout, and the German one, another hoax produced by a collaborator to out-hoax the first. This kind of mystification was the special delight of that romantic epoch. It is the period of Mérimée and Nodier, of Chatterton and Macpherson (cf. *Bentley's Misc.* I, 46, 63, 525).

There is not a particle of doubt that the English poem is an original production of Wolfe, and founded solely on Southey's prose account of the burial of Sir John Moore in the *Edinburgh Annual Register* (year 1808, p. 458). But this mare's nest constructed by Father Prout and his fellow-mystifier is in danger of re-discovery at any time. As late as 1900 a writer in the *Spectator* (Sept. 8) refers to the poem as "a very happy and spirited translation from the French," and considers the French poem "interesting, and its reproduction by Mr. Wolfe even more so in its accurate following of the original."

4. Some Features of Lexicological Vitality in French, by Professor J. T. Clark, of the University of California.

In this paper were presented the results of a comparative study of words which have remained in continuous usage as opposed to those which have become obsolete. Three periods, each represented by some 500 octavo pages from various texts, were studied: (1) before 1300; (2) 1500-1550; (3) 1650-1700. The portion of the vocabulary studied was adjectives beginning with *b, c, d*. Four classes of words were distinguished: A, which have remained in modern French without change of meaning; B, which have remained in the modern language but with change of meaning; C, which have become obsolete, being replaced by synonyms; D, which have become obsolete, and whose meanings can no longer be expressed by synonyms. For all three periods, 507 words were cited, occurring 4205 times, distributed as follows: class A, 417 words, occurring 3986 times; B, 25 words, 101 times; C, 55 words, 107 times; D, 10 words, 11 times. Of the 417 class A words, 91 were found in the old period, 229 in the middle, 260 in the classic. Forty-three occurred in all three periods, 19 in the old and middle only, 9 in the old and classic

only, 76 in the middle and classic only, 32 in the old only, 103 in the middle only, 135 in the classic only. Words occurring 50 times or over were: *bon*, 757; *beau*, 543; *doux*, 132; *cher*, 113; *certain*, 96; *blanc*, 90; *clair*, 84; *dernier*, 75; *contraire*, 66; *digne*, 56; *content*, 55; *dur*, 50. Fifteen words occurred from 25 to 48 times; 33 from 10 to 24; 59 from 5 to 9; 118 from 2 to 4; 180 once only. The average frequency of class A words varied according to occurrence in one, two, or three periods, *e.g.* of words found in all three, 58.2; in the middle and classic only, 9.4; in the classic only, 2.4. Similar relationships were found to be remarkably constant in three separate series of 100 pages each from modern French fiction. The average frequency of all class A words was 9.79; of class B, 4; of class C, 1.96; of class D, 1.1. The paper closed with a consideration of linguistic features, which appeared to distinguish in general words of classes B, C, and D, with illustrative examples.

5. Notes on the Dramatic Element in Martial, by Professor J. Elmore, of Leland Stanford Junior University.

In the epistle to book I and in IX, 28, 5 Martial compares the entertainment furnished by his work with that of the theatre; in I, 35, 8; III, 86, 4 and in the epistle to book VIII he also brings his verses into relation with the stage. It is doubtless the unbridled spirit that pervades them both of which he is mainly thinking, but he would seem to be also conscious of a certain dramatic quality in his own work.

This dramatic tendency shows itself in the emphasis on the personal element. Nearly three-fourths of the epigrams are addressed to some definitely named person in the form of a face-to-face communication. The person may not be involved in the context, but more frequently he is the one to whom the poet has something to say, — something which he wishes to say to his face. This lacks little of being the manner of the stage, and it becomes so altogether when it passes to the use of dialogue, which Martial employs in about fifty epigrams. In a number of these (as in VI, 82) the dialogue is reported and forms only a part of the epigram. The author does not always figure as one of the interlocutors (*cf.* I, 85; II, 27; IX, 36), but instances of this detachment are not frequent. The dramatic form is attained most completely in some twenty epigrams which are wholly in dialogue (*e.g.* III, 8; III, 38; V, 55). In style these dramatic sketches reveal the terseness and brevity which characterize stage dialogue. Aside from the form, Martial often produces his effects by the use of

certain dramatic devices. To be noted is the motive which Bergson has called the "robber robbed," and which rests on the universal satisfaction of seeing a schemer caught in his own trap. (Compare the fate of the Tuscan soothsayer in III, 24.) Another dramatic method which Martial makes use of is that of surprise. Lessing's formula for the epigram is no longer regarded as universally inclusive, but it does describe accurately Martial's method in the great majority of cases, which consists in setting forth some fact, event, or situation in such a way as to arouse a high degree of curiosity, and in then relieving the tension by some striking and unexpected turn. (Cf. III, 20; VI, 51.) This dramatic effect is extended and intensified by Martial's love for antithesis, the so-called point being hardly anything more than a design for accentuating the contrast and conflict of ideas. Martial has also in common with the stage the representation of comic characters. Reich (*Der Mimus*, I, 58) has noted that such characters as legacy hunters, unfaithful wives, complacent husbands, doctors, barbers, auctioneers, etc., are known to have been represented in the mimes. This does not of itself show that in Martial's hands the characters are treated in really comic fashion. We have first to ask what constitutes a comic character. "Rigidity, automatism, absent-mindedness, and unsociability," says Bergson, "are inextricably entwined, and all serve as ingredients in the making up of the comic in character." Judged even by this standard, Martial will be seen to have characters which are undeniably comic.

6. The Evolution of Shakespeare's Heroine, by Professor Henry David Gray, of Leland Stanford Junior University.

From the *Comedy of Errors* to *Twelfth Night* each one of Shakespeare's comedies brings the heroine more into the centre of the action, and removes the hero somewhat more from his original position as the centre of dramatic appeal. The comedies written during the tragic period increase our sympathy with the heroine by correspondingly vilifying the hero. From *Julius Caesar* to *Coriolanus* the tragedies present a curious duplication of the comedies, evolving first the good and then the evil heroine of tragedy. The final "romances" present a new but also steadily progressive line of development.

In the light of this treatment of Shakespeare's heroine, new considerations are brought to bear upon the date and possible method of composition of *Timon of Athens* and of *Troilus and Cressida*.

7. The Etymology of *pflegen*, by Professor Clarence Paschall, of the University of California.

No convincing I. E. etymology for *pflegen* has been proposed, and the connection with Lat. *plicare* (cf. Schade, *Altdeutsches Wörterbuch*) is satisfactory neither as to phonology nor meaning. As has been pointed out by Franck, *KZ.* xxxvii, 132, the meaning 'to be accustomed to' is a secondary development; the older meaning, found in the *Heljand*, 5478, 5482, 5485 and in Otfrid, iv, 24, 27-28 and v, 19, 39-40, is 'to be responsible for.'

The paper proposed the derivation O. H. G. *pflegan* < Germanic *plegan* < L. L. *pligare* < C. L. *obligare*.

In phonology Germanic *plegan* corresponds exactly to L. L. *pligare*, which Du Canges defines as 'plegium seu fidejussorem dare,' but which, in the passage quoted from Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicae medii aevi*, I, 1012, has precisely the significance of Lat. *obligare*. C. L. *obligare* has, moreover, the additional meaning 'to bind up,' 'to bandage' wounds. Here we have the source of the two primary meanings of *pflegen*: (1) 'to bind, to make responsible for'—hence, developing out of the reflexive use, 'to be responsible for'; and (2) 'to bandage'—hence 'to care for the wounded,' 'to nurse,' 'to attend to,' etc. The transition from C. L. *obligare* to L. L. *pligare* involves a shift of the *b* from the prefix to the stem syllable, with the consequent loss of the unaccented prefix vowel, and the change of the initial *bl* to *pl*. The loss of the unaccented prefix presents no difficulty. The change of *bl* to *pl* was doubtless due to confusion with *plagare* = *vulnerare* and *plicare*, contamination with *plicare* being aided by the common meaning 'to wrap.'

The Romance words—O. F. *plevir*, *plivir*, etc.—are to be regarded as Germanic loan-words.

8. Cicero during the Years immediately preceding His Exile: A Section from a Projected Narrative Study of Cicero, by Dr. Torsten Petersson, of the University of California.

This paper does not lend itself to an abstract, as it was of a narrative nature and is part of a larger whole. It sought to give a somewhat more definite picture of Cicero during the years 62-58 B.C. than has previously been done in biographies of Cicero, and utilized for this purpose not merely the Letters but also the Orations. Thus, the

speech in defence of Archias was interpreted as showing us Cicero at a moment when he felt thoroughly happy in the success he had attained. He seems sure of his audience, among whom were the aristocratic patrons of Archias and Cicero's own brother Quintus, who presided; he speaks with unclouded joy of the help and inspiration he gets from literature; and he even urges the jury to decide in favor of Archias, since the latter intends to write about Cicero's acts as consul.

9. Some Observations on Vergil's *Georgics*, by Professor Leon J. Richardson, of the University of California.

After discussing the general characteristics of this poem and its influence on later ages, the paper dealt with certain *minora artis praecepta*.

1. *Diaeresis*. (Care must be taken not to confuse apparent cases of diaeresis with real ones. For example, a word often terminates with a foot, but upon examination it turns out that the word either is proclitic or is followed by an enclitic word; in either event there is no diaeresis, so far as the ear is concerned; and in all such matters the ear is, of course, the final judge.) Diaeresis has the effect of checking the rhythm of the verse. It occurs with greatest frequency after the sixth foot, less frequently after the first or fifth foot, still less so after the fourth foot, least frequently after the second or third foot. These proportions are grounded in reasons which are not difficult to discover. If diaeresis is reinforced by a sense pause, the rhythm is abruptly checked; this effect is sometimes used as a descriptive device, especially after the first or fourth foot.

2. *Caesura*. The first three feet of a verse are composed in such a way that each has either a masculine caesura, a feminine caesura, or no caesura. The fourth foot usually has a masculine caesura or no caesura. The fifth foot usually has a feminine caesura or no caesura. The sixth foot usually has no caesura.

3. *Accent*. Within the first four feet word-accent and verse-accent fall now coincidentally, now non-coincidentally; coincidence is very frequent in the first foot, infrequent in the second and third feet, fairly frequent in the fourth foot. Within the last two feet of the verse coincidence of these elements is almost always found.

4. *Sound as related to rhythm*. Aside from the fact that the rhythmical divisions become perceptible by certain intervals of sound and silence, these divisions are often thrown into unusual relief by

some device of repeated or correlated sounds. Vergil's verse technique is notable also for the skilful manner in which (5) *rhythm* and (6) *sound* are wedded to *sense*.

7. *Repetition* is a characteristic feature of Vergil's style. His taste and poetical feeling, however, did not tolerate this effect in any and every form, but, as one might expect of a Roman, it was employed under the restraints of law and order. His usages are mainly as follows: (a) He avoided cacophonous repetitions. A case in point seems to be: *iret frigusque caloremque* | *inter* (II, 344-345). It is possible that Vergil originally wrote *inter frigusque caloremque* | *iret*, a likely word-order. This, however, involves a disagreeable effect at the outset of verse 345, the sound *et* occurring three times in quick succession. Thus he may have been led to interchange *iret* and *inter*, inasmuch as these words are metrically of identical form. (b) Repeated words are not adjacent to each other. Commonly they do not fall in the same colon, often not in the same verse. (c) Repeated words as a rule do not receive the same metrical treatment. This usage may be made clear by an English illustration: —

“Where the bee sucks, there suck I;
In a cowslip's bell I lie;
There I couch when owls do cry.
On the bat's back I do fly
After summer merrily.
Merrily, merrily shall I live now
Under the blossom that hangs on the bough.”

Here *I* occurs in nearly every line. But Shakespeare placed it now in the initial foot of the verse, now in the penultimate foot, now in the final foot. Moreover, he placed it now in the thesis, now in the arsis of a foot. Thus he secured a certain lyrical effect that arises from repetition and at the same time avoided monotony. Vergil does much the same thing. In II, 467-469 *at* is found three times, but it does not occur twice in the same verse; after being in a certain foot of one verse, it does not reappear in the same foot of any other verse; it is found first in the thesis, then in the arsis, then again in the arsis of a foot. Again, in I, 287-290 *nox* in one form or another occurs four times; it does not stand twice in the same colon; it occurs in the fifth foot, then in the first, then in the fourth, finally it is divided between the second and third feet; its first syllable is twice in the thesis and twice in the arsis of a foot; the form is twice

nocte, once *nocte* affected by elision, and finally *noctes*. A long list of examples might be culled of the type :—

dum sicca tellure licet, dum nubila pendent.—I, 214.

centum quae silvas, centum quae flumina servant.—IV, 383.

This type consists of a single verse wherein each colon is introduced by the same word, the metrical treatment of it being varied as regards thesis and arsis. Almost all of the numerous cases of repetition in Vergil follow the usages just set forth. A few, however, show (*d*) identical metrical treatment and are apparently to be explained on the ground of convenience, necessity, or description. For example, the form of a Latin word is sometimes such that a certain syllable or syllables are of necessity thesis and the rest arsis; *Eurydicen* is an example in point; it occurs three times in IV, 525–527; Vergil could not vary the metrical treatment as regards thesis and arsis, but he did do so in certain other ways. An example of identical metrical treatment for descriptive purposes is :—

ter liquido ardentem perfundit nectare Vestam,

ter flamma ad summum tecti subiecta reluxit.—IV, 384–385.

The metrical form in such cases is prompted by the nature of the idea involved. Repetitions of single words in Vergil vastly outnumber repetitions of word-groups, but the governing principles remain much the same in all cases.

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The Bibliographical Record — a very incomplete list of the publications of the members, as returned by themselves — aims to include not only publications that are distinctly philological in character, but also those that deal with the educational aspects of the study of language and literature.

PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS

- AHR* — American Historical Review.
AJA — American Journal of Archaeology.
AJP — American Journal of Philology.
AJSL — American Journal of Semitic Languages.
BpW — Berliner philologische Wochenschrift.
CJ — Classical Journal.
CP — Classical Philology.
CQ — Classical Quarterly.
CR — Classical Review.
CSCP — Cornell Studies in Classical Philology.
CW — Classical Weekly.
ER — Educational Review.
HSCP — Harvard Studies in Classical Philology.
HSPL — Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature.
HTR — Harvard Theological Review.
IF — Indogermanische Forschungen.
JAOS — Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JBL — Journal of Biblical Literature.
JEGP — Journal of English and Germanic Philology.
JHUC — Johns Hopkins University Circulars.
JRAS — Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- KZ* — Kuhn's Zeitschrift.
MLA — Publications of the Modern Language Association.
MLN — Modern Language Notes.
MP — Modern Philology.
Nat. — The Nation.
PAA — Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.
PAPA — Proceedings of the American Philological Association.
PUB — Princeton University Bulletin.
Rom. R. — Romanic Review.
SER — Southern Educational Review.
SR — School Review.
TAPA — Transactions of the American Philological Association.
TCA — Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences.
UCPCP (UCPMP) — University of California Publications in Classical (Modern) Philology.
UMS — University of Michigan Studies.
UPB — University of Pennsylvania Bulletin.
VUS — Vanderbilt University Studies.
WRUB — Western Reserve University Bulletin.
YR — Yale Review.

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Charles Ernest Bennett, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1910.
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W. 57th St., Sherwood Studios), New York, N. Y. 1898.

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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.
- Prof. William S. Burrage, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt. 1898.
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- Prof. Henry F. Burton, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y. 1878.
- Prof. Curtis C. Bushnell, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. (618 Irving Ave.). 1900.
- Prof. Orma Fitch Butler, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (322 N. State St.). 1907.
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- Dr. George M. Calhoun, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. 1911.
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 Prof. Mitchell Carroll, Office of the Archaeological Institute, The Octagon,
 Washington, D. C. 1894.
 Prof. Adam Carruthers, University College, Toronto, Can. 1909.
 * Pres. Luella Clay Carson, Mills College, Cal. 1910.
 Dr. Franklin Carter, Williamstown, Mass. 1871.
 Director Jesse Benedict Carter, American Academy, Rome, Italy (Villa Aurelia).
 1898.
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 Prof. Clarence F. Castle, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1888.
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 William Churchill, F. R. A. I., New York *Sun*, New York, N. Y. 1910.
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 William T. Colville, Carbondale, Pa. 1884.
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 William L. Cushing, Westminster School, Simsbury, Conn. 1888.
 Alfred Mitchell Dame, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1911.
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 * Ludwig J. Demeter, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (1300 Grove St.).
 1903.
 Prof. William K. Denison, Tufts College, Mass. 1899.
 Prof. Walter Dennison, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa. 1899.
 Prof. Samuel C. Derby, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. 1895.
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 Prof. Henry B. Dewing, Robert College, Constantinople. 1909.
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 Prof. Sherwood Owen Dickerman, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
 1902.
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 Prof. William Prentiss Drew, Knox College, Galesburg, Ill. 1907.
 Prof. Eli Dunkle, Ohio University, Athens, O. 1904.
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 Donald Blythe Durham, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1912.
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 1901.
 Prof. Katharine M. Edwards, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1893.
 Dr. Philip H. Edwards, Baltimore City College, Baltimore, Md. 1907.
 Prof. James C. Egbert, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1889.
 Prof. Wallace Stedman Elden, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. (1734 Summit
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 Dr. George W. Elderkin, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1910.
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 Prof. Herbert C. Elmer, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1887.
 * Prof. J. Elmore, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Palo Alto, Cal. (1134 Emerson
 St.). 1900.
 Prof. Levi Henry Elwell, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1883.

- Miss E. Antoinette Ely, The Bartholomew-Clifton School, Cincinnati, O. 1893.
Prof. Edgar A. Emens, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1895.
Prof. Robert B. English, Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pa. 1905.
* Prof. A. M. Espinosa, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1910.
Prof. George Taylor Ettinger, Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa. 1896.
Principal O. Faduma, Peabody Academy, Troy, N. C. 1900.
Dr. Arthur Fairbanks, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1886.
* Prof. H. Rushton Fairclough, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1887.
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Prof. Edward Fitch, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. 1890.
Everett Henry Fitch, 148 Whalley Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1906.
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Prof. Tenney Frank, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1906.
Dr. Susan B. Franklin, Ethical Culture School, 63d St. and Central Park West, New York, N. Y. 1890.
Prof. Nora Blanding Fraser, Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, Va. 1911.
Dr. Walter H. Freeman, Trenton High School, Trenton, N. J. 1908.
* Prof. P. J. Frein, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. (4317 15th Ave.). 1900.
* Prof. John Fryer, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2620 Durant Ave.). 1900.
Prof. Charles Kelsey Gaines, St. Lawrence University, Canton, N. Y. 1890.
Prof. John S. Galbraith, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1907.

- * Dr. John Gamble, Haywards, Cal. 1902.
 Prof. J. B. Game, State Normal College, Florence, Ala. 1907.
 Prof. James M. Garnett, 1316 Bolton St., Baltimore, Md. 1873.
 * Prof. Allison Gaw, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Cal. 1912.
 Prof. John Laurence Gerig, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1909.
 Principal Seth K. Gifford, Moses Brown School, Providence, R. I. 1891.
 Prof. Basil L. Gildersleeve, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1876.
 Walter H. Gillespie, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. 1908.
 Pedro Ramon Gillott, Wyoming Seminary, Kingston, Pa. 1906.
 * William Girard, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1912.
 * Charles B. Gleason, High School, San José, Cal. 1900.
 Clarence Willard Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass. 1901.
 Prof. Julius Goebel, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. 1900.
 * Emilio Goggio, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1912.
 Prof. Thomas D. Goodell, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (35 Edgehill Road).
 1883.
 Prof. Charles J. Goodwin, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa. 1891.
 Miss Florence Alden Gragg, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1906.
 Prof. Roscoe Allan Grant, De Witt Clinton High School, New York, N. Y. 1902.
 * Walter H. Graves, High School, Oakland, Cal. (1428 Seventh Ave.). 1900.
 * Prof. H. D. Gray, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.
 1911.
 Dr. W. D. Gray, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1907.
 Prof. E. L. Green, University of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C. 1898.
 Prof. John Francis Greene, Brown University, Providence, R. I. 1909.
 Prof. Herbert Eveleth Greene, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1890.
 * C. H. Greenleaf, 1437 Le Roy, Berkeley, Cal. 1911.
 Prof. Wilber J. Greer, Mt. Hope College, Holland, Mich. 1892.
 * Prof. James O. Griffin, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.
 (Box 144). 1896.
 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. 1894.
 Prof. Richard Mott Gummere, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. 1907.
 Miss Grace Guthrie, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1906.
 Roy Kenneth Hack, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1910.
 Prof. George D. Hadzits, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1904.
 * Prof. A. S. Haggert, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1901.
 Prof. Elizabeth Hazelton Haight, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1902.
 Prof. William Gardner Hale, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1882.
 Prof. Frederic A. Hall, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. (5846 Julian Ave.).
 1896.
 Frank T. Hallett, Care R. I. Hospital Trust Co., Providence, R. I. 1902.
 Prof. H. A. Hamilton, Elmira College, Elmira, N. Y. 1895.
 Principal John Calvin Hanna, High School, Oak Park, Ill. (209 South East Ave.).
 1896.
 Prof. Albert Granger Harkness, Brown University, Providence, R. I. 1896.
 Prof. Austin Morris Harmon, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1907.

- Prof. Karl P. Harrington, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. 1892.
Miss Mary B. Harris, 827 Hamilton Terrace, Baltimore, Md. 1902.
Prof. W. A. Harris, Richmond College, Richmond, Va. 1895.
Prof. William Fenwick Harris, 8 Mercer Circle, Cambridge, Mass. 1901.
Prof. Joseph E. Harry, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O. 1896.
Dr. Carl A. Harström, The Harström School, Norwalk, Conn. 1900.
Maynard M. Hart, Wm. McKinley High School, St. Louis, Mo. 1909.
Prof. Samuel Hart, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1871.
* Prof. Walter Morris Hart, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2255 Piedmont Ave.). 1903.
Prof. Harold Ripley Hastings, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. 1905.
* Prof. G. W. Hauschild, 1042 Beacon St., Los Angeles, Cal. 1911.
Prof. Adeline Belle Hawes, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1902.
Dr. Edward Southworth Hawes, Polytechnic Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1888.
Eugene A. Hecker, 67 Oxford St., Cambridge, Mass. 1907.
Prof. William A. Heidel, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. 1900.
Prof. F. B. R. Hellems, State University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo. 1900.
Prof. Otto Heller, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1896.
Prin. Nathan Wilbur Helm, Evanston Academy of Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 1900.
* Prof. George Hempl, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1895.
Prof. Archer Wilmot Hendrick, Whitman College, Walla Walla, Wash. 1904.
Prof. George L. Hendrickson, American Academy, Rome, Italy (Villa Aurelia). 1892.
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.
Director Bert Hodge Hill, American School of Classical Studies, Athens, Greece. 1911.
* H. J. Hilmer, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1911.
Prof. Gertrude Hirst, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1902.
Prof. Helen Elisabeth Hoag, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1907.
Archibald L. Hodges, Wadleigh High School, 114th St., near 7th Ave., New York, N. Y. 1899.
* Miss F. Hodgkinson, Lowell High School, San Francisco, Cal. 1903.
Prof. Arthur W. Hodgman, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. (46 14th Ave.). 1896.
Prof. Charles Hoeng, 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. 1900.
Prof. W. D. Hooper, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga. 1894.
Prof. E. Washburn Hopkins, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (299 Lawrence St.). 1883.
Prof. Joseph Clark Hoppin, 310 Sears Bldg., Boston, Mass. 1900.
Prof. Robert C. Horn, Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa. 1909.

- Prof. Herbert Pierrepont Houghton, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1907.
 Prof. William A. Houghton, Brunswick, Me. 1892.
 Prof. Albert A. Howard, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (12 Walker St.) 1892.
 Prof. George E. Howes, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1896.
 Harry M. Hubbell, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1911.
 Prof. Milton W. Humphreys, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. 1871.
 Prof. Richard Wellington Husband, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1907.
 Dr. George B. Hussey, East Orange, N. J. 1887.
 Prof. Fred Leroy Hutson, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1902.
 Principal Maurice Hutton, University College, Toronto, Can. 1908.
 Dr. Walter Woodburn Hyde, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1911.
 Prof. J. W. D. Ingersoll, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (295 Crown St.) 1897.
 Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1884.
 Prof. Carl Newell Jackson, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (25 Beck Hall.) 1905.
 Prof. M. W. Jacobus, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1893.
 Prof. Hans C. G. von Jagemann, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (113 Walker St.). 1882.
 * M. C. James, High School, Berkeley, Cal. 1900.
 * Dr. Edward R. Von Janinski, University of Nevada, Reno, Nev. 1912.
 Prof. Samuel A. Jeffers, Central College, Fayette, Mo. 1909.
 Prof. Allan C. Johnson, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1912.
 Dr. Charles W. L. Johnson, 909 St. Paul St., Baltimore, Md. 1897.
 Dr. Edwin Lee Johnson, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 1911.
 Prof. William H. Johnson, Denison University, Granville, O. 1895.
 Prof. Eva Johnston, University of the State of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1902.
 Prof. George W. Johnston, University of Toronto, Toronto, Can. 1895.
 * Prof. Oliver M. Johnston, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. (Box 767). 1900.
 Prof. Charles Hodge Jones, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1906.
 Prof. Horace L. Jones, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1908.
 Prof. J. C. Jones, University of the State of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1902.
 * Winthrop L. Keep, Mills College, Alameda Co., Cal. 1900.
 Prof. George Dwight Kellogg, Union University, Schenectady, N. Y. 1897.
 Prof. Robert J. Kellogg, James Millikin Jr. University, Decatur, Ill. 1912.
 Prof. Francis W. Kelsey, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1890.
 Prof. Roland G. Kent, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (College Hall). 1903.
 Prof. James William Kern, Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va. 1909.
 Prof. David R. Keys, University College, Toronto, Can. 1908.
 Prof. William Hamilton Kirk, Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J. 1898.
 Prof. Robert McD. Kirkland, Lebanon Valley College, Annville, Pa. 1912.
 Prof. John C. Kirtland, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. 1895.
 Prof. George Lyman Kittredge, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (8 Hilliard St.). 1884.

- 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. (1737 Sedgwick Ave.). 1892.
- * P. A. Knowlton, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1909.
- Charles S. Knox, St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H. 1889.
- Miss Lucile Kohn, 1138 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1905.
- * Prof. Alfred L. Kroeber, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1902.
- Prof. William H. Kruse, Fort Wayne, Ind. 1905.
- * Dr. Benjamin P. Kurtz, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1906.
- Prof. Gordon J. Laing, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1907.
- Prof. A. G. Laird, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1890.
- Prof. Charles R. Lanman, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (9 Farrar St.). 1877.
- Lewis H. Lapham, 17 Battery Pl., New York, N. Y. 1880.
- 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. (3675 Broadway). 1895.
- Mrs. Caroline Stein Ledyard, College of Agriculture, University of the Philippines, Los Baños, P. I. 1911.
- Prof. David Russell Lee, University of Chattanooga, Chattanooga, Tenn. 1907.
- Prof. Winfred G. Leutner, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. 1905.
- * Prof. Ivan M. Linforth, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2742 Derby St.). 1903.
- Prof. Herbert C. Lipscomb, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va. 1909.
- Dr. Henry Wheatland Litchfield, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1912.
- Prof. Charles Edgar Little, University of Nashville, Nashville, Tenn. 1902.
- Prof. A. Arthur Livingston, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1911.
- Prof. Dean P. Lockwood, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1909.
- Prof. Gonzalez Lodge, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1888.
- James Loeb, 8 Maria Josefastrasse, Munich, Germany. 1913.
- Prof. O. F. Long, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 1900.
- Prof. Christopher Longest, University of Mississippi, University, Miss. 1913.
- Prof. George D. Lord, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1887.
- Prof. Louis E. Lord, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O. 1910.
- Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, O. 1909.
- D. O. S. Lowell, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass. 1894.
- Prof. Frederick Lutz, Albion College, Albion, Mich. 1883.
- * Dr. Elizabeth Perkins Lyders, 2429 Green St., San Francisco, Cal. 1904.
- Prof. Nelson G. McCrea, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1890.
- * Prof. Bruce McCully, Washington State College, Pullman, Wash. 1912.
- Prof. Walton Brooks McDaniel, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (College Hall). 1901.
- Prof. J. H. McDaniels, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y. 1871.
- Dr. Mary B. McElwain, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1908.

- Prof. A. St. Clair Mackenzie, State College of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky. (Life member). 1901.
- Miss Harriett E. McKinstry, Lake Erie College, Painesville, O. 1881.
- Prof. Charlotte F. McLean, St. Genevieve College, Asheville, N. C. 1906.
- Pres. George E. MacLean, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. (603 College St.). 1891.
- Prof. James Sugars McLemore, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. 1912.
- Prof. John Macnaughton, McGill University, Montreal, Can. 1909.
- Donald Alexander MacRae, 22 Sussex Ave., Toronto, Canada. 1907.
- Prof. Grace Harriet Macurdy, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1894.
- Prof. Ashton Waugh McWhorter, Hampden-Sidney College, Hampden-Sidney, Va. 1909.
- Robert L. McWhorter, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga. 1906.
- Prof. David Magie, Jr., Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. (12 Nassau St.). 1901.
- Dr. Ralph Van Deman Magoffin, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1908.
- Dr. Herbert W. Magoun, 70 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass. 1891.
- Prof. John D. Maguire, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. 1906.
- Pres. J. H. T. Main, Iowa College, Grinnell, Ia. 1891.
- Prof. John M. Manly, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1896.
- Prof. Richard Clarke Manning, Kenyon College, Gambier, O. 1905.
- Prof. Allan Marquand, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1891.
- * Prof. E. Whitney Martin, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1903.
- Prof. Henry Martin, Wells College, Aurora, N. Y. 1909.
- Dr. Winfred R. Martin, Hispanic Society of America, 156th St., West of Broadway, New York, N. Y. 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. Clarence W. Mendell, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1908.
- Prof. Frank Ivan Merchant, Iowa State Normal School, Cedar Falls, Ia. (1928 Normal St.). 1898.
- Prof. Elmer Truesdell Merrill, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1883.
- * Prof. William A. Merrill, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2609 College Ave.). 1886.
- Dr. Truman Michelson, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C. 1900.
- Dr. Charles C. Mierow, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1909.
- Prof. Alfred W. Milden, University of Mississippi, University, Miss. 1903.
- Prof. C. W. E. Miller, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1892.
- Prof. Walter Miller, University of the State of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1900.
- Prof. Clara E. Millerd, Iowa College, Grinnell, Ia. 1902.
- Prof. William McCracken Milroy, Geneva College, Beaver Falls, Pa. 1909.
- Charles A. Mitchell, Asheville School, Asheville, N. C. 1893.
- Prof. Walter Lewis Moll, Concordia College, Ft. Wayne, Ind. 1909.
- Prof. Annie Sybil Montague, 367 Harvard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1906.
- Prof. James Raider Mood, 86 Rutledge Ave., Charleston, S. C. 1909.

- Prof. Clifford Herschel Moore, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (112 Brattle St.). 1889.
- Prof. Frank Gardner Moore, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1888.
- Prof. George F. Moore, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (3 Divinity Ave.). 1885.
- Prof. J. Leverett Moore, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1887.
- Prof. Warren I. Moore, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, N. M. 1908.
- Paul E. More, 159 W. 92d St., New York, N. Y. 1896.
- 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.
- Frank Prescott Moulton, High School, Hartford, Conn. (36 Willard St.). 1909.
- * Francis O. Mower, 1346 El Centro Ave., Oakland, Cal. 1900.
- * Miss Geneva W. Mower, Mills College, Alameda Co., Cal. 1908.
- Prof. George F. Mull, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa. 1896.
- * Dr. E. J. Murphy, Vigan, Ilocos Sur, Philippine Islands. 1900.
- * Prof. Augustus T. Murray, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. (Box 112). 1887.
- Prof. E. W. Murray, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan. 1907.
- Prof. Howard Murray, Dalhousie University, Halifax, N. S. 1907.
- Prof. Wilfred P. Mustard, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1892.
- Dr. Jens Anderson Ness, Wittenberg College, Springfield, O. 1910.
- Prof. K. P. R. Neville, Western University, London, Can. 1902.
- * Prof. A. G. Newcomer, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Palo Alto, Cal. 1902.
- Dr. Charles B. Newcomer, Drake University, Des Moines, Ia. (Life member). 1900.
- Prof. Barker Newhall, Kenyon College, Gambier, O. 1891.
- Prof. Paul Nixon, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. 1907.
- * 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.
- Prof. Irene Nye, Washburn College, Topeka, Kan. 1911.
- Dr. Charles J. Ogden, 250 W. 88th St., New York, N. Y. 1909.
- Prof. Marbury B. Ogle, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt. 1907.
- Prof. William Abbott Oldfather, University of Illinois, Champaign, Ill. 1908.
- Prof. Samuel Grant Oliphant, Grove City College, Grove City, Pa. 1907.
- * Dr. Andrew Oliver, Broadway High School, Seattle, Wash. 1900.
- Prof. Edward T. Owen, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1896.
- Prof. W. B. Owen, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. 1875.
- Prof. Ernest Trowbridge Paine, Brown University, Providence, R. I. 1911.
- Prof. Elizabeth H. Palmer, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1902.
- Prof. Charles P. Parker, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (1075 Massachusetts Ave.). 1884.
- * Clarence Paschall, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2736 Parker St.). 1903.
- Prof. James M. Paton, care of Morgan, Harjes et Cie., 31 Bd. Haussmann, Paris. 1887.

- Dr. John Patterson, University of Louisville, Louisville, Ky. (1117 Fourth St.). 1900.
- Dr. Charles Peabody, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (197 Brattle St.). 1894.
- Dr. Mary Bradford Peaks, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1905.
- Prof. Arthur Stanley Pease, University of Illinois, Champaign, Ill. 1906.
- Dr. Ernest M. Pease, 231 West 39th St., New York, N. Y. 1887.
- Prof. Tracy Peck, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1871.
- Miss Frances Pellett, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. (Kelly Hall). 1893.
- * R. E. Pellissier, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1911.
- Dr. Daniel A. Penick, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. 1902.
- Prof. Charles W. Pepler, Trinity College, Durham, N. C. 1899.
- Prof. Emma M. Perkins, Western Reserve University (College for Women), Cleveland, O. 1892.
- W. H. Perkins, 700 Equitable Bldg., Baltimore, Md. 1909.
- Prof. Bernadotte Perrin, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (463 Whitney Ave.). 1879.
- Prof. Edward D. Perry, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1882.
- Principal William Peterson, McGill University, Montreal, Can. 1910.
- * Dr. Torsten Petersson, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1905.
- Dr. Clyde Pharr, Urbana, O. 1912.
- * Dr. W. R. Pinger, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2551 Benvenue Ave.). 1908.
- Prof. Perley Oakland Place, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1906.
- Prof. Samuel Ball Platner, Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. (2033 Cornell Rd.). 1885.
- * Dr. William Popper, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2326 Russell St.). 1905.
- Prof. William Porter, Beloit College, Beloit, Wis. 1888.
- Prof. Edwin Post, De Pauw University, Greencastle, Ind. 1886.
- Dr. Hubert McNeil Poteat, Wake Forest College, Wake Forest, N. C. 1911.
- Prof. Franklin H. Potter, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. 1898.
- Henry Preble, 42 Stuyvesant Place, New Brighton, S. I., N. Y. 1882.
- Prof. William Kelly Prentice, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1895.
- Prof. Henry W. Prescott, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1899.
- * Prof. Clifton Price, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (17 Panoramic Way). 1899.
- Prof. Benjamin F. Prince, Wittenberg College, Springfield, O. 1893.
- Prof. Robert S. Radford, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn. 1900.
- Prof. Edward Kennard Rand, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1902.
- Prof. Charles B. Randolph, Clark College, Worcester, Mass. 1905.
- Prof. Edwin Moore Rankin, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. 1905.
- Prof. John W. Redd, Centre College, Danville, Ky. 1885.
- * Prof. Kelley Rees, Reed College, Portland, Ore. 1909.
- Dr. Katharine C. Reiley, 105 Jackson Pl., Baltimore, Md. 1912.
- Prof. A. G. Rembert, Woford College, Spartanburg, S. C. 1902.

- * Prof. Karl G. Rendtorff, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Palo Alto, Cal. (1130 Bryant St.). 1900.
- Prof. Horatio M. Reynolds, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (85 Trumbull St.). 1884.
- Prof. Alexander H. Rice, Boston University, Boston, Mass. 1909.
- * Prof. Leon J. Richardson, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1895.
- Dr. Ernest H. Riedel, University of the State of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1908.
- Dr. Ernst Riess, Boys' High School, Brooklyn, N. Y. (221 W. 113th St., N. Y.). 1895.
- Joaquin Palomo Rincon, 2^a San Agustin, 45, Mexico, D. F., Mexico. 1912.
- Rev. P. H. Ristau, Lakefield, Minn. 1913.
- Prof. Archibald Thomas Robertson, Southern Bapt. Theol. Seminary, Louisville, Ky. 1909.
- Prof. John Cunningham Robertson, St. Stephen's College, Annandale, N. Y. 1909.
- Prof. Edmund Y. Robbins, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1895.
- Dr. Frank Egleston Robbins, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1912.
- Prof. David M. Robinson, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1905.
- Dr. Dwight Nelson Robinson, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1911.
- Fletcher Nichols Robinson, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. 1909.
- 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. Frank Ernest Rockwood, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa. 1885.
- George B. Rogers, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. 1902.
- Prof. John Carew Rolfe, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.
- Prof. H. J. Rose, McGill University, Montreal, Can. 1912.
- Prof. Clarence F. Ross, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa. 1902.
- Martin L. Rouse, Hyldedor, Berlin Rd., Catford, London, S.E. 1908.
- Prof. Herbert Victor Routh, Trinity College, Toronto, Can. 1909.
- Prof. August Rupp, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. 1902.
- * Prof. Theresa Peet Russell, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1911.
- * Dr. Arthur W. Ryder, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2337 Telegraph Ave.). 1902.
- Prof. Julius Sachs, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. (149 West 81st St.). 1875.
- Prof. William Berney Saffold, University of Alabama, University, Ala. 1909.
- * Dr. Evan T. Sage, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1912.
- 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.
- Winthrop Sargent, Jr., Ardmore, Pa. 1909.
- Dr. Catharine Saunders, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1900.
- Prin. Joseph H. Sawyer, Williston Seminary, Easthampton, Mass. 1897.
- Pres. W. S. Scarborough, Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, O. 1882.
- Prof. John N. Schaeffer, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa. (25 S. West End Ave.). 1909.

- * Prof. R. Schevill, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1910.
 * Prof. H. K. Schilling, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2316 Le Conte Ave.). 1901.
 Prof. J. J. Schlicher, State Normal School, Terre Haute, Ind. 1901.
 Prof. D. T. Schoonover, Marietta College, Marietta, O. 1912.
 Dr. Charles P. G. Scott, 49 Arthur St., Yonkers, N. Y. 1880.
 Prof. John Adams Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. (1958 Sheridan Rd.). 1898.
 Prof. Henry S. Scribner, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1889.
 * Prof. Colbert Searles, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. (Box 40). 1901.
 Prof. Helen M. Searles, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1893.
 Charles D. Seely, State Normal School, Brockport, N. Y. 1888.
 Prof. William Tunstall Semple, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O. 1910.
 * Prof. Henry Senger, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (1429 Spruce St.). 1900.
 † Jotham B. Sewall, Brandon Hall, Brookline, Mass. 1871.
 * S. S. Seward, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. (Box 771). 1902.
 Prof. George M. Sharrard, 17 Helen Apartments, Omaha, Neb. 1908.
 Joseph Alden Shaw, 38 Monadnock Road, Worcester, Mass. 1876.
 Dr. T. Leslie Shear, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. (468 Riverside Drive). 1906.
 * Prof. W. A. Shedd, Palo Alto, Cal. 1911.
 Prof. Edward S. Sheldon, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (11 Francis Ave.). 1881.
 Miss Emily L. Shields, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1909.
 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.
 Prof. E. G. Sihler, New York University, University Heights, New York, N. Y. 1876.
 Prof. Kenneth C. M. Sills, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. 1906.
 Rev. John Alfred Silsby, Shanghai, China. 1907.
 * Miss Caroline Bates Singleton, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1912.
 Prof. Charles F. Sitterly, Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J. 1902.
 * Prof. Macy M. Skinner, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1906.
 Prof. Moses Stephen Slaughter, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1887.
 Prof. Charles N. Smiley, Iowa College, Grinnell, Ia. 1907.
 Prof. Charles Forster Smith, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1883.
 Prof. Charles S. Smith, George Washington University, Washington, D. C. 1895.
 G. Oswald Smith, University College, Toronto, Can. 1908.
 Prof. Harry de Forest Smith, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1899.
 Prof. Josiah R. Smith, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. (120 13th Ave.). 1885.
 Dr. Kendall Kerfoot Smith, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1910.
 Prof. Kirby Flower Smith, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1897.

† Died 17 June, 1913.

- Prof. Herbert Weir Smyth, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (15 Elmwood Ave.). 1886.
- Dr. Aristogeiton M. Soho, Baltimore City College, Baltimore, Md. 1909.
- * Alfred Solomon, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1912.
- Prof. Edward H. Spieker, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. (915 Edmondson Ave.). 1884.
- Dr. Sidney G. Stacey, Erasmus Hall High School, Brooklyn, N. Y. (177 Woodruff Ave.). 1901.
- Prof. Wallace N. Stearns, Fargo College, Fargo, N. D. 1907.
- Prof. R. B. Steele, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. (101 24th Ave. S.). 1893.
- * Prof. R. T. Stephenson, University of the Pacific, San José, Cal. 1910.
- Prof. James Sterenberg, Olivet College, Olivet, Mich. 1910.
- Prof. J. R. S. Sterrett, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. (2 South Ave.). 1885.
- Prof. Manson A. Stewart, Yankton College, Yankton, S. D. 1909.
- Prof. Francis H. Stoddard, New York University, University Heights, New York, N. Y. 1890.
- Prof. Robert Strickler, Davis-Elkins College, Elkins, W. Va. 1911.
- Prof. Duane Reed Stuart, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1901.
- Dr. Edgar Howard Sturtevant, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. (Sterling Pl., Edgewater, N. J.). 1901.
- Prof. William F. Swahlen, De Pauw University, Greencastle, Ind. 1904.
- Dr. Mary Hamilton Swindler, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1912.
- Rollin H. Tanner, Jacksonville, Ill. 1911.
- Miss Helen H. Tanzer, Normal College, New York, N. Y. 1910.
- Prin. William Tappan, Jefferson School, Baltimore, Md. 1909.
- Prof. Frank B. Tarbell, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1882.
- Eugene B. Tavenner, Normal School, Murfreesboro, Tenn. 1912.
- Miss Lily R. Taylor, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1912.
- Prof. Glanville Terrell, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky. 1898.
- * Reuben C. Thompson, University of Nevada, Reno, Nev. 1908.
- Prof. William E. Thompson, Hamline University, St. Paul, Minn. 1877.
- Prof. Willmot Haines Thompson, Jr., Acadia University, Wolfville, N. S. 1909.
- * Prof. David Thomson, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1902.
- Prof. George R. Throop, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1907.
- Dr. Charles H. Thurber, 29 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1901.
- Prof. FitzGerald 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. Herbert Cushing Tolman, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 1889.
- Prof. William W. Troup, Westminster College, New Wilmington, Pa. 1907.
- Prof. J. A. Tufts, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. 1898.
- Prof. B. L. Ullman, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1910.
- Mrs. Josephine Stary Valentine, Orienta Ave., Belle Harbor, L. I., N. Y. 1899.
- Prof. Harry Brown Van Deventer, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1907.
- Dr. Henry B. Van Hoesen, Adelbert College, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. 1909.

- Prof. LaRue Van Hook, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1905.
- Addison Van Name, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (121 High St.). 1869.
- * Francesco Ventresca, Washington State College, Pullman, Wash. 1912.
- Prof. N. P. Vlachos, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.
- Prof. Frank Vogel, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass. 1904.
- Dr. Anthony Pelzer Wagener, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1911.
- Dr. W. H. Wait, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1893.
- Miss Mary V. Waite, Baldwin School, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1908.
- Dr. Margaret C. Waites, American School of Classical Studies, Rome. 1910.
- Dr. John W. H. Walden, 7 Irving Terrace, Cambridge, Mass. 1889.
- Prof. Arthur T. Walker, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan. 1895.
- Prof. Alice Walton, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1894.
- * Prof. W. D. Ward, Occidental College, Los Angeles, Cal. 1912.
- Dr. Edwin G. Warner, Polytechnic Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y. (56 Montgomery Place). 1897.
- Andrew McCorrie Warren, care of Brown, Shipley & Co., 123 Pall Mall, London. 1892.
- * Prof. Oliver M. Washburn, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (Faculty Club). 1908.
- Prof. William E. Waters, New York University, University Heights, N. Y. (604 West 115th St.). 1885.
- * Prof. John C. Watson, University of Nevada, Reno, Nev. 1902.
- Prof. Robert Henning Webb, University of Virginia, University, Va. 1909.
- Dr. Helen L. Webster, Farmington, Conn. 1890.
- Prof. Raymond Weeks, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1902.
- Prof. Charles Heald Weller, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa. 1903.
- Prof. J. H. Westcott, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1891.
- Prof. Monroe Nichols Wetmore, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1906.
- Prof. Arthur L. Wheeler, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1899.
- * Pres. Benjamin Ide Wheeler, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1879.
- Prof. James R. Wheeler, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1885.
- Prof. George Meason Whicher, Normal College, New York, N. Y. 1891.
- Dr. Frederic Earle Whitaker, Woonsocket, R. I. 1910.
- Dr. Andrew C. White, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. (424 Dryden Road). 1836.
- Prof. John Williams White, 18 Concord Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1874.
- Prof. Raymond H. White, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt. 1911.
- Miss Mabel K. Whiteside, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, College Park, Va. 1906.
- * Prof. Edward A. Wicher, San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo, Cal. 1906.
- 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.

- Dr. Gwendolen B. Willis, Milwaukee-Downer College, Milwaukee, Wis. 1906.
Prof. John Garrett Winter, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1906.
Prof. Boyd Ashby Wise, Stephens City, Va. 1909.
Prof. Henry Wood, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1884.
Prof. Willis Patten Woodman, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y. 1901.
Prof. Frank E. Woodruff, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. 1887.
Prof. Ellsworth D. Wright, Lawrence College, Appleton, Wis. 1898.
Dr. F. Warren Wright, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1910.
Prof. Henry P. Wright, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (128 York St.). 1883.
Prof. Herbert H. Yeames, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y. 1906.
Prof. Clarence H. Young, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. (312 West 88th St.).
1890.
Mrs. Richard Mortimer Young, National Cathedral School, Washington, D. C.
1906.

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 Olivet, Mich. : Olivet College Library.
 Philadelphia, Pa. : American Philosophical Society.
 Philadelphia, Pa. : The Library Company of Philadelphia.
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 Tufts College, Mass. : Tufts College Library.
 University of Virginia, Va. : University Library.
 Urbana, Ill. : University of Illinois Library.
 Washington, D. C. : Library of the Catholic University of America.
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 Indian Office Library, London.
 Bodleian Library, Oxford.
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Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
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Austrian Imperial Academy, Vienna.
Anthropologische Gesellschaft, Vienna.
Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence.
Reale Accademia delle Scienze, Turin.
Société Asiatique, Paris.
Athénée Oriental, Louvain, Belgium.
Curatorium of the University, Leyden, Holland.
Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia, Java.
Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences, Berlin.
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 Leipsic.
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Imperial Ottoman Museum, Constantinople. [45]

TO THE FOLLOWING JOURNALS THE TRANSACTIONS ARE ANNUALLY SENT, GRATIS
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The Nation.
Journal of the American Oriental Society.
Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.
Classical Philology.
Modern Philology.
Athenæum, London.
Classical Review, London.
Revue Critique, 28 Rue Bonaparte, Paris.
Revue de Philologie, Paris (Adrien Krebs, 11 Rue de Lille).

Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique, à la Sorbonne, Paris.

Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift, Berlin.

Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie, Berlin.

Deutsche Litteraturzeitung, Berlin.

Literarisches Centralblatt, Leipsic.

Indogermanische Forschungen, Strassburg (K. J. Trübner).

Musée Belge, Liège, Belgium (Prof. Waltzing, 9 Rue du Parc).

Zeitschrift für die österr. Gymnasien, Vienna (Prof. J. Golling, Maximilians-Gymnasium).

Rivista di Filologia, Turin (Ermanno Loescher).

Bolletino di Filologia Classica, Via Vittorio Amadeo ii, Turin.

La Cultura, Rome, Via dei Sediari 16A.

Biblioteca delle Scuole Italiane, Naples (Dr. A. G. Amatucci, Corso Umberto I, 106).

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[Total (666 + 60 + 45 + 21) = 792]

CONSTITUTION
OF THE
AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION¹

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.
4. An Assistant Secretary, and an Assistant Treasurer, may be elected at the first session of each annual meeting, on the nomination of the Secretary and the Treasurer respectively.

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.

¹ As amended December 28, 1907.

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.

ADMINISTRATIVE RESOLUTIONS

CERTAIN matters of administration not specifically provided for in the Constitution have been determined from time to time by special votes of the Association, or of its Executive Committee. The more important of these actions still in force are as follows :—

1. WINTER MEETINGS. On September 19, 1904, the Association, which had been accustomed to hold its annual meetings in the month of July, voted, "That, by way of experiment, the next two meetings of the Association be held during Convocation Week in 1905 and 1906" (PROCEEDINGS, XXXV, li). At the second of the annual meetings under this vote, held at Washington, January 2-4, 1907, it was voted "That until further notice the Association continue the practice of a winter meeting, to be held between Christmas and New Year's, if possible in conjunction with the Archaeological Institute of America" (XXXVII, xi). This action was further confirmed at the Baltimore meeting, December 30, 1909 (XL, xii).

2. NOMINATING COMMITTEE. On July 8, 1903, the Association, in session at New Haven, voted to establish a permanent Nominating Committee of five members, one of whom retires each year after five years of service, and is replaced by a successor named by the President of the Association. In accordance with the terms of the vote in question the standing Committee on Nominations was confirmed by the Association at the Toronto meeting (XXXIV, xix, xlvi; XXXIX, xii). The present membership of the Committee is as follows :—

Professor Elmer Truesdell Merrill
Professor Charles Edwin Bennett.
Professor Charles Forster Smith.
Professor Paul Shorey.
Professor Edward D. Perry.

3. PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST. On July 5, 1900, the Association, in session at Madison, accepted the recommendation of the Executive Committee defining the terms of affiliation between the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast and the American Philological Association (XXXI, xxix; cf. XXXII, lxxii).

4. SALARY OF THE SECRETARY AND TREASURER. In July, 1901, the Executive Committee fixed the salary of the Secretary and Treasurer at \$ 300, to include any outlay for clerical assistance (XXXII, lxxii).

5. PUBLISHING CONTRACT. The contract with Messrs. Ginn & Co. has been renewed July 1, 1911, by authority of the Executive Committee, on the same terms (cf. XXXII, lxxii).

PUBLICATIONS OF THE ASSOCIATION

THE annually published PROCEEDINGS of the American Philological Association contain, in their present form, the programme and minutes of the annual meeting, brief abstracts of 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.

For the contents of Volumes I-XXXIV inclusive, see Volume XXXIV, pp. cxliii ff.

The contents of the last nine volumes are as follows:—

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 Çântikalpa 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.
Meador, 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 synzesis.

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.

1906. — Volume XXXVII

Fay, E. W. : Latin word-studies.

Perrin, B. : The death of Alcibiades.

Kent, R. G. : The time element in the Greek drama.

Harry, J. E. : The perfect forms in later Greek.

Anderson, A. R. : *Ei*-readings in the Mss. of Plautus.

Hopkins, E. W. : The Vedic dative reconsidered.

McDaniel, W. B. : Some passages concerning ball-games.

Murray, A. T. : The bucolic idylls of Theocritus.

Harkness, A. G. : Pause-elision and hiatus in Plautus and Terence.

Cary, E. : Codex Γ of Aristophanes.

Proceedings of the thirty-eighth annual meeting, Washington, D. C., 1907.

Proceedings of the eighth annual meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, Berkeley, 1906.

Appendix — Report on the New Phonetic Alphabet.

1907. — Volume XXXVIII

Pease, A. S. : Notes on stoning among the Greeks and Romans.

Bradley, C. B. : Indications of a consonant-shift in Siamese.

Martin, E. W. : *Ruscinia*.

Van Hook, L. R. : Criticism of Photius on the Attic orators.

Abbott, F. F. : The theatre as a factor in Roman politics.

Shorey, P. : Choriambic dimeter.

Manly, J. M. : A knight ther was.

Moore, C. H. : Oriental cults in Gaul.

Proceedings of the thirty-ninth annual meeting, Chicago, Ill., 1907.

Proceedings of the ninth annual meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, Stanford University, 1907.

1908. — Volume XXXIX

Spieker, E. H. : Dactyl after initial trochee in Greek lyric verse.

Laing, G. J. : Roman milestones and the *capita viarum*.

Bonner, C. : Notes on a certain use of the reed.

Oldfather, W. A. : Livy i, 26 and the *supplicium de more maiorum*.

Hadzsits, G. D. : Worship and prayer among the Epicureans.

Anderson, W. B. : Contributions to the study of the ninth book of Livy.

Hempl, G. : Linguistic and ethnographic status of the Burgundians.

Miller, C. W. E. : On τὸ δέ = whereas.

Proceedings of the fortieth annual meeting, Toronto, Can., 1908.

Proceedings of the tenth annual meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, San Francisco, 1908.

1909. — Volume XL

- Heidel, W. A.: The *ἄναρμοι θεῖοι* of Heraclides and Asclepiades.
 Michelson, T.: The etymology of Sanskrit *ῥῆνυα*.
 Foster, B. O.: Euphonic embellishments in the verse of Propertius.
 Husband, R. W.: Race mixture in early Rome.
 Hewitt, J. W.: The major restrictions on access to Greek temples.
 Oliphant, S. G.: An interpretation of *Ranae*, 788-790.
 Anderson, A. R.: Some questions of Plautine pronunciation.
 Flickinger, R. C.: *Scaenica*.
 Fiske, G. C.: Lucilius and Persius.
 Mustard, W. P.: On the *Eclogues* of Baptista Mantuanus.
 Shorey, P.: Φύσις, μελέτη, ἐπιστήμη.
 Proceedings of the forty-first annual meeting, Baltimore, Md., 1909.
 Proceedings of the eleventh annual meeting of the Philological Association of
 the Pacific Coast, San Francisco, 1909.
 Appendix — Index to volumes XXXI-XL.

1910. — Volume XLI

- Kent, R. G.: The etymology of Latin *miles*.
 Hutton, M.: Notes on Herodotus and Thucydides.
 Husband, R. W.: The diphthong *-ui* in Latin.
 Fay, E. W.: A word miscellany.
 Adams, C. D.: Notes on the peace of Philocrates.
 Macurdy, G. H.: Influence of Plato's eschatological myths in Revelation and
 Enoch.
 Goodell, T. D.: Structural variety in Attic tragedy.
 Hewitt, J. W.: The necessity of ritual purification after justifiable homicide.
 Knapp, C.: Notes on *etiam* in Plautus.
 Shipley, F. W.: Dactylic words in the rhythmic prose of Cicero.
 McWhorter, A. W.: The so-called deliberative type of question (τὴ ποιήσω;).
 Whicher, G. M.: On Latin *adulare*.
 Bonner, C.: Dionysiac magic and the Greek land of Cockaigne.
 Proceedings of the forty-second annual meeting, Providence, R. I., 1910.
 Proceedings of the twelfth annual meeting of the Philological Association of the
 Pacific Coast, San Francisco, 1910.
 Appendix — Report of the commission on college entrance requirements in Latin.

1911. — Volume XLII

- Bradley, C. B.: *Shall* and *will*—an historical study.
 Hutton, M.: The mind of Herodotus.
 Sturtevant, E. H.: Notes on the character of Greek and Latin accent.
 Hyde, W. W.: Greek literary notices of Olympic victor monuments outside
 Olympia.
 Kent, R. G.: Latin *mille* and certain other numerals.
 Saunders, C.: Altars on the Roman comic stage.

- Oldfather, W. A. : New manuscript material for the study of Avianus.
 Dickerman, S. O. : Some stock illustrations of animal intelligence in Greek psychology.
 Miller, C. W. E. : τὸ δέ in Lucian.
 Pease, A. S. : Fragments of a Latin manuscript in the library of the University of Illinois.
 Scott, C. P. G. : *Bogus* and his crew.

Proceedings of the forty-third annual meeting, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1911.

Proceedings of the thirteenth annual meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, San Francisco, 1911.

1912. — Volume XLIII

- Adams, C. D. : Are the political "speeches" of Demosthenes to be regarded as political pamphlets ?
 Bradley, C. B. : The proximate source of the Siamese alphabet.
 Kent, R. G. : Dissimilative writings for *ii* and *iii* in Latin.
 Sturtevant, E. H. : The pronunciation of *cui* and *huic*.
 McDaniel, W. B. : The Ferentinum of Horace.
 Macurdy, G. H. : The origin of a Herodotean tale.
 English, R. B. : Parmenides' indebtedness to the Pythagoreans.
 Hewitt, J. W. : On the development of the thank-offering among the Greeks.
 Prentice, W. K. : Officials charged with the conduct of public works in Roman and Byzantine Syria.
 Knapp, C. : Horace, *Epistles*, II, 1, 139 ff. and Livy, VII, 2.
 Baker, W. W. : Some of the less known Mss. of Xenophon's *Memorabilia*.
 Meader, C. L. : The development of copulativ verbs in the Indo-European languages.

Proceedings of the forty-fourth annual meeting, Washington, D.C., 1912.

Proceedings of the fourteenth annual meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, San Francisco, 1912.

The Proceedings of the American Philological Association are distributed gratis upon application to the Secretary or to the Publishers until they are out of print.

Fifty separate copies of articles printed in the Transactions, twenty of articles printed in the Proceedings, are given to the authors for distribution. Additional copies will be furnished at cost.

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" "	1874 " " V	" "	1896 " " XXVII
" "	1875 " " VI	" "	1897 " " XXVIII
" "	1876 " " VII	" "	1898 " " XXIX
" "	1877 " " VIII	" "	1899 " " XXX
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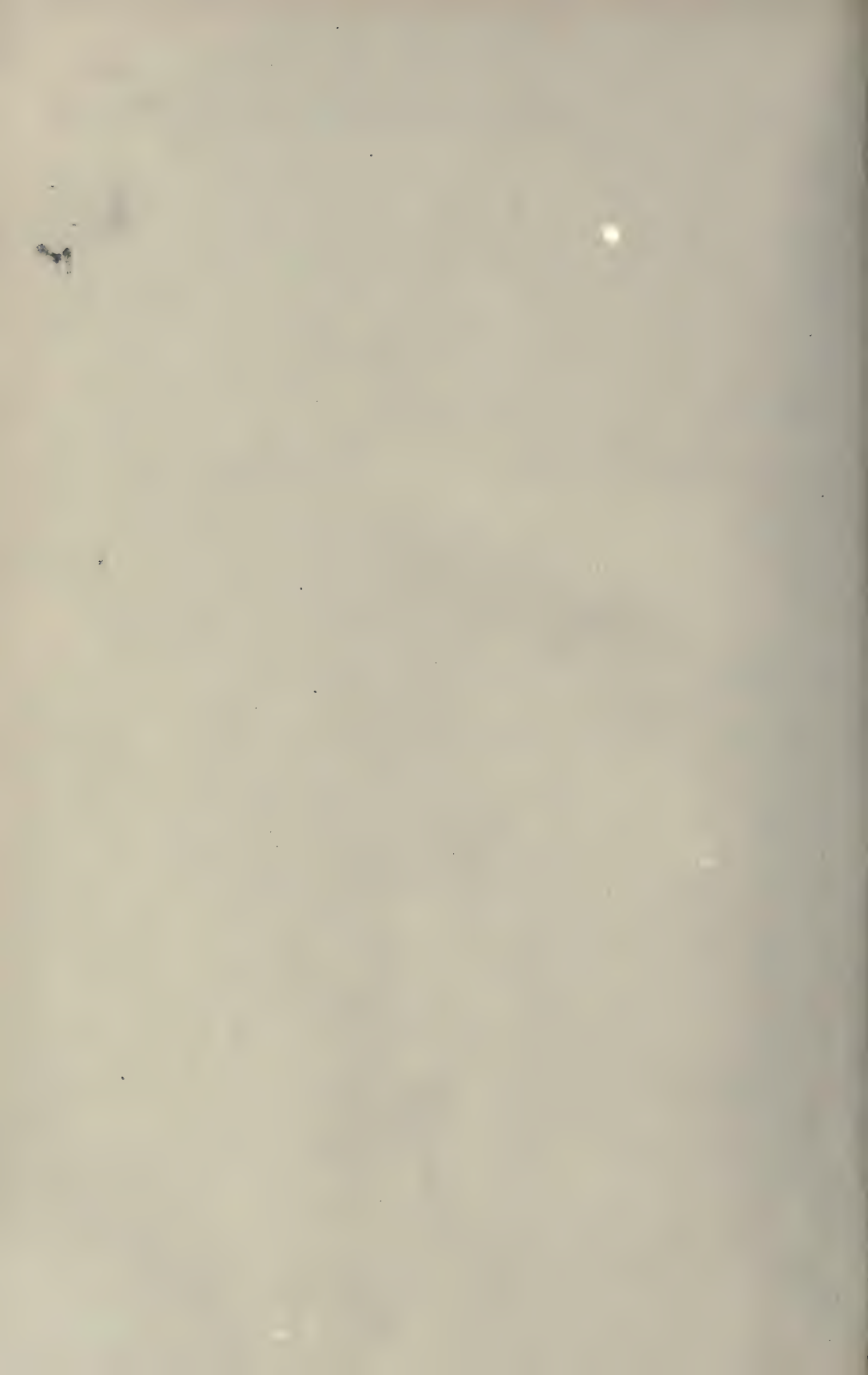
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