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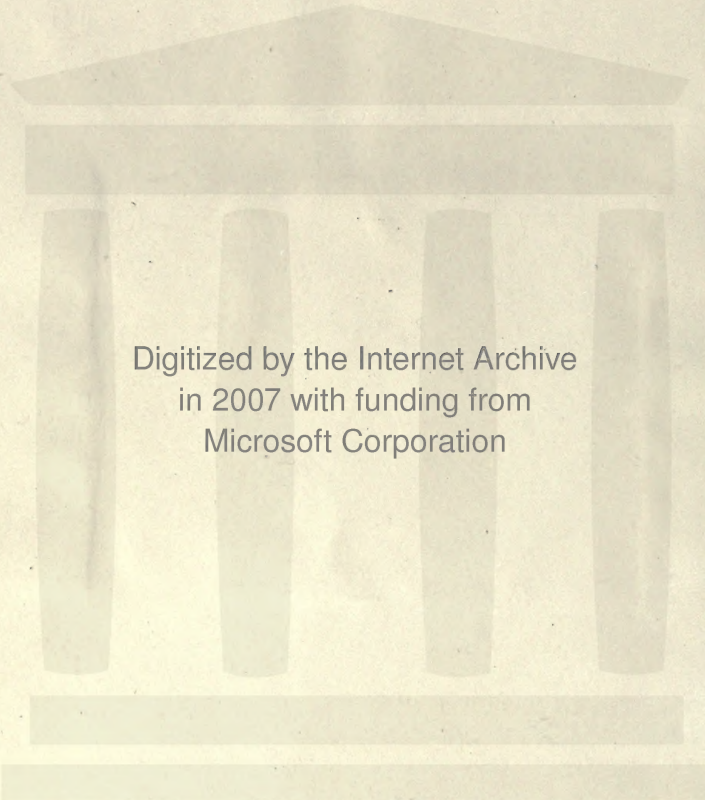
LINGUAE LATINAE IN COLLEGIO

UNIVERSITATIS DOCTOR AUT

PROFESSOR ASSOCIATUS FUISSET

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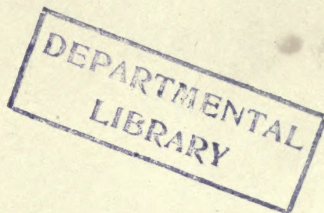
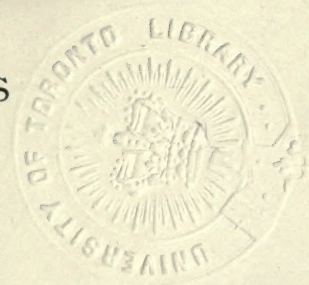


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TRANSACTIONS  
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I. — *The Passive Periphrastic in Latin*

BY PROFESSOR R. B. STEELE  
VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

THE Future Periphrastic Active in Latin is made up of some part of the verb *sum* combined with a form in *-urus*, while in the Passive the combination is with a form in *-ndus*. The latter was originally a present passive, and had this force been maintained the combination would have been a progressive passive and *haec gerenda sunt* would have been equal to *haec geruntur*. But as the regular passive was in common use there was no need for another passive of similar import; the forms in *-ndus* became future, and combined with *sum* were used in the expression of obligation. These were both developed functional uses of the gerundive, and there are some specialized uses which indicate the line along which the development of obligation took place.

By the side of the forms retaining full verbal force there are others which are verbal adjectives giving, not that which is being done, but that which is worthy of being done. A few words, as *praebenda*, go still further and acquire nominal force, but the larger part are characterizing verbals. Of many available illustrations let a few from Vergil suffice: *G.* IV, 3, *admiranda . . . spectacula . . . dicam*; *Aen.* I, 493, *haec dum . . . miranda videntur*; *G.* IV, 283, *memoranda inventa magistri | pandere*; *G.* III, 294, *veneranda Pales*. In these, as in many other examples of similar import, the forms in *-ndus*

give merely the qualitative aspects of the objects indicating that they are worthy or proper to be considered in a certain way. This adjective force of the verbal is not infrequently found in connection with an adjective, as in *Nepos*, ix, 5, 2, *ea non pia et probanda fuerunt*; x, 9, 5, *quam invisita sit singularis potentia et miseranda vita*; xv, 2, 3, *levia et potius contemnenda*; *Tac. Ann.* vi, 49, 8, *maesta et miseranda*; *Hor. Ep.* i, 16, 40, *mendosum et medicandum*; *Juv.* vi, 211, *bonus optandusque maritus*. But if any object or action is worth the while, there is naturally evoked the idea that it ought to be realized, and the idea of obligation is near to that of worth.

We have illustrated the qualitative phases of the forms in *-ndus* by passages in which they are paralleled by adjectives, and the injunctive force can be shown by passages in which there is a contrast with the realized activity expressed by the perfect passive participle: *Hor. Ep.* i, 1, 1, *prima dicte mihi, summa dicende Camena*; i, 3, 15, *monitus multumque monendus*; i, 11, 9, *oblitusque meorum obliviscendus et illis*; *Carm. Saec.* 2, o *colendi | semper et culti*. There is in these as often no clear line of demarcation between what is "worthy to be" and what "ought to be," but the latter meaning is predominant in the philosophical writings of Cicero, and some passages from his works will do to point out the oughtness expressed by forms in *-ndus*: *de Orat.* i, 221, *mala ac molesta et fugienda . . .*; *ea quae vulgo expetenda atque optabilia*. Of the same import is *de Fin.* iv, 50, *iam ille sorites, quo nihil putatis esse vitiosius: quod bonum sit, id esse optabile, quod optabile, id expetendum, quod expetendum, id laudabile, dein reliqui gradus. sed ego in hoc resisto; eodem enim modo tibi nemo dabit, quod expetendum sit, id esse laudabile*. And again in *de Legg.* i, 37, *sed ut eis, qui omnia recta atque honesta per se expetenda duxerunt et aut nihil omnino in bonis numerandum, nisi quod per se ipsum laudabile esset, aut certe nullum habendum magnum bonum, nisi quod vere laudari sua sponte posset*; cf. *Sen. Ep.* 117, 17. As neither *lauda me* nor *laudandus sum* carries *per se* enforcing power, the periphrastic often stops with the expression of what ought to be. But with the ethical injunction there may be given a constraining

influence or power giving, not what ought to be, but what has to be, using the developed meaning of the verb *have*.

The force of the periphrastic reaches from *oportet* to *necesse est*, if we interpret *oportet* and the periphrastic as expressing fitness, but for most of the examples the limits are *debet* and *necesse est*. *Debet facere* and *faciendum est* were at hand for the Roman, and the latter was usually chosen, though it was not admissible in the expression of being, as in Sen. *Ep.* 94, 30, *omnis institutio tollenda est, ipsa natura contenti esse debemus*; in statements in the active: *ib.* 4, 3, (*mors*) *necesse est aut ne perveniat aut transeat*; in contrasting points of time: *ib.* 88, 2, *non discere debemus ista, sed didicisse*; 54, 4, *necesse est et fuisse*.

Some illustrations will be given from Seneca, who may be taken as a fairly representative writer in the expression of ethical values: *Ep.* 94, 26, *scis . . . tibi nil esse debere cum paelice, et non facis. itaque subinde reducendus es ad memoriam. non enim reposita illa esse oportet, sed in promptu*. There seems to be the same intensity in 43, 3, *tibi diligentius vivendum est*; and in 92, 24, *rectius vivat oportet, ut beatius vivat*; as also in 83, 1, *sic certe vivendum est, tamquam in conspectu vivamus*. *Debet* and the periphrastic are contrasted in 6, 1, *nec . . . spero, nihil in me superesse, quod mutandum sit. quidni multa habeam, quae debeant corrigi, quae extenuari, quae attolli?*; as *necesse* and the periphrastic in 98, 10, *tam necesse est perire quam perdere et hoc ipsum si intellegimus, solatium est aequo animo perdere, pereundum est*. A few instances will also be given of the use of *eo*: 82, 22, *ire, commilitones, illo necesse est, unde redire non est necesse*; 22, 3, *censeo . . . e vita exeundum*; 70, 16, *nemo nostrum cogitat quandoque sibi ex hoc domicilio exeundum*; 93, 2, *quid autem interest, quam cito exeas, unde utique exeundum est?* These passages illustrate the equivalence of the different forms of expressing obligation, though the occurrences of *debet*, *oportet* and *necesse est* are few in comparison with those of the periphrastic.

The injunctions of doctors may be held to demand implicit obedience, as in Celsus, cap. 2 (near the end), *post multas*

potationes . . . nihil edendum sit; post satietatem, nihil agendum. Not infrequently there is given the conditional basis for the injunction, as *ib.*, si quibus de causis futura inedia est, labor omnis vitandus est. In dealing with the sick we readily admit the declarations of the doctors that certain things have to be done, if certain results are attained, and their "must be done" is in strong contrast with the philosophical "ought to be done." The latter may be strong enough for the thinker, but the actor often "just has to do things," as was the case with Caesar in the battle of the Nervii, *B. G.* II, 20, 1, Caesari omnia uno tempore erant agenda: vexillum proponendum . . . signum tuba dandum, ab opere revocandi milites, qui processerant, revocandi, acies instruenda, milites cohortandi, signum dandum. There is no doubt that here Caesar had to do certain things, but in general the reader must interpret for himself the injunctive intensity for individual passages.

Both the impersonal *-ndum est* and the personal *-ndus est* forms are used according as the writer wishes to indicate that some action ought to be realized or some object acted upon. By far the larger number of examples in Plautus are in the present *-ndumst*, with occasionally a masculine or feminine form, as in *Bacch.* 65, malacissandus es; *Cas.* 528, attatae, caedendus tu homo's; *Epid.* 74, puppis pereundast probe. Once in a while one of these is in the plural, *e.g.* *Epid.* 689, conligandae haec sunt tibi hodie; *Trin.* 867, sistendae mihi sunt sycophantiae. Lucretius also freely uses the form *-ndumst* especially at the end of lines. Sallust, Nepos and Varro incline to the use of the impersonal forms, but in the poets, beginning with Terence, and in the prose writers examined, the personal and the impersonal forms do not greatly differ in number, and close together we may find as occasion requires, *cavendum*, *dicendum* or *videndum*, or the object given on which some activity ought to be exerted.

The omission of the proper form of *sum*, considering the entire mass of examples, is not a common feature with either the personal or impersonal forms, yet it is characteristic of Varro's *de Re Rustica*, and we find in I, 37, 4, primo praeparandum, secundo serendum, tertio nutricandum, quarto

legendum, quinto condendum, sexto promendum; followed by *faciendi*, *repastinandum*, *sulcandum*, *arandum*, *fodiendum* and *vertenda*. The omission is also frequent in Quintilian, as in I, I, 30, *perdiscendae . . . differenda . . . credendum*. It is also omitted in many a question, e.g. III, 5, 8, *an uxor ducenda? finita, an Catoni ducenda?* as also in § 16, but in 13, *Catoni ducenda uxor est?* Other forms of *sum* than the present may also be omitted, as in Tac. *Ann.* II, 20, 7, *quis inpugnandus agger . . . conflictabantur*; and also for the maintenance of the present historical view in I, 65, 25, *struendum vallum, petendus agger, amissa magna ex parte per quae egeritur humus aut exciditur caespes*. However, as the form of *sum* merely gives the temporal setting for the actions, it is not necessary that this be given with all of a succession of gerundive forms. In the passage already quoted from Caesar, *B.G.* II, 20, I, *erant* does service for eight gerundives. Another good illustration is Cicero, *de Sen.* 35-36, *resistendum . . . est, compensanda sunt; pugnandum . . . habenda . . . utendum . . . adhibendum . . . subveniendum est*. Better still is *de Orat.* I, 156-159, where *sum* is used but seven times with twenty-four injunctions laid on the orator.

The contrast in the frequency of *-ndum* and *-ndum esse* is much more marked. *Esse* is regularly omitted in Plautus, though we find in *Capt.* 767, *nunc intelligo | redauspicandum esse in catenas denuo*. The same rule is followed by Terence and Vergil, and for the entire mass examined the statement without *esse* is preferred. Snellman, *De gerundiis orationum Ciceronis*, states (p. 132): "404 *gerundia* (66 *gerundia*, 338 *gerundiva*) ex omnium numero, qui est 593, sine *esse* verbo posita sunt."

The sphere of the periphrastic is prescriptive or injunctive, and is most freely used by doctors, preachers and teachers. The pages of Celsus fairly swarm with examples. In Cassius Felix and Marcellus these are less noticeable, but when directions are necessary they are given in the impersonal rather than in the personal form, as in Cassius Felix, *de Medicina*, 21, *erit festinandum*; and Marcellus, 5, *cui medendum erit*. Cicero and also Seneca in their philosoph-

ical works are continually presenting to the reader the things that ought to be done; but nowhere else is there such a heaping up of injunctions as in *de Orat.* I, 156-159, and in no other author is the frequency more noticeable than in Quintilian, who is as much interested in the welfare of his pupils as the doctors in the well-being of their patients. Direct narrative has but little use for injunctions, and for this reason poetry taken as a whole furnishes fewer examples than does historical narrative, into which it is often necessary to inject an account of the proceedings of assemblies and the declarations of those in authority. However, the tone for all poetry is not the same, and in Lucretius *fatendumst* and *putandumst* are not infrequently found. Epic poetry has little of the directive element, and the periphrastic is rarely used, as in Verg. *Aen.* v, 710, quidquid erit, superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est; and v, 731, gens . . . debellanda tibi Latio est. Lyric poetry is similar to the epic, and in the use of the periphrastic the odes of Horace are in strong contrast with his didactic poetry. There is the same contrast between the different works of Ovid. The words in *A.A.* III, 812, "Naso magister erat" explain the admonitional character of his amatory poetry; but the *Metamorphoses* is different. The story runs along for 187 verses without any statement of what must be done, when Jupiter breaks in with the words "perdendum mortale genus . . . ense recidendum est," and after that there is only occasionally any use for the periphrastic. The variety of statement in Livy and Tacitus calls for a free use of the construction especially in setting forth the discussion of plans deemed necessary for the success of measures presented. But at any point in the narrative there may be a change in statement from what is to what ought to be, and the periphrastic is the index of such a change.

The larger part of the occurrences of the periphrastic are in the present tense, and when personal are generally directed to a third party. Yet a writer or a speaker sometimes refers to himself, *e.g.* Cic. *ad Fam.* v, 18, 1, consolandus ipse sum; *de Legg.* I, 23, consociati homines cum dis putandi sumus; Livy III, 45, 6, ferro hinc tibi submovendus sum, Appi?



In comedy one actor sometimes scolds another, as in Plautus *Pseud.* 915, monendu's ne me moneas; *Trin.* 96, tute ipse obiurgandus es. The *Heroides* and *Epistulae* of Ovid have somewhat of a conversational tone, and here and there the periphrastic refers to writer or recipient: *Her.* III, 21, sed data sim, quia danda fui; V, 108, uxor . . . habenda fui; X, 112, aut semel aeterna nocte premenda fui; XII, 116, dilaceranda fui; *Ep.* XX, 128, exoranda tibi, non capienda fui; *Her.* V, 85, fuerim dissimulanda; III, 39, redimenda fuissem. The imperfect occurs less frequently: *Her.* II, 138, sequendus eram; VIII, 25, eram repetenda. The second person also occurs: *Ep.* XX, 130, petendus eras; XX, 144, legendus eras; and in a condition *Ep.* XV, 159, si reddenda fores, aliquid tamen ante tulissem.

These examples might make it seem that actions are freely presented from the standpoint of the past, yet they are exceptions to the general usage. The past view is unusual for Plautus and Terence though we find in Plautus, *Poen.* 956, eum fecisse aiunt sibi quod faciendum fuit; Terence, *Eun.* 97, sed ita erat res, faciendum fuit; as also in *Heaut.* 400, praeter quam tui carendum quod erat. Of the poets Ovid uses the past most freely, and sometimes one periphrastic pitted against another, as in *Ep.* XX, 128, already quoted, *Met.* V, 415, roganda | non rapienda fuit; and XIII, 193, quae non hortanda sed astu | decipienda fuit. There are comparatively few occurrences in other poets, as in Vergil, *Aen.* XI, 275, haec adeo ex illo mihi iam speranda fuerunt | tempore; and VIII, 565, terna arma movenda | ter leto sternendus erat. Ovid has the imperfect more freely than the perfect, and in this respect he resembles the historians, Seneca and Fronto, while Cicero, Quintilian, and Gellius prefer the perfect.

The pluperfect indicative is an unimportant factor, and the few examples noticed can all be quoted: Cicero, *ad Fam.* I, 9, 17, nunc ab iis, a quibus tuendus fuerat, derelictus; Livy, XXXI, 22, 3, perfectis quae Romae agenda fuerant; XXXV, 37, 2, oratione habita qualis habenda Alexameno fuerat; Seneca, *Ep.* 77, 3, hoc, etiamsi senex essem, fuerat sentiendum; Ovid,

*Fasti*, v, 610, sic fueras aspicienda Iovi; vi, 254, nec fueras aspicienda viro.

The future setting of the action is not uncommon, but it is not in Plautus and Terence, and is rare in other poetry, though we find in Lucretius, II, 491, si forte voles variare figuras | addendum partis alias erit; and in Horace, *Ep.* II, I, 41, inter quos referendus erit? The medical writers freely direct their admonitions toward the future, giving the necessary steps in the continued treatment of the patient. Along other lines the larger part are used by Cicero, Seneca, Quintilian, and Ovid, who, in this as in several other respects, resembles the prose writers. The general character of historical narrative precludes a free use of the future, though we have the prospective view of the writers in Livy, xxv, 33, 6, id quidem cavendum semper Romanis ducibus erit, exempla haec . . . habenda; Vell. Pat. I, 3, 2, quod si quis . . . dicet, reddenda erit ei ratio. This view is also sometimes given in speeches: Livy, vii, 40, 13, si dimicandum erit, tum tu in novissimos te recipito; xxx, 30, 22, tunc ea habenda fortuna erit, quam di dederint; xxxix, 16, 4, tum singulis vobis universi timendi erunt; xlv, 24, 12, hic pasuri quodcumque patiendum erit; Tacitus, *Ann.* II, 38, 13, quod si ambitione exhausserimus, per scelera supplendum erit; Suetonius, *Iul.* 31, quod si ponticulum transierimus, omnia armis agenda erunt.

Rhetorical writers use the present subjunctive most freely; historians, the imperfect, corresponding to their different points of view. Epic poetry with its direct form of presentation does not freely use either tense. In other types of poetry there are a few occurrences of the present in various kinds of clauses, and examples from Plautus will do to illustrate: *Bacch.* 1045, si plus perdendum sit, perisse suavius; *Epid.* 168, quid est quod pudendum siet; *Mil. Gl.* 1358, quom venit in mentem, ut moris mutandi sient; *Poen.* 855, ut enim ubi mihi vapulandum sit, tu corium sufferas; *Stich.* 203, perquirunt . . . uxorin sit reddenda dos divortio. Terence uses it more freely, while Lucretius and Horace have an occasional example. Livy has two-thirds of all the occurrences

in the historians examined, but the high-water mark is reached by Quintilian, who is continually asking in regard to what ought to be done and presenting what he considers are necessary hypotheses.

The chief question of interest in connection with the imperfect subjunctive is the use of *esset* or of *foret*. Caesar, Cicero, Sallust, Nepos, Suetonius, and Seneca use *esset*. Velleius Paterculus and Tacitus have *foret* most freely, while Livy, Curtius, Quintilian, and Gellius prefer *esset*, which Livy has three times as frequently as *foret*. For this Neue,<sup>3</sup> III, 186, quotes twenty-four instances, and to these are to be added xxxi, 34, 5, and xxxiv, 27, 6. Here also Ovid is in accord with the majority of the prose writers in preferring *esset*, though other poets generally have *foret*: Plautus, *Mil. Gl.* 170, *haud multos homines, si optandum foret, | nunc videre et convenire quam te mavellem*; Terence, *Phor.* 207, *quid faceres si aliud quid gravius tibi nunc faciendum foret?* It is also found in Propertius, I, 10, 19, and 20, and v, 5, 74, while Horace in *Sat.* I, 6, 100 has *foret* with five gerundives. Elsewhere in satire we find in Persius, v, 107, *quae sequenda forent, quaeque evitanda vicissim*; and in Juvenal, x, 103, *ergo quid optandum foret, ignorasse fateris | Seianum*; but in vi, 93, *quamvis | mutandum totiens esset mare*. Lucretius has in III, 836, *cadendum . . . esset*; while Vergil has in *G.* I, 260, *forent . . . properanda*; Valerius Flaccus in III, 409, *quae danda forent lustramina*; and Silius Italicus in iv, 800, *an flendae magis Aegates et mersa profundo | Punica regna forent*. Elsewhere, xi, 310, he has with adjective force *miranda esset*, and this with *fuisset* is in Lucretius, II, 1037.

With the exception of Ovid, *Her.* III, 39 (*si tibi ab Atride pretio redimenda fuissem | quae dare debueras*), the pluperfect subjunctive seems limited to Cicero and Livy, the larger part of the instances in conditions, as in Cicero, *ad Att.* I, 20, 2, *quod si . . . mihi faciendum fuisset, nullam rem tanti aestimassem*; *ad Fam.* VI, 12, 2; *de Orat.* I, 62; *pro Murena*, 34; *de Domo*, 132; *pro Sestio*, 44; *in Pisonem*, 19; *pro Plancio*, 43; and in Livy, xxii, 32, 3, *ut nisi cum fugae specie abeundum ei fuisset, Galliam repetiturus fuerit*; and

in v, 56, 3, etiamsi tum migrandum fuisset, nunc . . . non censerem. There are fewer occurrences with the periphrastic in the apodosis: Cicero, *in Verrem*, II, I, 157, nisi providisses, tibi ipsi tum pereundum fuisset; *ib.* v, 5; *in Cat.* III, 17; *de Orat.* II, 196, si dolor afuisset meus, non modo non miserabilis, sed etiam irridenda fuisset oratio mea; *ad Quint. Frat.* III, 4, 2, sic enim faciendum fuisset. A condition is implied in Livy, XLIV, 7, 7, quid intercluso ab Thessalia patiendum fuisset; and with causal instead of conditional statement in XLIV, 27, 6, ipsis quoque Romanis de se cogitandum fuisset, quando neque manere . . . potuissent.

The perfect subjunctive lies almost entirely outside of the range of poetry, though we find in Ovid, *Her.* v, 84, fuerim dissimulanda. The prose occurrences are more numerous than those of the pluperfect, including not only conditional statements, but also other kinds of clauses and indirect questions. The occurrences in conditions are relatively few in Cicero: *ad Att.* v, 4, 2, est enim ita, ut, si . . . futurus sit, minus urgendi fuerint; *ad Brut.* II, 5, 2, itaque res in eum locum venerat, ut, nisi Caesari Octaviano deus quidam illam mentem dedisset, in potestatem . . . M. Antoni veniendum fuerit. Livy has a few more occurrences: VIII, 32, 5, si ego tacitus abissem . . . dirigenda tua sententia fuerit; x, 27, 11; III, 39, 5, quae si in rege . . . ferenda non fuerint, quem laturum in tot privatis? v, 53, 3, vos, etiamsi tunc faciendum non fuerit, nunc utique faciendum putatis. There are a few other occurrences in Seneca and Quintilian, but the larger part are not in conditional statements.

The perfect occurs most freely in indirect questions, some varieties of which will be illustrated; Cicero, *de Off.* III, 9, adhibendumne fuerit hoc genus . . . an plane omitendum? *de Orat.* II, 177, quid proponendum fuerit declarare; *de Domo*, 31; *ad Att.* III, 23, 2, sed, quae cavenda fuerint et quo modo, te non fugit; *in Verrem*, v, 75, vide, quid intersit, utrum faciendum fuerit; Livy, VIII, 32, 4, interrogo . . . utrum mihi . . . res publica in discrimen committenda fuerit, an auspicia repetenda? xxxIII, 40, 2, inquirere, quid regi Antiocho faciendum aut quousque terra marique progredien-

dum fuerit; Vell. Paterc. II, 122, 2, idem illi honor et deferendus et recipiendus fuerit? Seneca, *Ep.* 14, 13, disputare an illo tempore capessenda fuerit sapienti respublica; Quint. III, 8, 20-21, dedendine fuerint . . . an penetrandum in Germaniam fuerit? Cicero has some examples in consecutive clauses, as also Livy in III, 53, 6, adeo aequa postulastis, ut ultro vobis deferenda fuerint. The occurrences in *cum*-clauses seem limited to Livy, VI, 14, 12, cum conferendum . . . aurum fuerit; XLV, 42, 9; Curtius, VI, 10, 6; and Quintilian, VII, 10, 6, cum fuerit prima quaestione dicendum. A *quin*-clause associated with a condition is found in Livy, XXI, 34, 7, haud dubium fecit, quin, nisi firmata extrema agminis fuissent, ingens in eo saltu accipienda fuerit; and also with *dubito* in Cicero, *Cluent.* 48, quis est qui dubitet, quin . . . aut obeunda mors Cluentio aut suscipienda accusatio fuerit? There are also a few occurrences in relative clauses: Livy, X, 19, 1, ne collegae auxilium, quod acciendum ultro fuerit . . . sperneret; XLII, 40, 4; XLII, 52, 13, omnia quae deorum indulgentia, quae regia cura praeparanda fuerint, plena cumlataque habere Macedonas; and in a causal clause indirectly stated, Livy, VII, 9, 4, quia . . . eundum pravae cupiditati fuerit.

*Fuisse* is found in every Teubner volume of Cicero, some two score occurrences in all. The occurrences in conditions, as of the perfect subjunctive, are comparatively few, e.g. *pro Archia*, 4, perficiam profecto ut . . . non segregandum, cum sit civis . . . verum etiam, si non esset, putetis asciscendum fuisse; *pro Milone*, 52, huic, si insidiaretur, noctem prope urbem expectandam, illi, etiamsi hunc non timeret, tamen accessum ad urbem nocturnum fuisse metuendum. It also occurs in Tacitus, *Ann.* II, 63, 11; and XI, 36, 5, nec cuiquam ante pereundum fuisse, si Silius rerum poteretur. There are some occurrences in Quintilian (VII, 4, 19; IX, 4, 32; XI, 1, 83), but it is most noticeable in Livy and in his follower Curtius, about one-half of the examples in conditions, as in Livy, VII, 4, 6, quod naturae damnum utrum nutriendum patri, si quidquam in eo humani esset, an castigandum ac vexatione insigne faciendum fuisse?—and in

Curtius, vi, 8, 13, dimittendum fuisse Cebalinum, si delationem eius damnabat.

The occurrences of *fore* in the periphrastic seem limited to a few instances in Cicero, Livy and Curtius. Cicero has it in *ad Brut.* II, 3, 6, ut tibi persuadeas non fore illi abutendum gloria tua; *ad Fam.* III, 13, 1, quasi divinarem tali in officio fore mihi aliquando expetendum studium tuum; and with adjective force in *de Orat.* I, 74, non possum dicere eum non egregium quendam hominem atque admirandum fore. Livy uses it most freely: v, 30, 1, ut qui meminisset sibi pro aris . . . dimicandum fore; xxxi, 11, 17, postulandum fore; xxxii, 20, 6, fore defendendum; xxxvi, 27, 7, mittendos fore legatos; xxxvii, 39, 2, habendos milites fore; xlii, 46, 3, omni ope entendum fore Rhodiis; Curtius, III, 8, 19, laetus . . . in illis potissimum angustiis decernendum fore; iv, 5, 5, senescendum fore tantum terrarum vel sine proelio obeunti.

The person particularly interested in the action expressed by the periphrastic is given in the dative (dative of agent), as in *Caes. B.G.* II, 20, 1, Caesari omnia . . . agenda erant; *Sen. Ep.* 3, 2, diu cogita, an tibi in amicitiam aliquis recipiendus sit; 3, 6, et quiescenti agendum et agenti quiescendum est; 36, 4, iuveni parandum, seni utendum est. But considering the entire number of occurrences of the periphrastic the dative is used in comparatively few instances, for the larger part of the actions are of interest to all, and it is not necessary to mention any one, as in *Sen. Ep.* 33, 6, sumenda erunt, non colligenda; 63, 1, lacrimandum est, non plorandum; 72, 3, resistendum est occupationibus nec explicandae, sed submovendae sunt. This limitation in the use of the dative of agent renders it of little interest, and the same may be said of the syntactical features of the periphrastic itself.

Most of the occurrences are independent injunctions, and in subordinate relations the conditions are the most noticeable. Though the action given in the apodosis necessarily accompanies that of the protasis, the use of the periphrastic in the former sometimes makes assurance doubly sure, as in *Sen. Ep.* 4, 3, (mors) timenda erat, si tecum esse posset; 51, 13, quae

si aliter extrahi nequirent, cor ipsum cum illis revellendum erat; 76, 26, quod non erat faciendum, si esset ullum aliud bonum quam honestum. These examples illustrate the use of the indicative in unreal conditions, the force inhering in the periphrastic rendering the use of the subjunctive unnecessary. Logical conditions, however, are most freely used, e.g. Sen. *Ep.* 21, 7-8, si vis Pythoclea divitem facere, non pecuniae adiciendum, sed cupiditati detrahendum est . . . si vis P. honestum facere, non honoribus adiciendum est, sed cupiditatibus detrahendum. si vis P. esse in perpetua voluptate non voluptatibus adiciendum est, sed cupiditatibus detrahendum. si vis P. senem facere et implere vitam, non annis adiciendum, sed cupiditatibus detrahendum. The periphrastic is used as freely in the protasis. When so used the apodosis may give what must be, as in Sen. *Ep.* 30, 17, si timenda mors, semper timenda est; but more commonly what is, as in 17, 3, si navigandum est, non strepunt portus nec inquieta sunt litora; what has been, 28, 7, non multum prodest vitia sua proiecisce, si cum alienis rixandum est; or what will be, 22, 8, dicentur tibi ista . . . si nihil indignum bono viro faciendum patiendumve erit. Taken as a whole, whatever interest there may be in the periphrastic is due not to this or that syntactical point, but to the frequency of occurrence of the injunctive tone in the different types of literature.





II. — *The Etymological Meaning of Pomerium*

BY PROFESSOR ROLAND G. KENT

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN any examination of the etymological meaning of *pomerium*, it is necessary to determine, so far as possible, the facts which are to be the basis for further argument; and though such a determination was not originally contemplated here, it has become an essential preliminary.<sup>1</sup>

In the first place, the *pomerium* was bounded on one side by a furrow and line of clods,<sup>2</sup> produced by ploughing with a bull and a cow, around the city; at the gates the plough was lifted up and the line thus broken.<sup>3</sup> Or, the *pomerium* was the furrow and ridge itself. The first question is: was this furrow, with its ridge, on the line of the city walls, or inside that line, or outside that line?

The furrow must of course have run over ground that could be ploughed; on this score it could hardly have been precisely on the line of the city walls, for they rested usually on bare rock, wherever this natural advantage for defence was at hand.

Mommsen tried to show<sup>4</sup> that the furrow ran inside the city wall, and that the *pomerium* was the space between the furrow and the wall, left free for the rapid movement and massing of troops when it became necessary to defend the city from assault. Such an open passageway was present in the Roman camp, and is seen to a certain extent at Pompeii.<sup>5</sup> But Livy,<sup>6</sup> though he thinks that the *pomerium* lay inside the

<sup>1</sup> The references to the extensive modern literature on the subject are not meant to be complete; other articles may be traced from the citations in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. d. antiq. gr. et rom.*, s.v. *pomerium*; J. B. Carter, *AJA*, XII (1908), 172-184; E. T. Merrill, *CP*, IV (1909), 420-432.

<sup>2</sup> The *sulcus primigenius*, Festus, 236 Mü.

<sup>3</sup> Varro, *LL*, v, 143; Dion. Hal. *AR*, I, 88; Plut. *Rom.* II; Serv. ad *Aen.* v, 755.

<sup>4</sup> *Hermes*, x (1876), 24-50, = *Röm. Forsch.* II, 23-41; Platner, *Topog. and Mon. of Ancient Rome*, 35-37.

<sup>5</sup> H. Nissen, *Pompejanische Studien*, 466-477.

<sup>6</sup> I, 44, 3-5.

wall as well as outside, seems to have personal acquaintance only with cities where the buildings abutted directly upon the wall, leaving no vacant *pomerium* space inside. Besides this, the institution of the *pomerium* is Etruscan,<sup>7</sup> while the street inside the walls of the Roman camp is an inheritance from the *terremare* villages,<sup>8</sup> and therefore distinctly Italic, *i.e.* non-Etruscan. Further, I fail to find traces of such an empty space behind the walls in any of the Etruscan cities.<sup>9</sup>

On the other hand, Richter,<sup>10</sup> Carter,<sup>11</sup> and others consider that the *pomerium* lay between the walls and a furrow outside the walls, and was primarily not a military, but a religious institution; the ridge and furrow formed in fact a symbolical *murus et fossa*,<sup>12</sup> at which the gods would stop the enemy, just as the men would stop them at the real and physical *murus et fossa* bounding the city.

Despite Mommsen and others, it seems that the evidence of classical writers is in reality in favor of this view. Livy<sup>13</sup> distinctly shows that at least a part of it lay outside the wall; and the descriptions of its location given by Gellius<sup>14</sup> and by Tacitus<sup>15</sup> distinctly set it outside any Palatine wall during much of its course, in a position which can hardly be just *inside* of any other conceivable wall which might bound and defend a city.<sup>16</sup> In fact, it is only in connection with etymo-

<sup>7</sup> Varro, *l.c.*

<sup>8</sup> Modestov, *Introduction à l'histoire romaine*, 160 et passim.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. especially the excavations at Marzabotto, near Bologna, described in *Monumenti antichi pubblicati per cura della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, 1 (1889), 250 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Topog. von Rom*,<sup>2</sup> 32 f., in v. Müller's *Hdb. d. Kl. Altertumswiss.* III, 3, 2.

<sup>11</sup> *Religion of Numa*, 33-34; *AJA.* XII (1908), 177.

<sup>12</sup> Varro, *l.c.*

<sup>13</sup> I, 44, 4-5, quoted in full later.

<sup>14</sup> XIII, 14, 2: antiquissimum autem pomerium, quod a Romulo institutum est, Palatini montis radicibus terminabatur.

<sup>15</sup> *Ann.* XII, 24: initium condendi, et quod pomerium Romulus posuerit, noscere haud absurdum reor. Igitur a foro boario, ubi aereum tauri simulacrum aspicimus, quia id genus animalium aratro subditur, sulcus designandi oppidi coeptus, ut magnam Herculis aram amplecteretur; inde certis spatiis interiecti lapides per ima montis Palatini ad aram Consi, mox curias veteres, tum ad sacellum Larum, inde forum Romanum; forumque et Capitolium non a Romulo, sed a Tito Tatio additum urbi credere.

<sup>16</sup> Despite Platner, *l.c.*

logical remarks explaining the word as *postmerium*, that the *pomerium* is said to be behind the wall.

We may consider then that the weight of the evidence is that the *pomerium* lay outside the city walls, between the walls on the one side and the sacramental ridge and furrow on the other.<sup>17</sup>

The word *pōmērium* is commonly interpreted<sup>18</sup> as the \**post-moirium*,<sup>19</sup> or *id quod post murum est*. This is readily intelligible in the light of Mommsen's view, which we have seen reason to reject; and it seems quite unintelligible if the ridge and furrow lie outside, and *pomerium* denote the space just *before* the wall. Livy,<sup>20</sup> in an effort to explain the word on this basis, suggests that the term was applicable to the space outside the wall *quod murus post id* (*esset*); but a compound with such a semantic development is not to be paralleled in Latin, and appears quite out of accord with the genius of the language. It is equally impossible to suppose that the prefix here means *behind* from the standpoint of those within the city walls, and therefore denotes *outside* the walls.

Another interpretation has been proposed which seems more probable: *pomerium* is the entire space back of the sacramental wall and ditch formed by the ridge and furrow, and includes the whole *urbs*,<sup>21</sup> as opposed to the *ager* which lies without; the term was later restricted to the space between the city walls and the ridge and furrow, or to the ridge and furrow itself. The objection to this lies in the prohibition of building and tillage on the space called the *pomerium*:<sup>22</sup> while a term applying to the whole city might be

<sup>17</sup> For the present paper it is of no importance whether the term *pomerium* denoted originally the strip of land or the boundary furrow, though the writer inclines to the former view. It is clear, however, that the word ordinarily denotes the strip.

<sup>18</sup> Valerius Messalla ap. Gell. XIII, 14, 1; Auct. inc. ap. Fest. 250 a 20 Mü.; Varro, *LL.* V, 143; Liv. I, 44, 4-5; Plut. *Rom.* 11.

<sup>19</sup> For the phonetic development, cf. Walde, *Lat. etym. Wortb.*, s.v., with references, especially Solmsen, *IF.* IV, 251, and Brugmann, *Ber. d. sächs. Ges.* 1900, 407 a.

<sup>20</sup> I, 44, 5.

<sup>21</sup> Detlefsen, *Hermes*, XXI, 508; Richter, *l.c.*; Merrill, *CP.* IV, 428.

<sup>22</sup> Liv. I, 44, 4-5.

applied to the boundary *line*,<sup>23</sup> it is hard to see how it might be restricted to a *strip* around it, in which building was forbidden, though the term had previously meant the building space *par excellence*. The prohibition of tillage equally differentiates the *pomerium* from the land outside.

But even in ancient authors we find mention of another etymology for the word. In the Excerpts of Paulus Diaconus from Festus, p. 248 Mü., we read: Posimerium<sup>24</sup> pontificale pomoerium, ubi pontifices auspicabantur. dictum autem pomerium, quasi promurium, id est, proximum muro. The corresponding portion of the fragments of Festus with the restorations adopted by Müller, are

249 b 28

*Posime-<sup>24</sup>*29 rium esse ait Antistius *in commentario iuris pontifi-*30 calis pomerium, id est locum *pro muro, ut ait*31 Cato. olim quidem omnem urbem *comprehendebat praeter*  
*Aven-*32 tinum, nunc etiam intra aedificia *finitur. ita pomerium est*33 quasi promerium. solet autem iis *solis dari*34 rus pomerii proferendi, *qui . . .*250 a 20 . . . . . *dictum existimat pomerium veluti post moe-*21 rium, quod agrum omnem *complectitur* intro muris urbis.

Müller prefers the readings 33 promurium, 34 ius, 21 a muris.

No argument can be based on the restorations, given in italics; but even the preserved portions of the lines of Festus make clear that there were those who took the word to be *\*prōmoiriom*, and not *\*postmoiriom*. The *prō* theory seems traceable to Cato, and is cited by Antistius Labeo, Festus, and Paulus Diaconus; the *post* theory goes back to Valerius Messalla, and is cited by Varro, Livy, Plutarch, and Gellius. We are justified in considering the claims of the former theory, though of course we shall not take it with Paulus, as *proximum muro*. The *\*prō-moiriom* is *id quod pro muro est*; and such an origin of *pomerium* is phonetically

<sup>23</sup> Cf. the converse semantic development of *finis* and *circulus*.

<sup>24</sup> The form *posimerium* defies explanation, so far as the writer can see. Should we read *postmerium* in the Pauline passage, and *promu-ri-um* in that of Festus?

quite possible, the *r* of the initial syllable being lost by dissimilation against the following *r*.

Dissimilation<sup>25</sup> is a fairly familiar phenomenon, though more commonly it results in change than in loss; and in cases of loss it usually affects the later occurrence of the sound rather than the prior, as in *praestrigiae* and *praestigiae*, *crebresco* and *crebesco*. Of loss of the prior occurrence, examples are seen in *siliqua* and *silex*,<sup>26</sup> with initial *sk-*; *segestrum*, borrowed from Greek *στέγαστρον*; *taberna*,<sup>26</sup> from \**trab-erna*, a derivative of *trab-s*; and vulgar *mamor* for *marmor*,<sup>27</sup> *MINISTORVM* for *ministorum*.<sup>28</sup> In \**prōmoirium*, the second *r* is protected from loss both by its intervocalic position<sup>29</sup> and by the influence of *murus*; at the same time, the loss of the first *r* thoroughly disguises the *prō*—but the same is true of *trab-s* in *tab-erna*.

If now this be the true origin of the word *pomerium*, how did the word come to be so misunderstood by the ancients? A possible theory is the following: the *po-* of *pomerium* no longer suggested *pro* to the Roman mind, especially as the failure to advance the *pomerium* regularly when the city walls were advanced<sup>30</sup> naturally completed the separation of the two words; the analogy of *pomeridianus* and *postmeridianus*<sup>31</sup> warranted the meaning *post* for a prefix *po-*, and from this came the interpretation of *pomerium* as \**postmoirium*. An etymological science which permitted the derivation of *lucus a non lucendo*,<sup>32</sup> could see no difficulty in explaining as *id quod post murum erat*, the *pomerium* which lay *pro muro*.

Livy<sup>33</sup> evidently does not feel that the matter may be so

<sup>25</sup> Stolz u. Schmalz, *Lat Gram.*<sup>4</sup> § 66, § 39, in v. Müller's *Hdb. d. kl. Altertums-wiss.* II; Sommer, *Hdb. d. lat. Laut- u. Formenlehre*, § 163, A 2.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Walde, *op. cit.*, s.vv. <sup>27</sup> Pomp. v, 283 Keil. <sup>28</sup> *CIL.* x, 825.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Grammont, *La dissimilation consonantique*, 16, 4<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> Liv. I, 44, 5; Gell. XIII, 14; cf. Merrill, *CP.* iv, 428 ff.

<sup>31</sup> Cic. *Or.* 157. <sup>32</sup> Varro, *LL.*, p. 240, 6 ed. Goetz et Schoell.

<sup>33</sup> I, 44, 3-5: *aggere et fossis et muro circumdat urbem: ita pomerium profert. pomerium, verbi vim solam intuentes, postmoerium interpretantur esse: est autem magis circamoerium, locus, quem in condendis urbibus quondam Etrusci, qua murum ducturi erant, certis terminis inaugurato consecrabant, ut neque interiore parte aedificia moenibus continuarentur, quae nunc vulgo etiam coniungunt, et extrinsecus puri aliquid ab humano cultu pateret soli. hoc spa-*

summarily disposed of; he accepts the view that the *pomerium* is etymologically *postmerium*, that is, *\*postmoirium*, though it denoted only a space before the wall, and seeks to explain the inconsistency. The *pomerium* is rather a *circamoerium*, he says, running on both sides of the wall; on the inside no houses might be built contiguous with the wall, and on the outside a strip was left free from the plough. Apparently he means that the name was at first appropriate only to the strip lying inside, and was afterward transferred to the strip outside. But he is troubled by the fact that in his day the houses inside the wall did normally run quite to the wall and join it; so fearing that his explanation may not carry conviction, he adds another, that the name was appropriate both to the space inside and to the space outside: the space inside was *post murum*, and the *murus* was *post* the space outside.<sup>34</sup> That *pomerium* means *id quod murum post se habet*, is, as has already been remarked, to assume a semantic relation unknown in compounds in the Latin language. Livy is merely trying to show how a word apparently meaning 'what is back of the wall,' may be the name for 'what is in front of the wall.'

If accordingly we interpret the word *pōmērium* as *\*prō-moirium*, 'that which lies before the wall,' it accords perfectly with what seems to be the historic value of the term: a strip of land extending around the city just outside the wall, bounded on the other side by the ceremonial ridge and furrow. One set of ancient authorities explained it in this way; another group took it to be *\*post-moirium*, but the considerations which misled them are perhaps still determinable.

tium, quod neque habitari neque arari fas erat, non magis quod post murum esset, quam quod murus post id, pomerium Romani appellarunt, et in urbis incremento semper, quantum moenia processura erant, tantum termini hi consecrati proferebantur.

<sup>34</sup> Plut. *Rom.* 11, *πωμήριον, ὅλον ὄπισθεν τείχους ἢ μετὰ τείχος*, seems to have almost the same idea as Livy.

III. — *The Conclusion of Cicero's De Natura Deorum*

BY ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

THE dialogue on the *Nature of the Gods* was arranged by its author in three books. In the first of these, after an introduction in which Cicero, in his own person, speaks of the importance of philosophical speculation upon things divine and of the reflection of such speculation in man's daily relations to his gods and his fellow men, we are admitted with Cicero himself to a conversation at the house of C. Cotta, an adherent of the New Academy. There the Epicurean, C. Velleius, and the Stoic, Q. Lucilius Balbus, are discussing with their host the teachings of their respective systems concerning the divine nature. Book I, then, contains the introduction already mentioned, a résumé by Velleius of the views of philosophers from Thales to his own time, a brief positive statement of the Epicurean tenets, and, finally, an answer to the Epicurean views by the Academic Cotta, far surpassing, both in length and in weight of argument, the positive doctrine which it seeks to refute. Book II contains the Stoic views, set forth in great detail by Balbus, and Book III the arguments of Cotta directed against this Stoic fabric, in a courteous spirit but with a merciless logic and, occasionally, a cutting ridicule. At the end of the book the discussion is terminated by the approach of night. Balbus, the Stoic, hopes for another occasion to answer the arguments of Cotta, who, with the tolerance of one free from dogmatic ties, expresses willingness to learn and openness to conviction. Velleius, remembering his own discomfiture at the hands of Cotta in the presence of his Stoic opponent, delights in the refutation of the Stoic argument by the same Cotta. "And when these things had been said," writes Cicero, who has remained through the discussion an absolutely dumb listener,<sup>1</sup> "we separated, the upshot being<sup>2</sup> that to Velleius the argu-

<sup>1</sup> And save in II, 104 practically ignored by the disputants.

<sup>2</sup> Mayor's translation of *ita*.

ment of Cotta seemed truer, but to me that of Balbus appeared more inclined to probability."<sup>3</sup>

So ends the dialogue. But why does Cicero, who in the first part of Book I declares himself an Academic, and who, at his entrance into Cotta's house is recognized by his friends as the fellow-schoolman and natural supporter of Cotta,<sup>4</sup> now cast his vote,<sup>5</sup> not with Cotta and Academicism, but with the Stoic speaker and those views which Cotta has been refuting?<sup>6</sup> This question I desire briefly to consider, not in confidence of adding anything essentially new, but ready, like Cotta himself, to speak both for and against all views, if the greatest probability may thus be ascertained.

The integrity of the manuscript reading of this passage leaves no suspicion that should lead to emendation,<sup>7</sup> and the interpretation of the passage in the manner in which I have translated it has been well-nigh universal. One exception, however, should here be noted. The word *Velleio* has been construed, not as a dative, but as an ablative, giving this meaning: "The discussion of Cotta seemed truer than (that of) Velleius, but to me that of Balbus seemed (even) more inclined to probability." This appears, as Zielinski shows,<sup>8</sup> to have been the understanding which David Hume had of the passage, when, in his *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion*, a work powerfully influenced by the *de Natura Deorum*, he ends with the words: ". . . I confess, that, upon a serious review of the whole, I cannot but think that Philo's principles are more probable than Demea's; but that those of Cleanthes approach still nearer to the truth."<sup>9</sup> But to this explanation

<sup>3</sup> III, 95.

<sup>4</sup> I, 15; I, 17.

<sup>5</sup> For the expression of Cicero's opinion at the end of a dialogue Hirzel (*Dialog*, I, 533) compares *Fin.* v, 95.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Krische, *Die theologischen Lehren der griechischen Denker*, 9: "Es ist als wollte Cicero alle dialogischen Künste aufwenden um uns irre zu leiten. . . ."

<sup>7</sup> The quotation of the remark by the Stoic Q. Cicero (*Div.* I, 9) has been slightly changed. For the Academic phrase *ad veritatis similitudinem* he has substituted the Stoic one *ad veritatem*.

<sup>8</sup> *Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte*<sup>3</sup>, 231.

<sup>9</sup> This interpretation Zielinski (*op. cit.*, 358, note on p. 231) states has also been adopted by Mayor in his edition of the *N. D.*, but a search through Mayor's introduction, apparatus criticus, and notes on the passage has not made this clear to me.



there are strong objections: (a) the brachylogy *Velleio Cottae disputatio verior* in the sense of *Vellei disputatione Cottae disputatio verior*<sup>10</sup>; (b) the word *mihī*, which in the usual interpretation contrasts neatly with *Velleio*, is left without antithesis; (c) the difference in expression between *verior* and *ad veritatis similitudinem propensior* is purposely designed by Cicero to indicate the philosophical habits of the respective judges of the argument, the Epicurean Velleius and the Academic Cicero, and this delicate distinction is disregarded by the explanation proposed;<sup>11</sup> (d) instead of the comparative *propensior*, if three *disputationes* are involved, the superlative would be more natural. And even were this explanation accepted, the real difficulty remains, why does the argument of Balbus seem more probable than that of Cotta? And why does Cicero place such a statement as this in this very significant and important position?<sup>12</sup> Many answers have been made to this question, which must have been constantly asked by readers of the dialogue, from the time of Q. Cicero, but of these it is not my purpose to attempt an elaborate collection, or to touch, save in foot-notes, upon any except a few of the more significant. The answers, so far as I have studied them, fall under two or three main heads.

I. Cicero, who usually sides with Cotta and speaks through him,<sup>13</sup> here utters a deliberate falsehood, with intent to deceive some or all of his readers. The reasons alleged are two: (i) fear of criticism on the ground of atheism, and (ii) unwillingness, from political policy, to weaken the hold of the state religion. The first of these explanations is stated most definitely by St. Augustine, in a chapter of the

<sup>10</sup> This might, to be sure, be paralleled in Cicero; cf. Mayor's edition, III, index, s.v. *Brachylogy*.

<sup>11</sup> For the attempt to vary the phraseology with the speaker cf. note 7, *supra*.

<sup>12</sup> Hirzel, *Dialog*, I, 533: "Cicero hat überdies, was seine Rolle im Dialog an Umfang abgeht, durch die Gewichtigkeit der Worte, welche er spricht, ersetzt."

<sup>13</sup> That Cicero's attitude is really the sceptic one of Cotta is the view of various writers, e.g., Ernesti, *Init. Doctr. Solid.*, 238-9 and arg. *N.D.* I (according to Krische, *op. cit.*, 9, n. 1); Heindorf, *N.D.* (1815), addenda, p. xii; Dunlop, *Hist. of Rom. Lit.*<sup>2</sup> (1824), II, 417; Simcox, *Hist. of Lat. Lit.* I, 168.

*de Civitate Dei*,<sup>14</sup> in which he is dealing with predestination. "Cicero attempted," he says, "to say that which is written, 'The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God,' but he did not venture to say it in his own person. For he saw how unpopular and offensive that would be, and so he made Cotta discuss this subject against the Stoics in the books on the *Nature of the Gods*, and on the side of Lucilius Balbus, to whom he had given the part of the Stoics to defend, he preferred to cast his vote, rather than in behalf of Cotta, who maintained that there was no divine nature. In the books on divination, however, in his own person, perfectly openly, he opposes the foreknowledge of the future." And elsewhere<sup>15</sup> Augustine charges that Cicero would not dare to whisper in public the views which he so eloquently defends in this discussion.

Apprehensions for the effects upon the state religion might be thought to be seen in the *de Divinatione*,<sup>16</sup> emphasizing the words of Cotta in the *de Natura Deorum*,<sup>17</sup> and are clearly expressed by Lactantius,<sup>18</sup> who says: "Cicero recognized that the objects which men worshipped were false. For when he had said many things that amounted to the overturning of religious beliefs he yet asserted that those things are not to be discussed commonly, lest such a discussion should destroy the publicly adopted religious ceremonies." Elsewhere Lactantius also specifies that it is "the whole third book on the *Nature of the Gods*" which "overturns and destroys from the foundation all religious beliefs."<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, Arnobius<sup>20</sup> rejoices in the destructive effects of the Ciceronian works upon the pagan polytheism, and says

<sup>14</sup> v, 9. And in the same chapter he says: Aut enim esse Deum negat, quod quidem inducta alterius persona in libris de deorum natura molitus est; aut si esse confitetur Deum, quem negat praescium futurorum, etiam sic nihil dicit aliud quam quod ille dixit insipiens in corde suo: Non est Deus.

<sup>15</sup> iv, 30; cf. Cic. *N.D.* i, 61.

<sup>16</sup> i, 8: ne communia iura migrare videatur; cf. ii, 148.

<sup>17</sup> iii, 93: de natura deorum, non ut eam tollerem. . . .

<sup>18</sup> *Div. Inst.* ii, 3, 2. The sentence preceding that here quoted is also of interest.

<sup>19</sup> *Div. Inst.* i, 17, 4.

<sup>20</sup> *Adv. Nat.* iii, 6.

that he hears of proposals that the senate should cause these books to be suppressed.

But Cicero could really have felt little fear from charges of atheism or of disturbing the established religion. For, in the first place, had these fears been very serious, he would hardly have published the work at all. And it must be borne in mind<sup>21</sup> that the spread of philosophic ideas was greatly restricted by lack of printing and other means of dissemination, so that the books of Cicero, though undoubtedly influencing a few<sup>22</sup> interested in philosophical studies, would hardly have precipitated a religious revolution in the general public. Suggestive are the remarks of Cotta in the first book:<sup>23</sup> "The first inquiry in this question concerning the nature of the gods is, whether there are gods or not. It is hard (you say) to deny that. I suppose so; if the question were asked in a public meeting, but in a conversation and gathering of this sort it is very easy. And so I myself, a pontifex, who think that public rites and observances are to be most scrupulously maintained, should still like to be convinced of this first point, that the gods exist, and convinced not by opinion alone, but also in accordance with the real truth." Had Cicero sincerely feared charges of atheism, would he have revealed so clearly the difference between exoteric and esoteric philosophizing in the school of which he was reputed a member? And, in the second place, he was not so simple-minded as to suppose that he could, by so flimsy a device as this, shift the responsibility for his views upon the shoulders of Cotta.<sup>24</sup> That the opinions expressed

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Havet, *Le Christ, et ses origines*, II, 98 (quoted by Thiaucourt, *Essai sur les Traités philosophiques de Cicéron* (1885), 249-250).

<sup>22</sup> The influence ascribed by Cicero (*N.D.* I, 6; I, 8; *Div.* II, 5; *Off.* II, 2) to his previous works must be thought of, I believe, as limited in its range — perhaps more so than Cicero's vanity would suppose. And it is to be noted that the vogue of such works as had been written by others was mainly restricted to those of the popular Epicurean philosophy (cf. Reid, *Acad.*, p. 21).

<sup>23</sup> I, 61.

<sup>24</sup> That the apparent atheism expressed would seem less shocking and blasphemous in the mouth of a theologian, accustomed to discuss such themes, than in that of a layman, as Hirzel (*Dialog*, I, 532) suggests, is a point which loses something of its weight from the fact that Cotta is speaking not as a theologian

were likely to be, and often were, held as Cicero's own is well shown by the references already given to Arnobius, Lactantius, and Augustine.

II. According to a second view, Cicero in these words speaks the exact truth, for the *disputatio* of Balbus does seem to him fundamentally truer than that of Cotta. An Academic by profession, he is by sympathies and at heart a Stoically inclined eclectic,<sup>25</sup> and while he may not accept

but as a philosopher, and in *N.D.* III, 5-6, rather sharply separates these two standpoints. In fact he considers as irrelevant the personal appeals of Balbus, who keeps suggesting his religious office (II, 168; III, 5; III, 94), in a way similar to that in which Q. Cicero in the *de Divinatione* frequently reminds Marcus of his augurship as a reason why he should hold an orthodox belief in divination (*e.g.*, I, 25, *auspicia vestra*; I, 29, *collega tuus*; I, 30, *lituus vester*; I, 72, *vestri (libri) augurales*; I, 105, *tuae partes sunt, tuum, inquam, auspicio rum patrocini um debet esse*; I, 105, *collegae tui*).

<sup>25</sup> Goedeckemeyer, *Gesch. des gr. Skeptizismus*, 150, n. 7; Kindervater, *Anmerkungen u. Abhandlungen über Cicero's Bücher von der Natur der Götter* (1792), II, 288-289; and in his edition of the *N.D.* (1796), on III, 95; Creuzer (*ad N.D.* III, 95), who tries to distinguish between the attitude of Cicero the lawyer and controversialist, speaking in the Academic manner, and Cicero the philosopher, seeking for the most probable principles by which to guide his life. Against the use of the term 'eclectic' for Cicero cf. Reid, *Acad.*, pp. 13 ff. Cudworth, *Intellectual System*<sup>2</sup> (1743), I, 435, well expresses this second view by saying: "though he [Cicero] did not assent to the Stoical doctrine of theology in every point, (himself being rather a Platonist than a Stoic) yet he did much prefer it before, not only the Epicureism of *Velleius*, but also the scepticism of *Cotta*." And Cudworth cites many passages from Cicero's other works in the attempt to discover his real positive opinions. Hirzel (*Dialog*, I, 533) states that Cicero here shows his own belief in a positive manner, and answers that curiosity of the reader which in I, 10 he had censured. Again (I, 534) he says: "Cicero lenkte nach einer Periode der akademischen Skepsis wieder in die Bahnen einer positiven Philosophie ein, deren Höhepunkt für uns die ganz dogmatisch-stoische Darstellung 'von den Pflichten' bezeichnet." On p. 534, n. 2, Hirzel admits, in the *de Divinatione* and the *de Fato*, a short relapse into scepticism, based upon special reasons. Cf. p. 538: "Cicero ist hier (in the *de Div.*) wieder akademischer Skeptiker geworden, nachdem er in der Schrift 'vom Wesen der Götter' sich auf die Seite der Stoa gestellt hatte." The reasons he gives on pp. 538-9. Giambelli (*ad N.D.* III, 95) thinks Cicero not an Academic verging toward Stoicism, but almost a Stoic tempering the assertiveness of his belief by Academic qualifications, and this appears to have been nearly the view of Petrarch (*De sui ipsius et multorum ignorantia*, ed. of Capelli (1906), p. 54), who thinks of Cicero as approving the opinions of Balbus, but with Academic *εἰροχή* not wishing to say more than that they seemed to him 'more probable.' Thiaucourt (*op. cit.*, 248) gives a very different reason for the same result: ". . . pour être athée et

every detail of the Stoic view, he is sufficiently in accord with its main tenets to say that it is more probable than the destructive arguments of Cotta. Although inclining toward the Stoic doctrines, in making up the work from divergent sources he has perhaps allowed the sceptic rebuttal and Cotta's "zeal for arguing against the gods"<sup>26</sup> to run away with him. The arguments of Cotta are, in fact, when carefully examined, less sound than they at first appear,<sup>27</sup> and differ strikingly from the views of Cicero himself as elsewhere put forth,<sup>28</sup> and those of Balbus might be much more cogently expressed.<sup>29</sup> Mayor well summarizes the theory under discussion by saying that the Academic arguments could not all be convincingly answered, that "then, as now, the Divine government was a matter of faith, not of certainty . . . that, logically speaking, the religious view of the order of the world is only the more probable; that Cicero in fact is right, as against the Stoics, when he refuses to say more than that the argument of Balbus appeared to him to be *ad veritatis similitudinem propensior*."<sup>30</sup> Or, as Mayor elsewhere says:<sup>31</sup> "The conclusion of his argument . . . may be considered to point the way, vaguely indeed and hesitatingly, to the mysticism of later times, when the human mind, wearied out with its fruitless search after truth, abjured reason for faith, and surrendered itself blindly either to the traditions of priests or to the inward vision of the Neo-Platonists."

Such are the explanations offered, and in them there is much that is undeniably true. Certain opposing arguments should not, however, be lost to sight. (i) First, Cicero does

s'avouer à soi-même son athéisme il faut une certaine fermeté d'intelligence dont Cicéron paraît avoir toujours manqué."

<sup>26</sup> *Div.* I, 8.

<sup>27</sup> G. F. Schömann, *N.D.*, Einl. 3, n.; Mayor, *N.D.*, vol. III, introd. xx-xxiv.

<sup>28</sup> *E.g.*, in the résumé in *Acad.* II, 118 ff., where much is quite different.

<sup>29</sup> W. G. Tennemann, *Gesch. der Philosophie* (1805), v. 121, urges that the apparent victory of the sceptic is too lightly won, on account of the presentation of easily refutable stories, such as those of divine apparitions and of divination, alongside of more serious doctrines, which, if better expounded, would win the day. Compare what Cicero himself writes in *N.D.* III, 65; *Div.* I, 9.

<sup>30</sup> III, p. xxiv.

<sup>31</sup> I, p. xxxvii.

not say that it is the *principles* of the Stoics, but the *argument* of Balbus, which seems the more probable. (ii) In the second place, even Mayor admits that "none except the extremest partisans could pretend that the Academic difficulties were entirely cleared up by such considerations as were available on the other side."<sup>32</sup> (iii) Thirdly, the arguments of Balbus are all before us, but a considerable and important part of those of Cotta,<sup>33</sup> dealing with the question of Providence, has been lost,<sup>34</sup> leaving his discussion at an obvious disadvantage as compared with that of Balbus. (iv) In the fourth place, Cicero takes particular pains, in the introduction to Book I, to speak of himself as an Academic, to praise Academic principles,<sup>35</sup> and to represent himself as recognized by the disputants, at his appearance among them, as an adherent of this school.<sup>36</sup> (v) And, finally, the whole arrangement of the dialogue, with the advantage of the last word given to the Academic rather than to the Stoic, is an indication of the author's sympathies which cannot be entirely ignored. In short, if the work was written with the intention of gaining converts for any other system than that of Academic scepticism, its plans have been most ill arranged, its details most

<sup>32</sup> III, p. xxiv.

<sup>33</sup> The lacunae in III, 64-65.

<sup>34</sup> Perhaps through the malevolent influence of the pagan opponents of the work described by Arnobius (*adv. Nat.* III, 6; cf. Thiaucourt, *op. cit.*, 241), perhaps by the Christians, who felt, as Thiaucourt (*op. cit.*, 249) suggests, that the work was destructive of all belief in divine Providence (cf. also Dunlop, *Hist. of Rom. Lit.*<sup>2</sup> (1824), II, 419; Havet, *Le Christ. et ses origines*, II, 75 (cited by Thiaucourt, 242, n. 1)), perhaps by mere accident. For its contents cf. Neumann, *Rh. Mus.* xxxvi (1881), 155-7, and Schwenke, *Burs. Jahresh.* XI, 2, 99; *Berl. phil. Woch.* VIII (1888), Sp. 1308 f. Later Christian attitude towards the work may perhaps be seen in a list of recommended text-books from the end of the twelfth century, probably by Alexander Neckam (C. H. Haskins, *Harv. Stud. in Class. Phil.* XX (1909), 91): "Salustius et Tullius de oratore et thuscanarum et de amicitia et de senectute et de fato multa commendacione digni sunt et paradoxo. Liber inscriptus de multitudine deorum a quibusdam reprobatur." In this connection may be mentioned the publication by 'P. Seraphinus,' in 1811, of a fourth book of the *de Natura Deorum*, in which Cicero is made to foreshadow many of the main points of Roman Catholic dogma! The importance of the section on Providence may perhaps be inferred from III, 94, where Balbus considers it the part of the argument especially demanding a reply from the Stoics.

<sup>35</sup> I, 1; I, 11-14.

<sup>36</sup> I, 17.

unsuccessfully executed, and the purposes of its author everywhere, with the single exception of this final sentence, most thoroughly concealed. The theory, then, of the absolute truth of Cicero's words is by no means so simple as it might at first appear.

III. The two theories so far discussed assume a more or less polemic, or at least protreptic, purpose on the part of the author, and to this impression the form of the dialogue, and the attempts in it and in its pendant, the *de Divinatione*, to discriminate between *religio* and *superstitio* very naturally contribute. Yet I believe that if the work be regarded rather as descriptive in aim,<sup>37</sup> and striving, in a somewhat unsuccessful way, for objectivity, some of the more important difficulties raised by its last sentence can be most easily met. Cicero's plan for constructing a sort of encyclopaedic philosophical library, which should put the essence of Greek philosophy before his fellow-countrymen in their own language, is too familiar to need more than mention.<sup>38</sup> In such a scheme the philosophy of religion was to have its place.<sup>39</sup> Unfortunately Cicero had no single comprehensive, and at the same time impartial, Greek source, describing upon a uniform scale the beliefs of the different schools, and to supply this lack he had recourse to that method of mixed sources (in this case hastily and carelessly combined) which is the challenge, the delight, and, finally, the despair of the philologist. To this descriptive purpose is due the catalogue of views of earlier philosophers put into the mouth of Velleius in Book I.<sup>40</sup> That it is out of proportion to the exposition of the positive Epicurean tenets; that it is somewhat unusual for a Roman Epicurean

<sup>37</sup> The adoption of such an aim Hirzel (*Dialog*, I, 533) lays to Cicero's lack of success in his earlier works in gaining Roman converts to an apparently unpractical Academic scepticism.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *N.D.* I, 7-9; I, 13; *Div.* II, 1-5 (especially 4-5); Reid, *Acad.*, pp. 20 ff.

<sup>39</sup> His purpose is here entirely different from that of such a work as Varro's *Antiquitates divinae*. Cf. Hirzel, *Dialog*, I, 531; Thiaucourt, *op. cit.*, 247. The contrast with Cicero's own attitude in the *de Republica* and the *de Legibus* is properly noted by Hirzel. Kriche (*op. cit.*, 8) will not admit the historical or descriptive purpose.

<sup>40</sup> I, 25-41.

to be so much interested in others' views;<sup>41</sup> that its statements are faulty and Epicurean in bias,<sup>42</sup> are, no doubt, sound objections to it, yet in our condemnation we must not fail to notice that such a résumé was, in this descriptive plan, needed near the beginning of the work, and inasmuch as Cicero had selected the Epicurean as the first speaker in the dialogue, it was doubtless an easy and time-saving device to put into his mouth this catalogue taken from an Epicurean source.<sup>43</sup> And since the views rehearsed were, for the greater part, obsolete, the injustice done by Velleius' one-sided refutation of them was less important than it would otherwise have seemed.

The plan of the dialogue contemplates more especial representation of the philosophical schools most in vogue,<sup>44</sup> the Peripatetics being in this treatment roughly grouped with the Stoics.<sup>45</sup> Three principal reasons may perhaps be seen in the introduction of Epicurean and Stoic speeches followed by an Academic rebuttal: (i) first, the attempt by criticism to neutralize the unfair impression given by the strictly partisan exposition of Epicurean or Stoic doctrines which Cicero doubtless found in his sources<sup>46</sup>; (ii) second, the attempt to give greater unity to the work by introducing the central and

<sup>41</sup> I, 58; I, 91; II, 73.

<sup>42</sup> Mayor, I, introd., p. li; III, p. xvi. But for the contrary opinion compare the judgment of J. S. Reid given by Duff, *Lit. Hist. of Rome*, 390, n. 1.

<sup>43</sup> The theories of Hirzel, Schwenke, and Reinhardt as to what this source was need not here concern us.

<sup>44</sup> I, 16. Thiaucourt (*op. cit.*, 250) notes that Cicero considers only the theories of philosophers in regard to religion, not the beliefs of different religions themselves, and even within these limits confines himself chiefly to Epicureanism and Stoicism. The latter fact, as he recognizes, is probably largely due to the restrictions imposed upon him by his sources.

<sup>45</sup> I, 16.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. *Div. I*, 7: *faciendum videtur, ut diligenter etiam atque etiam argumenta cum argumentis comparemus, ut fecimus in iis tribus libris quos de natura deorum scripsimus.* Had the dialogue been arranged on the plan of alternate question and answer, like those of Plato, a more moderate result might have been reached, without the extremes of the pendulum shown in the grouping of Epicurean and Academic and the Stoic and Academic views. But such an arrangement would have been better adapted to a polemic or protreptic work, aiming at some decisive conclusion, than to one which is mainly descriptive of the opinions of others.



connecting figure of Cotta; (iii) and third, and most important from the descriptive purpose of the work, the recognition that, historically and objectively, the classic arguments against various views were as much a proper subject for study and description as the positive statements which they refute, just as a church history would be incomplete which should fail to narrate the tenets of heresies and opponents of the church as well as those of the accepted faith.

That Cicero should not have attained the desired objectivity need occasion little surprise, when we reflect how rarely is it to be found in discussions of such themes, even in modern times. How much less practicable was it in a work so hastily composed from heterogeneous and ill-digested sources! Yet with this theory of Cicero's intention clearly in mind let us consider the possible reasons for the statement in the final sentence, and I think that we shall find that one important explanation already discussed can, in this connection, be used with greater reasonableness and probability.

(i) Cicero desires to be impartial. This desire is plainly indicated at his appearance on the scene of the dialogue,<sup>47</sup> where he represents himself as disclaiming the necessity of supporting any particular set of doctrines, even Academic ones. To give to the reader the same privilege he feels that arguments should be stated, the views of the author kept in the background, and the reader left to form his own opinions, free from the benumbing influences of that authority of others, which he in several places so emphatically condemns.<sup>48</sup> And not only is it permissible for the author to veil his own convictions, but it should be nobody's concern to try to discover them.<sup>49</sup> This feeling justifies Cicero in representing himself in the dialogue as virtually a *κωφὸν πρόσωπον*,

<sup>47</sup> I, 17.

<sup>48</sup> I, 10; I, 66; *Div.* II, 150; *Rep.* I, 59; I, 70; *Tusc.* v, 11; Reid on *Acad.* II, 8, and the passages there collected.

<sup>49</sup> I, 6; I, 10 (and cf. Jerome, *Comm. in Isaiam*, XI, *prolog.*). In *N.D.* II, 2, Balbus makes a clumsy attempt to discover the opinions of Cotta, which is met with a prompt rebuff. Thiaucourt (*op. cit.*, 248) suggests, however, that from the author of a work on this subject one has a right to expect an expression of opinion.

and, in an almost whimsical manner,<sup>50</sup> casting his vote where it would hardly have been expected. In fact, Cicero the author may perhaps have taken a little liberty with Cicero the character in the dialogue, and always to seek for identity of sentiment between the two is hardly safe.

(ii) In the second place, Cicero realized that the Academic position was liable to be misunderstood. The New Academy was accustomed, as he says,<sup>51</sup> "for the sake of discovering the truth, to speak not only against all other philosophies but also for them." Yet, from the necessities of the case, the arguments of Cotta have, in this dialogue, been almost wholly negative and destructive.<sup>52</sup> If, then, Cicero were to side with his fellow-schoolman, the danger would arise that what is intended as an example of Academic *method* would, in the minds of some readers, from the authoritative consensus of the two Academics present, be considered rather as Academic *dogma*, and this Cicero was especially concerned to avoid.

(iii) And there is no doubt that Cicero's sympathies were divided. Much in the Stoic system, freed from grosser elements, such as its pantheistic notions, its fatalism, and its mantic, has attraction for him; it is the Stoic proof, the discussion of Balbus, which, as Cotta says, "makes doubtful by its argument that which is in itself by no means doubtful."<sup>53</sup> To suppose, then, that he really accepts the Stoic's *disputatio* is, I think, wrong; it is the positive convictions which lie beneath it to which, "believing where he cannot prove," his assent is inclined. And one further advantage came from this assent being thus formally expressed. Any defects in the Stoic system were already sufficiently evident even without the explicit *auctoritas* of the author to emphasize them, hence no reader would be led into serious error as a result of Cicero's declaration. But Cicero was an intensely practical man, and, despite the influence of his legal training, which

<sup>50</sup> Cf. n. 6, *supra*.

<sup>51</sup> I, 11.

<sup>52</sup> Cotta is made to recognize this fact, and it is repeatedly made clear that it is not the existence of the gods but the Stoic argument for their existence which is being attacked, *e.g.*, III, 10; III, 44; III, 93; *Div.* I, 8; II, 148. Compare also the attitude of Carneades towards justice (*Cic. Rep.* III, 11).

<sup>53</sup> III, 10; cf. III, 64.

might have fitted him to look at both sides of a question and suspend his judgment of it, he seems to have been a little nettled by the charge that the Academy was unpractical, in that "it took away the light and cast a sort of darkness over things."<sup>54</sup> "It cannot be," he says, "that those who philosophize according to this system have no principle to follow,"<sup>55</sup> and he shows that it is probability rather than certainty by which the Academic regulates his actions. The formal assent to Stoic principles which he gives in the final sentence of the dialogue is an example alike of the freedom from dogmatic requirements allowed to the Academics and of the possibility of using such individual liberty for the acceptance of any practical working principle.<sup>56</sup>

That by this theory all difficulties are removed or that Cicero's personal religion is clearly revealed I do not assert, but I do feel that to regard the *Nature of the Gods* as a work primarily descriptive rather than polemic in purpose leaves the explanation of these questions at least no more difficult, and simplifies considerably the understanding of that final sentence with which this inquiry has been especially concerned.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>54</sup> I, 6.

<sup>55</sup> I, 10; *Acad.* II, 66; *Off.* II, 7.

<sup>56</sup> Schömann, *N.D.*, Einl. 14; Goedeckemeyer, *op. cit.*, 148; Reid, *Acad.*, pp. 14-15; note 25, *supra*.

<sup>57</sup> For résumés of some of the opinions of earlier scholars see Creuzer's *N.D.* (1818), pp. 693-4, n.; Krische, *op. cit.*, 9, n. 1. Heindorf, *N.D.* (1815), p. 7, n., thinks that the *benivolos obiurgatores* and the *invidos vituperatores* of I, 5, are represented by Balbus and Velleius respectively; hence the difference in the ways in which they are treated, in accordance with Cicero's announcement in I, 5. This view is justly refuted by Krische, *op. cit.*, 9, n. 1. To Höfig's work on *Cicero's Ansicht v. d. Staatsreligion* I have not had access.



IV. — *Abbreviations in Latin Papyri*

BY DR. HENRY BARTLETT VAN HOESEN

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

A LIST of abbreviations drawn up, incidentally to a study of Roman Cursive Writing, from such dated papyri as were accessible, offers a few points of interest in connection with the classification of abbreviations as by suspension or by contraction.<sup>1</sup>

Traube finds reasons for dating the contracted *nomina sacra* in the early fourth century,<sup>2</sup> the adjective *scs* in the fifth,<sup>3</sup> and other words of most frequent occurrence, especially in ecclesiastical or legal language, in the fifth and sixth centuries.<sup>4</sup>

The papyri extant from the first four centuries, conforming to Traube's observations, show abbreviation only by suspension<sup>5</sup> or sign.<sup>6</sup>

The final letter of the suspension is sometimes doubled,<sup>7</sup> generally to indicate plural.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Paoli, C, *Le Abbreviature nella Paleografia Latina del medio evo*; Cappelli, *Dizionario di Abbreviature Latine ed Italiane*; Thompson, E. M., *Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography*; esp. Traube, L., "Das Alter des Codex Romanus des Vergil" (in *Strena Helbigiana*, p. 307-314); *Id.*, "Perrona Scottorum" (in *Sitzungsber. d. philos. u. d. histor. Classe d. kgl. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1900, Heft 4, esp. p. 497 ff.); *Id.*, *Nomina Sacra*.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* before Jerome's Vulgate. Further, for the contractions XPS, DS, IHS, SPS, DMS, and DNS, inscriptions of the fourth and early fifth centuries (c. 366-423) may be cited — *Nomina Sacra*, p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. *CIL*, VIII, 8634, A.D. 440.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. the *Notae Lugdunenses*, ed. Mommsen, Th., in *Notarum Laterculi*, in Keil's *Grammatici Latini*, IV.

<sup>5</sup> *E.g.* *K(alendas)*, *a(ssis)*, *s(emis)*, and praenomina (in Wessely, *Schrifttafeln*, no. I, and *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, no. 737; again, the suspension consisting of more than the one initial letter, *Aug(ustas)*, *serv(us)*, etc. (*ll. cc.*); or those lacking only the last syllable, chiefly case endings, *textor(es)* (*Oxyrh.* 1022), *dextr(a)*, *sinistr(o)* (*Oxyrh.* 1022), etc.

<sup>6</sup> *E.g.* *Y* (*centurio* or *centuria*), *θ* (*obiit*) (Wessely, no. 8); III (*trieris*) (*B. M.* 229); *Ⲙ* (*denarius*), *Ⲛ* (*in toto*) (*B. M.* 1196).

<sup>7</sup> *E.g.* *eximm* (*eximaginifer*) (Berlin, 7428).

<sup>8</sup> *E.g.* *dd nn* (*Oxyrh.* 720) and, curiously, *eesdd kall* (Wessely, 17-18).

The earliest abbreviation by contraction is *specl* (*speculam?*) in a Vatican Papyrus (Marini, *I Papiri Diplomatici*, no. 73, A.D. 444), the earliest of the "Ravenna Papyri." Other contractions occur in the papyri more or less post-dating this:

*Xprm* (*decemprimus*), Naples (Marini, 83), A.D. 489, and later (*e.g.* Ravenna (Marini, 95), A.D. 639).

*scae* (*sanctae*), in papyrus whose present location is unknown (Marini, 84), A.D. 491; similarly *sce*, Naples (Marini, 119), c. 551 A.D.; *sc*, Vatican (Marini, 75), A.D. 575; *sct*, *scta*, etc., Vatican (Marini, 87) A.D. 556-569; *sacta*, Ravenna (Marini, 95), A.D. 639.

*scl* (*scolaris*, *scholaris*), in papyrus of uncertain location (Marini, 84), A.D. 491; again, Florence (Marini, 138, 139), A.D. 510, and Ravenna (Marini, 95), A.D. 639.

*hd*, *hhdes*, *hhbus* (*heredem*, etc.), Vienna (Marini, 113), A.D. 504; also *hhbs*, *B. M.* add. ms. 5412, A.D. 572; and *hhdibus*, Vatican (Marini, 122), A.D. 591.

*qd* (*quod*), Vienna (Marini, 113), A.D. 504.

*pp* (properly a syllabic suspension for *perpetuus*), *ibid.*

*ql* (*quinquennalis*), Vatican papyri (Marini, 115, 116), A.D. 540; also the partially syllabic suspension *qq*, Vatican (Marini, 114), c. 546 A.D.

*qs* (*quos*), Florence (Marini, 117), A.D. 541.

*sse* (*suprascripte* or *suprascriptae*), *ibid.*, A.D. 541; also *ssso*, *ssti*, *sstam*, *sstorum*, *sstis*, Vatican (Marini, 114), c. 546 A.D.; and *sstrum*, *B. M.* add. ms. 5412, A.D. 572.

*dl m* (*dolum malum*), Vatican (Marini, 114), c. 546 A.D.

*v strn* (*vir strenuus*), *ibid.*

*Ravs* (*Ravennatis*), Naples (Marini, 119), c. 551 A.D.; also *Ravtem*, Vatican (Marini, 75), A.D. 575.

*sblu* (?)<sup>9</sup>, Venice, S. Giorgio dei Greci (Marini, 86), A.D. 553.

*ms* (*meus*), Ravenna (Marini, 140), A.D. 557.

*comt* (*comitiacus*), Vatican (Marini, 79), A.D. 556-557; also *comtcus*, *B. M.* add. ms. 5412, A.D. 572.

*scrn* (*scriniarius*), Paris (Marini, 80), A.D. 565.

<sup>9</sup> Probably for the suspension *subl*, although Marini, *l.c.*, note 29, compares it with *sbl*, which he cites from an inscription in Ravenna.

*supda* (*supradicta*), *ibid.*

*monitr* (*monitarii*), *B. M.* add. ms. 5412, A.D. 572.

*scl* (*sacrarum largitionum* ?), *ibid.*

*rg* (*rogatarius* ?), Paris (Marini, 74), A.D. 552-575.

*clm* (*clamator* ?), *ibid.*

*prb* (*praebiter*), Monza, Cathedral (Marini, 143), c. 604 A.D.

*u ru* (*vir reverendus* ?), Vatican (Marini, 94), A.D. 625.

*cann* (either contraction or pluralized suspension for *canonum*), Ravenna (Marini, 95), A.D. 639.

In the cases of many of these words, abbreviation by suspension persists :

With *xprm* cp. *xprim*, Ravenna (Marini, 95), A.D. 639.

More common than *scl* is *scol* or *schol*, e.g. Ravenna (Marini, 95), A.D. 639.

Beside *hd*, etc., cp. the pluralized suspension *hh*, e.g. Florence (Marini, 117), A.D. 541, and Vatican (Marini, 79), A.D. 556-557.

*v strn* is unusual; cp. *st*, e.g. Ravenna (Marini, 140), A.D. 557, and Paris (Marini, 74), A.D. 552-575, etc.

One example of *dl m* is balanced by *dol m*, Vatican and Padua (Marini, 123), c. 616-619 A.D.

*Ravs* and *Ravtem* are irregular beside *Rav*, Venice (Marini, 86), A.D. 553, and Ravenna (Marini, 95), 639 A.D., etc.

Contemporaneous with *comt* is *com*, Ravenna (Marini, 140), A.D. 557.

*scrn* and *scrin* occur together at a late date, Ravenna (Marini, 95), A.D. 639.

*prb* is probably only late; cp. *praesb*, Naples (Marini, 119), c. 551 A.D.

Further, certain other common contractions are conspicuously lacking :

E.g. *dominus noster* is abbreviated *d n*; cp. *dd nn* (*domini nostri*), Ravenna (Marini, 95), A.D. 639; similarly *eccl(esia)*, *ibid.*; *subd(iaconus)*, Vatican (Marini, 94), A.D. 625; *episc(opus)*, Paris (Marini, 74), A.D. 552-575; etc.

The brevity, then, of the list of the contractions used to the exclusion of suspensions and the exclusive use of suspension in abbreviating some of the words most frequently used, serve

to illustrate the slowness with which the method of abbreviation by contraction made its way.

Similarly, abbreviation marks became specialized very slowly. The mark, when occurring in the earliest papyri, is a point,<sup>10</sup> sometimes an angle,<sup>11</sup> sometimes an overline,<sup>12</sup> which is, later, sometimes joined to final stroke in a hook.<sup>13</sup>

An oblique stroke across the final letter occurs first in the last of the fourth century<sup>14</sup> and, at about the same time, the sign 3,<sup>15</sup> which is more often attached to the last letter in a downward curve.<sup>16</sup>

From the fifth century on, all of these marks, except, possibly, the angle, are used; not yet with special significations, but, apparently, more according to the convenience of the writer,<sup>17</sup> the determining factors being, often, the positions of the final stroke of the abbreviation and the initial of the following word.

<sup>10</sup> *E.g.* *Oxyrh.* 1022 (A.D. 103), Berlin, 7124 (A.D. 131), Berlin, 7428 (A.D. 140), *B. M.* 229 (A.D. 166), *Oxyrh.* 1114 (A.D. 237), *Oxyrh.* 720 (A.D. 247), Wessely, 19 (A.D. 396).

<sup>11</sup> *B. M.* 229 (A.D. 166), *B. M.* 1196 (A.D. 176-186).

<sup>12</sup> *B. M.* 482 (A.D. 130), Berlin, 7124 (A.D. 131), Wessely, 16 (A.D. 317), Leipzig, 530 (A.D. 344 ?), Leipzig, 65 (A.D. 390).

<sup>13</sup> Wessely, 17-18 (A.D. 398), Cairo, 10482 (A.D. 403 ?).

<sup>14</sup> Leipzig, 65 (A.D. 390), Wessely, 19 (A.D. 396), Wessely, 17-18 (A.D. 398), Wessely, 21 (c. 398 A.D.), Cairo, 10482 (A.D. 403 ?), Wessely, 26 (c. 436 A.D. ?).

<sup>15</sup> Wessely, 25 (A.D. 400 ?), Wessely, 26 (c. 436 A.D. ?), Wessely, 27 (A.D. 562).

<sup>16</sup> Wessely, 21 (c. 398 A.D.), Marini, 117 (A.D. 541), etc.

<sup>17</sup> In addition to the Mss. cited above, *cp.*, *e.g.*, Vatican papyrus (Marini, 114, c. 546 A.D.); Naples (Marini, 119, c. 551 A.D.), etc.



V.—*Repudiative Questions in Greek Drama, and in Plautus and Terence*

BY PROFESSOR ANDREW RUNNI ANDERSON

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

No reader of Latin Comedy fails to notice the frequency with which the thought of one person is echoed by another. The echo-clause is in the form of a question, and its speaker in effect questions or repudiates the thought which he echoes. The Latin construction has been made the subject of several studies<sup>1</sup> and offers a rather complex problem. None of them, however, consider the Greek construction; in fact, Schlicher, *op. cit.*, 70, if I understand him correctly, denies the existence of corresponding evidence in Greek. However, the construction does occur in Greek, and because of the close connection between Greek drama and Plautus and Terence I have thought it worth while to present the evidence.

## GREEK

Phrynichus in Bekker's *Anecdota*, I, 40, 32, quoting Aristophanes, *Ran.* 1133 f., has the following important note:—

ἐγὼ σιωπῶ τῷδε · Ἄριστοφάνης ταύτην ἐσχημάτισε τὴν σύνταξιν · καθ' ὑπόκρισιν δέ · λέγει γάρ

⟨ΔΙ⟩ Αἰσχύλε, παραινῶ σοι σιωπᾶν · εἰ δὲ μή,  
πρὸς τρίσιν ἰαμβεῖοισι προσοφείλων φανῆ.

εἴτ' ἀποκρίνεται Αἰσχύλος

ἐγὼ σιωπῶ τῷδε ;

βούλεται γὰρ λέγειν καθ' ὑπόκρισιν · εἶτα ἐγὼ τούτῳ σιωπήσομαι ; οἷον ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἐμὲ τῷδε ὑποστέλλεσθαι καὶ ὑπεῖκειν λόγοις ;

<sup>1</sup> H. Kraz, *Die sogenannte unwillige oder missbilligende Frage mit d. Coniunctiv*, u. s. w., Stuttgart, 1862; G. Müller, *Über die sog. unwill. od. missb. Fragen im Lat.*, Görlitz, 1875; W. Guthmann, *Über eine Art unwilliger Fragen*, Nürnberg, 1891; A. Dittmar, *Studien zu lat. Moduslehre*, Leipzig, 1897, p. 79 f.; J. J. Schlicher, *The Moods of Indirect Quotation*, *AJP.* xxvi (1905), 60 f.; see also Bennett, *SEL.* 186 f.

I cite now in their chronological order the other instances in which the construction occurs :<sup>2</sup> —

*Aves*, 1689.                   HP. βούλεσθε δῆτ' ἐγὼ τέως  
 ὀπτῶ τὰ κρέα ταυτὶ μένων; ὑμεῖς δ' ἴτε.  
 ΠΟ. ὀπτῶς<sup>3</sup> τὰ κρέα; πολλήν γε τευθειάν λέγεις.  
 οὐκ εἶ μεθ' ἡμῶν;

This is the most interesting of all the examples. Heracles practically asks Poseidon to command him to roast the meat while the others (P. *et al.*) are away. Poseidon, however, knew the size of Heracles' appetite (cf. Starkie's note to *Vesp.* 60), and wisely repudiated the suggestion by commanding him to come along with the crowd.

*Lys.* 529.                   ΔΥ. σιώπα.  
 ΠΡ. σοί γ' ὦ κατάρτε σιωπῶ γῶ, καὶ ταῦτα κάλυμμα φορούση  
 περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν; μή νυν ζήην.

*Thesm.* 27.               ΕΥ. σίγα νυν.   MN. σιωπῶ τὸ θύριον;  
 ΕΥ. ἄκου'.   MN. ἀκούω καὶ σιωπῶ τὸ θύριον;

Here the absurd misapplication which Mnesilochus (sic) makes of Euripides' commands opens the way for their rejection.

*Eur. Bacch.* 1184.

ΑΓ. μέτεχε νυν θοίνας.   ΧΟ. τί; μετέχω, τλάμων;

So the passage is read by Hartung, Wilamowitz, Murray; the Mss. have τί μετέχω τλάμων; Whether the emended reading shall stand or not will depend upon our answer to the question, Are the chorus sufficiently sober to understand and consequently to reject the awful feast they are invited to share? To my mind the emended reading is far superior. I take the liberty of quoting here three instances from Eurip-

<sup>2</sup> Kühner-Gerth, § 394, p. 222, and Stahl, *SGV.* 365, cite Arist. *Ran.* 1134, and *Lys.* 530; the latter passage is cited also by Gildersleeve, *SCG.* § 380. In these instances the subjunctive verb form is the same as the indicative. Unequivocal forms like *Ran.* 1229; Cephisodorus, 3 K; Menand. *Epitrep.* 178, are not cited.

<sup>3</sup> None of the authorities quote any instance of a *sentence-question* in the subjunctive second person singular. Hence the particular value of this instance for the Greek.

ides in which the verb—almost certainly in the subjunctive—is to be supplied:—

*Iph. Aul.* 831.

ΚΛ. μείνον, τί φεύγεις; δεξιάν τ' ἐμῆ χερὶ  
σύναψον, ἀρχὴν μακαρίαν νυμφευμάτων.

ΑΧ. τί φῆς; ἐγὼ σοὶ δεξιάν (scil. συνάψω); αἰδοίμεθ' ἂν  
'Αγαμέμνον', εἰ ψάοιμεν ὧν μὴ μοι θέμις. See also 731-2.

*Hel.* 805.

ΕΛ. μὴ νυν καταιδού, φεύγε δ' ἐκ τῆσδε χθονός.

ΜΕ. λιπὼν σέ (scil. φεύγω);

The latter passage belongs chronologically before *Lys.* 529, quoted above. The next three passages I shall quote are especially significant, since in them the subjunctive form is not equivocal with the indicative. (*Arist. Ran.* 1133, quoted by Phrynichus belongs here; see above, p. 43.)

*Ran.* 1227.

ΔΙ. ὦ δαιμόνι' ἀνδρῶν, ἀποπρίω τὴν λήκνυθον,  
ἵνα μὴ διακναίση τοὺς προλόγους ἡμῶν. ΕΥ. τὸ τί;  
ἐγὼ πρίωμαι τῷδε;

Through lack of closer date I quote here Cephisodorus, 3 (I, 800 K):<sup>4</sup>

Α. ἔπειτ' ἀλείφεισθαι τὸ σῶμα μοι πρίω  
μύρον ἶρινον καὶ ῥόδινον, ἄγαμαι, Ξανθία.  
καὶ τοῖς ποσὶν χωρὶς πρίω μοι βάκχαριν.

Β. ὦ λακκόπρωκτε, βάκχαριν τοῖς σοῖς ποσὶν  
ἐγὼ πρίωμαι; λαικάσομ' ἄρα βάκχαριν;

Menand. *Epitrep.* 177. ΣΥ. τὸν δακτύλιον θές, ἄθλιε.

ΟΝ. τὸν ἡμέτερόν σοι θῶ;<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Lysias*, XXI, 4, shows that a choregus for Cephisodorus won the prize in the archonship of Euclides, 403.

<sup>5</sup> No clear instance of a negative echo, *i.e.* of a prohibition, occurs, but the negative was unquestionably μὴ. Cf. *Xen. Mem.* I, 2, 31-38, where the Thirty had commanded Socrates (31) λόγων τέχνην μὴ διδάσκειν, (33) τοῖς νέοις μὴ διαλέγεσθαι, (35) μηδὲ σὺ διαλέγου νεωτέροις τριάκοντα ἐτών. Socrates in answer asked (36) μηδ', ἐάν τι ὠνώμαι . . . ἔρωμαι ὁπόσου πωλεῖ; and μηδ' ἀποκρίνωμαι οὐν, ἂν τί με ἐρωτᾷ νέος, ἐάν εἰδῶ, οἷον ποῦ οἰκεῖ Χαρικλῆς; ἢ ποῦ ἐστί Κριτίας; Socrates kept his temper, and asked an interpretation of the command in ordinary subjunctive questions. Had he lost his temper, his answers would have shown the full-fledged repudiative subjunctive.

The important points of Phrynichus' note may now be stated as follows:—

1. He translates *σιωπῶ*, which a comparison with other passages shows to be the subjunctive, (*a*) by the future indicative strengthened by an indignant *εἶτα*; and (*b*) by a question expressing propriety, *ἄξιόν ἐστι κτλ . . .*;

2. The subjunctive is used by way of answer, *καθ' ὑπόκρισιν*.

3. It was Aristophanes who *ἔσχημάτισε* this construction, by which he probably means that it was Aristophanes who gave it literary form. In the following pages it will be established in confirmation of Phrynichus that while Aristophanes systematized the construction, he was merely availing himself of the full power of the subjunctive as the mood of will, and that what he did was to introduce into literature what may very reasonably be held to have existed in popular speech. What Phrynichus' note omitted to state was that it was used only by way of answering a command or its equivalent. Here it may be pointed out that the example quoted by Phrynichus from Aristophanes was not chronologically the earliest, that distinction belonging to *Aves*, 1689, and it is not impossible that if we had Aristophanes' works entire, examples would be found antedating even that from the *Aves*. It is interesting to observe that the doubtful passage, *Bacch.* 1184, as well as the three other Euripidean ones there cited, are all later than the above-quoted example from the *Aves*. May not the suppression of the verb in these three instances (*Hel.* 805; *Iph. Aul.* 731, 831) indicate that Euripides was feeling his way? Gildersleeve's definition of the interrogative subjunctive, *SCG.* 379, makes it easier to understand the repudiative: "The subjunctive question expects an imperative answer . . ." The repudiative question is a question hardly more than in origin and form, and the speaker uses the form of question chiefly for appearances' sake. It differs further from the ordinary subjunctive question in coming *after* the command, *καθ' ὑπόκρισιν*. It may be defined as the specialized and restricted function of an interrogative subjunctive that asks for the interpretation of a command,

and for the limits within which that command is to be carried out.<sup>6</sup> Cf. Arist. *Acharn.* 142.

Here may be cited a number of interrogative subjunctives following commands, but differing from the above in being word-questions rather than sentence-questions: —

Arist. *Nub.* 87 (cf. *Vesp.* 760-1),

ΣΤ. ὦ παῖ πιθοῦ. ΦΕ. τί οὖν πίθωμαι δητὰ σοι;

[*Nub.* 111.

ΣΤ. ἐλθὼν διδάσκου. ΦΕ. καὶ τί σοι μαθήσομαι;]

*Aves*, 163 f.

ΠΙ. ἦ μὲν γ' ἐνορῶ βούλευμ' ἐν ὄρνιθων γένει  
καὶ δύναμιν ἢ γένοιτ' ἄν, εἰ πίθοισθέ μοι.

ΕΠ. τί σοι πιθώμεσθ'; ΠΙ. ὦ, τι πίθησθε;

*Thesm.* 243.

ΕΥ. θάρρει. ΜΝ. τί θαρρῶ καταπετυρπολημένος;

*Thesm.* 938 f.

ΜΝ. χάρισαι βραχὺ τί μοι καίπερ ἀποθανουμένῳ.

ΠΡ. τί σοι χαρίσωμαι;

Soph. *Phil.* 816.

ΦΙ. μέθες με μέθες με. ΝΕ. ποῖ μεθῶ;

*O. C.* 213.

ΧΟ. αὔδα. ΟΙ. τέκνον, ὦμοι, τί γεγῶνω;

*Eur. Orest.* 1022 f.

ΟΡ. οὐ σίγ' ἀφείσα τοὺς γυναικείους γόους  
στέρξεις τὰ κρανθέντ'; . . . . .

. . . . .

ΗΛ. καὶ πῶς σιωπῶ;

Cf. Theocr. 22, 54 f.

ΠΟ. χαίρε ξεῖν', ὅτις ἔσσι. τίνες βροτοὶ ὦν ὄδε χῶρος;

ΑΜ. χαίρω πῶς, ὅτε γ' ἄνδρας ὄρω τοὺς μὴ πρὶν ὄπωπα;

Some of these have repudiative force, e.g. *Thesm.* 243. The chronological development of this form seems to be

<sup>6</sup> Sometimes what seems equivalent to a command in the future indicative is echoed by the future indicative: —

*Aves*, 1205,

ΠΙ. ταυτηνί τις οὐ συλλήψεται

ἀναπτόμενος τρίτορχος; ΠΡ. ἐμὲ συλλήψεται:

Here, however, the echo is not really a repudiation, but an expression of horror that the command is to be executed; cf. *Plut.* 128; Menander, *Sam.* 108, and the Latin instances quoted on p. 57.

parallel to that of sentence repudiatives previously considered, and on the basis of our literary remains here, too, Aristophanes seems to be the pioneer. Perhaps, however, allowance should be made for the difference between comic and tragic diction.

The repudiatives so far considered repudiate commands, and are expressed by the same tense of the subjunctive as that of the imperative in which the command was given. Theoretically at least, the future indicative could have been used. The same verb need not be used in the repudiation that was used in the command, cf. *Thesm.* 27; *Ran.* 1229, where Meineke's 'ποπρίωμαι is thus shown to be unnecessary; *Nub.* 111. The next class of examples to be considered will be found to differ from that just considered in having present rather than future force, and in questioning or rejecting, not a command, but a statement, or what involves a statement, and therefore in being expressed by the indicative, not by the subjunctive: —

Aesch. *Prom.* 971 [992].

EPM. χλιδᾶν ἔοικας τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασιν.

= χλιδᾶς, ὡς ἔοικε, κτλ.

ΠΡ. χλιδῶ; χλιδῶντας ὦδε τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐγὼ  
ἐχθροὺς ἴδοιμι.

I am not aware that any one has conjectured χλιδᾶν, which would exactly echo the antecedent form.

Eur. *Alc.* 806.

HP. μὴ λίαν

πένθει· δόμων γὰρ ζῶσι τῶνδε δεσπόται.

ΘΕ. τί; ζῶσιν; vulg. τί ζῶσιν; I have punctuated so as to show that τί does not go directly with ζῶσιν. Cf. *Ion*, 1407 f.; Arist. *Lys.* 875 f.

*Ran.* 23.

ΔΙ. τοῦτον δ' ὄχῳ,

ἵνα μὴ ταλαιπωροῖτο μηδ' ἄχθος φέροι.

(D's contention is that Xanthias οὐκ ἄχθος φέρει.)

ΞΑ. οὐ γὰρ φέρω γῶ; Cf. *Acharn.* 594; *Vesp.* 515.

*Plut.* 369.

ΧΡ. σὺ μὲν οἶδ' ὁ κρώζεις· ὡς ἐμοῦ τι κεκλοφότος

ζητεῖς μεταλαβεῖν. ΒΛ. μεταλαβεῖν ζητῶ; τίνοσ; (cf. 899 f.).

Other tenses of the indicative in the antecedent clause are treated on the same principle as that we have just seen illustrated for the present indicative (for the future indicative, see n. 6, above); *i.e.* the same tense and mood is expressed or understood in the echo clause that was used or implied in the antecedent clause, the only change, if any, being the necessary adjustment of person; cf. Arist. *Aves*, 466; *Thesm.* 742; Soph. *Trach.* 427 f.; Eur. *Cycl.* 260 f., 639 f.; *Hipp.* 800 f.; *Ion*, 338 f., 951 f.; *Hel.* 566 f., 674 f.

The results of the above investigation may be summarized as follows: Assuming that the equivocal forms in *Prom.* 972,  $\chi\lambda\iota\delta\acute{\omega}$ , *Alc.* 807,  $\zeta\acute{\omega}\sigma\iota\nu$ , *Plut.* 370,  $\zeta\eta\tau\acute{\omega}$ , are indicatives, we are justified on the basis of Greek literary remains in accepting the testimony of Phrynichus that Aristophanes introduced into literature the construction typified by *Ran.* 1133. Accordingly Euripides and Cephisodorus, his contemporaries, as far as they used it all, used it following his lead, and from these authors it passed to Menander and the New Comedy. In the use of this, as of other exclamatory forms, *e.g.* the exclamatory infinitive (cf. *CP.* ix [1914], 74 f.), Greek authors, unlike their Latin brethren, showed great self-restraint.

The above analysis sets up no new theory of the subjunctive; rather by showing that the repudiative subjunctive is a development of the volitive-deliberative, it accords with the commonly accepted view that the subjunctive was essentially a mood of will.<sup>7</sup> The Greek mind, ever logical, clearly recognized that will could be repudiated only by will, and since the imperative *qua* mood could not readily be used interrogatively, recourse was had, when a command was to be repudiated, to the only mood of will that could assume interrogative form in all persons, especially the first; cf. Goodwin, *GMT.* § 291.

<sup>7</sup> So A. W. McWhorter, "A Study of the So-called Deliberative Type of Question," *TAPA.* xli, 157 ff., esp. A, 7; B, III, 1, (a); "The 'Mood of the Question' and the 'Mood of the Answer,'" *PAPA.* XLIII, xliii ff. It is hoped that Professor McWhorter will publish his investigation in fuller form, with illustrative material.

## LATIN

The fact that the Greek subjunctive was not the result of syncretism, nor in any sense the mood of indirect quotation, but essentially the mood of will, makes Greek of greater value for comparative purposes than German (used by Schlicher) in the analysis of repudiative usage in Latin — in which the so-called subjunctive was a composite of both optative and subjunctive forms, and exercised optative and potential, as well as volitive functions. In Latin the repudiative is found fully developed in all its forms in our earliest literary remains, and no Phrynichus was in a position to tell us when the construction took shape; but through the help of Greek it can be stated with much confidence that the original form was the same for both languages; *i.e.* the subjunctive was used in such questions only when an expression of will was rejected. The fact that the Latin subjunctive was the result of syncretism makes a broader statement desirable; for if will can be repudiated only by will, ought it not to be expected that an expression of wish could be repudiated only by an expression of wish, a potentiality by a potentiality, and so on, the repudiative clause in each instance being a question based in its general form upon that of the antecedent clause? But the repudiator might not be inclined to adhere to the antecedent form; *e.g.* in Plaut. *Men.* 1023,

si recte facias, ere, med emittas manu. ::  
liberem ego te?

where Menaechmus does not deny his *power* to set Messenio free, but his *will* to do so; cf. Arist. *Av.* 164–5 (p. 47); or, the repudiator might deny what had been stated as a *fact* (indicative) by questioning its *conceivability* or *possibility* (subjunctive); cf. *Most.* 13 f.,

absentem comes. ::  
nec ueri simile loquere nec uerum, frutex ;  
comesse quemquam ut quisquam apsentem possiet?



Half a century ago Kraz,<sup>8</sup> *op. cit.*, 21, established (1) that the rejection was expressed, not by the subjunctive, but by the interrogative form (and even the interrogative form does not necessarily express rejection, cf. *Cist.* 285, p. 53, since the context also must be considered); (2) that when the subjunctive was used in a repudiative question, it was subjunctive in its own right, and not through any principle of indirect quotation.

The negative of repudiative questions is *non*, except in word-questions introduced by *quid* or *quippe*, with both of which it is *ni*. This has led some investigators to see in deliberative and repudiative questions a development of the potential rather than of the volitive. While some potential influence may frankly be admitted, this was not of sufficient extent to explain the negative *non*; for although *ne* and *ni* were the original negatives for the Latin volitive, the deliberative and repudiative may early have come to be felt as a new and distinct type. Very similarly the negative of the Homeric subjunctive when used as equivalent to a future indicative was *ού*, even though in all probability it also was a development of the volitive.

The enclitic *-ne* often occurs in repudiative questions, and inasmuch as in these questions the *-ne* did not seem in all cases equally interrogative, but often to have intensive force, the question arose whether after all this was the interrogative particle. Accordingly Warren, *AJP.* II (1881), 55 f., concluded that what we had here was an "affirmative" *-ne*, which thus added greater emphasis and emotion to the repudiation. Warren's view was accepted among others by Dahl, *die Lat. Part. VT*, 299 f. That *-ne* often had intensive power cannot be doubted; cf. Plaut. *Asin.* 93 f.:—

<sup>8</sup> "Indem ich mit der reinen Conjunctivfrage beginne, schicke ich voraus, dass die 'Missbilligung,' welche die Grammatik durch diese Frage ausgedrückt sein lässt, nicht im Conjunctiv sondern in der Fragform liegt. Der Conjunctiv behält auch hier seine Grundbedeutung, Ausdruck des bloss Gedachten zu sein; die Conjunctivfrage hat es mit Vorstellungen zu thun, welche durch die Fragform verworfen werden."

me defrudato. :: maxumas nugas agis :  
 nudo detrahere uestimenta me iubes.  
 defrudem te ego? age sis, sine pennis uola.  
*ten* ego defrudem, quoi ipsi nihil est in manu  
 nisi quid tu porro uxorem defrudaueris?

I have tried to show elsewhere, *CP.* IX (1914), 174 ff., esp. 180 and 183, that interrogative *-ne* through its use in emotional questions developed confirmative or intensive functions, as seen, *e.g.*, in repudiative questions, exclamatory infinitives, and even in confident assertions where all interrogative force had been lost.

Chronologically the latest form to develop repudiative power was that introduced by *ut*. This *ut* — with which may be compared ὡς, ὅπως, ὥστε — was not in itself interrogative. While the indefinite force cannot entirely be dissociated from it, it was predominantly relative, as may be gathered from the fact that *-ne* was sometimes joined to it, cf. *Epid.* 225; *Mer.* 576; *Rud.* 1063; *Hec.* 66, 199; *Phorm.* 874; Horace, *S.* II, 5, 18. For with the exception of *quin*, in which *-ne* had its original negative force, and *qualine*, *Trin.* 1095, *-ne* was never joined to an interrogative pronominal form in early Latin. Ter. *H.T.* 954, *itane . . . ut . . . eiecerit?* seems to show that *ut* reproduces *ita* in relative form (cf. Mueller, *op. cit.*, XIII), and is therefore identical with *ut* consecutive.<sup>9</sup> Sometimes, however, the *ut* is not consecutive, but volitive, *e.g.* *Poen.* 316; *Hec.* 66.

The original type of the construction *audi. :: ego audiam? σιωπά. :: σιωπῶ ᾧ*; was paratactic, but it might easily develop hypotaxis. Theoretically, but not practically, the *ut*-forms present hypotaxis. For to make them really hypotactic would be to put the stress of the interrogation upon the main clause, variously supplied as *fierine potest*, or the like, by Krüger, Madvig, Dahl, or as an interrogative verb of commanding, *e.g. imperasne*, by Kraz.<sup>10</sup> What makes these

<sup>9</sup> When Dittmar, *op. cit.*, p. 87, and Schlicher, *CP.* II, 79, propose to develop consecutive clauses with *ut* out of *ut*-repudiatives, it would seem that they are reversing the order of development.

<sup>10</sup> A mere verb of saying is never to be regarded as constituting the ellipsis in

clauses repudiative, however, is principally the fact that they are themselves interrogative. So, although an ellipsis may be psychologically desirable, the context and the delivery would sufficiently indicate the force of the *ut*, and the construction was rarely found outside of dialogue or colloquial Latin — the drama, Cicero, Livy, and Horace in his *musa pedestris*.

#### CLASSIFICATION OF REPUDIATIVE QUESTIONS IN PLAUTUS AND TERENCE

Questions with *-ne* are marked \*; those with *ut* are marked †; only *sentence-questions* are listed, and these only when they are an echo.

##### A. THE SUBJUNCTIVE

##### I. PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE,<sup>11</sup> echoing an antecedent.

##### a. Present or Future Imperative:—

Plaut. *Asin.* 93, 94,\* see above, p. 52.

compara labella cum labellis. ::

669,\* ten osculetur, uerbero?

meum collum circumplecte. ::

697,\* ten complectatur, carnufex?

*Aul.* 82, intus serua. :: ego intus seruem?

829, redde aurum. :: reddam ego aurum?

*Capt.* 139,\* ne fle. :: egone illum non fleam? egon non  
defleam talem adolescentem?

*Cist.* 285, loricam adducito. :: loricam adducam?

This shows the type out of which the repudiative was developed.

*Curc.* 119,\* salue. :: egon salua sim?

183, tace. :: quid, taceam?

554, uale. :: quid, ualeam?

this construction. An interesting example where *iubesne* seems to be understood, and where the *infinitive* is equivalent to a repudiative subjunctive, is *Hec.* 613:—

ita ut iubes faciam. — :: hinc abire matrem? minime.

<sup>11</sup> Forms that might be either present subjunctive or future indicative are classified as subjunctive, e.g. *Aul.* 829. Two instances of the future indicative are added at the end of a.

- Mer.* 727, dic igitur. :: dicam?  
 749, abi. :: quid, abeam? :: abi. :: abeam?  
*Mil.* 496, ausculta. :: ego auscultem tibi?  
*Most.* 579, abi. :: abeam? 620 iube. :: iubeam?  
 633,\* dic te daturum. :: egon dicam dare?  
*Pers.* 188,\* da hercle pignus. :: egon dem pignus tecum?  
*Poen.* cedo sis dexteram. ::  
 316,† ut quidem tu huius oculos inlutis manibus  
 tractes aut teras?  
*Pseud.* 1315,\* onera hunc hominem. :: egone istum onerem?  
 1327,\* (i). :: egone eam?  
*Ter. And.* 384,\* dic te ducturum. :: egon dicam?  
 894, audi. :: ego audiam?  
*Eun.* 797, Pamphilam ergo huc redde. :: tibi illam reddat?  
*Phorm.* 1001, tu narra. :: scelus, tibi narret?

The above examples represent the original type as was pointed out by Mueller, *op. cit.*, VI; cf. Guthmann, *op. cit.*, 8; this is still further confirmed by the examples I have quoted from the Greek. While all three persons occur, the first naturally predominates. Only one instance with *ut* occurs, *Poen.* 316, the type which Kraz, *op. cit.*, 27, erroneously held to be the normal one.

When the future indicative was differentiated in form from the present subjunctive, the former retained for a time some traces of its power to express the volitive function, *e.g.*:—

- Plaut. *Men.* salta sic cum palla postea. ::  
 198, ego saltabo? sanus hercle non es.

Probably also

- Plaut. *Mer.* 916, paullisper mane. :: quid, manebo?

*b. Present Subjunctive Expressing Will, Wish, or Potentiality; or, a Development or Periphrasis of Any One of These:—*

This division might have been very much subdivided; *e.g.* the volitives, cf. *Bacch.* 1190, belong logically under I, *a*, while expressions involving futurity, cf. *Capt.* 208, might have been grouped under I, *c*.

- Plaut. *Asin.* (mihi lubet) hunc hercle te uerberare. ::  
 628,\* tun uerberes qui pro cibo habeas te uerberari?  
*Aul.* hau causificor quin eam  
 756,\* ego habeam potissimum. :: tun habeas me in-  
 uito meam?  
 nunc uolo me emitti manu. ::  
 824,\* egone te emittam manu?
- Bacch.* 1176, sine, mea pietas, te exorem. :: exores tu me?  
 1190,\* potes. :: egon ubi filius corrumpatur meus, ibi  
 potem?
- Capt.* 208, at fugam fingitis. :: nos fugiamus?  
*Cas.* ego uix reprimo labra . . . quin te deosculer. ::  
 454, quid, deosculere?  
*Epid.* ut . . . aduenienti (matri) des . . . osculum. ::  
 574,\* egone osculum huic dem?
- Men.* 1024, see p. 50.  
*Mer.* 567, ut illo intro eam. :: itane uero, ueruex? intro  
 eas?  
 tu quidem animum meum gestas (= uolam os-  
 culari). ::  
 575, senex hircosus tu osculere mulierem?
- Mil.* 497,\* expurigare uolo me. :: tun ted expuriges?  
 1275,\* (uolt) ad se ut eas. :: egon ad illam eam quae  
 nupta sit?
- Pers.* 135,\* tum tu me sine illam uendere. :: tun illam  
 uendas?  
 294,\* nisi te hodie, si prehendero, defigam in terram  
 colaphis. ::  
 tun me defigas?
- Pseud.* surruperes patri. ::  
 290,\* egon patri surrupere *possim* quicquam, tam  
 cauto seni?  
 318, mea fide, si isti formidas credere (= crede  
 mihi). :: tibi ego credam?  
 486, paritas ut a me auferas. :: aps ted (ten?) ego  
 auferam?  
 516,\*† iam dico ut a me caueas. :: egon ut cauere  
*nequeam*?  
 1226, saltem Pseudolum mihi dedas. :: Pseudolum  
 ego dedam tibi?

- Rud.* 1063,\*† Gripe, animum aduerte ac tace (while Trachalio speaks). ::  
utin istic prius dicat?
- Trin.* eam cupio, pater, ducere uxorem sine dote. ::  
378,\*† egone indotatam te uxorem ut *patiar*?  
edoceam ut res se habet.  
750,† sed ut ego nunc adulescenti thesaurum indicem?  
(Callicles rejects his own suggestion.)
- Truc.* 276,\* ne attigas me, :: egon te tangam?
- Ter. *And.* 270,\* timet ne deseras se. :: hem, egon istuc conari *queam*?  
271,\* egon propter me illam decipi miseram sinam?  
(Cf. 274.)  
382, inuenerit aliquam causam quam ob rem eiciat oppido. :: eiciat?  
649, habeas. :: habeam?  
900, sine . . . illum huc coram adducam. :: adducas?
- H.T.* 784,\*† ut (dare) simulares (= desponderes). ::  
egon quoi daturus non sum ut ei despondeam?  
1050,† sine te exorent (= ut bona des). :: mea bona ut dem Bacchidi?
- Eun.* 798, tu eam tangas? :: ego non tangam meam?
- Phorm.* 419, actum ne agas. :: non agam?  
431,\* ut amici inter nos simus. :: egon tuam expetam amicitiam?  
haud scio hercle, . . . an mutet animum. ::  
775, hem, mutet autem?
- Hec.* ne te quouisquam misereat. ::  
66,\*† utine eximium neminem habeam?  
342, non uisam? :: non uisas?  
671, ut alamus nostrum. :: ego alam?  
nihil enim (dones). ::  
egon qui ab orco mortuom me reducem in lucem feceris  
853,\* *sinam* sine munere a me abire?
- Ad.* 654,† ut secum auehat. :: uirginem ut secum auehat hanc te aequomst ducere. ::  
934, me ducere autem?  
939, ego . . . anum decrepitam ducam?

Schlicher, in *AJP.* xxvi, 73 f., explains the subjunctive in *Bacch.* 1176, and *Mil.* 497, as due to the indirect quotation of a thought "foreign" to the mind of the speaker. That these and similar passages have the subjunctive in their own right as volitive, or an extension of the volitive, and not through the pressure of indirect quotation, is made certain by Arist. *Av.* 1689 f.

*c. Future Indicative or Equivalent:—*

- Plaut. Asin.* dabitur pol supplicium mihi de tergo uostro. ::  
482, tibi quidem supplicium, carnufex, de nobis  
detur?  
uehes pol hodie me, si quidem hoc argentum  
ferre speres. ::  
700,\* ten ego ueham (si quidem hoc argentum ferre  
sperem = feram).  
700,\* :: tun hoc feras hinc argentum?
- Cas.* quando ego eam mecum rus uxorem abduxero. ::  
111,\* tun illam ducas?
- Curc.* 494,\* mancipio tibi dabo (= accipies a me). :: egon  
ab lenone quicquam  
mancipio accipiam?
- Pers.* uenibis tu hodie (= uendam te). ::  
338,\* tuin uentris caussa filiam uendas tuam?
- Ter. Hec.* ego me rus abituram esse decreui. ::  
589, tu rus habitatum migres? (Cf. *Pers.* 294, under  
I, *b*).

For the future indicative, expressing a somewhat similar, but probably not identical, force, cf. :—

*Pseud.* 509, sumam. :: sumes?

*Cas.* 672,\* deierauit occisurum eum. :: men occidet?

*And.* 617, expediam. :: expadies?

*d. Interrogative Present Indicative that may = Command:—*

1) With *non* or *nonne* :

*Bacch.* 627, non taces? :: taceam?

*Pers.* 747,\* nonne antestaris? :: tuan ego causa, carnufex,  
quoiquam mortali libero auris atteram?

*Eun.* 676, non uides? :: uideam? obsecro quem?

*Phorm.* 988, non taces? :: taceam?

992,\*† non mihi respondes? :: hicine ut tibi respondeat?

2) With *nil*:

*Eun.* nil respondes? :: pessuma,  
153,\* egon quicquam cum istis factis tibi respondeam?

3) With *-ne*:

*Eun.* 389, iubesne? :: iubeam? cogo atque impero.

4) Without particle:

*H.T.* confitere? (*or* confitere.)  
1016,\* egon confitear meum non esse filium, qui sit meus?

5) With *quin*:

*Pseud.* 204, quin una omnes peste hac populum hunc liberant?  
205 *b*,\* illine audeant id facere?

6) With *quid*:

*Pseud.* 626, quid dubitas dare? :: tibi ego dem?

At *Eun.* 389 and 676, the subjunctive may be one of indirect question. This division is distinct from I, *a*, only in matter of form; indeed, *H.T.* 1015 might have been classed there even in form.

*e. Present Indicative or Equivalent:—*

*Amph.* 813, mi uir. :: uir ego tuos sim?

*Asin.* 838, an tu me tristem putas? :: putem ego?

*Cas.* 114, mea praedast illa. :: tua illaec praeda sit?

*Most.* 14,† see p. 50.

301,\* qur exprobras? :: egon id exprobrem?

*And.* 915, bonus est hic uir. :: hic uir sit bonus?

*Eun.* edico tibi ne uim facias ullam in illam.

808,\* tun me prohibeas meam ne tangam? ::

*prohibebo* inquam (*prohibeo* EG Donat. in lemm. See Wessner, who nevertheless reads *prohibebo* in lemm.).

*Phorm.* 260,\* an id suscenses nunc illi? :: egon illi non suscenseam?

*Hec.* 524, mi uir —. :: uir ego tuos sim?

tu uirum me aut hominem deputas adeo esse?



The following are not really parallels to the above to the extent of showing the infinitive in competition with the subjunctive in indirect discourse: — *Men.* 514-5.

*Most.* 331, madet homo. :: tun me ais mammadere?  
(Cf. 965.)

*Truc.* 586-7, inpudens mecastor, Cyame, es. :: tun ais me  
inpuidentem esse?

Rather are we to regard the subjunctives as due to the repudiator's own choice of form: he repudiates the fact underlying the antecedent clause by repudiating the very conception of it. This conception lies in the future time-sphere. See above, *Eun.* 808, where *prohibeas* is interpreted by *prohibebo*.

## II. IMPERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE.

As the present subjunctive in repudiative questions seems always to contain an idea of futurity from the point of view of the present, so the imperfect subjunctive in this construction always contains an idea of futurity from a past point of view. The use of tenses is well illustrated by the following:—

*Ter. Ad.* 933, hanc te *aequomst ducere*. ::  
939, ego . . . anum decrepitam *ducam*?  
674 f,\* haec, mi pater, te *dicere aequom fuit*. ::  
ridiculum : aduorsumne illum causam *dicerem*  
quoi ueneram aduocatus?

*Plaut. Most.* 182 f.,  
SC. ita Philolaches tuos te *amet*, ut uenusta es. ::  
PHILOL. quid ais, scelesta? quomodo adiurasti? ita ego  
istam *amarem*?  
*Cas.* 366, Casina ut uxor mihi daretur. :: tibi daretur illa?  
*Curc.* 552,\* nonne is crederem? (Cf. *Bacch.* 198.\*†)  
*Mil.* 962,\*† egone ut ad te ab libertina esse *auderem* inter-  
nuntius?  
*Pseud.* 288, surruperes patri. :: surruperet hic patri, auda-  
cissime?  
*Rud.* 843, caperes . . . lapidem. :: ego quasi canem  
hominem insectarer lapidibus nequissimum?

- Trin.* 133, non ego illi argentum redderem? ∴ non redderes.  
 954, an ille tam esset stultus qui mi mille nummum crederet?  
 957, mihi concrederet, nisi me ille et ego illum nossem probe? ∴  
 961,\* eine aurum crederem?  
*Ter. And.* 282, ut memor esses sui. ∴ memor essem?  
 584,\* ne faceres idem. ∴ egon istuc facerem?  
*Phorm.* non ei pater ueniam daret? ∴  
 ille indotatam uirginem atque ignobilem  
 121, daret illi? numquam faceret.  
*Ad.* num sineres uero illum tuom  
 396, facere haec? ∴ sinerem illum?  
 (Cf. Cic. *ad Quint. Fr.* 1, 3, quoted below.)

### III. PERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE.

In the four following instances *ausim* has the force of merely an aoristic future:—

- Mer.* palpo percutis. ∴  
 154-5,\* egon *ausim* tibi usquam quicquam facinus falsum proloqui?  
*Most.* at enim ne quid captioni mihi sit, si dederim tibi. ∴  
 923,\* egone te ioculo modo *ausim* fallere . . . ?  
 924,\* egone aps te *ausim* non cauere . . . ?  
*Poen.* si auctoritatem postea defugeris,  
 ubi dissolutus tu sies, ego pendeam. ∴  
 149,\* egone istuc *ausim* facere, praesertim tibi?  
 (Cf. *Mer.* 301).

Here "special emphasis leads to the separation of the will and the repudiation . . . *faciam* is expanded into *ausim facere*<sup>12</sup> to make the repudiation stronger." — Morris, in *AJP.* xviii, 288.

<sup>12</sup> For other forms of *audeo* similarly used, cf. *Pseud.* 205 b; *Mil.* 962; cf. the use of *patiar*, *Trin.* 318; *sinam*, *And.* 271, 274; likewise the repudiation may be strengthened by separating the possibility and the repudiation; cf. *Most.* 15; *Pseud.* 290, 516; *And.* 270; *Hec.* 139; cf. esp. Cic. *ad Q. Fr.* 1, 3, 1: Ego tibi irascerer? tibi ego *possem* irasci?

Before citing the next example of the perfect, let me by way of illustration cite an instance of the treatment of its closely related form, the future perfect indicative:—

*Cas.* 110-1,\* quando ego eam mecum rus uxorem abduxero. : :  
tun illam ducas?

Here the echo, *ducas*, shows that *abduxero* still retained its aoristic function, and that it had the force of a simple and not of a completed future. In the following passage both *uiceris* and *uicerim* may express completed action, *Truc.* 625:—

emoriere ocuis, ni manu uiceris. : : quid, manu uicerim?

As was pointed out under I, the time-sphere of the present subjunctive seems practically always to be the future; even so that of the perfect subjunctive, when the latter had ceased to be merely aoristic, acquired (like the Greek aorist subjunctive in subordinate clauses) future perfect force; *i.e.* of a present perfect used deliberately, *e.g.* *Amph.* 748:—

audiuistin tu me narrare haec hodie? : : ubi ego audiuerim?  
“where shall I have heard it?” “where am I to have heard it?”

This form, therefore, repudiates what has been stated as occurring in the past, by challenging the future to confirm it. This may be true for several of the following examples; note *reperies*, *Men.* 683:—

- Amph.* 818,\* tecum fui. : : tun mecum fueris?  
*Epid.* (induta erat induculam) inpluuiatam. : :  
225,\*† utin inpluuium induta fuerit?  
*Men.* tibi dedi equidem illam (pallam) . . . et illud  
spinter. : :  
683,† mihi tu ut dederis pallam et spinter? numquam  
factum reperies.  
*Most.* quod . . . hic tecum filius  
1017,† negoti gessit. : : mecum ut ille hic gesserit?  
1026 *d.* de te aedis. : : i (tane? de me) ille aedis emerit?  
*Pers.* hic leno neque te nouit neque gnatam tuam. : :  
132,† me ut quisquam norit?  
*H. T.* 954,† itane tandem quaeso, Menedeme? ut pater  
tam in breui spatio omnem de me eiecerit ani-  
mum patris?

The close connection between repudiative and consecutive *ut* becomes evident in the foregoing passage. The transition from potentiality and tendency to reality and actuality involves no real difficulty in either construction.

*Hec.* 136,† nocte illa prima uirginem non attingit ;  
 quae consecutast nox eam, nihilo magis. : :  
 quid ais? cum uirgine una adulescens cubuerit  
 plus potus, sese illa abstinere ut potuerit?

#### IV. PLUPERFECT.

Instances like *Phorm.* 380, "quasi non nosses. : : nossem?" belong with the imperfect. The pluperfect was a late and rare development in this construction—a completed imperfect. Cf. *Cic. ad Att.* xv, 11, *egone ut beneficium accepissem contumeliam?*

In Plautus and Terence there occur about fifty instances of the indicative in echo-questions. Since the context here also is of great importance, no general statement can cover all cases, but the following principle of division may be helpful: When the antecedent clause states as a fact something that the speaker of the echo-clause in the very nature of things cannot have personal knowledge of, his question expresses mere surprise, doubt, bewilderment, or horror; when, however, the antecedent clause states as a fact something in regard to which the speaker of the echo-clause may be presumed to know the real truth, his question, expressed by the indicative, may be regarded as absolutely repudiative, as no subjunctive really could be.<sup>18</sup> Such repudiatives are generally in the first person singular, or, if not that, they deal with something in regard to which the speaker may be presumed to have knowledge or over which he may be presumed to have control. Such repudiatives are likely to be found in passages involving mistaken identity; cf. *Men.* 301-5 below, or passages in which a character to remain faithful to the rôle he plays must deny what may be a fact, cf. *Capt.* 611.

<sup>18</sup> Schlicher, *op. cit.*, 78, in holding that the indicative expresses an attitude inclined toward full acceptance, seems to me to have missed the real force of this category.

## B. INDICATIVE

## I. PRESENT.

- Plaut. *Capt.* 611, quid mi abnutas? :: tibi ego abnuto?  
*Men.* neque te quis homo sis scio. ::  
 302, non scis quis ego sim, qui tibi saepissime  
 cyathisso apud nos, quando potas? ::  
 305,\* tun cyathissare mihi soles, qui ante hunc diem  
 Epidamnum numquam uidi neque ueni?  
*Mer.* 305,\* amo. :: tun capite cano amas, senex nequissime?  
 (See Morris, *AJP.* x, 426.)  
*Most.* 595, non dat, non debet. :: non debet?  
 heus senex, quid tu percontare ad te quod nihil  
 attinet?  
 940, nihil ad me attinet?  
 Ter. *And.* 910 f. SI. tun hic homines adolescentulos . . . in fraudem  
 inlicis?  
 sollicitando et pollicitando eorum animos  
 lactas? . . .  
 ac meretricios amores nuptiis conglutinas? . . .  
 921, CR. ego istaec moueo aut curo?

Crito knew well that Simo's charges against him were baseless, and so his repudiation of them could not but be absolute and final.

- Ter. *Eun.* 162,\* nunc times. :: egon timeo? so *Phorm.* 999.\*  
*Phorm.* 389, temptatum aduenis. :: ego autem tempto?  
 (Cf. *H.T.* 587.) To have used *ego autem temptem* would have been both evasive and cacophonous.

## II. FUTURE.

Since the future does not deal with certainties, it is to be grouped rather with the subjunctive, see pp. 54 and 57.

## III. PERFECT.

- Aul.* nisi refers . . . quod surrupuisti meum. ::  
 761, surrupui ego tuom? (*surrupio* read by some  
 editors following *BDE* is pointless. Acidalius  
 here made a brilliant transposition.)

- Men.*            *qu*r igitur me tibi iussisti coquere dudum  
                    prandium? ::  
389,\* *egon* te iussi coquere?  
                    *med* amisisti liberum. ::  
1058, liberum ego te iussi abire?  
*Ad.*             *si* satis iam debacchatus es, leno . . . ::  
185,\* *egon* debacchatus sum autem, an tu in me?

The above classification shows that as in Greek, so in Latin, the mood of the repudiative clause was generally determined by the character of the antecedent clause. In view of the great number of instances in which indicative is echoed by indicative, the infractions of the rule seen under A. I, *e* (p. 58 f.), and under A. III (p. 61 f.) cannot be regarded as typical. In so large a number of instances these are rather to be regarded as illustrations of the manner in which the repudiator might exercise his prerogative of choosing his own form.

VI. — *Some Passages in Menander*

BY PROFESSOR FRANCIS G. ALLINSON

BROWN UNIVERSITY

THE text of Menander must, at many points, be provisional for years to come. The following suggestions are made in the hope that they may, if not accepted as they stand, at least contribute to a further betterment of the text by calling forth criticism.

To an editor, unable to consult the Cairo codex itself, but forced to content himself with the facsimile and apograph of Lefebvre, along with the second Teubner edition by Körte, there arises the problem of reconciling with these, as far as may be, the series of readings made independently and reported by Christian Jensen, *R.M.*, 1910, "De Menandri codice Cairensi." These readings are often inconsistent with one or both of the other texts. Where Jensen has erected his readings into full emendations of the *editio princeps*, Lefebvre, in his apograph, and Körte, in his second edition, have accepted them to a large extent. This fact suggests that due consideration must be given also, in other passages, to Jensen's report of sporadic letters which are irreconcilable with our present provisional text. The three passages following are offered in illustration.

I. *Epitrep.* 392-394.<sup>1</sup> In line 393 Jensen reports οὐδεὶς Ç . K . . I . . . ἕτερος, but L<sup>2</sup> gives οὐδεὶς AN . . . . ἕτερος.<sup>2</sup>

Thus the facsimile not only disagrees from Jensen in giving AN for C, but also leaves a lacuna for five letters only instead of for seven. Into this whole space Robert puts μάγειρος, which suits neither report. All editors, however, assume that the cook is lurking somewhere, and (if we may assume Robert's ingenious though problematical rearrangement of fragm. M — VX<sup>1</sup>, which brings the last verse-end into juxtaposition

<sup>1</sup> The lines are numbered (for the Cairo Ms.) as in Capps: *Four Plays of Menander* (1910).

<sup>2</sup> L<sup>2</sup> = facsimile edition. ἀν ἄελη γ' would nearly fit — one letter short.

with this passage) we should obtain one clue to the missing line, 392, for which the completion offered below is intended as merely a suggestion of the content. But *Σικελικός* would conform exactly to Jensen's reported letters and space. We might therefore read:

(Mag.) [τριούτος ἔσται γὰρ μάγειρος, οἶδ' ἐ]γώ,  
 393 οὐδέϊς Σικελικὸς ἕτερος ὑμῖν. (Charis.) ποικίλον  
 ἄριστον ἀριστῶσιν.

The hackneyed appositeness of a reference to a *Sicilian* cook (a French chef) is reënforced by Charisius's first word, *ποικίλον*, recalling the phrasing in Plat. *Rep.* 404, d, *Σικελικὴν ποικιλίαν ὄψων*. On line 3 L<sup>2</sup> says: "la lecture de Jensen ἕτερος est indiscutable." In line 394 *ἀριστῶσι* for *ἀριστῶμεν* (Capps) seems pretty certain.

In the context line 396 is a crux. Jensen reports: Δ.ΚΚΕΛ.Ν . . . . Κ.С but L<sup>2</sup> gives Δ . . ΚΚΕΔΑΝ . . . . ΥΚ.С, etc. Capps in his edition read *διασκεδᾶν σ' ἄπρακτος*. Since then he queries whether it may not be (as a compromise between the two readings): *δ'ιασκεδᾶ μ' ὁ Βάκχ'ος*.

For line 398 L<sup>2</sup> now gives: . . Ν. [—]. Ε . ΑΛΕΙΤ' . . ΣΜΑΚΑΡΙΑС. This Ν involves a new reading and, if we read *βαλείτ'*, there is no room immediately before it for change of speaker. Moreover, *οὐ βαλείτ'* would seem to be required. Perhaps, therefore, we may read: *δυνήσεται σῶσαι σ' : ἔκ' αλείτ' εἰς μακαρίας*. (But plural of verb and noun are alike strange.) From the middle of line 394 Charisius would then continue:

ὁ τρισάθλιος

395 ἐγὼ κατὰ πολλὰ. νῦν μὲν οὖν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως  
 δ'ιασκεδᾶ μ' ὁ Βάκχ'ος· ἀλλ' εἰν ἄλιν  
 π' οἷς τι τοιοῦτον, ὧ μάγειρ' οὐ τίς τύχη  
 δυνήσεται σῶσαι σ'. (Mag.) ἐκ' αλείτ' εἰς μακαρίας.

This whole perplexed passage, 392-398, would then mean:

(Caterer) (You will not find, I'm sure),  
 Another such Sicilian 'chef.' (Charisius) A dainty lunch  
 Is this they're having! Thrice accursed that I am  
 On many grounds! Now somehow Bacchus wasteth me,



Yes, utterly! But, Cook, if ever once again  
 You do a thing like this, no saviour chance  
 Shall then avail you. [Exit Charisius into the house.  
 (Caterer, *sarcastically*) That's a call to Blessedness!

2. *Epitrep.* 645, 646. The first part of 696 is differently reported by Jens. and by L<sup>2</sup>. The second part of the line is now agreed upon. L<sup>2</sup> gives: Γ . . . . . ΕΥ . . . . . Δ . . ΡΟ μοι τὴν σὴν δίδου. Jens. read: . Γ . . . . . ΤΑΔ . . ΡΟ μοι τὴν σὴν δίδου. Following Jensen, K<sup>2</sup> reads Γ ἄγγε ——— δέυρο, etc., ignoring ΕΥ of L<sup>2</sup>. Now there must be some acc. fem. for τὴν σὴν. In Soph. *El.* 30, we have ὄξειαν ἀκοὴν τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις διδούς. I should therefore suggest the following for the two lines (viz.: for Jensen's doubtful Γ in second place K, and for L<sup>2</sup> ΕΥ — if they exist — ΕΤ):

645 (Habrot.) αὐτῆ' στί, νῦν ἔγνωκα.  
 (To Sophrona) χαῖρε, φιλιτάτη·  
 Γ ἄγγε σὴν δὲ τ' ἀχιστα δ' εὐρό μοι τὴν σὴν δίδου.

and translate:

(Habrotonon, *to herself*) 'Tis she, I know her now.  
 (Turning to Sophrona) Yes, greeting, dear, my dear,  
 And quick as may be lend your ear to me in this.

3. *Epitrep.* 654–659. The correct reading of these lines is vital to the interpretation of this very important scene. The difficulties come in lines 657, 658, where there are two small lacunae to be filled; and there is a choice between οὐ/οὐ̄; between γε/σε; between the interrogative and non-interrogative form of the sentence; and between the observing or not of the (clearly reported) signs of change of speaker. There is also involved (in σε) the question whether Pamphila herself appears or even, as some editors, including K<sup>2</sup>, assume, actually takes part in the dialogue.

The lines in dispute Jensen, ignoring the (:) on both sides of ναίχι and the paragraphus under line 658, reports as follows:

. . . ΙΝΕ (6 or 7 places) Ν (or Τ) ΟΥΓΕ τὴν νύμφην ὀρῶ  
 τὴν ἔνδον οὔσαν; ναίχι, μακαρία γύναι,

Jensen denies the ' before *ου*. L<sup>2</sup> gives :

. . . . . Ε . . . . . 'οὐ ᾤΕ τὴν νύμφην ὄρῶ  
τὴν ἔνδον οὖσαν : ναίχι : μακαρία γύναι,

and says: "le scribe avait certainement écrit ΓΕ; il semble avoir ensuite corrigé ΓΕ en CE."

Körte's admirable suggestion of Γἔστ'ἴν ἐπιδηλοῦν suits the space and Jensen's letters exactly. He then reads οὐ σέ — οὖσαν; ναίχι, μακαρία, etc., continuing all to Habrotonon, and assuming that Pamphila has an actual speaking part. This latter I cannot, for several reasons, accept, and it seems very arbitrary to ignore the change of speaker before and after ναίχι, which is apparently a strong assent thrown in by Sophrona. If οὐ γε . . . . οὖσαν; were only a justifiable collocation for a question, the whole context would be simple enough. We might then read with Körte ἔστιν ἐπίδηλον or, perhaps, Γἔκεῖνος ἔστιν, which is nearly as good but substitutes *o* for the other round letter *e*,—the direct assertion, "'Tis he," seems appropriate — or if ἐκεῖνος alone were not too bald — which it is — we might read Γἔκεῖνος · οὐκ αὐτοῦ γε τὴν, etc., selecting Jensen's T instead of N.

If Körte and others are right in assuming that Pamphila has a speaking part, εὐρηκά σε, in line 654, also refers to her and not to Sophrona.

It is perhaps safer to edit σε in line 657 and understand that Habrotonon points suddenly to Pamphila, who has momentarily appeared at door or window, apostrophizes her, and then returns to the conversation with Sophrona. The whole passage then would read :

(Habrotonon) . . . . νῦν δ' εὐρηκα — σέ.  
655 ὄρῶ γὰρ ἦν καὶ τότε. (Sophr.) τίνος δ' ἔστιν πατρός;  
(Habrot.) Χαρισίου. (Sophr.) τοῦτ' οἶσθ' ἀκριβῶς, φιλιτάτη;  
(Habrot.) ἔστιν ἐπίδηλον · (pointing within) οὐ σέ τὴν νύμφην  
ὄρῶ,  
τὴν ἔνδον οὖσαν; (Sophr.) ναίχι. (Habrot.) μακαρία γύναι,  
θεῶν τις ὑμᾶς ἠλέησε.

We may then translate :

- (Habrot.) — Now, it seems, I *have* found — *you!*  
 Whom then I saw, I see. (Sophr.) But who's its father, who?  
 (Habrot.) Charisius. (Sophr.) You know that for a fact, my  
 dear?  
 (Habrot.) 'Tis clear. (*Suddenly*) Yes, thee I see, his young  
 wife, do I not,  
 The one within? (Sophr.) Assuredly. (Habrot.) O woman  
 blest,  
 Some god has shown you mercy!

It would, however, seem more natural if γε could be retained with one or other of the suggestions made above for filling the lacunae. We should then have to assume merely that Pamphila appears (or has appeared) for a moment, without the necessity of an interrupting apostrophe. We should then translate: "'Tis he. At least, I see his young wife, do I not, | The one within?"

To the long list of emendations made in the last few years in the text of Menander seven are here added where a slight change or addition seems justified.

1. Men. *fragm. incerta*, Kock, 635.

καλὸν οἱ νόμοι σφόδρ' εἰσίν· ὁ δ' ὄρων τοὺς νόμους  
 λίαν ἀκριβῶς συκοφάντης φαίνεται.

For φαίνεται Cobet would substitute γίνεται, "nam qui hoc faciunt, non *videri* calumniatores, sed *esse* solent." To gain this meaning I suggest φαίνετ' ὄν. A copyist wrote out φαίνετ' αἰ' ὄν, then a successor, ignoring the need of ὄν, dropped the wrong syllable to cure the metre. Translate: "Turns out to be a sycophant."

2. Men. *Self-Tormentor*, 142, Kock.

ἐξ ἰσταρίου δ' ἐκρέματο φιλοπόνως πάνν.  
 . . . . . καὶ θεραπαινὶς ἦν μία·  
 αὐτῇ συνύφαιεν ῥυπαρῶς διακειμένη.

Supply the lacuna in line 2 by κρόκην ἔνει γὰρ (cf. Men. *frag.* 892, Kock, κρόκην δὲ νήσεις . . . καὶ στήμονα) or by ἔταλα-σιούργει. This is suggested by Terence :

*Self-Tormentor*, 292–295. . . . . anus  
*subtemen nebat.* praeterea una ancillula  
 erat; ea texebat una, pannis obsita,  
 neglecta, immunda inlue.

3. Men. *Perinthia*, 15, 16, *Oxyr. Papyr.* vi.

(Davus) ἦ, ἦν. (Laches) εἰ δέ τις τὴν τῶν φρενῶν  
 στακτὴν — ἐκνίσθης; (Dav.) οὐχὶ πρὸς σοῦ, δέσποτα.

In line 15 Gr.-H. write ἦῆν — a word hitherto unknown. Possibly we may write ἦ, ἦν. For στακτὴν Gr.-H. assume the very late meaning, *ashes*, and translate:

(Lach.) But if one feels his brain turning to ashes — were you hurt? (Davus) Not by you, master.

The exact turn of the aposiopesis is uncertain. As to πρὸς σοῦ, the other idiomatic meaning seems more in keeping with the context. If so, translate:

(Davus, as Laches perhaps hands the torch to a slave.) Oh! see!

(Lach.) Nay, if some one (sapped?) your heart, drop by drop — You were troubled, were you? (Dav.) Master, this is not like you.

NOTE: In this play we must assume that the old fragment, no. 393, Kock, precedes this new addition from the *Ox. Pap.*

4. *Pseudheracles*, frag. 518, Kock, lines 4, 5.

ὀκτὼ ποιήσοντες τραπέζας δ' ἦ μίαν  
 τί σοὶ διαφέρει τοῦτο; παράθες σημίαν.

For σημίαν read σήμερον. σημίαν is unintelligible and crept into the text by confusion with the previous verse-end. Translate: "But whether we are going to set eight tables or one, what difference does that make to you? Do serve up sometime to-day."

5. *Periceiomene*, 661.

(Pataecus) Ἦπ' ἀναγε σαντὸν μικρόν, ὡς ῥοθ — υ υ.

Wilam. supplies ὡς ῥοθ' ἴω τιλί. Sudhaus and K<sup>2</sup> give both this line and 662 as an aside to Moschion. But evidently there is continued stichomythia. Capps, with slight change of ο to ε, reads ingeniously, ὡς ῥέθος βλέπω, "that I may scan

thy face." But *ἐπάναγε* (cf. *ἐπανάγειν* act. or mid., with or without *ναῦν*) seems to contain a nautical metaphor supplemented by the word for surf. (N.B. *σαντόν* takes the place of *ναῦν*.) Assuming that Pataecus speaks meditatively to himself as he tries to accommodate himself to the *dénouement*, we may, perhaps, read:

*ἐπάναγε σαντόν μικρόν, ὡς ῥοθ' ούμενος.*<sup>1</sup>

Put further out to sea, you labour in the surf.

6. *Epitrep.* 353, 354. These mutilated lines, in the midst of a practically complete context, may be supplied with reasonable probability:

γεγονῶ, ἐκείνην λήψεται, ταύτην ∪ ∪.

οἱ . ΕΥ . . . . . ΝΑ . Ν ἀπολείπειν Τ \_ ∪ ∪.

N.B. Jens. does not report Τ at the end.

(a) At end of 353 von Arnim adds *ἀφείς*.

(b) First half of 354 Capps suppl. οἷδ' εὐγ', ἔθος γὰρ ναῦν ἀπολείπειν. *ναῦν* γὰρ ναῦν.

(c) At the end I supply ἢ *πονεῖ*. Read, therefore:

ταύτην ἀφείς

οἷδ' εὐ γ', ἔθος γὰρ ναῦν ἀπολείπειν ἢ *πονεῖ*.

Translate:

. . . her he'll take, his wife divorce.

I know. That's just the way! Desert a sinking ship!

If the Τ of L<sup>2</sup> must be read at end of line 354, von Arnim's emend. τὴν *σαθράν* would fit it, but an expression like ἢ *πονεῖ* of a vessel foundering seems more suited to the context.

### 7. *Epitrep.* 880-884.

(Ones.) οὐκ ἄρα φροντίζουσιν ἡμῶν Γοί θεοί;

φήσεις. ἐκάστῳ τὸν Τρόπον συνΓόκισαν<sup>1</sup>

882 φρούραρχον· οὗτος ΕΝΔΟ . Ε . .

ἐπέτρυσεν, ἀν αὐτῷ κακῶς χρῆσθαι δοκῆ<sup>1</sup>,

ἔτερον δ' ἔσωσεν.

Arnim suppl. οἱ θεοί, Sudhaus suppl. *συνόκισαν* and *χρησθαι δοκῆ*.

In line 882, if Robert's conjecture of ἐνδελεχῶς παρῶν (despite the change of Ο to Ε) be correct, displacing as it does Capps's reading, ἔνδον ἕτερον, etc., then some dissyllable is necessary at the end contrasted with ἕτερον in line 884. I suggest ἔνα and fill out line 882 φρούραρχον· οὗτος ἐνδελεχῶς παρῶν ἔνα. Translate :

Well, do not then the gods look out for us? You'll say.  
 To each of us they have allotted Character  
 As garrison commander. Ever present, he  
 Brings one to ruin, whoso seems to serve him ill,  
 Another man he saves.

Finally I cite, with some suggestions, two passages where several small lacunae vitiate the interpretation of the context or obscure the assignment of speakers.

1. *Samia*, 403-413 (see text below).

The greater part of the text is certain, but there are several lacunae, one disputed letter, which involves a difficult change of meaning, and there is uncertainty, in 409-413, as to the assignment of speakers. Finally, at the end of 411, there was some sort of witticism or play upon words — now lost. In line 404 παιδα of the papyrus (which has an obscure mark to the right — possibly a defect in the papyrus, possibly the remains of C which conceivably could be squeezed into the space, the *a* being made a little lower down than usual) — παιδα has been corrected to πηδᾶ by Lefebvre on the apograph — rather a questionable proceeding. One has to choose between πηδᾶ and παιδα(ς). The curious use of the middle πολὺν πράττεται seems unintelligible without παιδᾶς (or παιδα), and even with that reading Capps is probably right in assuming that an unusual locution is adopted for the sake of equivocation, *i.e.* "he makes a good deal of boys."

The breaks in 408 are filled out satisfactorily by van Leeuwen (accepting Jensen's report of the space and letters), except that θύε (adopted also by K<sup>2</sup>) is, according to Jensen, four or five letters short. σπένδε (Sudhaus) is much better and at the most only one or two letters short.

Line 409 I have filled out, following closely the letters

now indicated in L<sup>2</sup> in the first lacuna, changing only a doubtful T̄ to N and a doubtful Ϸ to O. (K<sup>2</sup> changes the doubtful T̄ to Π, O to Ϸ, Υ to I, ignores space for one letter and the Ϸ, and changes Ϸ to Θ.)

In the second lacuna the space is too short by some two letters for satisfying the metre. K<sup>2</sup> completes his *πειθόμενος* by substituting C for I and then later, to fill out the metre, inserts *νὺν*. My suggestion of *ὄμ(ον)οῶν* fits all the traces of the letters. It, however, is also too long, but assuming that by a careless haplography *ον* was left out between *ομ* and *ων*, we arrive comfortably at the I for the right-hand member of the final *ν*, and preserve the metre without further change.

In line 410 the lacunae present the following conditions: In first lacuna Sudhaus reads *παράξας*, continuing with *τότε*. This suits fairly well the Ϸ at the end, but the break, if there be one, must come after *τότε*, and this ignores the other traces of letters reported by Jensen. Capps (before this report) had begun a new speech (of Demeas) after *τότε* with *βαβαιάξ*. This now apparently suits neither end. *παπαιάξ* would suit beginning II and allow for break, but it does not suit the remainder. The second lacuna seems to be filled out fairly well.

In line 411 *πόσω* is now certain. It must, I think, be given to Niceratus. Demeas replies with a jest which would seem to hark back to the reference to the Danaë story, 388–392. The last letter preserved, Δ, suggests something like *διοτρεφή* or *διυπετή*, which I give as a *pis aller*.

## DEMEAS

- 403 *νοῦν ἔχεις, Νικήρατε.*  
 Ἄνδροκλῆς ἔτη τοσαῦτα ζῆ, τρέχει παῖδαC πολὺ  
 405 *πράττεται, μέλας περιπατεῖ λευκός· οὐκ ἂν ἀποθάνοι,*  
*οὐδ' ἂν εἰ σφάττοι τις αὐτόν. οὗτός ἐστιν οὐ θεός;*  
*ἀλλὰ ταῦτ' εἴχου γενέσθαι συμφέροντα. θυμία·*  
 Γ σπένδε· τῆ γ κόρην μέττει σιν οὐμὸς υἱὸς αὐτίκα,  
 ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐστὶ γ οὐτ ο Ϸ ὄμ(ον)οῶν μοι.

## NICERATUS

*νοῦν ἔχει,*

410 *εἰ δ' ἐλήφθη τότε —*

DEMEAS

. ἢ . . . — . ο ἴ μῃ ἵ παροξύνῃ ἢ οἴ ν τὰ νῦν ἵ

τάνδον εὐτρεπή;

NICERATUS

: πόσω :

DEMEAS

τὰ παρ' ἐμοὶ δῖοι τρεφή.

NICERATUS (*as he goes off*)

κομψὸς εἶ.

DEMEAS (*alone*)

χάριν δὲ πολλὴν πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς ἔχω,  
οὐδὲν εὐρηκῶς ἀληθὲς ὧν τότ' ᾤμῃ ν πραγμάτων.

Something may be said for a different arrangement of parts, *i.e.* shifting everything from τάνδον εὐτρεπή . . . to . . . κομψὸς εἶ, but the newly established reading, πόσω, has changed conditions since Capps edited the text. Demeas, indeed, when the play, as presented, opens, had already arranged *his* part of the wedding, as will be remembered; hence this is more appropriate in the mouth of Niceratus, and, as a matter of fact, there is, in the papyrus, a change of speaker (:) after κομψὸς εἶ.

Translation :

DEMEAS

You have sense, Niceratus.

Androcles these years a many lives, and gads, *is much with boys*, Raven-haired though hoar he saunters. He will never die at all, Not though one should cut his gullet. Is he not in truth a god? So then pray that this prove lucky. Incense burn. Libation pour. He will come and fetch your daughter — this my son will come forth-with.

Eye to eye he sees as I do — has to see it —

NICERATUS

Shows his sense !

But if then I'd caught him (*at it*) —

DEMEAS

Don't grow vexed as things are now !

Your things ready?



NICERATUS

I'll prepare them.

DEMEAS

Mine are ready-made-by-Zeus!

NICERATUS

Ha! Quite witty!

[Exit Nic. into his house to prepare for the wedding.]

DEMEAS (*alone*)

Very grateful now I feel to all the gods.  
I've found true no single item out of all I then supposed.

2. *Periceïromene*, 262–267.

This much-emended passage has been considerably improved by the more recent readings, but the change of speaker, (:), reported by L<sup>2</sup> at the end of line 266 and the fact that there is no space indicated for one after TAC in 267 make these lines very perplexing. Capps transferred the (:) to follow *ὕμῶν*, where it could come easily enough with his readings, and he may be right. But if ἤσθημαι be accepted, with Sudhaus, a participle seems to be required after *ὕμῶν*. Provisionally I see nothing better than, with Körte<sup>2</sup>, to continue the speaker through *διάγοντας*.

The readings in lines 263 and 264 are due to Jensen and are approved of by L<sup>2</sup> except ἔν'εκα, which he says in his note that he has been unable to verify. His εἰπέ μοι· implies a question at the beginning of the next line. I supply ποῦ γ' ἐστίν; (= where is she? — allusion to the girl having been made above). Something of the sort is required to anticipate Davus's answer οἴχεται (which is now clear). ἀνθρωπε παριῶν (of Sudhaus) is somewhat unsatisfactory but conforms very nearly to the letters and the space (there is room for one more letter).

In line 265 Körte supplied ἰππονηρ'έ and ἰμο'λογεῖτ'. I have supplied δῆλον' ἄρ'α τιν', which conforms to space and the *ap.* (Körte's τὴν γυναιῖκα δ' does not fit AP·)

Emended text and translation :

SOSIAS

262

Ἡ ΠΑΚΑ ΞΕΙΣ.

πράγματος ἄσέλγους ἐν ἑκα. τοῦτο δ' εἶπέ μοι.  
 ποῦ γ' ἐστίν; ἔλθ' ἄΝΘΡΩ . ΠΙΣ . παριών.

DAVUS

265 Ἰπνηρῆ.

οἴχετ' αἰ,

SOSIAS

Ἰδῆλον ἄρα τιν' ὄμ' ολογοῖτ' ἔχειν.

DAVUS

οὐκ ἔχομεν οὔποτ' ἐν δον· ἥσθη μαί τινας  
 ὑμῶν διάγοντας.

SOSIAS

Heracles ! 'twould be

For very wantonness ! But she? Now tell me this —  
 Tell where she is. Come, fellow, lead on in.

DAVUS

She's gone,

You scamp.

SOSIAS

There now ! You own you had somebody, then ?

DAVUS

We haven't. Never have I noticed one of yours  
 As inmate here.

NOTES : Lines 262, 263 supplied by Jensen.

Line 264, ποῦ γ' ἐστίν; Allin. Rest of line Sudhaus suppl.

Line 265, Ἰπνηρῆ, K<sup>2</sup> // Ἰδῆλον ἄρα τιν' Allinson.

Lines 266, 267, K<sup>2</sup> and Sudhaus.

At the end of line 266 L<sup>2</sup> reports (:), while after *διάγοντας* in line 267 there is no room for (:) — thus there is a double difficulty about accepting Körte's arrangement. It is one of many perplexing passages.

VII.—*A Vulgar Latin Origin for Spanish Padres meaning 'Father and Mother'*

By EDITH FAHNESTOCK AND MARY BRADFORD PEAKS

VASSAR COLLEGE

THE idiomatic use in Spanish of certain masculine plurals to include a corresponding feminine singular and convey the idea of a pair, is in itself an interesting phenomenon, and is also puzzling because it seems to be characteristic of Spanish only, and not common to the other Romance languages. The Spaniard says in very comprehensible fashion, *mis hijos* for 'my son and daughter,' *los esposos* for 'the husband and wife' (cf. *i promessi sposi* in Italian), but it seems strikingly different to say *los reyes* for *el rey* and *la reina*, or *mis padres* for *mi padre y mi madre*, and still more so to find the masculine-sounding *mis papás* equivalent to *mi papá y mi mamá*.<sup>1</sup>

In the earliest Spanish literature<sup>2</sup> which has come down to us, *parientes* is used for father and mother or both *padre* and *madre* are mentioned, and *padres* has the general sense of ancestors, fathers, church fathers, or father confessors. *Parietes* is found in the sense of relatives as early as the *Poema del Cid*: There are possibly a few traces of the usage of *padres* in the thirteenth century. In the *Siete Partidas*, *padrinos* is used for *padrino* and *madrina*, and in *Calila é Dymna* the mother of the lion, speaking to her son, says: "As the wife is not, except through her husband, nor the children

<sup>1</sup> A curious use of this emphasis on the masculine noun is found in Galdos's *Trafalgar* (Cambridge ed., p. 16, ll. 15-18): *pues aquel matrimonio que durante cincuenta años había podido dar veinte hijos al mundo y á Dios, tuvo que contentarse con uno solo, la encantadora y sin par Rosita.*

<sup>2</sup> The texts examined were as follows: Period 1150-1220: *Poema del Cid*, *Libro de Apolonio*, *Santa Maria Egipcíaca*, *Libro de los Reyes de Oriente*; Period 1220-1300: Berceo's works, *Alejandro*, *Fernan Gonzalez*, *Las Siete Partidas*, *Calila é Dymna*; Period 1301-1418: *Vida de San Ildefonso*, *Yusuf*, works of the Archipreste de Hita, *Poema de Alfonso Onceno*, Rabbi Sem Tob's *Proverbios Morales*, *Tratado de la Doctrina*, *Revelación de un Ermitaño*, *Danza de la Muerte*, *Rimado de Palacio*.

except through their *padres*, nor the scholars except through their masters, etc.”<sup>3</sup> The fourteenth century shows in the *Vida de San Ildefonso*<sup>4</sup> an example of *padres* in the lines: “In truth those in the world are accustomed to take it thus when their *padres* or *parientes* enter an order.” The *Rimado de Palacio* has in the fourth commandment “Honor our parents (*padres*),” and a few lines below there is a reference to both father and mother.<sup>5</sup>

Seeking the origin of this custom, one turns naturally to Meyer-Lübke, who comments as follows: “Dans la péninsule hispanique, le pluriel des noms d’êtres masculins s’emploie exclusivement pour désigner les êtres appariés: *padres*; *papás* (père et mère), *tíos* (oncle et tante) etc., auxquels on ne peut guère comparer le lat. *parentes*, franç. *parents*, car ce terme au singulier désigne d’abord la mère, puis aussi, il est vrai, le père. A plus forte raison encore en est-il ainsi de l’ital. *genitori*. L’ital. *fanciulli*, *bambini*, le franç. *enfants* diffèrent aussi de l’usage espagnol: sans doute, ils peuvent signifier “jeune homme et jeune fille,” mais ils n’éveillent pas précisément l’idée d’une paire, ils montrent plutôt que la différence sexuelle peut être négligée dans ces cas où elle n’est pas d’importance.”<sup>6</sup> Hansen in his Spanish Grammar<sup>7</sup> notes the Spanish usage and cites Ebeling<sup>8</sup> for slight traces of the custom elsewhere. Ebeling, who is giving a review of Meyer-Lübke, adds a similar case from Catalan, *pares* twice used to denote father and mother. He also mentions an odd Italian use of *balii* meaning the *balio* ‘husband of the nurse’ and his wife, and

<sup>3</sup> *Calila é Dymna*, *Bibl. de aut. esp.* LI, 69, l. 3; see also *Las Siete Partidas*, ch. iv, p. 53.

<sup>4</sup> *Bibl. de aut. esp.* LVII, 326, 2d col., ll. 14–15.

<sup>5</sup> *Rimado de Palacio*, *Bibl. de aut. esp.* LVII, 426, 31a; 33.

<sup>6</sup> *Grammaire des langues romanes*, III, 40, § 30.

<sup>7</sup> *Spanische Grammatik* (1910), 126, § 9.

<sup>8</sup> *Literaturblatt für ger. u. rom. Philologie*, 130, 1902, § 30: “Zum Spanischen *los padres* ‘Vater und Mutter’ stellt sich, wie zu erwarten ist, das Katalanische, *Si precisament los seus pares volen tenirlo molt subjecte*, Vilanova, *Cuadros pop.* 60; *los pares anavan massa escarrassats*, eb. 169. Damit lässt sich aus dem Italienischen vergleichen *questi balii, gua’! gli danno la metà de’ quattrini*, Imbriani, *Novell. fior.* 85, was nach dem Zusammenhang nur heissen kann ‘Dieser *balio* und seine Frau.’ Fürs Neuprovenzalische s. Herzog, § 4.–S. 41, 4 l.’

gives a reference to Herzog for a few examples from Provençal. The same close association of *père* and *mère* is reflected in the current French phrase *ses père et mère* instead of the usual singular possessive repeated before each noun.

Grammars of modern Spanish contain only additional examples with rather varying comment as to nouns to be included, but venture no opinion as to the origin of the usage.<sup>9</sup> The first person to suggest an explanation of the origin was Dr. Lang, who in reviewing Hanssen's paragraph on *padres*,<sup>10</sup> mentions that the phenomenon is familiar from Sanskrit "which has exact parallels *pitārāu, bhrātārāu, Mitrā* for *Mitrā* and *Varunā* (cf. Wackernagel,<sup>11</sup> *Altind. Gramm.*, 2, I, § 66, where analogous dual forms such as *Aṣṭvare* 'Ajax and Teucros,' *Castores* 'Castor and Pollux,' etc., are also discussed and), from Arabic in which duals formed from father, brother, East, etc., signifying father and mother, brother and sister, East and West, are current (see Wright's *Arabic Grammar*, 1874, § 298, p. 214). It is most likely that Spanish received this interesting trait from Arabic."

Dr. Lang's reference to Sanskrit and Arabic is most interesting. But the suggestion of Arabic influence on Spanish seems unlikely for several reasons: first, because no other instance of Arabian influence on Spanish syntax is known. In the second place, such influence could not account for the few scattering examples of the usage brought forward by Ebeling and Herzog for Provençal, Catalan, and Italian. These cases seem rather to point to an inherited tendency in the Romance languages, a tendency which persisted on Spanish soil and showed itself only sporadically elsewhere.

The most cogent reason, however, is that *patres* in the sense of *parentes* is fairly common in extant remains of provincial Latin. While the existence of this usage has been recognized

<sup>9</sup> See Bello y Cuervo, 1908, p. 38; Olmsted and Gordon, 1911, p. 311, § 491; Ramsey, *A Text Book of Modern Spanish*, 88, § 247.

<sup>10</sup> *Romanic Review*, II (1911), 339, § 40.

<sup>11</sup> See also Wackernagel's article "Zum homerischen Dual" in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, xxiii (1877), 302 ff., with Schmidt's note on p. 309, citing *Cereres* = *Ceres et Proserpina*; also Friedrich, *Catullus*, p. 89, ad c. 3, I for *Veneres* = *Venus et Cupido*.

by Latinists at least since the early eighteenth century, it has not been connected with the Spanish idiom nor even thoroughly studied in Latin itself. Burmann, in his note on Ovid, *Met.* iv, 61, collected several good cases, though he was mistaken in his interpretation of the passage from which he started. No farther advance was made till Le Blant called attention to the frequency of *patres* in Christian inscriptions of Trier.<sup>12</sup> Recently, Zangemeister in the notes of the thirteenth volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*<sup>13</sup> lists about a dozen other occurrences. Altogether we have been able to gather forty-three certain examples.<sup>14</sup>

The earliest case, apparently, is in Virgil, *Aen.* ii, 579, where Aeneas asks himself whether Helen shall be allowed to return to Sparta and Mycenae and "see her husband and home, her parents and children" (*coniugiumque domumque, patres natosque videbit?*). We need not, with Wagner's literalness,<sup>15</sup> reject this particular line because Helen had only one child, Hermione, or because her father Zeus did not reside in the Peloponnesus and her mother Leda was dead, but it certainly should give us pause that this whole speech of Aeneas is omitted by good manuscripts and bracketed by many editors.<sup>16</sup> It is at the best a curious circumstance that the only appearance of *patres* for *parentes* in Virgil, or in any author before the Silver Latin of the reign of Domitian, should be in this passage which has been doubted on other grounds. One must not insist too strongly on such an argument, however, for Statius,<sup>17</sup> the next writer to use *patres*, precedes by a still longer interval his only successors, the Gaul Ausonius<sup>18</sup> and the Greek Claudian.<sup>19</sup> Literary standing the meaning obviously never secured in Latin; in the speech of humbler folk it was more favored. In the inscriptions *patres* in our

<sup>12</sup> Le Blant, *Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule*, II, 639, s.v. *patres*.

<sup>13</sup> *CIL*, XIII, 7003.

<sup>14</sup> All available indices and special lexica have been consulted and several volumes of the *Corpus* have been read entire, but it has not seemed worth while to make an absolutely exhaustive search.

<sup>15</sup> See Heyne,<sup>4</sup> II, p. 348; Conington<sup>4</sup> defends the line.

<sup>16</sup> E.g. Ribbeck and Conington.

<sup>17</sup> *Theb.* II, 464.

<sup>18</sup> *Parental.* III, 21.

<sup>19</sup> xv, 389.

sense appears once each in Italy,<sup>20</sup> Africa,<sup>21</sup> Dacia,<sup>22</sup> and Germania Inferior.<sup>23</sup> Its main stronghold was in Gallic territory. Cisalpine Gaul gives us four cases,<sup>24</sup> Narbonese Gaul two,<sup>25</sup> Lugudunensis one,<sup>25b</sup> Upper Germany five,<sup>26</sup> and Belgic Gaul twenty-three,<sup>27</sup> fifteen of which are from Trier alone. One wonders whether there was anything in the native dialect of the Treveri to make the usage more natural to them than to other inhabitants of the empire, but the late date of these Christian inscriptions and of Ausonius makes this hypothesis less likely. Since the thirty-nine epigraphical examples are all from plebeian epitaphs, chronological data are naturally lacking. One inscription<sup>28</sup> is said to be dated in the second century A.D. on palaeographical grounds, but the majority, particularly those coming from Christians, probably belong to the third or fourth century or even later.

How did the idiom start in Latin? It might have originated in the speech of Greek slaves and freedmen, for *πατέρες* is used for father and mother,<sup>29</sup> once or twice in Plato<sup>30</sup> and Aristotle<sup>31</sup> and then sporadically in late authors like Diodorus Siculus,<sup>32</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus,<sup>33</sup> Alciphron,<sup>34</sup> and Xenophon of Ephesus,<sup>35</sup> who are contemporary with the Latin cases which we have been considering. Still, relatively few of the persons erecting the Latin monuments have Greek

<sup>20</sup> *CIL*, IX, 1866 (Beneventum).

<sup>21</sup> *CIL*, VIII, 412 (Hidra).

<sup>22</sup> *CIL*, III, 12598 (Mehadia).

<sup>23</sup> *CIL*, XIII, 8366 (Colonia).

<sup>24</sup> *CIL*, V, 1658 (Aquileia, Christian); 5320 (Comum); 6128 (Mediolanum); XI, 516 (Ariminum).

<sup>25</sup> *CIL*, XII, 2128 (Vienna, Christian); 4450, p. 963 (Narbo). Le Blant's suggestion that the parents in 2128 were Treveri loses its cogency in view of the examples from other parts of Gaul.

<sup>25b</sup> *CIL*, XIII, 2188 (Lugudunum).

<sup>26</sup> *CIL*, XIII, 5840 (Andemantunnum); 6154 (Landstuhl); 7003, 7112 (Mogontiacum); 7558 (Baudobriga, Christian).

<sup>27</sup> *CIL*, XIII, 3816, 3825, 3845, 3848, 3849, 3857, 3860, 3862, 3889, 3893-4, 3900, 3907, 3910, 3946, 3947 (Augusta Treverorum, Christian); 4079 (Filsdorf); 4152, 4177, 4179, 4180 (Noviomagus); 4245 (Lampaden, Christian); 4285 (Luxemburg); 4339 (Metz).

<sup>28</sup> *CIL*, XII, 4450, p. 963.

<sup>29</sup> Stephanus, *s.v.* *πατήρ*.

<sup>30</sup> *Leges*, XI, 926 E.

<sup>31</sup> *Metaphysica*, I, 3, 983.

<sup>32</sup> XXI, 17, 2.

<sup>33</sup> *Antiq.* II, 26, I; *Ars Rhet.* 3, 3.

<sup>34</sup> III, 61.

<sup>35</sup> I, II; III, 3; V, 6.

names; <sup>36</sup> besides, there is no trace of the locution in the Latin inscriptions of the Greek East, and only one example known in Greek inscriptions.<sup>37</sup> The extension is natural enough in any language; cf. the Sanskrit and Arabic duals already cited, also the Gothic collective neuter *fadrein*.<sup>38</sup> In addition we can see a special reason why the common people of the Roman empire should extend *patres* to include the female parent at just the time when they did, for the old word *parentes* was coming to mean 'ancestors' or 'kinsfolk' generally.<sup>39</sup> But usage is whimsical, *parentes* in the sense of 'relatives' persisted in several Romance languages; its successor *patres* 'parents' has practically disappeared except in Spain, and that too in spite of the fact that in Roman times, as far as we can judge from the inscriptions, *patres* was commonest on French territory and not found in Spain. The evidence is unfortunately not complete, but enough has been said to show that one is not forced to look to Arabic for the origin of Spanish *padres*.

But if Vulgar Latin precedent may be claimed for *padres*, what of the other Spanish plurals used in the same way? The problem may be simplified if we review the different methods of indicating the sex of animate beings in Classical Latin.<sup>40</sup>

Class I. EPICENES: sex ignored, or indicated for extreme accuracy by appositives *mas* and *femina*. The grammatical gender is arbitrarily fixed or varies regardless of the sex. Found only in

Names of the less useful animals *corvus*, *aquila*, *rana*, *simia*.<sup>40b</sup>

Also in Spanish: *grillo*, *águila*

<sup>36</sup> Six out of thirty-nine examples; *CIL*, v, 5320, 6128; XII, 4450; XIII, 3910, 4079, 7112.

<sup>37</sup> *Epigr. Gr.* 227 (prope Teon).

<sup>38</sup> Braune, *Gotische Grammatik*<sup>65</sup> (1900), § 94, Anm. 4.

<sup>39</sup> Harrod, *Latin Terms of Endearment and of Family Relationship*, p. 56, n. 48. Similarly, the Sanskrit plural is used for the father and his brothers, Lanman, *Sanskrit Reader*, p. 190.

<sup>41</sup> Krüger, *Gramm. d. lat. Spr.* (1842), §§ 162 f.; Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausführliche Gramm. d. lat. Spr.* (1912), I, p. 269. In an uninflected language like English, Classes I-III of the following scheme are, for the most part, indistinguishable. The lists of examples are not complete.

<sup>40b</sup> In Early Latin *ovis* belongs here, later in Class IV.



Class II. COMMUNIA : sex ignored in the noun, sometimes indicated by its modifiers.

1. Names of many familiar animals.

*bos, canis, sus, mus, homo*

2. Many nouns signifying civic status or function. These in the vast majority of cases occur as masculine, because early law and ritual took small account of women.

*civis, heres, hospes, sacerdos, testis*

The tendency in Spanish is for these nouns to become differentiated : *el* or *la testigo* remains, but *huesped, huespeda, sacerdote, sacerdotisa*.

3. A few nouns applied to members of the family.

*coniunx, parens*, E. Lat. *nepos*. Cf. Sp. *conyuge; pariente, parientes*, then *pariente parienta parientes; nieto nieta*.

4. Adjectives belonging to the 'third declension' used as nouns.

*serpens, princeps, adulescens, iuvenis*, Sp. *principe princesa principes*, etc.

Class III. MOBILIA : sex shown in the singular by the varying suffix ; in the plural the masculine termination is usually employed as an inclusive form.<sup>41</sup>

1. Some animal names.

*leo lea leones; gallus gallina galli*

2. A few nouns indicating occupation.<sup>42</sup>

*caupo copo; cantor cantrix; magister magistra; rex regina*

3. Many designations of members of the family.

*filius filia; avus avia; nepos neptis; socer socrus; puer puella*

4. Adjectives of the 'First' and 'Second' declensions used as nouns, including many tribal names.

*Sequanus Sequana*

<sup>41</sup> Cf. the preference for the masculine in adjectives or pronouns referring to a series of nouns of different genders. The feminine plural is kept if only females are designated.

<sup>42</sup> The list was longer in Early Latin; cf. *clienta, hospita, antistita*, which later belong to Class II.

Class IV. SEPARATE WORDS FOR THE TWO SEXES, *i.e.* natural and grammatical gender agreeing in both numbers.<sup>43</sup>

1. A few names of domestic animals :

*taurus vacca* ; *aries ovis* ; *haedus capella* ; Sp. *toro vaca* ;  
*carnero oveja*

2. The following names of members of the family :

*pater mater* ; *frater soror* ; *maritus uxor* ; *vir mulier* ;  
*gener nurus*

Now it is obvious that Spanish *el hijo* 'son,' *la hija* 'daughter,' *los hijos* 'children,' resembles Latin *filius filia filii* (Class III, 3) and is no way remarkable. So too with Sp. *criados*, *hermanos*, *primos*, *dueños*, *amos*.<sup>44</sup> Something quite different has happened in the case of *padres* 'father and mother' — a masculine word has come in the plural to include a feminine singular which is etymologically unlike but belongs in the same semantic category, *i.e.* Class IV forms its plural like Class III. As we have seen, only slight traces of this usage appear in the Romance languages, although some grammars, confusing this case with *hijos*, compare Ital. *bambini*, etc., all belonging to Class III. Classical scholars constantly fall into the same error in citing *ἀδελφοί* as a parallel to the extended use of *fratres* (see below) and in comparing *soceri*, *avi*, *fili*, etc., with *patres*.

At the first glance the use of *reges* 'king and queen,' also inherited by Spanish, belongs in the same class with *patres* and *fratres* (Class IV), but *regina* is derived from *rex* (for the suffix, cf. *gallus gallina*) and the singular formation is therefore that of Class III (the *Mobilia*). Furthermore, *rex* does not necessarily refer to the reigning monarch ; from the first century B.C. it is a constant designation for princes,<sup>45</sup> as

<sup>43</sup> Certain of the *Communia* (Class II) are frequently useful as collective or inclusive plurals, *e.g.*, *boves* ; *parentes*, *coniuges*, *homines*. *Fratres et sorores* from a different point of view may be called *liberi*, *fili*, or *pueri*.

<sup>44</sup> In certain animal names. Spanish generalizes the feminine plural instead of the masculine, *e.g.*, *el palomo*, *la paloma*, *las palomas* 'doves' ; *el cordero* 'ram,' *la oveja* 'ewe,' *las ovejas* 'sheep' ; *el gallo*, *la gallina*, *las gallinas*.

<sup>45</sup> Caes. *B.C.* III, 107, 2 (of Ptolemy) ; Virg. *Aen.* IX, 223 (Ascanius) ; Manil. II, 2 (the fifty sons of Priam) ; Val. Fl. I, 174. Cf. Forcellini, s.v. *rex*.

*regina*<sup>46</sup> is for female members of the royal house.<sup>46</sup> *Reges* is thus a natural term for the royal family as a whole,<sup>47</sup> even when only the sovereign and his consort are particularly in mind,<sup>48</sup> as in the Spanish *los reyes*. Just as in Latin, the idiomatic plural meaning is not extended in Spanish to the titles of elective or appointive offices.

What has been the fate of the Latin nouns in Class IV, which are real parallels for *pater* and *mater*? *Maritus* and *uxor* apparently combined in *mariti*, but the latter should probably be taken as a plural of Class III, since a feminine *marita* exists. Spanish *maridos* does not include the feminine; one therefore uses *esposos* in place of Latin *mariti*. So with the pair *vir mulier*, only one survives in Sp. *mujer*. *Gener* and *nurus* are comparatively rare in colloquial Latin; we have found no sure case of *generi* as an inclusive plural.<sup>49</sup> Both words exist in Spanish.

*Frater* and *soror*, on the other hand, did unite in Vulgar Latin to form the plural *fratres*.<sup>50</sup> This license, unlike the similar one in the case of *patres*, started with Greek immigrants, who were accustomed to a single word ἀδελφοί for brother and sister. At any rate, seven<sup>51</sup> of the fifteen epigraphical examples<sup>52</sup> come from Greeks. The extension began, it would seem, in Rome or Campania in the latter half of the first century A.D. and crept into literature in Tacitus;<sup>53</sup> a little later it appears in Africa,<sup>54</sup> but is scarcely

<sup>46</sup> Val. Fl. v, 373, 385, 441 (Medea); Stat. *Ach.* I, 295 (Deidamea). Cf. Forcellini, and Harper's *Lex. s.v. regina*.

<sup>47</sup> Cic. *in Verr.* v, 27; Liv. II, 2, 11; 3, 5; XLV, 43, 9.

<sup>48</sup> Liv. I, 39, 2; cf. Caes. *B.C.* III, 107, 2; Liv. XXVII, 4, 10.

<sup>49</sup> Catull. 72, 4 is so interpreted by Bachrens and Merrill.

<sup>50</sup> Neue-Wagener, *Formenlehre* (1902), I, 896.

<sup>51</sup> *CIL*, VI, 14959 (to a slave of Antonia, the daughter of Divus Claudius), 16741, 17303, 18606, 19896 (Rome); v, 1091 (Aquileia), 3497 (Verona).

<sup>52</sup> *CIL*, VI, 13095 (Rome); x, 3008 (Puteoli), 3751 (Atella); v, 4908 (Boarno); III, 3107 (Brattia insula); see also notes 51 and 54. The Roman examples are cited by Harrod, p. 62.

<sup>53</sup> *Ann.* XII, 4. See also Calp. *Decl.* p. 34, l. 3; Paulus, *Dig.* x, 2, 38; Modestinus, *Dig.* II, 14, 35; Beda, *de Orthogr.* Keil, VII, 273, 30.

<sup>54</sup> *CIL*, VIII, 1574 (Musti), 1858 (Theveste), 2901 (Lambaesis); Nonius, p. 557 M.

found elsewhere outside the Italian peninsula. In Spanish, of course, *frater* and *soror* have been crowded out by *hermanos*.

These other primitive pairs, then, have had only a transitory and local existence, as one looks back over the centuries, but Spanish *padres* has had a continuous European history ever since Aristotle in his *Metaphysics* called the first pair, Oceanus and Tethys, the *fathers* of all created things.

VIII. — *The Site of Dramatic Performances at Rome in the Times of Plautus and Terence*

BY PROFESSOR CATHARINE SAUNDERS

VASSAR COLLEGE

IN attempting to reconstruct a performance of one of the plays of Plautus or Terence we are met at the outset by the difficulty of determining where such performances took place. On this point the comedies themselves throw hardly any light, and those ancient writers, like Donatus, who speak with such positiveness on many dramatic matters, are here extraordinarily silent.

The question is but briefly touched upon even by Oehrichen in his *Das Bühnenwesen der Griechen u. Römer*,<sup>1</sup> but he adds that the matter deserves a thorough investigation, for the work of Hahn,<sup>2</sup> though correct as far as it goes, is not exhaustive.<sup>3</sup> The general principle laid down by Hahn is that the place varied with the festival, being regularly near the temple of the god of the *ludi*, or, at least, in a place commonly regarded as the seat of the festival; also, that the plays which formed a part of funeral games were performed in the forum. A brief, and not very convincing, treatment of the question appears in the introduction to the Dziatzko-Hauler *Phormio* of 1897 (pp. 30-31); this is revised and slightly amplified in the edition of 1913 (pp. 34-35). Though a little study convinces one that the positive results of such an investigation are bound to be few, it is, nevertheless, worth while to summarize the little that is known and to examine the resulting inferences.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Müller's *Handbuch* (1890), v, 3, B, 214-215.

<sup>2</sup> *Scaenicae Quaestiones Plautinae* (1867), 2-4.

<sup>3</sup> As his entire discussion occupies only two pages, its lack of detailed treatment is evident. His few brief arguments will be mentioned in the course of this paper.

<sup>4</sup> The recent work of Michaut (*Sur les Tréteaux latins*, 1912) I was unable to consult for some weeks after completing this paper. His views concerning the site of dramatic performances are stated briefly but definitely and agree substantially with those commonly received.

In the absence of direct evidence we may follow two main clues in the study of our problem. First, since dramatic performances in Republican times are regularly associated with *ludi*, we may ask where the various *ludi* were celebrated; and, secondly, in the recorded attempts to build theatres at Rome, we may seek to learn what principle, if any, determined the location of these theatres.

In the language of Roman ceremonial, the term *ludi*<sup>5</sup> was originally used to denote games consisting of races, held in honor of Mars and Consus, the tutelary divinities of horses and draught animals, though gymnastic contests were also included from very early times. In Varro's *de Lingua Latina* we read that the Ecurria, which was the festival in honor of Mars, derived its name *ab equorum cursu*<sup>6</sup> and that the races of that day<sup>7</sup> were held in the Campus Martius, while Festus is authority for the statement that, when the Campus Martius was overflowed by the Tiber, the races were held in the Campus Martialis on the Caelian hill.<sup>8</sup> From Varro,<sup>9</sup> again, we know that the Consualia was celebrated in the Circus, near the altar of Consus, *i.e.* in the place which afterwards became the Circus Maximus. These two *ludi*, which extend back into legendary times, are the only regularly recurring *ludi* in the oldest calendar,<sup>10</sup> and it is doubtless significant that each was celebrated in the place especially associated with the god whom it was intended to honor.

<sup>5</sup> In the following account of the history of Roman *ludi* I have used freely the works of well-known writers on the subject, notably of Mommsen, "Die Ludi Magni u. Romani," *Rh. Mus.* XIV, 79 ff. (*Röm. Forsch.* II, 42 ff.), and of Friedländer, "Die Spiele," Marquardt's *Röm. Staatsverw.* III<sup>2</sup>, 482 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Ecurria ab equorum cursu; eo die enim ludis currunt in Martio campo. — Varro, *L. L.* VI, 13 (Goetz-Schoell, 1910). Cf. Paulus ex Festo, *s. v.* *Equirria*.

<sup>7</sup> As a matter of fact, there were two days, Feb. 27 and March 14. See Fowler's *Roman Festivals*, 330-331.

<sup>8</sup> Martialis Campus in Caelio monte dicitur, quod in eo Equirria solebant fieri, si quando aquae Tiberis campum Martium occupassent. — *s. v.* *Martialis campus*, Paulus ex Festo, p. 99, Thewrewk de Ponor (1889).

<sup>9</sup> Consualia dicta a Conso, quod tum feriae publicae ei deo et in circo ad aram eius ab sacerdotibus ludi illi, quibus virgines Sabinae raptae. — Varro, *L. L.* VI, 20.

<sup>10</sup> Mommsen, *Rh. Mus.* XIV, 79.

Because of their religious character such races came to be vowed for occasions of national thanksgiving, especially in praise of Jupiter, as guardian of the Roman state. Gradually, out of these occasional *ludi* there arose the great annual *ludi Romani* or *ludi maximi*.<sup>11</sup> Mommsen<sup>12</sup> places this change in 366 B.C., when the curule aedileship was instituted, though the earliest mention of *ludi Romani* is some forty years later (322 B.C.).<sup>13</sup> The festival seems early to have included an *epulum Iovis*<sup>14</sup> at the Capitoline temple, a *pompa* from the temple to the Circus and races and athletic contests in the Circus.

In 364 B.C. came the innovation of *ludi scaenici*. It is generally assumed that this occurred at the *ludi Romani*,<sup>15</sup> though a casual reader of Livy's account (VII, 2, 1-3) would get the impression that it was rather at a special festival, by which the gods were being entreated to put an end to the great pestilence that had raged for months at Rome. The objection to this interpretation is that it is Livy's custom to speak of special *ludi* as *ludi votivi* or *ludi magni*.<sup>16</sup> But, on the other hand, it is not his custom to shorten *ludi Romani* to *ludi*, unless their identity is made clear by the context,<sup>17</sup> which is not the case in the passage under discussion.

Again, the place where these first *ludi scaenici* were performed is not certain, though the inference is reasonable that it was in the Circus Maximus, for Livy speaks of the terror which the people felt at the interruption of these *ludi*, when the Tiber overflowed the Circus.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Livy, I, 35, 9; Wissowa, *Religion u. Cultus der Römer* (1912), Müller's *Handbuch*, v, 4, 453; Friedländer, *op. cit.*, 483.

<sup>12</sup> *Rh. Mus.* xiv, 86; *C.I.L.* I<sup>2</sup>, 328.

<sup>13</sup> Livy, VIII, 40 (cf. x, 47).

<sup>14</sup> In *Rh. Mus.* xiv, 81 Mommsen rejects the *epulum Iovis* for the *ludi Romani*, but in *C.I.L.* I, 40 he accepts it, as does Fowler, *op. cit.*, 217.

<sup>15</sup> See Schanz, *Röm. Literaturgesch.* (1907), 21 (Müller's *Handbuch*, VIII, 1, 1).

<sup>16</sup> Ritschl, *Parerga*, I, 290; Mommsen, *Röm. Forsch.* II, 51 f.

<sup>17</sup> See, e.g., Livy, XLV, 1, 2 and 6.

<sup>18</sup> Livy, VII, 3, 2. Ritschl (*Parerga*, I, 287 n.) considers this insufficient evidence. He regards Livy's statement as applying to the *ludi* as a whole, not necessarily to the new portion, the *ludi scaenici*.

It is a long step from the institution of a public *scaena* in 364 to 240 B. C., when Livius Andronicus introduced the legitimate drama at Rome. Even if we did not know it from Cassiodorus,<sup>19</sup> we might conjecture that the occasion for so great an innovation was the *ludi Romani* of that year, when Rome was celebrating the happy ending of the First Punic War. No one states where Livius's plays were performed. In view of the tendency which we have already noticed to choose a locality associated with the god of the *ludi*, it is natural to suppose that these first plays were given near the Capitoline temple (*e.g.*, in the forum) or in a place already employed for this festival, like the Circus Maximus.<sup>20</sup>

As early as 220 B. C. were established the *ludi plebei*, which were celebrated that year and probably ever after in the newly built Circus Flaminius (221 B. C.).<sup>21</sup> The laying out of this circus had doubtless been influenced by the early Ecurria in the Campus Martius, and it was natural enough that this festival of the people should be celebrated in their great playground, the Campus Martius. Hauler<sup>22</sup> thinks that the dramatic part of *ludi* often took place in the Circus Flaminius, which is probable enough, though the passages<sup>23</sup> which he cites as evidence prove nothing. Hahn<sup>24</sup> believes that the *scaena* was placed "*ad Capitolium*" at the *ludi plebei*. He cites no authority, however, for his statement, and it is evident that he is not using "*ad Capitolium*" loosely for *in foro*. It is perhaps natural for him to wish to place the scenic events

<sup>19</sup> *Chron. ad ann. 515* (*Chron. min.* II, 128 Mommsen), his cons. ludis Romanis primum tragoedia et comoedia a L. Livio ad scaenam data.

<sup>20</sup> For further discussion of the Circus as a possible site for *ludi scaenici* see p. 95.

<sup>21</sup> Friedländer, *op. cit.*, 499.

<sup>22</sup> Dziatzko-Hauler *Phormio* (1913), p. 34, A. 2.

<sup>23</sup> (1) *Iamst ante aedis circus ubi sunt ludi faciundi mihi, Mil. Gl.* 991. Even if the use of *circus* in this passage were literal and not purely figurative, why should it mean Circus Flaminius more than Circus Maximus?

(2) *Dictum in Cornicula militis adventu, quem circumeunt ludentes: Quid cessamus ludos facere? circus noster adest.*—Varro, *L.L.* v, 153. This fragment from the *Cornicula* is absolutely without context. At best, it is of no more value than the first passage.

<sup>24</sup> *Scaenicae Quaestiones Plautinae*, 4.



of the *ludi Romani* near Jupiter's temple, but it is not apparent why we should make the *ludi plebei* centre there, unless because it included an *epulum Iovis*. The establishment of this festival is practically coincident with the beginning of the long period of Plautus's activity; soon all the principal *ludi* of Republican times were instituted and included scenic as well as circensian features. It was at the *ludi plebei* of 200 B.C. that the *Stichus* was first given.

With the *ludi Apollinares* occurring as early as 212 B.C., we come upon an interesting variation from what has been at least a strongly marked tendency hitherto. Though there had long been a temple of Apollo near the site of the Circus Flaminius, the first *ludi Apollinares* were not celebrated in that circus, but in the Circus Maximus.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, that this was not an exceptional instance appears from Livy, xxx, 38, 10; here it is related that in the year 202 B.C. the circus was so flooded by the Tiber that the *ludi Apollinares* were prepared *extra portam Collinam ad aedem Erucinae Veneris*, but that the weather cleared on the very day of the *ludi* and, so, the *pompa*, which had started to the Colline gate, was recalled and led to the circus. However, in 179 the censors contracted for the building of a *theatrum et proscaenium ad Apollinis*<sup>26</sup> and this was probably used, as long as it existed,<sup>27</sup> for plays at the *ludi Apollinares*, which was from the first a scenic festival.<sup>28</sup> Cicero<sup>29</sup> tells us that Ennius's *Thyestes* was given at the *ludi Apollinares* of 170 B.C.

The *ludi Megalenses* were first celebrated on the Palatine, when the goddess was brought to Rome in 204 B.C.<sup>30</sup> In 191 her temple was dedicated here with ceremonies which included the performance of Plautus's *Pseudolus*<sup>31</sup> while the *Trinum-*

<sup>25</sup> Livy, xxv, 12, 14.

<sup>26</sup> *Id.* xl, 51, 3.

<sup>27</sup> Ritschl (*Parerga*, I, 227) thinks its existence must have been brief. Fabia ("Les Théâtres de Rome," *Revue de Philologie*, XXI, 17-18) believes that the contract was never carried out.

<sup>28</sup> Festus, p. 482, Thewrewk de Ponor (= p. 326 M.). Cf. Ritschl, *Parerga*, I, praef. xxii ff.

<sup>29</sup> *Brutus*, 78.

<sup>30</sup> Livy, xxix, 14, 13. Cf. Marquardt, *Staatsverw.* III<sup>2</sup>, 367.

<sup>31</sup> Ritschl, *op. cit.*, I, 286, 295; Teuffel-Warr, *Hist. of Rom. Lit.* I, 138 (1891).

*mus*<sup>82</sup> followed somewhere near 190. Four of Terence's six plays were first presented at the *ludi Megalenses*, the *Andria* (166), the *Hecyra* without prologue (165), the *Hauton Timorumenos* with the first prologue (163), and the *Eunuchus* with prologue (161). That all these performances were given in the open space before the temple of the Magna Mater is Huelsen's<sup>83</sup> belief, based, no doubt, on the words of Cicero in *de Haruspicum Responso*, 24, where he speaks "de illis ludis, quos in Palatio nostri maiores ante templum in ipso Matris magnae conspectu Megalesibus fieri celebrarique voluerunt." The epoch-making stone theatre which was begun by the censors in 155, but destroyed at the order of P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, Velleius<sup>84</sup> places on the Palatine, a *Lupercali in Palatium versus*. Ribbeck<sup>85</sup> associates it with the temple of Magna Mater and by inference with the Megalesia.

In 174 the censors contracted for a *scaena* to be used by aediles and praetor.<sup>86</sup> We do not know its site, but the fact that it was to be available for *ludi* under the care of all these officials — the *ludi Romani*, *plebei*, *Megalenses*, *Apollinares* — shows that proximity to the shrine of the god of the *ludi* was not an absolute requirement, at any rate in 174 B.C.<sup>87</sup>

That the three great permanent theatres of Rome were all not far from the Circus Flaminius probably means nothing more than that they naturally belonged in the Campus Martius, the great recreation place of the people, the abode of strange gods and customs, and that they were part of the general scheme of using and adorning the Campus Martius. Pompey added a temple of Venus Victrix to his theatre,<sup>88</sup> at the top of the *cavea*, and three other temples to Honos, Virtus, and Felicitas<sup>89</sup> were placed in the theatre; but here the

<sup>82</sup> Ritschl, *op. cit.*, I, 339.

<sup>83</sup> *Röm. Mitteil.* x (1895), 28.

<sup>84</sup> Cassius Censor, a Lupercali in Palatium versus, theatrum facere instituit, cui in eo moliendo eximia civitatis severitas et consul Scipio restitere; Velleius, I, 15, 3.

<sup>85</sup> *Röm. Trag.* 649, 11.

<sup>86</sup> Livy, XLI, 27, 5.

<sup>87</sup> Michaut, *op. cit.*, 372-376, is not inclined to give much weight to this inference, on the ground that it is not certain that the *scaena* was of stone and, therefore, permanent. Cf. above, n. 27.

<sup>88</sup> Tertullian, *de Spect.* 10; Gell. x, I, 6-10.

<sup>89</sup> *Hemerol. Amitern.*, Aug. 12; *C.I.L.* I<sup>2</sup>, 324.

temples follow the theatre, not the theatre the temples. Furthermore, neither the temples nor the gods are definitely related to *ludi scaenici*. Tertullian<sup>40</sup> indignantly relates how Pompey claimed that the seats of his theatre were really but steps leading up to the temple of Venus.

In 240 or 238 B.C. the *ludi Florales* were celebrated for the first time, in honor of the dedication of the temple of Flora, by the Circus Maximus. It became an established festival considerably later, in 173. Stage performances formed the greater part of these *ludi*, but they seem to have been exclusively mimes. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that St. Augustine<sup>41</sup> mentions a theatre before the temple of the goddess for use at the Floralia.

Like all the regular *ludi* which we have been considering, the *ludi funebres* included both circensian and scenic features, though the latter were secondary. The *munera gladiatoria* were introduced at Rome in 264 B.C. as memorial celebrations for the dead. They often accompany *ludi funebres* but are not always included under that term.<sup>42</sup> The first *munus gladiatorium* was given in the forum Boarium,<sup>43</sup> but after this the forum Romanum<sup>44</sup> is the normal place in Republican times. With the building of amphitheatres a new scene is provided for *munera*, and by the time of Augustus the number of possible sites is still further increased. Suetonius says of Augustus (43): *munera non in foro modo nec in amphitheatro sed in circo et in septis . . . edidit.*

Where the scenic part of *ludi funebres* was given, is a question on which some light is shed by the second prologue of Terence's *Hecyra*, as Hahn<sup>45</sup> has already indicated. The Prologus says (vss. 39-42) that at the second performance (*i.e.*, at the funeral games of L. Aemilius Paulus) the play was going well "quom interea rumor venit | datum iri gladiatores, populus convolat, | tumultuantur clamant pugnand de

<sup>40</sup> *De Spect.* 10.

<sup>41</sup> *De Civ. Dei*, II, 26.

<sup>42</sup> Carlo Pascal, "I Ludi Romani," *Accademia dei Lincei, Rendiconti*, ser. 5, III, 291-302.

<sup>43</sup> Livy, Per. 16; Val. Max. II, 4, 7.

<sup>44</sup> Livy, XXIII, 30; Cic. *pro Sestio*, 124.

<sup>45</sup> *Op. cit.*, 3.

loco; | ego interea meum non potui tutari locum.”<sup>46</sup> From this it seems evident that the places where the play was given and where the gladiators were to perform were essentially the same, so that it is reasonable to assume that the forum was the scene of this play,<sup>47</sup> as of the *Adelphi*, which was first performed at the same *ludi funebres*. Festus s.v. *Maeniana*<sup>48</sup> describes the galleries which were first built by Maenius, the censor (318 B.C.), over the shops of the forum, that from them the spectacles of the market-place might be witnessed.

We may, then, feel fairly sure that the site of dramatic performances was the forum for *ludi funebres* and the Palatine for the Megalesia. For the *ludi Apollinares*, after 179, the site was the *theatrum et proscaenium ad Apollinis*,<sup>49</sup> as long as it stood. Where the *scaena* was placed for *ludi Romani* and *ludi plebei*, is a matter of pure conjecture. In the latter case it was very probably in the Circus Flaminius. Opinions differ regarding the site at the *ludi Romani*. Hahn<sup>50</sup> says “ad Capitolium”; he offers no authority for his statement and he does not attempt to define “ad Capitolium.” Hauler<sup>51</sup> says “in the forum,” but presents no better proof than the following fragment from Lucilius (146 M.): Romanis ludis forus olim ornatus lucernis; though he immediately adds that probably various parts of the celebration were held in various places.<sup>52</sup> A better piece of evidence seems to me

<sup>46</sup> Donatus ad *Hec.* Prol. I, 1 and 4.

<sup>47</sup> Hauler, *op. cit.*, p. 34, A. 2, places the gladiatorial contests of this prologue in the Circus Maximus, which could hardly have been the case at so early a date.

<sup>48</sup> *Maeniana* aedificia appellata sunt a Maenio censore, qui primus in foro ultra columnas tigna proiecit, quo ampliarentur superiora spectacula. Cf. Jordan, *Topog. der Stadt Rom* (1885), I, 2, 381-383, n. 94; also, n. 43, p. 345.

<sup>49</sup> This temple was situated outside the *Porta Carmentalis*, on the way to the Campus Martius. See Livy, III, 63; IV, 25 and 29. Cf. Platner, *Ancient Rome* (1911), 344, and Jordan-Huelsen, *Topog. der Stadt Rom* (1907), I, 3, 534 ff.

<sup>50</sup> *Op. cit.*, 4.

<sup>51</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 34, A. 1. With this view Michaut agrees (*op. cit.*, 371).

<sup>52</sup> The date of this fragment Marx (*Lucilius*, I, Proleg. xlviii) places between 119 and 117 (116? see p. 12). He believes that it refers to an illumination at night (see his note on the verse); his chief authority for the presentation of plays at night is from the *Acta Ludorum Saecularium* (*Ephem. Epig.* VIII, 231, 268). For nocturnal spectacles at the Floralia, Saecularia, and Saturnalia cf. Mayor's note on Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* I, 22. Though the evidence is meagre, the general

to be found in Livy xxvii, 36, 8-9: eo anno (208 B.C) primum, ex quo Hannibal in Italiam venisset, comitium tectum esse memoriae proditum est, et ludos Romanos semel instauratos ab aedilibus curulibus Q. Metello et C. Servilio. The implication here is that the covering of the *comitium* had a connection with the *ludi Romani*. Since the forum seems to have been used for plays at *ludi funebres*,<sup>53</sup> it is not improbable that it was used for this purpose at the *ludi Romani* and that, as Huelsen<sup>54</sup> suggests, favored persons witnessed the performances, "seated on wooden tribunes or standing on the roofs of the booths, or from the Comitium, which was at a higher level than the Forum, while the common people had to content themselves with standing in the market-place."

I have already referred to the Circus Maximus as a possible site for *ludi scaenici* at this festival and as the probable site of the first *ludi scaenici* in 364 B.C.<sup>55</sup> Ritschl<sup>56</sup> is very scornful of such an assumption and calls to witness the frequent contrast between *ludi scaenici* and *ludi circenses*. Though he does not cite definite instances, he doubtless has in mind the following passages:—

(a) Cicero *de Leg.* II, 38:—

Iam ludi publici quoniam sunt *cavea circoque* divisi. . . .

Here the contrast is not necessarily one of place; it is, conceivably, only a contrast in kinds of entertainment. More decisive are

(b) Three passages from Livy:—

- (1) *Ludi Romani* . . . *in circo scaenaeque* ab aedilibus curulibus . . . facti. . . .—xxxiii, 25, 1.  
 (2) ludosque *scaenicos* triduum post dedicationem templi Iunonis, biduum post Dianae, et singulos dies fecit *in circo*.—xl, 52, 3.

belief of scholars is that in Republican times the plays which were presented at the great, annual *ludi* were given in the morning. See Oehmichen, *op. cit.*, 216; Friedlander, *op. cit.*, 494; Dziatzko-Hauler, *Phormio* (1913), p. 37, A. 3, 4, 5.

<sup>53</sup> See p. 94.

<sup>54</sup> *The Roman Forum* (1909), 5. Cf. Jordan, *op. cit.*, I, 2, 318 ff. For cases of covering the forum with awnings cf. Plin. *N.H.* xix, 23.

<sup>55</sup> See p. 89.

<sup>56</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, 287, n.

(3) *scaenicos ludos per quadriduum, unum diem in circo fecit.* — XLII, 10, 5.

I think we must admit that these passages possibly do point to a contrast in the places of celebration, and not merely to a difference in the kinds of *ludi*. But we should not fail to notice that the earliest of the instances cited from Livy is for the year 197, *i.e.* one hundred and sixty-seven years after the first *ludi scaenici* and forty-three years after the coming of the legitimate drama to Rome. The second reference belongs in 179, the very year in which the censor who gives the games has already contracted for the *theatrum et proscaenium ad Apollinis*.<sup>57</sup> Moreover, his games are in honor of the dedication of two temples in the Circus Flaminius, near which this theatre was located. That he might have used the theatre for his *ludi* is not impossible, for it is only five years later that we find recorded, with no indication that it was exceptional, the contract for that *scaena* which was to be used jointly by aediles and praetor.<sup>58</sup> The third of the Livy passages refers to *ludi votivi* in 173, the next year after this joint *scaena* was projected. Again, the censor who gives the *ludi* is one of those who had contracted for the *scaena*.<sup>59</sup> Whether he had the right to use this stage for his *ludi* is uncertain; but the very fact that we have reached a period when the construction of *scaenae* by public officials begins to be recorded is reason enough for this marked distinction between *ludi in scaena* and *ludi in circo*. It by no means follows that in earlier times the circus was never a site for dramatic performances.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Livy, XI, 51, 3.

<sup>58</sup> See p. 92.

<sup>59</sup> Livy, XLI, 27, 5-6.

<sup>60</sup> In his paper on *Dramatic Saturna* presented by Prof. B. L. Ullman at the last meeting of the American Philological Association and since published in *Classical Philology*, IX (1914), 1-23, the writer suggests an additional argument for the Circus Maximus as a site for *ludi scaenici*. This argument consists in the fact that Dionysius of Halicarnassus in his famous description of a Roman *pompa* of early date includes in the procession bands of actors, who burlesqued and ridiculed the dancers (VII, 72, 10-11). "Surely," says Professor Ullman (p. 15), "their part was not ended with the disbanding of the procession. Evidently the real performance began in the Circus, and their evolutions and antics during the parade were merely by way of anticipation." Though probably not susceptible of actual proof, the suggestion is interesting and plausible.

One must conclude, then, that it is dangerous to dogmatize on this subject, as on most others connected with the early Roman stage. Our evidence is too slight and the period of time involved is too long for us to believe that it was marked by a perfectly uniform practice. There was, unquestionably, a prejudice in favor of a site near the shrine of the god of the *ludi*, but some places were better suited for plays than others, and audiences must have varied for different *ludi* and for different periods.





IX. — *The Genitive and Dative Singular of the Latin Pronominal Declension*

BY PROFESSOR EDGAR H. STURTEVANT  
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

THE problem presented by the Latin pronominal genitives in *-ius* and datives in *-i* has frequently been discussed ever since the early days of comparative grammar, and many divergent views have been advanced. References to this literature may be found in Stolz's *Lateinische Grammatik*<sup>1</sup>, 223, and Brugmann's *Grundriss*<sup>2</sup>, II, 2, 330. Since the appearance of the latest handbooks portions of the topic have been taken up anew by Solmsen (*KZ.* XLIV, 177), Wackernagel (*IF.* xxxi, 268 ff.), Ehrlich (*Untersuchungen über die Natur der griechischen Betonung*, 72 ff.), and the author (*TAPA*, XLIII, 57 ff., *CP.* VIII, 485 f.).

In view of the many solutions of the riddle which have been proposed only to be rejected by the next writer on the subject it may seem rash to make another attempt. There is, however, hope of success if we consistently adopt a point of view which has already been responsible for the most solid contributions that have been made. Instead of confining our attention to Latin or attempting to trace Latin forms directly to Indo-European, we should first of all make a diligent search for correspondences between Latin and the other Italic dialects. Several of these have been recognized by one scholar or another, but they have not been combined into one system. There is, besides, one point of similarity between Latin and Oscan which hitherto has apparently escaped detection.

Buck, *Vocalismus der oskischen Sprache*, 151 f., identified the possessive adjective *quouis a um* with Oscan *púiuu* 'quoia' on the basis of Italic *\*quouius* from genitive-dative-locative *\*quoi* and the adjective suffix *-ios* (cf. *ποιος* from *\*ποι-ιος*). The identification of the adjective *quouis* with Oscan *púiuu* has recently been adopted by Sommer (*Handbuch*, 472), Solmsen (*l.c.*), Brugmann (*Berichte der sächs. Gesellsch.* LX, 61 ff.,

*Grundriss*<sup>2</sup>, II, 2, 329 f.), and Stolz (*Lateinische Grammatik*<sup>4</sup>, 222 f.), although they differ from Buck's interpretation at various points;<sup>1</sup> in spite of Wackernagel's scepticism (*IF.* xxxi, 270), we may probably consider this one of the established conclusions of the science.

Brugmann makes the further assumption that Latin *eius*, *huius*, *illius*, etc. represent Italic possessive adjectives \**eijios*, \**hoijios*, \**illeijios*; but in support of this he is not able to cite any evidence either of an adjectival use of the forms in Latin or of the existence of cognates in the dialects (see Solmsen, *l.c.*). Furthermore, it is unlikely that in \**illeijios*, etc., *ǵ* before *ij* would become *ǝ* (a necessary step in the change of \**illeijios* to *illius*), since unaccented *ǝ* persists before other double consonants, and since *ǝ* from original *ǎ* persists before *ij* (\**Márraijios* > *Mareijius*). It is, therefore, unlikely that primitive Italic had possessive adjectives from the demonstrative stems.

Luchs, Studemund's *Studien*, I, 319 ff., demonstrated that in numerous places where our manuscripts of early Latin authors record *quoius*, *huius*, *eius*, *illius*, etc., the meter requires a form one syllable shorter. Skutsch, *Phil.* LIX, 495, 500 f., held that the forms in question were *illīs*, etc. and these genitives (*illīs*, *quois*, *huīs*, *eīs*, etc.) are now very generally accepted, although nearly all editors of Plautus and Terence retain the manuscript spellings *illius*, *quoius*, etc. In *Geras*, 125, and *Glotta*, I, 305 f., Skutsch identified the ending of *illīs*, *istīs*, etc., with that of pronominal genitives in Oscan and Umbrian (e.g. Osc. *ets-ets* Umbr. *er-er*) on the basis of Italic *-eis*, the regular genitive ending of *i*-stems in Indo-European and Oscan and therefore in Italic. It is equally possible, however, that *-eis* in the pronominal declension was the *o*-stem locative *-ei* + a genitival *s*, as in early Latin, *mī-s*, *tī-s* (cf. Ahlberg, *De correptione iambica Plautina*). Skutsch inferred that the Plautine spelling was *illeis*, but, in view of Ehrlich's

<sup>1</sup> Sommer separates the genitive *quoius* from the possessive adjective. Brugmann does not derive Greek *ποῖος* from \**poi-ios*. Solmsen thought that the base of Italic \**quojios* was the nominative \**quoi*. For a reply to Wackernagel's chief difficulty, see below, p. 104.

demonstration (*l.c.*) that unaccented *ei* became  $\bar{i}$  before Plautus' time, it is clear that the latter wrote and pronounced *illis*, whether we regard this as an *i*-stem or an *o*-stem form.

It has long been recognized that Oscan *altrei*, 'alteri,' contains the same ending as Latin *illī*, etc. Most scholars have considered such forms original locatives, but Skutsch, *Glotta*, I, 305 ff., prefers to consider them datives of the *i*-stems that appear in such adverbs as *illim*. There seems to be no decisive evidence for either of the two possibilities. If the pronominal datives are *o*-stem locatives, the genitives are probably locatives with a genitival *-s* appended. On the other hand, if the datives are *i*-stem forms, the genitival *-eis* is also an *i*-stem ending.<sup>2</sup> In either case Latin *illis* and *illī* represent Italic endings *-eis* and *-ei* respectively.

The diphthong of Latin *quois* and *quoi* must be the product of contraction, since original *oi* would become  $\bar{u}$  if accented and  $\bar{i}$  (Plautine  $\bar{e}$ ) if unaccented. It is usually assumed that the original form of the dative was *\*quoīīei*, a form which harmonizes, on the one hand, with the genitive *\*quoīīos*, and, on the other, with the datives like *illī* from *\*illei*. For the change of *\*quoīīei* to *\*quoīīī* to *\*quōī* to *quoi*, see *CP.* VIII, 485 and references. The genitive *quois* may in like fashion be traced to an Italic genitive *\*quoīīeis*, and we have convincing evidence for the existence of this form in the Campanian genitive *pūīich*, which requires the assumption of an Oscan *\*pūīieis* (see Buck, *Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian*, 145). Buck's suggestion that *\*pūīieis* is the genitive singular of the possessive adjective seen in *pūīiu*, 'quoia' (cf. *nostrī: noster*) is plausible enough if we confine our attention to Oscan; but no such explanation will hold for an Italic *\*quoīīeis*, since the genitive of Italic *\*quoīīos* must have been *\*quoīīei*. Perhaps *\*quoīīeis* was a modification of *\*quoīīei* under the influence of the other pronominal genitives in *-eis*.

The dative *\*quoīīei*, which we have assumed to account for Latin *quoi*, was probably formed from the genitive *\*quoīīeis* on the analogy of pairs like *\*illeis: \*illei* (Latin *illis: illī*) and *\*eiseis: \*eisei* (Oscan *eisets, eizeis: \*etsei*). That this process

<sup>2</sup> On this question, compare below, n. 4.

occurred in the Italic period would be reasonably sure if we could point to a dative \**púííei* in Oscan. No such form has yet been found, but we have a dative of the corresponding *i*-stem which was probably formed from it. The dative *piei* occurs in the *Tabula Bantina*, which is written in the Latin alphabet; if we had the form in the national alphabet it would doubtless be spelled \**piiéi* (see Buck, *Grammar*, 28, 66). The form seems to have arisen from the analogy: *púd*: \**púííei* = *pid*: *pí(i)ei*. Similarly the genitive *pieis(-um)* is most easily derived from the *o*-stem genitive \**púííeis* (Campanian *púííeh*).<sup>3</sup>

The extant remnants of Oscan and Umbrian exhibit traces of a separate ending for the genitive feminine; Umbrian has feminine *erar* 'eius' beside masculine *erer*, and Oscan has a feminine *ulas* 'illius' (see Buck, *Grammar*, 141). In early Latin we frequently meet genitives and datives like *illae* and *istae*, although datives such as *illo* and *isto* do not occur in the early period (see Luchs, Studemund's *Studien*, I, 335, Sommer, *Handbuch*, 457, 459, 460). It seems likely, then, that primitive Italic had separate forms for the feminine (*-ās* and *-āi*).<sup>4</sup>

If our reconstruction of Italic forms is correct, Latin must have inherited the declension seen in the early genitive *illīs*, *illae* (for \**illās*), *illīs*, and dative *illī*, *illae*, *illī*, and further-

<sup>3</sup> Buck, *Grammar*, 145, and Ehrlich, *op. cit.*, 76 f., regard *pieis* and *piei* as modifications of *i*-stem forms \**peis* and \**pei* under the influence of the nominative *pis*. It is not clear how *pis* could exert such an influence, since neither *pis* nor \**peis* could suggest an *i*-stem in Oscan. Ehrlich cites Cretan *τπιυς* (for \**τπιυς*), accusative of *τπείς*, as a parallel; but that form itself is in need of further elucidation. If *pis* really did induce *pieis* it must have done so on the model of the *io*-stems, which have nominatives in *-is* beside genitives in *-ieis*. It would then be necessary to derive the dative *piei* from *pieis* on the model of other pronominal forms such as *eizeis*: *altrei*. The hypothesis stated in the text certainly has an advantage over this in point of simplicity.

<sup>4</sup> If *illīs*, *illī*, etc., were originally *i*-stem forms, they must at first have been used for all genders; but until we have some evidence that that was really their origin, such a consideration cannot weigh against the evidence stated above. Skutsch, *Glotta*, I, 305 ff., bases his theory that they come from *i*-stems partly on the fact that they are used as feminines in Latin. It would be more reasonable to urge against him the fact that the use of the forms in *-īs*, *-ius* and *-ī* as feminines gains ground after the beginning of the literature, while it cannot be cited at all from the dialects.

more the genitive *quois*, the dative *quoi*, and the possessive adjective *quoius*. From these the other genitives and datives of the Latin pronouns can easily be derived, although one or another of them may very well be old.

The *o*-stem forms of the interrogative-relative pronoun had several points of similarity with the demonstrative *hic* (*quod*: *hod-ce*, *quō(d)*: *hō(d)-ce*, *quōrum*: *hōrum*, *quēs* > *quīs*: *hēs* > *hīs*, *quōs*: *hōs*, *quae*: *hae ce*). On the basis of these correspondences the dative *\*quoiiei* > *\*quōī* > *quoi* > *cui* gave rise to *\*hoiiei-ce* > *\*hōī-ce* > *hoi-ce* > *huic*; but there is no evidence to show in which of the first three stages of its development the dative of the relative-interrogative induced a like form in the demonstrative. In a similar way, and probably at the same time, there was formed on the model of the genitive *\*quoiieis* > *\*quōīs* > *quois* a genitive *\*hoiieis(ce)* > *\*hōīs(ce)* > *hoīs(ce)* > *huīs(ce)*.

The genitive and dative of *is* are most easily traced to the analogy of *ille*, *iste*, *ullus*, etc., since they had the same endings in most of their forms.<sup>5</sup> If we choose the genitive plural as representing all these similar forms, the analogy may be stated thus: *illorum*: (gen.) *illīs*: (dat.) *illī* = *eorum*: *\*ēīs*: *\*ēī*. If we assume that the process took place at the time when the genitive and dative of the relative-interrogative pronoun were *quōīs* and *quōī*, these forms would furnish some support for the new creations. At any rate their further development was parallel; just as *\*quōīs* became *quōīs* and *\*quōī* became *quōī*, so *\*ēīs* became *ēīs* and *\*ēī* became *ēī*, both of which occur in early Latin.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Sommer, *Glotta*, v, 258, shows that this stem was dominated by *o*-stem pronouns from Italic times.

<sup>6</sup> Kent is surely wrong (*TAPA*, XLIII, 49) in regarding the monosyllabic dative of *is* as a monophthong (*ē* > *ī*). It is a diphthong of secondary origin like those in *quoi* > *cui*, *huic*, *deinde*, *ain*, etc. Similarly in the genitive of the fifth declension, the analogical introduction of the second declension ending gave *rēī*, which regularly became *rēī* > *rēī*. In the dative of the fifth declension, on the other hand, the regular development was: *-ē(ī)ai* > *-ēē* > *-ē*.

If one accepts Skutsch's derivation of *illīs* and *illī* from an *ī*-stem (see above, p. 101), one may derive *ēīs* and *ēī* from a stem *eīī*- parallel with the stem *eīō*- which is seen in *eum*, *eos*, etc. Italic *\*eīeis*, *\*eīei* would regularly become *\*ēīs*, *\*ēī*, and then *ēīs*, *ēī*.

Since *s* disappeared before voiced consonants, *quois*, *huis*, *eis*, *illis*, etc., lost their final element in such phrases as *illi(s) modi* (see Lindsay, *Latin Language*, 431). *Quoi**quoimodi*, *cuimodi*, etc. never acquired much vogue; but the resemblance of *illi*, *isti*, etc., to genitives of the second declension gave those forms wide use in colloquial Latin, and ultimately led to the formation of datives in *-ō* (*illo*, *isto*, etc.).

The genitive *quoius* cannot be separated from the nominative singular masculine of the possessive adjective. Wackernagel's assertion, *IF.* xxxi, 269, that nominatives become stereotyped only in compounds, in the cardinal numerals, and in words that become adverbs, is true enough in general; but it has no weight at all in a specific case if we can point to an analogy that might induce the change. The nominative singular masculine *quoius* was probably stereotyped as a genitive form under the influence of *quois* (*quois servos* : *quois ancilla* = *quoius servos* : *quoius ancilla*). No doubt the old genitives in *-us* from consonant stems (*Venerus*, etc.) contributed to the result.

Since there is no evidence for an adjectival use of *huius*, *eius*, *illius*, etc., it seems probable that they originated from *quoius* after the latter had come to be used as a genitive of *qui*. The analogical processes which induced the new forms may be represented thus :

<i>quoi</i>	:	<i>quois</i>	:	<i>quoius</i>	:	=	<i>hoi(ce)</i>	:	<i>hois</i>	:	<i>hoius</i>
"		"		"		=	<i>ēi</i>	:	<i>ēis</i>	:	<i>eius</i>
"		"		"		=	<i>illi</i>	:	<i>illis</i>	:	<i>illius</i>

It was noted above that in all probability the adjective pronouns originally had separate forms for the genitive and dative singular feminine. The possessive from the relative-interrogative stem, however, could be used of an antecedent of any gender; *mulier quoius servos* must have been as correct as *meus (mulieris) servos*.<sup>7</sup> When the form *quoius* was stereotyped as a genitive of the pronoun, it still retained the power to represent a feminine antecedent; in other words it was a genitive feminine as well as a genitive masculine and neuter.

<sup>7</sup> So *quoa vox* of a woman's voice in Pl. *Rud.* 229 and 332.

No doubt the fact that the third declension genitives in *-us*, e.g. *Castorus*, *Venerus*, *nominus*, served for all three genders contributed to this result.

As the *-us* genitive spread through the pronominal declension it still retained its use as a feminine; and during the period when the new forms were used side by side with the old shorter forms, these too were used as feminines (e.g. *ei(u)s*, Ter. *And.* 799). The use of the genitive forms in all three genders led to a similar extension of the dative form of the masculine to the feminine.

The datives *quoiŕi*, *huiŕic*, and *eiŕi*, which are actually found in early Latin cannot be survivals of the forms from which *quoi*, *huic*, and *ei* developed; they must be reformations on the basis of the genitive *quoiŕus*, *huiŕus*, and *eiŕus*. The dative *ŕi* comes from the proportion, *istum* : *isto* : *isti* = *eum* : *eo* : *ŕi*.





X.—*Pada Endings and Pada Suffixes*

BY PROFESSOR EDWIN W. FAY

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

1. THE Sanskrit cases in *-bh-* and the loc. pl. in *-su* are said to have *pada* endings because the stems before them pre-vaillingly follow the rules for exterior *sam̐dhi* (cf. Whitney, *Gr.* § 111). The question must then arise whether instr. *-bhis* loc. *-su* actually were independent, verbal entities. In fact, in spite of the reigning prejudice in favor of explanations by conglutination as against agglutination, Brugmann admits (*Gr.*<sup>2</sup> II, 2, pp. 185–186; 819, 832, etc.) the explanation of not a few virtual case forms as containing at the end adverbial and prepositional elements. By the same token we may identify *-φι* in Homeric Greek and Goth. *bi*, Eng. *by*, with a general propriety quite warranted by the examples in *Monro, Hom. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> §§ 155–158.<sup>1</sup> Morphologically, the IE. instr. fem. sg. *ekwā-bhi* (paradigms in *Gr.* l.c. pp. 282–284) may represent dat.-loc. *ekwā[y]*, conceived as the “stem” *ekwā-*, + *bhi*, so that in the *θεό-φι* type *θεο-* may have replaced original *θεώ[ι]* by a proportional analogy like *ἀγέλην : ἀγέληφι :: δάκρυον : δακρυόφι :: ὄστέον : ὄστέοφι*. [Does the accent-shift in *-όφι* indicate original enclisis?] For the original prepositional force of *-bhis* cf. e.g. Skr. *yā'-bhis* with its German definition of *da-mit*.

2. IE. preposition (*k*)*su* | *su-* ‘cum’; con- *ge-*.<sup>2</sup> Before we can test the Indo-Iranian loc. pl. in *-su* it will be necessary to demonstrate the word *su*. As regards the correlation of *-su* with *-σι* (*ἵπποισι*), *-σι* may be from *su* + the *i* ending of the loc. sg. (*Gr.*<sup>2</sup> II, 2, § 185).<sup>2</sup> Formally the pair *su* | *swi* may be

<sup>1</sup>In *AJP*, xxxii, 409 I have attempted a derivation and definition of *-bhi-* (‘coniunctio’ > ‘iuxta’; cf. Lith. *bēi* ‘et’ — ? from ‘cum’), pointing out that it acts like an inflected noun. To realize how a nom. *bhi-s* e.g. may have become an adverb (= preposition) consult the *Grundriss*, II, 2, § 557; also § 23.

<sup>2</sup>This derivation is denied *ibid.*, p. 248<sup>1</sup> because *-σσι* nowhere appears. But the distribution of *-σι* | *-σσι* may have been determined by pairs like *δρεσσι* : *δρεσ-φι(ν)*. In other words, *-σ-σφι* may have yielded *σ-σ[φ]ι* while postvocalic

compared with *en(i) ṅdher(i) per(i) uṇer(i)*; l.c. pp. 827, 860, 865, 906. As regards the morphology of ἵπποισι 'equis' and Skr. *hāstesu* 'in manibus', I would explain as *hāste*-loc. sg. extended by *-su* 'comes, cum'. For the shift to the plural cf. Brugmann-Thumb, *Gr. Gram.*<sup>4</sup>, § 276, on the parallel problem with the Greek-ϕι case. For the combination of *-su* 'comes, cum' with the locative cf. Skr. *sācā* 'socius,<sup>3</sup> cum', also noting Umbr. *verīs-co* (on *-co* cf. § 23), lit. *portiscum*, but = 'portas<sub>apud</sub>.' Further, cf. Grassmann on *sācā* I, 2: "hinter einen von verb regierten dativ in dem sinne: zu seinen gunsten" (Lat. *alicui socius*). I have shown in *CJ*, VIII, 127 sq. how, in the turn *alicui comes it, comes* was like the German separable *mit*, being almost what we might term an inflected preposition (cf. *adversus* and § 23). We have a parallel in the dual *sacā-bhīwā* (*RV*)=*παρ-εόντε* (quasi 'soci-praesentes'), which takes the instrumental, and the rendering 'vereint mit' is only a preciser ('simul) cum'. Also cf. Vedic *sa-jōṣās*, *IF*. XXVII, 236; 256.

3. IE. (*k*)*su* is believed by some, and I think truly, to be proved by ξύν | σύν (cf. μεταξύ<sup>4</sup> ξύ-λοχος) and Lith. *sù* 'cum', *su-* 'zusammen; ver-zer-'. OBulg. *sŭ* 'cum; de; com-' is phonetically ambiguous, but it is quite unbelievable that Lith. *sù* and *su-*, with all their wide range of usage, are borrowed from it. IE. *ksu* seems likely to be for *sku* (: *scquor*; *-σφ-ι* was still alive, resulting in the victory of (σ)-σι. We shall see later that *ksw-i* was also in play — simplified proethnically perhaps in the *k-ksw-* of φύλαξι, Skr. *vā[k]kṣú*. It is tempting to divide *γυναι-ξι* (: voc. *γύναι*) as though *κ* belonged to the ending before it was abstracted to the stem *γυναικ-*. But the *k* of *senex* may be pleaded against this.

<sup>3</sup> I explain *sācā* as nom. sg. masc. (§ 23): √*sac* (not instr. from a lost noun *sāc-*) of the type of Lat. (*agri*-)cola μητι-ετα (§ 17) νεφελη-γερέτα (v. Seymour, *Hom. Lang. and Verse*, p. 36). In the Avesta, *hačā* takes abl. and instr., as does *mač* 'cum' (also originally = 'comes', § 23), and 'socius ab aliquo' (geselle von) is to be judged in the light of 'facere ab (cum) aliquo' (cf. *JAOS*, xxxi, 403 sq.). An example for both *-su* and *sācā* is *RV*, VIII, 4, 3, *Kānve-su sū sācā piba* = 'with the Kanvas drink thy fill', which may be restored to 'Kanvas<sub>cum</sub> bene comes bibe.' [? Or is *sū* a repetition of *-su* as Span. *con migo* = Lat. *cum mecum*; on *sū* 'bene' see § 5<sup>7</sup>; or *sū piba* here = 'combibe'; or *sū sācā* may be like Lat. *socius cum*.]

<sup>4</sup> In its solitary Homeric use (A 156) μετα-ξύ = 'in medio' and might be a locative to *μετά* (§ 23) 'medius', from 'comites<sub>cum</sub>inter.'

precise nature of *k* indeterminable because *k<sub>w</sub>* — cf. *secū-tus* — may have fluctuated with *k<sup>(w)</sup>*, cognate with Skr. *sácā*, etc. (*Grundr.*<sup>2</sup> II, 2, § 705), and further with OLat. [*s*] *qu-om* (*s* lost in *nobiscum*, etc.) : *sku* : : Skr. *param* : Lat. *per* (*ib.* § 684, 3). If we start with IE. *sku-* | *ksu-* (*su-* | *sw-*) ‘com, ge’ (< ‘comes’) a wonderful variety of initial groups is admissible (v. Walde<sup>2</sup> s.v. *vibro* and Kretschmer in *KZ*, xxxii, 419). As in German *g-lauben b-leiben* we have virtual “roots” *glaub- bleib-*, so we shall find *ksw-* in its multiple phonetic varieties so firmly attached to IE. roots as always hitherto to have seemed an integral part thereof. I offer the following material in evidence :

4. a) Vedic *álpa-* ‘parvus’ : Skr. *sv-alpa-* ‘perparvus’ (cf. *ringe* | *ge-ringe*, *dignus* | *condignus*). The compound may have started in the advb. *sv-alpena* ‘brevi’ (tempore), lit. ‘cum parvo’. b) Eng. *sw-arm* : Lat. *armentum* ‘herd’. The verb *swarms* is then denominative, not onomatopoeic. The spiritus asper in *άρμα* and other derivations of *ἀραρίσκω* would also be due to *s(w)-*. c) In Eng. *sw-ord* we should have the basis *erē* ‘trennen’ (cf. Persson, *Beitr.* 637 § 22) extended by *d(h)* as in Lith. *su-ardy’ti* ‘ganz zertrennen’ : Skr. *ardhá-* ‘semis, latus’. d) *ἄπ-τει* ‘fastens’<sup>5</sup> from *s(w)-ap-* : Lat. *apere* ‘vincire’ ; *s(w)-ap-* also in *s-apit* ‘combines, has sense, taste’ : Osc. *sipus* (< *sēp-uos*, Buck, *Gram.* § 90. I. b) ‘sciens’. The same long vocalism in Lat. *sēps* ‘enclosure’ (*AJP*, xxvii, 306–7); *saepis* from *sēip-* (*ib.* xxviii, 412). e) Lat. *sōbrius* : *σοφός*. Besides a root *ē(i)p-* ‘vincire’ we must recognize a form *ēbh-* in Lat. *ēbrius* ‘drunk,’ cf. for the sense Propertius, III, 5, 21, *me iuuet et multo mentem vincire Lyaeo*<sup>6</sup> (see *TAPA*, xli, 44 § 38<sup>2</sup>). Note in the sense of ‘drunk’ Eng. *tight* ‘strictus, artus’, which, though not traceably = tied (‘vinctus’), conceptually suggests tied. From the compound root *s(w)-ēbh-*

<sup>5</sup> ‘Fastening’ is from ‘tying’ (vincire) or ‘pegging’ (*TAPA*, xli, 33), not always susceptible of precise differentiation, cf. *δῆσεν ἀλοῖς* (Pindar, *Pyth.* 71). On the definition of the simplex *ap-* really *ap-* see *AJP*, xxvii, 306 ; xxxi, 420, a reference to which might have saved Brugmann much of the semantic discussion (*tangere*) of *IF*, xxxii, 319.

<sup>6</sup> This example ought to fix the sense of *Pseud.* 222, ap. *Thes. LL.*, v, 859, 9.

comes Lat. *sōbrius* 'temperate' from original 'strict' (= *strictus*). With *sōbrius* (*ō*) belong *σοφός* (*ō*) (unless assimilated from \**σαφος*) and OLat. *persibus* (*b* < *bh*) 'sapiens' (cf. *sāga sagax* in § 7 below), *σάφα* (*a* < *ə*) 'gewiss, certe, distincte.' Thus *σοφίη* as well as *sapientia* is 'Kombinationsgabe'. Skr. *sabhā* (though a 'parliament' not, after Edgerton, *KZ*, XLVI, 175, a 'colloquium') 'assembly, meeting' and Germ. *sippe* 'familia' are from \**s(w)-ebh(y)ā* 'coniunctio, meeting' (§ 20). Note OBulg. *seb-ry* (homo) 'vulgaris' (< 'familiaris'), Uhlenbeck in *PBBetr*, XIX, 332. A form without *sw-* in Skr. *ibha-* 'familia; octo' (*PW*<sup>2</sup>), with *i-* rather from *ēibh* than for *ə* : *ē*. Goth. *sipōneis* 'discipulus': OEng. *septe* 'docuit' (with secondary *p*, cf. § 20 on the *t* in *meeting*) also attest a root *sē(i)p-* or *sē(i)bh-*.

5. f) *ἄρπ-ἄζει* 'rapit' from *sw-rp-*: *√rap*. Is *-ἄζει* from \**āgye-*: *ἄγειν* (καὶ φέρειν)? Here it may be noted that the *sw-* compounds, and the Latin *com-* compounds as well, may have begun in the plural, with a paradigm like *cedit* 'yields': *con-cedunt* 'they withdraw'. After the analogical development of sg. *concedit* its *con-* made it available as the more emphatic form. The force of *sw-* in *ἄρπάζει* grew to be the force we feel in the *συν-* of *συν-λαμβάνει*. Every taking or seizing involves a 'with' (co-r-ripit) or 'to' (ad-imit) as well as a 'from' (au-fert). g) Skr. *agni-ṣv-āttā-* 'igni-com-ēsus (*ē*), designation (archaic) of the Manes. No better proof of the convertibility of *su-* with *com-* (§ 3) could be wished. h) Skr. *sv-ādāti*: Lat. [*s*]v-escitur, Lith. *su-ė' sti*. In *RV*, VIII, 5, 36, *mrgám . . svádathas = feram* (i.e. *ferinam*) *vescimini* (after *PW*<sup>2</sup>); for the acc. regimen cf. *vescatur dapem* (ap. Non. 415, 27). Grassmann cites 5 exx. for this sense and regimen. With the locative (Lat. ablv.) *svādāti* means 'gefallen findet an'.<sup>7</sup> Lith. *sv'ėstas* 'butter' < 'mit-gegessen.'

<sup>7</sup> Thus in *sv-ad- sv-* connotes 'bene'. Note my derivation of *suāvis* (with explanation of secondary *ā*) from *su + edit* (*TAPA*, XLI, 31); and cf. Lalis' definition in his Lith. lexicon of *su-spardyti* by 'to kick well' (see § 2<sup>1</sup>). So perhaps in a word like Skr. *su-cētās-* the sense was 'con-scius' before it became 'bene-sciens'.—The original sense of *√ed* now seems to me to have been 'es schmeckt, placet' i.e. 'pricks' (*AJP*, XXVI, 200), and in the *ḍḍōs* group (*ib.* XXXIV, 26) 'pricker, point, needle' (Lith. *adatā*). For the personal < impersonal relation

6. i) Lat. *sūmit* 'συλ-λαμβάνει': Lith *su-iñti* 'zusammennehmen.' There are grave difficulties in deriving *sūmit* from *subs(ə)mit*. Why not *sub-* as in *sub-ire sub-igere*? Why syncope of *e*? The case of *po-s(i)no* > *pōno* is not parallel, for *po-* is isolated in Latin; cf. also *au-fert*: Av. *ava-baraiti*, *au-fugit*: Skr. *ava-bhujati*. Neither are *surgo pergo sub-icio* (*ic* < *iac*) parallel. On the other hand, like its opposite *ponit* (Horace, *C.* III, 2, 19), *sūmit* freely compounds with prepositions, and as only Latin and Lithuanian fully maintain the *emo*-sept, what more admissible than their consistent preservation of its *su-* compound? In *sur-ēmit surempsit* (OLat.) *r* < (*b*)*s* is flatly impossible. But if we admit *su-*'con-', opposite of *dis-* 'apart,' then *sur-emit* either owes its *r* to *diremit* or, more generally, a *su-s* x *dis* contrast group is to be admitted. For *su-* | *su(s)-* cf. Av. *vī-* | *viš-* (prevocalic) 'dis-', *viš* being found but once (with  $\sqrt{pat}$ , Bartholomae, *Lex.* 828). We must admit *su-* also in *sur-sus* < *su-versus*, certainly not from *sub-vorsus*; and *sus* probably in *susque* (cf. *absque*) *deque*:<sup>8</sup> *su(r)sum deorsum*. Phonologically, the *ū* of *sūmit* will be from  $\sqrt{ue-}$  |  $\sqrt{ui-}$ , cf. *iūcundus* < *iūvi*<sup>o</sup>, *iūnior* < *iūven*<sup>o</sup> (?), *tūtus* < *tuitus*, gen. *pūris* < *pūveris* (τοῦ πύφeos) voc. *pūre* 'puere' (? Lucilius ap. Non. 254, 8; 337, 13), *pūri* 'pueri' (Lucretius, IV, 1026 — so correctly Paulson, *Ind. Lucr.* s.v. *puer*). [? *Pūris* not *pueris* in Horace, *C.* II, 18, 34.]

7. Previous derivations of mine (*TAPA*, XLI, 27; 31) involving *s(w)-* | (*s*)*w-* are: (1) Lat. *s(v)-agmina* 'co-withies: ἄγνος 'trieb' (cf. *agere colicolam*, etc., ap. *Thes. LL.* I, 1376, 45); (2) Doric [σφ-]ἄχω 'echo' (lit. 'col-loquens'): Skr. *āha* 'locutus est,' cf. OIr. *s[v]-agim* 'aio': Goth. *s[w]akan* 'iurgari' (*sw-* in hostile sense, cf. *co-* in *co-eo*, *Thes. LL.* III, 1417, 63); (3) Skr. *sv-ājati* 'com-plectitur'; (4) Skr. *sv-āp-iti* 'dormit': Lat. *apere* (*a* < *ə*, § 4d); (5) Skr. *v-āñcati* ("movable" *v-*, § 8) 'bends, swerves: *āñcati* 'bends'; (6) IE. *s[w]āg-* 'cogere, cogitare' in Lat. *sāga* = *quae* < *deos* < *cogit*, v. *Thes. LL.* III,

cf. Lat. *doleo*: *dolet mihi*. — From  $\sqrt{ed}$  'to prick' come ὀδόνη, Aeol. ἔδύνας (cf. Prellwitz s.v.).

<sup>8</sup> Note the contrast of OIr. *súi* x *dúu*, containing *su-* 'bene' (§ 57) and *du[s]* 'male' (see Fick-Stokes, p. 261, s.v. *vāto*).

1527, 28) and in ἀγέομαι ('con-)duco' (*AJP*, xxxii, 416) — cf. ἡγάθεος (ἡ for ῆ by aspirate dissimilation) = (locus) 'cogens deos'; (7) [s]w-er | s[w]-er in ἔρυσθαι: Lat. *servare* (*CQ*, v, 120).

8. The above materials, pondered in the recollection of ξύ-ν: Lith. *sù*, seem to me to demonstrate beyond cavil an IE. (*k*)su = 'cum; com- ge-', and strongly to hint at the alternation of singular and plural in a paradigm like *cedit: concedunt* (§ 5, f). By the interplay of (the type of) *concedit* upon *cedit* we may account for the "movable" *s-* and *w-* (v. e.g. Pedersen, *Gram. kelt. Spr.* 1, § 113; Uhlenbeck *ai. Wbch.* s.v. *dñcati*) as variants of *sw-* 'co'.

9. For the fuller form *ksu-* we may bring forward (1) Skr. *kṣv-elanti* 'saliunt, saltant' (i.e. 'zusammen-reihen') = hüpfen (*PW*<sup>2</sup>), with *-el-*: Lith. *eilė* 'reihe' (: Germ. *eil-en*, √*vī-*). (2) *kṣv-id-* | *sv-id-* 'to sweat' (for *sv-* cf. Lith. *su-kaisti* 'to sweat' lit. 'con-calere'). Out of composition *-id-* will belong with οἰδαξ (milky) 'wild fig' (lit. 'sweller'). In the Avesta we have *xšv-īd-* 'milk,' first to be thought of as the 'swelling' or exudation of plants. Consider τὸ οἶδος 'swelling, tumor': Germ. *eiter* 'pus': Av. *xšv-īd-* 'milk' (cf. Skr. *kṣ[v]-īr-a-* 'milk' from *īra-* 'eiland' if, after Bartholomae, Av. *xšvīpta-* 'milk' = das herausgeschnellte) in the light of Skr. *nir-yās-á-* 'ausschwitzung der bäume, harz, milch; dickflüssige masse überhaupt,' and *pīyū's-a-* 'beestings, cream, sap.' Or more simply, *xšv-īd* = that with which the mammae were swollen. Thus the Greek adjectives in *-ωδης* (*ωδ* from *ōid*, cf. *ī* in Av. *xšv-īd-*) mean 'swelling with' not (after Wackernagel) 'smelling of.' (3) In Skr. *kṣ[w]-odas-*: Av. *xšaodah-* 'flood' we have a compound like 'ge-wässer, cf. the simplex *ōdatī* 'quellend, wallend.' In *RV*. √*kṣud* is but an intensive 'undat, undare facit.'

10. Lat *q-uaero*. Even for the preverb in the form (*s*)*ku-* a plausible example may be cited. For the root *is* | *aīs* 'cupere; chercher' (so Boisacq s.v. *ἕμερος*) see e.g. the *Grundriss*, I, § 818. We have it in Lat. *aeruscat* 'mendicat' from the contemptuous diminutive *\*aesus-ko-* 'beggar' (cf. Skr. *van-ús-* 'cupiens'). So *qu-aerit* 'asks' may be from *\*[s]kwais-eti*.

10<sup>a</sup>. Perhaps *sku-* 'co-' is to be recognized in the two Latin words *scu-lna* and *scu-rra*. Excluding Greek and Greekish words like *myropola* and *nauta*, there are genuine Latin masculines in *-ā* such as *advena incola indigena* and *agri-cola* (*legerupa pomicida cibicida*). The *scu-lna* was an arbitrator betwixt two (Gellius, xx, 11; Macrobius, III, 17, 16), so that the interpretation by *scu-* 'co' and *-l(ē)na* 'iudex' (: Lith. *lem-iū* 'condemno, iudico') is semantically apt. For the Latin *n* for *m* cf. *advena* : *venio* ( $\sqrt{g^wem-}$ ). — A masculine suffix *-(a)-na* in Lat. *verna* would be quite atypical. I derive from *\*ves-i-gena* 'domignatus,' whence *\*ver(i)gena* and, by a second syncope (which perhaps started from the derivative *verg[i]ndculus*, cf. *obiurigandum* | *obiurgandum*) *ver[gi]na*. — With the *scu-rra*, who functioned as a parasite and claqueur — a Nomentanus, we may compare the *roarer* of English comedy. [All your Top-Wits were Scowlers, Rakes, Roarers, and Demolishers of Windows — Steele, *The Tattler*], and derive from *\*scu-rra<sup>sa</sup>* 'co-roarer' (*-rasa* : Skr. *rāsati* 'roars'). By these derivations *scu-lna*, *scu-rra* and *verna* are brought into conformity with the *advena* (*con-viva*) and *agri-cola* (*alieni-gena*) types.

11. After the evidence for IE. *sku-* | *ksu su* | *sw s[w]* | [*s*] *w* I next submit evidence for IE. *sm-* (and even *ksm-*) as the reduced grade of *som* 'cum; con·ge-' (or even *skwom*, see § 3): (1)  $\mu\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\tau\epsilon\iota$  'corripit' < *sm* + *ῥῥῡε-* : *rapit* (cf. § 5 f. on [*σ* *φ*]  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\iota$ ). (2)  $\sigma\mu\text{-}\acute{\omega}\delta\iota\xi$  'ge-schwulst' ( $\omega$  as in § 9, 2). (3)  $\sigma\mu\text{-}\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma$  'thread, rope,' [*σ*]  $\mu\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\rho\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  'zusammenziehen, —wickeln' (Leo Meyer, *Hdbch.* iv, 409). Simplex in  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\rho\iota\text{-}\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota$  'fastens, joints; parat, praeparat,'  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota$  'fastens, binds' ( $\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta$  'halter'). Whether the root first meant 'vincire' or 'pangere' (§ 4<sup>b</sup>) is perhaps not demonstrable, but for 'vincire' note  $\zeta\omega\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$   $\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\rho\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\acute{\iota}$   $\pi\acute{\omicron}\delta\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota\nu$  . .  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\kappa\epsilon$   $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\delta\iota\lambda\alpha$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}\kappa\rho\iota\omicron\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$  ( $\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}$ ), cf.  $\acute{\iota}\mu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$   $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\varsigma$ . Parallel with *sm-ar-* we have *sw-ar-* in  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\alpha$  (§ 4 b). (4)  $\sigma\mu\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  'swarm' (of bees) *i.e.* 'knot, cluster';  $\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  < *anses-*: Lat. *ansa* 'loop' (of a shoestring, cf. ONorse *æs*, and Lith. *asà* 'loop of a slip-knot'). Cf.  $\acute{\eta}\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha$  'reins,' from *s[w]-ans-*. (5) Lat. *m-ea-t* < *sm-ey-ā*.<sup>9</sup> (6) Lat. [*s*] *m-et-uit* (§ 20) 'co-it' (formidine sanguis), *i.e.* 'shrinks,' cf. Germ. *zusammen-fahren* 'to shrink with fear.' (7) Skr. *m-ak-sū* 'mox': either < [*s*] *m* + *ok<sup>w</sup>* + (*k*) *sū* (instrum.) 'mit  $\cup$ augen  $\cup$ blick' ( $\text{-}k\acute{s}\bar{u}$  : Germ. *schauen*), or < [*s*] *m-oks-u-* 'ge-schwind' :  $\acute{\omicron}\xi\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$  'schwind.' (8) Skr. *m-édha-* 'fettbrühe' : *edhamāna-* 'auctus,'  $\sqrt{eidh-}$  :  $\sqrt{\acute{e}(i)d}$  'tumere'

<sup>9</sup> Perhaps Lat. *mos* 'ge-wohnheit' belongs here, contracted from *\*sm-oyos-* (cf.  $\acute{\omicron}$  and  $\tau\acute{\omicron}$   $\sigma\acute{\kappa}\acute{\omicron}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ); Skr. *dya-* 'gang, lauf'. The plural *mores* often = Eng. 'ways'.

(§ 9, 2). Beside  $\sigma\mu\text{-}\acute{\omega}\delta\iota\xi$  'ge-schwulst' (§ 11, 2) put  $\mu\text{-}\eta\delta\epsilon\alpha$  'genitalia' (= 'tumentia'), and (with  $\epsilon\iota$ ) Skr. *m-édas* 'fat', not < \**māsdas*: Eng. *mast* 'acorns'—which might be from \* $[s]m\text{-}osdos$ , if = 'mitansitzend', cf. *Grundr.* II, 2, 816, and  $\mu\text{-}\acute{\omicron}\sigma\chi\omicron\text{-}s$  'twig', i.e. 'mitanhaltend':  $\acute{\omicron}\text{-}\sigma\chi\omicron\text{-}s$ . (9) If IE. *sm-alwo* lies back of Eng. *small* and Lat. *malus*, then cf. with Skr. *ál-pa-|sv-alpha-* in § 4, a. We have an *al-* 'small' with still another suffix in Skr. *ánu-* (< *al-nu-*) 'parvus'.

12. Not only *sm-* but *ksm-* seems in evidence, viz. in Skr.  $\sqrt{k\text{sm-}\acute{i}l-|m\text{-}\acute{i}l-}$  'con-nīvere' (*nīv-*: Skr.  $\sqrt{n\acute{i}}$  'ducere'; cf. *nīv-is*, *AJP*, xxv, 373). In *-il-* we have a cognate of Lith. *eilē* (§ 9, 1), an extension of  $\sqrt{ei}$  (cf. Skr. *ī-mahe*:  $\acute{i}\text{-}\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota$ , *Monro, Lc.* § 85), though in Germ. *eil-en l* (? by blending with  $\sqrt{el}$ ,<sup>10</sup> v. ap. *Walde*<sup>2</sup> s.v. *ambulo*) has become a component of the root. [On the *l* of *sepelio* v. *Schulze, KZ*, xli, 325, and add the *l* of Eng. *smiles*: Skr.  $\sqrt{smi}$ .] In *ksm-il-il* is causative, cf. also  $\sqrt{m\text{-}i\acute{s}\text{-}}$  'to wink' ( $\sigma\upsilon\mu\text{-}\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu$   $\beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\phi\alpha\rho\alpha$ ,  $\acute{\omicron}\mu\mu\alpha$ ) from  $[s]m\text{-}+i\acute{s}$ , apparently causative to  $\sqrt{ei}$ . The earliest recorded use of  $\sqrt{m\text{-}\acute{i}l}$  is in *sam-mīlya* (absolute in *RV*, I, 161, 12, *Arnold's C* period) 'vereint' (*Ludwig*; *Griffith's* 'compassing round,' however different in aspect, not essentially so), cf. ptc. *mīlita-* (*PW*<sup>1</sup>, s.v. *mīl*, v, 793) in *catus trīṃṣacca mīlitās* = 4 and 30 combined. In all these cases *zusammenreihen* (*Lith. eilē* 'reihe', again) is an apt rendering, even for the sense of 'connivere'.

13. Latin *mille*:  $\acute{\omicron}\mu\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\text{-}s$  (*Aeol. \acute{\omicron}\mu\acute{\iota}\lambda\lambda\omicron\text{-}s). From *sam-mīlya mīlita-* Skr.  $\sqrt{m\text{-}\acute{i}l}$  'to combine' cannot be separated by anything but a mere whimsy, cf. *Kathas.* 49, 88 in *PW*<sup>1</sup>, v, 783, *-yuddhena mīlitāu dvāu* = -proelio iuncti duo, wherein *mīlitāu* has hostile sense (cf. *mīl-et-* below). In view of *mīlita-* *Johannson's \acute{\omicron}\mu\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\text{-}s* is as admissible as my  $\acute{\omicron}\mu\text{-}\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\text{-}s$  (*MLN*, xxii, 38). As regards the cognation of  $\acute{\omicron}\mu\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\text{-}s$  'throng, battle-throng' (lit. 'zusammen-kunft') with *mille* 'gang' > 'thousand' we must bear in mind *Lith. eil-ē* and  $[s]w\text{-}ei\text{-}slē$  'co-gang' > 'familia' (brood):  $\acute{\iota}\lambda\eta$   $\acute{\iota}\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota$   $\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\epsilon\iota\text{-}s$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\lambda\eta$  'troop' (military) — not from *Boisacq's* purely ethereal startform \**welmā*. With*

<sup>10</sup> Skr.  $[y\text{-}ar\text{-}ti]$  certainly looks more like a blend of  $\sqrt{ei}$  and  $\sqrt{el}$  than like a "reduplication."



Lith. *w-eislē* and Lat. *m-ille* before us, we can but think of the synonymous prepositions (*s*)*w*- and (*s*)*m*- demonstrated above, and so the Buddhistic [why unreal because Buddhistic?] high numbers *v-ela-* and *m-elā* (*v-ela* also = 'grenze', cf. Lith. *eil-ē* 'reihe'; *m-ela* = 'zusammenkunft') come to their rights. So as (after Mommsen) Lat. *mīl-et-* [original *e*, cf. Pedersen, *Kelt. Spr.* § 154] is 'thousand goer' (*AJP*, xxxiv, 498) *vēl-et-* = 'gang-goer' (*ē* dialectic < *ei*, or due to the *vēlati*, a Roman corps presumably contrasted with a corps like the Greek *γυμνήτες*): Lith. *w-eislē*. With normal *ī* < *ei* Lat. *vīlis* 'vulgaris' (so Bezzenberger, *BB*, xxvii, 163, without due development of the semantic). Already in Hesiod *ἴλαδόν* meant 'commonly, abundanter'; in the *villa* was gathered a farmer's 'familia' (cf. *vīli-cus* 'overseer'), for which it constituted the seat.

14. After the abundant documentation for IE. *sw- sm-* 'cum; com-ge-' I go on to prove a root *et* 'errare, currere, ire, circare; sagacem esse' (cf. Germ. *erfahren*, *peritus versatus* [*versutus*], Eng. *conversant*), preliminary to the proof of the preverbs *sw-et-* and *sm-et-* 'comes; cum' etc. — Skr. *átati* 'errat etc.' The moribund condition of  $\sqrt{et}$  outside of Sanskrit will have been due to conflict with the form *i-t* of  $\sqrt{ei}$  (see also *CQ*, viii, 51), but the simplex is probably found in OIr. *eth(a)e* 'itum est' (cf. MIr. *ethaim* 'eo') conjunct *do'eth* 'aditum est' (?-*eth* from *a[tw]to-*; Skr. *-atita-m* 'erratum,' unless *-eth* is augmentless preterit like Skr. *jā'n-i* 'gnatum est' — but with dark final vowel). Further note *ἐξ-ετάζει* ('goes out and) investigates, reviews' (troops, Liddell & Scott, *s.v.* I, 2). Exx.: Theognis, 1010 (1016), *πρὶν . . . ἐξετάσαι φίλους, ὄντιν' ἔχουσι νόον* = before running over his friends (and finding out) their mind; *βίον αὐτοῦ πάντα ἐξετάσω* = vitam eius totam percurram (cf. *βίον τινὸς περιοδεύειν*; *de Or.* I, 218, (est) *boni oratoris . . . multa animo et cogitatione . . . percucurrisset*; *Aen.* iv, 363, (eum) *pererrat luminibus*). Parallels: Fr. *chercher* < *circare* 'to (go) round'; *circitor* 'qui vigilias circumit'; cf. *circumire* 'singillatim perquirere' (*Thes. LL.* III, 1139, 61). To illustrate the development of

the sequel meaning cf. 'j'ai erré, cherché' (Amiel). Cf. Skr. *cára-* 'spy': *ca'rate* 'wanders'.—Umbr. *et-ā-* 'itare' is less anomalous as a denominative from \**ētā* 'ambulator' than as a frequentative from a participle \**eito-* (*ei*, not *ī!*).

15. Derivatives of *et* (see also *CQ*, III, 272 sq.; VIII, 50 sq.).  
 a) *ōtium* (after Thurneysen) 'loafing' (: *laufen*)<sup>11</sup>; *ἐπ-ητής* (prius *ἐπ-* not *ἐπι*, § 2) 'entgegen-kommend, sociable'; *ἐπ-ήτριμοι* 'succedentes, successim' (cf. *ἔπεισι* 'succedit'); *ἐτήσιαι* (venti) 'errantes'—with *-σι-<-τι-*; *ἐτώσιος* 'errans, vanus', *ἐτός* 'erranter' (advb. from nom. § 23); *ἐξ-εσίην* (*ἐλθεῖν*) 'legationem' (rather <'excursionem' than '\*emissionem ire'); *ξύνεσις* (*δύω ποταμῶν*) '\*comitium' (rather than '\*commissio II fluminum'); *ξύν-ετός* 'sagax'; Skr. *áp(a)-atya-m* 'abkömmling', cf. Goth. *fram-apeis* 'peregrinus' (not with Schultze, *KZ*, XL, 412, *frama-peis*; Skr. *ni-tya-s* [if from *ni-*, v. *AJP*, XXV, 379] shows later conception, as if *áp(a)-tya-m*, while Goth. *ni-þjis* belongs with *á-νεψιός*). Uhlenbeck (*PB Beitr.* xxvi, 572) properly derives from *√et-* the sept of OHG. *ātas* 'acer, sagax, celer'. On other *ē* forms see *CQ*, VIII, 50 sq.

16. b) *ēthnos* < \**et-snos-* 'wander-zug' (on *-sno-* v. *CQ*, VIII, 57, *Bull. Univ. Texas*, 263, §§ 85, 91 fn.; on the *f-* question see *AJP*, XXVIII, 414), cf. *ἐπ-ήλυδα ἔθνεα* and *ὀθνεῖος* (*νει* also < *snēi* 'ducere'); *ἐτ-ίτ-υμος* (*μῦθος*) *ἔτυμος* (*φάτις*) 'current' (cf. Eng. current rumor, — coin, Germ. *gänge*); Mlr. *ethaite* 'birds': Skr. *āti-s* 'water-bird' (lit. migrans, errans); Mlr. *ethar* 'ferry' (: *fahren*); Goth. *aþn* (< *otno-* 'erratum' 'year'; definition conforming to Tacitus' account of annual change of settlement), not akin to Lat. *annus* (*CQ*, IV, 80–90; unless *a* as in *ἐπι-ατές*, *CQ*, III, 274<sup>2</sup>), but to *ἐπετήσιος* (*ἐπ-* and *-ετ-* not *ἐπι* + *φετ-*) 'annuus.' IE. [*s*]w *etes-* 'year' (Lat *v-etus* = mit Jahren?) is a compound with *sw-*, and there was an *sm-* compound also in Lith. *m-ētas* 'jahr, zeit'. The compounds designated a 'com-migratio'. Here belong Skr. *sam-vāt-* 'strecke' (advb. 'im Jahre'), *sam-vāt-sa-m* (? like Span. *con-migo*) 'per unum annum', *samvat-sarā-* (posterius: *√sar* 'laufen') 'Jahreslauf'. The entire semantic history of this group

<sup>11</sup> Goethe is cited for *gängel'n* in the sense of 'schlendern'.

of words for year is concentrated in the Catullus line (34, 17), *metiens iter annuum* (on *metiens* see § 20).

17. c) **Forms of *et* in the posterius**: γύμν-ήτ- ‘\*nudi-errans’ πέν-ητ- ‘pauper’ (? ad\_opus-errans); **tautological**, κέλ-ητ-: Av. -čar-āt- (CQ, VIII, 54) ‘courser, steed’, ἔρπ-ητ- (ἐρπ-ετόν) quasi ‘serpi-ens’, cf. Skr. *sraṇ-āt-* and *vah-āt-* (Lat. *gurg-et-*, *ib.* 57) ‘water-courses’; **inhabitants**: ἀγροι-ώτης ‘agri-cola’, βο-ώτης (? haplological from βο[φι] ‘beim ochs’ + φωτης — *f* in § 19 — ‘co-errans’), πολιάτης (< loc. prius, πολιᾶι, + ἔτᾱ | δῆτᾱ) ‘in\_urbē-ens’, πολίτης (*i* < loc. type πολι — so in Homer — + ἔτᾱ or -ῖτᾱ<sup>12</sup>) — by irradiation ὀδίτης, etc. (? or loc. prius \*ὀδί like ἀλκί: ἀλκή); **military compounds**: ἀσπιδι-ώτης (loc. prius, CQ, VIII, 51) ‘in\_scuto-ens’, cf. the ἀκοντι-στής group in *AJP*, XXXIV, 33, 41), στρατ-ι (loc. to \*στῆ-τ- cf. Skr. *vṛ-t-* ‘army’) + ὄτης ‘in\_exercitu-ens’; Skr. *padāti-*: Lat. *ped-et-* (*et* < *ot*) ‘pede\_errans’ (CQ, VIII, 50), — Skr. *pat-tis-* (*ib.*); Lat. *mīl-et-* ‘gang-goer’ (*mīl-* § 13); Ir. *cing* ‘milet-s’ (in *Cingetorix*) and *eirr* ‘auriga’ (see Pedersen, *Kelt. Spr.* § 447, 2); cf. Skr. *s[v]āt-van-* ‘miles’ (< co-ens) with *-atvan-* echoed in Lat. *com-mīl-ītones*; OEng. *hæl-ep* ‘hero’ (Goth. *mag-aþs*, a counter-term): OIr. *calath* ‘hard’ — lit. quasi ‘hard-going’, cf. MIr. *calma* ‘fortis’. Add θιασώτης, prius dat.-loc. θιάσφ-. Sense ‘sagax’ in μητί-ετα ‘in\_consilio-versatus’, prius instr. or loc. in *i*, but “split” to *iy* before vowel.

18. d) Lat. *pari-et-* ‘circum-ens’ (*AJP*, XXXIII, 386; cf. also against “Sommer’s Law” Persson, *Beitr.* 476 sq.), *lim-et-* ‘oblique\_ens’ and perhaps Skr. *vij-āt-* ‘atmosphere’ (cf. *v(i)y-ādhvanas*, *RV*, I, 141, 7). Goth. *mēn-ōþs* = ‘mond-lauf’, see for nom. (or stem?) *mēn-* Boisacq *s.v.* μῆν; its impermanence due to its monosyllabic character; Goth. *bay-ōþs* quasi ‘zu zwei gehend’: Lith. *dvėj-ė’ tas trej-ė’ tas ketver-ė’ ts* ‘doublet’, etc.

19. The **compound root *s(w)-et-* | (*s*)*w-et-***. Skr. *apí + vat* means ‘invenire, consequi’, in causal usage ‘adducere, to fetch’, in Avestan (Bartholomae, *Lex.* 1343) ‘gnarum esse,

<sup>12</sup> By rivalry of (*s*)*w-et-* and (*s*)*w-i-t-* (§ 14) we account for Aeol. ἔταλον: Lat. *vitulum* ‘calf’ < ‘coiens (cum vacca)’. Was Skr. *v-atsd-* the yearling or ‘coiens’ cf. μ-όχος ‘calf’ = ‘mit-anhaltend’ (§ 11).

fieri', which is a sequel meaning to 'invenire', cf. Ir. *súí* (< *su-vet* or *su-ét*) 'doctus' (§ 6<sup>8</sup>). From *sw-et-* also comes OIr. *fethid* 'it' *do-feith* 'venit'. Nouns from *sw-et-* are *ἔται* 'comites' (*AJP*, xxviii, 413), generalized in El. *φέτας* 'civis'; for Balto-Slavic cognates meaning 'visitor, stranger' (Lith. *svėtimas*, surely not from *swo-* 'suus', but originally 'fellow-traveler') see Boisacq, p. 292. *ἔτ-apos* 'com-et-' from *s[w]-et* 'cum' + *-apos* ('goer' ? sept of ὄρνυμι). *ἔτοι-μος* 'iturus' > 'paratus' contains a prius *ἔτοι* (infinitival) 'ad\_eundum'. *ῥοσιος* (cf. on Skr. *santya* § 21) 'herkömmlich from m (*CQ*, III, 274 fn. 1), *conveniens*' is precisely equivalent to Skr. *satyá-*; *περι-ώσιος* 'exceeding.'

20. The **compound root** *sm-et-* (also *sm-i-*). Skr. [*s*] *m-i-trá-s* 'mitgeher': Goth. [*s*] *-maþ-l* (*a < o*) 'comitium, forum'. [For the *t* in Eng. *meeting*, v. *Grundriss*, I, p. 632 anm. 2.] In this pair we have interplay of *-et-* and *i-t-* (§ 14). A large group of apparent "roots" are similarly compounded, e.g. Skr. [*s*] *m-ith-* (*th* not *t*?) 'to alternate, altercate', Lat. *m-ittit* 'sends', cf. Lith. [*s*] *m-ė'tyti* (*et* long grade of *et*) and *mėsti* 'hin und her werfen' (cf. Lat. *mittit* 'hurls'). Latin *mētiōr* 'proficiscor, pererro' is well attested (*Ps.* 1047; § 16). Further analysis cannot be attempted now, but caution is needed in inferring primitive roots. Take e.g. *σμίλη* 'knife' *σμινύη* 'mattock' for which a root *smā<sup>xy</sup>-* 'caedere' has been inferred: but in the light of the French-English "root" *dress-* (< Lat. *directiare*) the root *smā<sup>xy</sup>-* may have meant only 'com-ponere' (caus. of 'co-ire') and *σμίλη* have had a semantic history such as Eng. *dresser* 'pick' (of a miner) > 'tool for shaping and joining'. See also § 11, 6, on [*s*] *m-et-uit* 'zusammenfährt'.

21. The **compound root with nasal infix**, *s[w]-e(n)t-*: Goth. *sinþ-s* 'path'; OIr. *sét* 'via', Eng. verb *sends* (caus. sense), Vedic vocative *santya* (of Agni only) = 'pathgoer' (> 'knower'<sup>13</sup>), cf. *pathya-* (: *path-*) 'herkömmlich, angemessen, förderlich, heilsam'. Can we still glimpse the sense 'path' in Lat. (*con-*)*sentio*, in the old division (voting) formula (Pliny, *Ep.*

<sup>13</sup> On Agni as the pathknower cf. Macdonnell's *Vedic Mythology*, p. 96. Did the synonym *pathya* replace moribund *santya-*?

VIII, 14, 20), in illam partem ite qua sentitis (cf. Matth. 5, 25,<sup>14</sup> esto consentiens adversario tuo cito dum es in via cum eo); ab aliquo sentire x ab aliquo stare (*Rudens*, 1100; Livy, xxiv, 45, 31)? The connotations in (*con*)*sentio* rose to definition, 'I think, feel'. — Cf. Skr. *sam* + √*i* = 'to agree with'. So Lat. *coire* = *consentire* (*Thes. LL*, III, 1419, 56).

22. Parallel to *et* (? *eth*) are *edh* | *e(n)dh* (cf. e.g. *Grundriss*, I, §§ 700, 702, 705). ἐνθεῖν · ἐλθεῖν : Skr. *ādhan-* 'iter' (*vi-ādhave* | *vi-ādhné* 'halbwegs'; *adhva ga'(t)*-<sup>15</sup> 'iter-iens'), *vi-ādhanas* 'deviantes.' The compound root *s(w)edh-* in ὄθουαι 'I shrink' (cf. *zusammenfahren*, § 11, 6); OIr. *rofadatar* (Thurneysen, *Gram.* § 808) 'ab eis abitum est'; Skr. [*s*]vadhū- 'bride' ('co-errans'), whence came the root sense 'in matrimonium ducere' (Fick-Stokes, 208), cf. *ῥέδνο*-<sup>16</sup> < [*s*]w-*edh-no*-. From [*s*]w-*endh* the sept of Eng. *wanders wends winds* may be derived, with 'errat' for the original sense, cf. Eng. 'winding river' with 'Cocytus errans', 'winding vine' with 'vitis serpens lapsu erratico'. (Lat. *errat* : Skr. *ársati* 'fluit'). To *sw-edh* quasi 'viare' the ἔθος | ἦθος sept belongs (= *via vivendi*, *τρόπος*, *cursus*).

23. The evidence offered above for the preverbs *sw-sm-* 'com- co-' (with vocalism of *πρό*) and for the root *et* 'errare, ire' raises beyond all doubt the analysis of *ἔται* (§ 19) and of *μετά* (from a noun [*σ*]μ-*έτα*, *CQ*, VIII, 50; with an original plural in *μεταί*—cf. on adverbs (and prepositions, *adversus*) from nominatives Brugmann, *IF*, xxvii, 233 sq., noting Slav. *pěši* 'πεζοί' | *pěšī*, 'πεζός', both = zu fuss) as compounds like Lat. *com-et-* (*CQ*, III, 272). IE. (*s*)*met-* 'cum, com-' is indubitable (e.g. in Av. *maṣ* Skr. *smát*), and a parallel (*s*)*wet-* (? attested in *ἔτ-αρος*, § 19) seems to exist as a posterius of composition, viz. in the Skr. suffixes *ma(n)t*, *va(n)t*, whose intrusive (*n*), if not to be explained from § 21, may be due to syncretism of (*s*)*wet-* with *wen*.

<sup>14</sup> The Vulgate citation is entirely for the thought, not the words. Two that travel together (Goth. *ga-sinpa* 'gefährte') must agree to agree.

<sup>15</sup> This *t* tells us to divide, not *πρόβα-τα*, but *πρόβατ-α* *προβάτων*, cf. *πρόβασι* (not heteroclitic).

<sup>16</sup> Homeric *ἔδον-* may be corrected to *ῥέδνο-* in ζ 159, π 391 = φ 161 (β 53, N 382); to *ῥέῤῥεδνο-* (cf. *παι-πάλη|πάλη*) elsewhere (α 277, β 196, θ 318, ο 18).

24. **The secondary suffix *van*.** Not only have we pada-endings in Sanskrit (§ 1) but exterior euphony before certain suffixes as well (Whitney, § 111 d), very particularly before *van* and *vant*. The interpreters of the phenomenon have hitherto guessed that the suffix itself became isolated, wordlike (cf. "isms" and "ologies"), and this may have been the case *e.g.* with Av. *maite* (Bartholomae, *IF*, IX, 134). Contrariwise, the truth may be that the suffix was once a word construed in a due grammatical relation with its prius. Take *e.g.* Skr. *sáho-van-* 'mighty' (AV., combining both the vulgar and hieratic lines of archaism); the obvious guess is that *sáho-van-* = sieg-win-nend, with *sáho* accus. governed by *van*; and Brugmann, *Gr*, II, I, 321, perhaps for the phonetics only, compares *saho-védh-* 'potentiam augens'. But just as I accept the obvious in *vovv-εχόντως* so I shall test the apparent in *sáhovan-*, and try how it works pragmatically in other cases. In *dhitā-van-* 'rich in gifts' (lit. bona adipiscens > habens) *dhitā* may be acc. pl. neut.; and *indhān-van* 'rich in fuel' may contain a haplogologic acc. sg. *indhān[am]-* in its prius. By irradiation from *dhitā-van-ṛnā-vān-* (? accent) 'rich in debts' may be explained. In the Avesta we have *ašā-van-* (: Skr. *ṛtā-van-* 'pius') which, its technical religious use apart, would mean as a compound 'recta adipiscens' (capiens) or 'recta cupiens' (captans), and here either *ā* or *ā* may be neut. pl.<sup>17</sup> The variation of rhythmic type between ∪\_∪ and ∪∪∪ would have a metrical value tending to preserve both, as it did in the *vant* compounds (§ 26), with which the markedly synonymous *van*-compounds freely interchange (*e.g.* *ṛtāvan- | ṛtavant-*). Outside of Indo-Iranian, Brugmann (*Gr*, II, I, 322) records only the synonym group \*ξυνᾶ-φον = κοινᾶ-φον (in κοινῶνες) 'partner' each, in accord with my hypothesis, = 'communia adipiscens'. The practical synonyms διδυμάων 'twin' (and ὀπάων 'comes') arose by irradiation.

<sup>17</sup> Skr. *maghā-van-* (= 'dhitā-van'), for all its look of having a stem prius, may well have a neuter plural in *ā*. We find *ā* in Greek, Latin, Avestan, and it is not demonstrably due to the separate and individual shortening of each lan-

25. **Indo-Iranian possessives in *vant* and *mant***: It were most simple to explain *vant* as *van* + *t* (*Gr.*<sup>2</sup> II. I § 313), but it would leave us in as great difficulty with the priora of the groups as the reigning classification does. Barring the ⟨*n*⟩ (§ 23) I define *va(n)t* by Eng. *with* and *ma(n)t* by Goth. *miþ*, IE. (*s*)*wet* and (*s*)*met*. These prepositions (only inflected like *comes*, § 2) were attached (a) to instrumentals, (b) to locatives (cf. on *sa'cā* § 2<sup>9</sup>). But in a complex with instr. prius like *prajā-va(n)t-* 'prole\_cum' (fem. *prajā-vatī* ∪-∪-) *prajā-* came to be felt, on the analogy of the large class of stem compounds, as a stem (*prajā-vatī-*: *prajā-patis*, e.g.). Accordingly, to (acc.) *indrā-vatas* (= *indrō\_comites*) there grew up a by-form *indrā-vantas* (nom.), with a stem prius. As compared with the current view my classification has one phonetic difficulty to meet, the intrusion of ⟨*n*⟩, but that might be the infix nasal (cf. § 21, and note *con-iunx*); or be due to syncretism with *van* (§ 23); or even to more general semantic considerations (cf. e.g. Gildersleeve, *AJP*, XXIII, 12, on *φωνήεις* = pres. ptc. *φωνέων*). But the current hypothesis has more phonetic difficulties to meet, (1) the Greek feminines in *-φεισσα* show no sign of a nasal; (2) *τῆ(φ)ος*: Skr. *tā-vat* (*Gr.*<sup>2</sup> II, I § 352) also fails to attest any *n*. Further, Greek fails to attest the Sanskrit regularization into strong and weak stems, and its distribution of *φειτ* | *φειτῶ* (fem.) accords well enough with the notion of intrusive ⟨*n*⟩.— Did the form *-vot* remain intact in composition with proper nouns? See § 34, fn.

26. Insuperable objections to the current theory of stem derivatives attach to the curious forms of priora in Sanskrit and Avestan, the examples being for the most part tabulated by Bender in his Hopkins dissertation on the *mant* and *vant* suffixes under the caption of *samdhī* (pp. 43 sq.; 88 sq.). For examples of exterior euphony (§ 24) in Sanskrit see p. 44. By "diastole" 99 words "lengthen" *ā*, 18 *ī*, 1 *ū* before *vant* (before *mant* 1, 4, 5, respectively). My theory accounts for these long vowels as cases of true diastole, *i.e.* retained long guage concerned; whereas Sanskrit may have preserved in composition a form "regularized" out of the paradigms.

vowels belonging to **instr. priora** in  $\bar{a}$   $\bar{i}$ <sup>18</sup> ( $\bar{u}$ ). Wackernagel's explanation (cf. Bender, p. 44) amounts precisely to a statement of the fact, and nothing more. So far as a theory of rhythmic lengthening goes, I would call it rhythmic retention. The pronominal examples (Bender, pp. 51; 88-89) like *mā-vant-* (cf. τῆος: *tāvāt*, § 25) all have an **instr. prius** (*mā-* = Lat. *mē*, Fay, *CP*, IV, 301, cf. *tvā* in *RV*, Whitney, § 492, a). **Examples of systole** (Bender, pp. 52-57; 89-91) offer no confirmation to either theory, but inserted vowels (even consonants?) in Sanskrit (pp. 57-59) and Avestan (91-93) meet their explanation by my theory as follows:

27. **Instrumental prius.** In Skr. *çavas-ā-vant sahas-ā-vant* (voc. tantum) epithets of deities (therefore archaic), the case-form of the prius is indubitable, however explained away. Curiously enough, the interpretation of *sahas-ā-vant* by 'potentia\_cum' (i.e. potentiam habens) fadges with all Bender has to say about these forms (§ 32). Granting an IE.  $-\bar{a}^x$  instr. ending, the 3 exx. *āp-a-vant pums-a-vant is-a-vant* also become clear. In Avestan, with its  $-\bar{a}$  instrumentals, we have *vay-a-vant viθuš-a-vant berz-a-vant* (Bender, § 6 a).<sup>19</sup> In *aršn-a-vant brātr-a-vant āθr-a-vant* (§ 8, p. 93) we can see instrumentals rather than metathesis. The  $\bar{a}$  of *çy-ā-vant* (§ 6 b) comes by imitation of the  $\bar{a}$  (instr.) of *tā-vant*; and in *vohv-ā-vant* (§ 7) the prius may be an  $\bar{a}$  instr. of *vohu-*.

28. **Locative prius** (cf. on *sácā* § 2<sup>8</sup>). Skr. *udan-i-mánt* (§ 9 c) and *apsu-mánt* (§ 10); Av. *rāman-i-vant afsmain-i-vant* (cf. the reverse *mat\_-*compound, *mat\_-afsman!*). Lat. *vehement-* will contain a loc. prius *veçh-i-* from a noun stem *veçh-* quasi 'pulling, tugging'.

29. **Accusative prius.** Skr. *māmsan-vánt* (and 4 other

<sup>18</sup> The  $\bar{i}$  cases in the *van* stems (§ 24) may be taken over from the *vant* words; but, in *musī-ván* 'robber' *musī* may be instrumental (= 'per furtum') to a stem \* *muçī-*.

<sup>19</sup> As for *tīçī-na-vant*, *tīçī-* is the (nominal) *i-* form corresponding to a *ro-* stem (cf. *KZ.* XLV, 133<sup>1</sup>), and *-na* might = the Skr.  $-\bar{nā}$  instr. (*agni-nā* e.g.), as all the conditions for this analogy inflexion were Indo-Iranian, while compounds frequently retain forms not maintained in simplices (§ 24.). As the locative prius is also admissible, perhaps *tīçī-na-* is to be matched with dial. Lith. "locatives" in  $-\bar{n}(a)$  (*Gr.*<sup>2</sup> II, I, 186).



exx., Bender, p. 58 f): *māmsá-vant*. The accus. will be due to the *van* compounds (§ 24).

30. Inserted (s); possibly due to an *s* original in the posterior (§ 25), *māhi-svant* | *māhi-šmant*. So the loss of *s-* from *-svant* would have been promoted by the large number of *-as-*stems which yielded *-asvant* | *-asmant*. Cf. also on *manu-ṣvát* §34, fn.

31. Av. *barəziš-havant* instead of being "schrullenhaft geschrieben" may have in *-ha-vant* a tautological 'mitsammt' — unless (with adventitious *h*) it stands for *barəziš-a-vant* with instr. prius (§ 27).

32. After the interpretation of so many phonological peculiarities of the *vant* (*mant*) words on the assumption that these suffixes began as the inflected prepositions (*s*)*w-e(n)t* | (*s*)*m-e(n)t* 'comes, cum' it may be permissible to note the satisfactory account this analysis gives of the meaning of possession: *prajā-vatī* = prole cum (prolem habens), but also = grávida (Eng. 'with child'). Observe how Bartholomae renders Av. *aršnavant* by 'sammt einem hengst', while Bender would explain away the prius of *sahas-ā-vant* by saying: "The instrumentals approach the possessives semantically by the expression of possession". Possession is expressed in Latin by *cum*, e.g. *vir haud mágna cum re* (Ennius), *filiam cum illa dote* (Plautus), etc. ap. *Thes. LL*, IV, 1353. 4; *cum vino sinus* (Plautus, *ib.* 1357. 2). The personal pronouns in Indo-Iranian extended by *vant* indicate likeness, cf. Plautus, *Mo.* 100, *simul gnaruris vos volo esse hanc rem mecum* (= 'just as I' or, 'like me') with *dāçúṣe māvate* (*RV*) = *sacrificanti* (iuxta) *mecum* (cf. simple *mecum* in *Aen.* I, 675, ap. *Thes. LL*, IV, 1346, 12). Even the sense of 'fold' (Jackson, ap. Bender, p. 79) in Av. *sata-vant* (: Skr. *çata-vant* '100-fold') is similarly conveyed by 'cum' in Latin, in *cum quinto decimo*.

33. IE. *wōt* 'cum' (inflected like *comes*) in the perfect participle. Uhlenbeck deserves warm recognition for directly equating *εἰδώς* with Goth. *weit-wōps* 'witness' (*PBB Beitr.* XIX, 522–523). In the suppletive paradigm of the IE. pf. ptc. Greek attests *wōs* | *us* only by the fem. in *-vía*, since *-s* in

*εἰδός* (neut.) may be secondary for *t* as in *τῆος* (§ 25); in the masculine, only *-fω[τ]ς* | *-fot-*. Avestan reveals only *wōs* | *us*; Sanskrit *wō(n)s* | *us* and *-wot-* (qualified away by Brugmann, *Gr. II*, I § 444 to suit a — preconception). The precise equation *εἰδός* = *weitwōps* admits of no denial (see also Pedersen, *Kelt. Spr.* § 447, 3), and Uhlenbeck did excellently also to compare OPruss. *waidewut* (“angeblich der name des ältesten oberpriesters, wahrscheinlich desselben stammes wie *waidelotte*” (heidnischer priester) — Nesselmann). The *waidewut* (on *ai* v. Uhlenbeck, *l.c.*; on *u* cf. Trautmann, *APr. Spr.-denkm.* p. 130, “betontes *ō* hinter labial wird frühzeitig zu *ū*”) was the (‘sacerdos’) *scientia\_cum*, the prius < IE. *weid-*: Skr. *vidyā* ‘Vedakunde, zauberkunst’ (cf. *waidelotte*). If the *e* of *waidewut* may be regarded as original it will represent some case-ending before *wōt* ‘with’ (as before *va(n)t*, §§ 26–29), lost in Greek and Gothic before the accent. Note the “union” *-i-* in the Skr. pf. ptc. act., say in *var-i-vāms-lātus* (< having spread out). That *weid-* was a noun may be illustrated by *bhakti-vāms-* (AV.) ‘theilhaftig’ (= *bhakti-vān*) in the sense of \**bhakti-vant* (: *bhakti-* ‘theil’).

34. The assumption that *vant* | *mant*<sup>20</sup> meant ‘with,’ however disqualified in the eyes of some by yielding a full account of the sense of these suffixes, has been shown to coincide with all the really perplexing phonological phenomena attaching to the — otherwise quite unexplained — *priora*. For further illustration of *τῆος* ‘thereupon’, *τῆος* ‘interim’ (*-s* from *-ti*; cf. Skr. loc. *tā'vati* and *yā'vati* ap. PW<sup>1</sup>, III, 319, top; also

<sup>20</sup> Adherents of the *u*-rule (Bender, p. 34) seem to regard *m* as a dissimilation of *v* after *u*. They have been blinded by a — ratio! It is true that in two Vedas *-uv-* (*-uxv-*; *x* is any consonant) is to *-um-* (*-uxm-*) as 1: 10, but  $\frac{1}{10}$  or even  $\frac{1}{20}$  is after all not a negligible proportion. The examples are *visṇu-vant* (certainly = with *Viṣṇu*) *visū-vānt* (RV) and *viṣūvant vāsvant* (AV) — cf. Av. *vohvā-vant* § 27 — with unmistakable *v v* alliteration. The predominance of *mant* after *ū*, save where alliteration preserved the *-vant* forms, is a phenomenon of distribution, not of dissimilation; note the dialectic distribution of *όνν* | *μερά* in Greek, of *with* and *mit* in English and German. To buttress the *u*-rule Av. *xrvant-* (cf. *xrū-m* ‘*cruorem*’): Lith. *kriū-vint-a-s*, Lat. *cruentus* are overlooked; and the conservative interpretation of *bhrgu-vāt* (‘like B.’) *manu-(s)vāt* (v. Macdonnell, *Ved. Gr.* § 235 a) disregarded (Wackernagel, *KZ*, XLIII, 281, fn.).

πρός : Skr. *prāti*) I note from Shakespeare, "With that all laughed" (*L. L. L.* v, 2, 107). For the sense of 'like' cf. : "Will you grant with me That Ferdinand is drowned" (*Temp.* II, I, 243); "Of Nature's gifts thou mayst with lilies boast" (*K. John*, III, I, 53); "See, how the ugly witch doth bend her brows, As if with Circe she would change my shape" (*1 Hen.* VI, v, 3, 35). Finally, in *go'-ṣakhi*- (lit. 'cow-friend' = 'bovi-socius') *RV* furnishes in its two examples a surprisingly complete illustration of other senses of *-vant -mant*. Thus in *RV*, VIII, 14, 1 *PW*<sup>1</sup> renders nom. *go'-ṣakhā* by 'rinder-besitzend', which is the first rendering of *go'-mant-*; in *RV*, v, 37, 1 acc. *go'-sakhāyam* (*s* not *ṣ*) by 'mit milch verbunden', which corresponds precisely with *go'-mant-* in *RV*, VIII, 31, 30, etc.

35. **IE. seghés-lom 'thousand.'** The cognation of Lat. *mille* with *ὄμιλος* etc.; its (derivation and) definition as 'co-itiō' > 'gang'; its functioning as the prius in *mīl-et-* 'gang-goer'—after the materials presented in § 13, these points seem to me no longer open to reasonable doubt; and constitute, without the tedious formulae of argumentation, a rebuttal of the doubts advanced in this journal (XLI, 6) by Professor Kent. Yet Sommer's derivation of *mille* (neut.) from fem. *\*smī ḡhslī* 'eine tausendheit' seems firmly fixed in the convictions of scholars not a few, and even Thumb (Brugmann-Thumb, *Gr. Gram.*<sup>4</sup> § 247) still (divides and) defines Skr. *sahásram* by 'ein tausend,' though Brugmann (*IF*, XXI, 10) seems to me to have put any hyphenation but *sahás-ram* out of the question. His equation of *sahás-ram* (note the accent) with pre-Greek *\*σχες-λο-* may be right, but my *\*έχεςλο-* in *\*δεκ' έχεςλο* (: Hom. *δεκάχιλοι*) is no less possible (*MLN*, XXI, 38), and offers an approximate account of the introduction of *έ* into *έ-κατόν*, by an analogy like *έννεά'-χιλοι* : *έννή-κοντα* :: *\*έ-χεςλο* : *(έ)-κατόν*.

36. Preponderating semantic and syntactic considerations, moreover, make for interpreting the prius in *sahás-ram* by IE. *\*séghes-* 'vis' (cf. *e.g.* Kluge, s.v. *sieg*) > multitudo > thousand. Parallel with *vis*, we have in English the rough numerals *force*, *press*, *throng*, *crowd*, and even *host*, cf. par-

ticularly for the syntax (see also Meyer-Lübke, ap. *Gr.*<sup>2</sup> II, 2, 656 anm.), Fr. *force moutons* (lit. = 'vis oves'), *force gens de bien* (lit. = 'multitudo divites'). For the *sa-hásram* hyphenation it is unfortunate that *sa-* ("one"! ) carries over with *sás* (6) or *dáça* (10) *sahásrā(ñi)*, as *é-* never does with *έκατόν*. The same method of up-count may have started the *δισχίλιοι* (2000) type in Greek, *i.e.* if we start with n. pl. \**τρι-σχίλια* (: Brugmann's [*σ*]χεσλο-). Then the *έ* of *έκατόν* is to be explained from a Greek symphytic group \**έγ-κατόν*, with loss of *γ(v)* dialectically (after Brugmann-Thumb, § 59, 8), reënforced by dissimilation, say in the type of compound exhibited by *έ[γ]κατόν-χειρος* — cf. loss of *v* in *έκατό[v]ζυγος*.

37. But the addition of a suffix *-lo-* to IE. *séghes-* 'vis' to form 'multitudo' has its difficulty. So I think that we are to derive from IE. *seghés* (adj. = 'ingens') + *slo-* 'crowd' [: OEng. *crudan* 'premere'] from  $\sqrt{s[w]el}$  in Germ. *schwall* (: Lat. *salum*, see Walde, s.v.). In German, *schwall* (see Grimm, *Wbch.*) is exactly the vague sort of number word that Skr. *sahásram* often is, and semantic parallels for *schwall*: Lat. *salum* abound. Thus Eng. *sea* = great number [cf. also *κονί-σαλος* 'dust-sea' > 'cloud'], and *μύριοι* 'myriad' (v. Boisacq, s.v.; Walde s.v. *muria*) also meant at first 'swell' (of the sea). Aeschylus combines *κύμα* 'wave, swell' with *στρατοῦ* and *κακῶν*, and Vergil has salutantum *unda*<sup>21</sup> ('crowd'). — From the root *s[w]el-* 'tumere' we may also derive Skr. *s[v]árvas* 'totus', and Celtic *sl-ougos* (Fick-Stokes, 320) 'troop, army, familia', tautological from *sl-* + *ougos*: Av. *aogah-* 'kraft, stärke'. In a word like Lith. *w-ei-slē* 'familia' (§ 13), the "suffix" *-slē* may also have derived from the root *s(w)el-*. Then \**ei-slē* (without [*s*]w-) first meant 'go-crowd'. And is not  $\sqrt{sw-el}$  itself a compound root, *sw* +  $\sqrt{el}$  (§ 12)? Thus 'tumere' is but an aspect of 'coire', say in the 'swell' of the sea, cf. *ignis . . coire globum quasi in unum* (Lucr. v, 665).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *Waffen-fluss* as cited from Goethe by Friedrich, on Catullus, 64, 275.

XI. — *The Greek Cautio in Cicero, Fam. VII, 18, 1*

BY PROFESSOR JEFFERSON ELMORE

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

THE letter here cited was written in April, 53 B.C., to the young lawyer, Gaius Testa Trebatius, who had gone from Rome to seek his fortune on the staff of Julius Caesar in Gaul. Owing to his natural diffidence and dislike of military duties, he found it somewhat difficult to make headway and looked to Cicero for influence and support. The latter, being much interested in his friend's success, writes to him as follows: Sic habeto, non tibi maiori esse curae ut iste tuus a me discessus quam fructuosissimus tibi quam mihi. Itaque, quoniam vestrae cautiones sunt infirmae, Graeculam tibi misi cautionem chirographi mei. The first sentence of this passage requires no comment; Cicero is merely expressing his solicitude. In the second this solicitude takes the form of a Greek *cautio*. The meaning of this phrase is a long standing difficulty,<sup>1</sup> which requires for its solution, I venture to think, a more precise conception of the *cautio* than the commentators have hitherto employed.

First as to *vestrae cautiones*. Whatever secondary meaning the expression may have here must presuppose a technical, that is, a legal sense. This is clear from the fact that Trebatius was himself a lawyer, and that the other persons concerned are included by the pronoun in the same class; so that the *cautiones* in the first instance were such as lawyers had to do with.

It is also clear that these *cautiones* were not of any specialized type. As a legal instrument conveying a guarantee against loss, the *cautio* was applied to several purposes. A procurator representing his principal in court was required to

<sup>1</sup> See Tyrrell's note and the comments of Schuckburgh. Tyrrell finds none of the preceding explanations to be satisfactory. He suggests himself that the letter was first written in Greek and retranslated by Tiro into Latin; otherwise he does not understand what the passage means.

guarantee that the latter would abide by the judgment. This is the well-known *cautio iudicio sisti*<sup>2</sup> to which may be added the considerable number of other varieties enumerated in Leonhardt's comprehensive study.<sup>3</sup> When, however, these special varieties are referred to by legal writers, the fact is indicated by the context or by some descriptive word or phrase. This leaves us free to assume in our passage that the term *cautiones* in its legal implications represents a general type which at the time required no special explanation.

In this general sense *cautio* had a very definite meaning in Roman law, being a written acknowledgment drawn in legal form of a promise to pay money. The promise itself in Cicero's time when made between citizens was usually expressed in the verbal contract of stipulation.<sup>4</sup> The *cautio* thus came to be a kind of supplemental memorandum, being evidence of a contract rather than the contract itself,<sup>5</sup> and creating no new obligation, but being useful in enforcing an already existing claim.<sup>6</sup> It is important to note also that in this sense the *cautio* was a *nuda promissio* — a promise on part of the debtor alone without other security. An interesting example reminding one much of a modern promissory note is preserved in *Dig. XII, I, 40*. It is this fundamental legal sense which lies at the basis of *vestrae cautiones*.

This view is confirmed by Cicero's use of the same phrase in another letter to Trebatius, — *Fam. VII, 13, 2*: Sed, ut ego quoque te aliquid admoneam de vestris cautionibus, Treviros vites censeo; audio capitales esse; malletm auro argento aeri essent. This passage has also been misunderstood. Cicero is here playing on the threefold significance of the word *treviri* as the name of a Gallic tribe, of the magistrates in charge of executions, and of the commissioners of the mint. It is a question of having the *treviri* in your debt. "In accumulating bills receivable," says Cicero in substance to

<sup>2</sup> Gaius, *Inst. IV, 98*. Greenidge, *Legal Procedure of Cicero's Time*, 240.

<sup>3</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, III, 1814 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Roby, *Roman Private Law*, II, 11.

<sup>5</sup> Roby, II, 12, 71; Post, *Gai Inst.* p. 576.

<sup>6</sup> Leonhardt, Pauly-Wissowa, III, 1814.

Trebatius, "I should advise you to avoid the Treviri; if they owe you anything they discharge it by cutting off your head; the only promises to pay that are worth anything are those of the mint." It may be granted that in the first part of this somewhat elaborate witticism the *cautiones* are thought of as indebtedness in general, but used in connection with officials of the mint they can only represent indebtedness in the way of money.

The *cautiones* of our passage are thus to be understood primarily in a legal sense, their legal form being indicated by the professional *vestrae*.

We are now in a position to understand *Graeculam cautionem chirographi mei*. If *cautiones* are written acknowledgments of debt, *cautionem* must have a similar meaning, the only question being what special character is given to it by *Graeculam*. Here, to clear the way, we may put aside the idea of Ernesti, that *Graeculam* is used in the secondary sense of "not to be depended on"; such a repetition of *infirmæ* is out of the question. So also we may disregard the idea of later editors that a tone of playfulness and raillery is implied; this does not throw any light, and as a matter of fact Cicero is here speaking with much seriousness. We need not even press the derogatory implication of *Graeculam*. To the Romans of course the Greek had become a Greekling, and was looked down on; but if *Graeculam* here implies derogation, it is derogation of the race and not of the *cautio*. In our context *Graeculam* is set over against *vestrae* and can only denote a *cautio* that was used by the Greeks as opposed to those employed by Roman citizens under the civil law.

Was there then a special *cautio* in use among the Greeks under Roman jurisdiction? The question seems to be answered by Gaius, *Inst.* III, 134: Praeterea litterarum obligatio fieri videtur chirographis et sygraphis, id est, si quis debere se aut daturum se scribat; ita scilicet si eo nomine stipulatio non fiat. quod genus obligationis proprium peregrinorum est. "Another literal obligation is that created by chirographa and sygraphae, or written acknowledgments of debt

or promises to pay unaccompanied by stipulation. This mode of contract is proper to aliens."<sup>7</sup>

The Greek *syngrapha* was thus equivalent to a *cautio* which was not based on stipulation.<sup>8</sup>

This usage is also reflected in Cicero's own writings, where *syngrapha* as the designation of a note of hand appears in at least a dozen passages. Thus, *Phil.* II, 95, *Syngrapha sestertii centiens . . . facta est*,—the reference being to an obligation given by the envoys of king Deiotarus on the latter's behalf to Mark Antony. In *Att.* V, 21, 12, the money owed by the Salaminians to Brutus is represented by a *syngrapha*. The senate, indeed, had passed a decree concerning the lawful rate of interest<sup>9</sup> in these documents. In *Fam.* VII, 17, 1, Cicero uses *syngrapha* to describe what Trebatius seemed to think was his relation to Caesar. "Tamquam enim syngrapham," writes Cicero, "non epistolam attulisses, sic pecunia ablata, domum redire properabas, nec tibi in mentem veniebat eos ipsos qui cum syngraphis venissent Alexandream nummum adhuc nullum auferre potuisse."<sup>10</sup>

It is apparent from this that *Graeculam cautionem* is a mere periphrasis for *syngrapham* and is used for the sake of the verbal antithesis. The real contrast is between the two methods of acknowledging an indebtedness, with stipulation and without. But of course neither is to be taken in its literal sense. *Vestrae cautiones* signify the promises of preferment which Trebatius had obtained from Caesar. The pronoun, however, does not imply that he had obtained them in his capacity of lawyer. This idea (a favorite one with the commentators) is negated by all that we know of Trebatius' relations to Caesar, who certainly had no need of legal services and to whom Trebatius could not have been of use in this way. *Vestrae* in its professional aspect implying stipulation points rather to personal interviews with Caesar which

<sup>7</sup> Poste's translation.

<sup>8</sup> *Chirographum* in a legal sense seems to belong to a period later than Cicero. Cf. Mitteis, *Reichsrecht u. Volksrecht*, 484 sq.

<sup>9</sup> *Cic. Att.* V, 21, 13.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Phil.* II, 96, v, 12; *Verr.* IV, 30; *Mur.* 35; *Har. Resp.* 29, 34; *Leg.* III, 18; *Att.* V, 21, 10, 11.



had not come to any altogether tangible results. *Graeculam cautionem*, on the other hand, embodies Cicero's assurance of support, — an assurance given, as it were, spontaneously, or at least without being based on previous personal conferences with Trebatius concerning it. Cicero's Greek *cautio* is thus not a poem in honor of Trebatius, nor a Greek letter of recommendation, nor the present letter written in Greek, nor an enclosure of any kind, but simply the part of the letter to Trebatius in which he gives the latter the pledge of his loyalty and support.



XII. — *The Story of the Strix: Ancient*

BY PROFESSOR SAMUEL GRANT OLIPHANT

GROVE CITY COLLEGE

THIS study began as a commentary on a passage in the *Pseudolus* of Plautus, for which meagre information was found in commentator or lexicographer. The legend was discovered to be so widely ramified in ancient, mediaeval and modern literature, so persistent and pervasive in the folk-lore of Europe, and so richly diversified by the syncrasy of other legends and folk-tales that it seemed desirable to attempt to gather together the multifarious details and weave them into some adequate tissue. This first part of the story considers only those fragments of it to be found in the classical writers of Greece and Rome.

In the *Ὀρνιθογονία* of Boio<sup>1</sup> was told the story of Polyphonte which Antoninus Liberalis has preserved in his *Μεταμορφώσεων συναγωγή* (21). This may be summarized as follows:

Polyphonte, daughter of Hipponoos and Thraissa, spurned Aphrodite and went to the mountains as the companion of Artemis in her sports. Angered by the insult, the slighted goddess caused her to become madly enamored of a bear. Upon discovering her plight, Artemis in bitter hatred turned the wild beasts against her. Then Polyphonte fled in fear to her father's house and in due time gave birth to two sons, Agrios and Oreios. These became men of huge size and immense strength. They showed no honor to god or man, but were wantonly insolent towards all. They bore away all strangers they came upon and feasted on their flesh. Thus they incurred the wrath of Zeus, who sent Hermes to punish them. He was going to cut off their hands and feet, but Ares, to whom Polyphonte traced her lineage, saved them from this fate. Both mother and sons, however, were transformed into birds. Polyphonte became "a strix that cries by

<sup>1</sup> Called Boios by Antoninus (*l.c.*), as also by Alexander of Myndos in Athen. ix, 393e; but Boio by Philochorus in Athen. (*l.c.*) and by Pausanias, x, 5, 4.

night, without food or drink, with head below and tips of feet above, a harbinger of war and civil strife to men." Oreios became a *λαγῶς*, "a bird that is seen for no good," and Agrios was changed into a vulture, "of all birds most detested by gods and men and possessed of a constant craving for human flesh and blood."

As this work of Boio was known to Philochorus,<sup>2</sup> this story can hardly be later than the end of the fourth century B.C. In it are found, explicit or implicit, all the essential characteristics of the uncontaminated legend of the strix. Thus,

A. As woman she is 1. a votary of Artemis (Diana, Herodias, Habonde, Holda, etc.). 2. An Aphrodisian. In Boio, by poetic refinement, this is a penalty for spurning Aphrodite. The element is especially pronounced in the mediaeval *concupitus daemonum* and the orgies of the Sabbat. 3. Connected with magic and witchcraft. This is suggested by the eponymous names, Strymon, Thraissa and Triballos, in the genealogical introduction<sup>3</sup> to the story, as these point to the Macedonian-Thracian region,—a land *κατ' ἐξοχήν* of mages and witches — as its homeland. Later as woman she is regularly a witch.

B. As bird, she has the salient characteristics of a bat,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Athen. *l.c.*: Βοῖός δ' ἐν Ὀρνιθογονίᾳ, ἢ Βοιώ, ὡς φησιν Φιλόχορος, κτλ.

<sup>3</sup> Τερέλης τῆς Στρώμονος καὶ Ἀρεως ἐγένετο θυγάτηρ Θραῖσσα. ταύτην δ' ἔγχευεν Ἰππώνους ὁ Τριβάλλου παῖς καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο θυγάτηρ ὄνομα Πολυφόντη. Ant. Lib. *l.c.*

<sup>4</sup> To the ancients in general, as to many at the present time, the bat is a bird. Cf. Ant. Lib. x, 4; Lucian, *Ver. Hist.* II, 33; Pliny, *N.H.* XI, 164 and 232; Aelian, *H.N.* I, 37; VI, 45. Aristotle alone is doubtful. In *de Part. Animal.* IV, 13, he considers it intermediate between τὰ πτηνά and τὰ πεζά. Cf. his *H.N.* I, 487 b, 488 a, 490 a; III, 511 a. The popular conception is well expressed in the second verse of the *υπεκρίδος αἶνος* of Panarces, known to Plato (*Rep.* V, 479) and preserved in Suidas and Athenaeus, x, 76, —

Αἶνός τις ἐστίν, ὡς ἀνὴρ τε οὐκ ἀνὴρ  
δρνηθα, κοῦκ δρνηθα, δρνηθα δ' ὅμως,  
ἐπὶ ξύλου τε κοῦ ξύλου καθημένην  
λίθῳ τε κοῦ λίθῳ βαλὼν διώλεσεν.

In Belon's *Hist. de la Nat. des Oyseaux*, "the most important ornithological treatise of the 16th century," we find "La Souris Chauve est un oiseau de nuit." In fact John Ray, "the Father of Modern Zoölogy," was the first to refute the error. Many still suppose the bat to be a kind of bird and to be feathered.

(1) nocturnal; (2) a harbinger of evil; (3) φθεγγομένη, aptly descriptive of the "sharp, stridulous scream" of a bat in flight; (4) ἄτερ σίτου καὶ ποτοῦ, the asitia of a bat in its long, hibernal torpidity; (5) τὴν κεφαλὴν ἰσχυοῦσα κάτω, τοὺς δὲ πόδας ἄκρους ἄνω, obviously a bat at rest.

C. As woman-bird, she is (1) hated by gods and men; (2) possessed of a craving for human flesh and blood. Boio transfers this quality to her offspring in human form, to Agrios alone in avian form.

We find each of these recurrent in later folk-tales of the strix.

On the Latin side we find the first mention of the strix in the *Pseudolus* of Plautus, where the cook in decrying his rivals exclaims:

Ei homines cenas ubi coquont, quom condiunt,  
Non condimentis condiunt, sed strigibus,<sup>5</sup>  
Vivis conuiuis intestina quae exedint. (819-821)

This is the earliest mention of the strix to which any exact date — 191 B.C. — can be affixed. If, however, as I believe,<sup>6</sup> much of this scene is from a Greek original belonging to the Middle Comedy of the fourth century, this allusion may be as old as the work of Boio. However that may be, the mere glimpse afforded by the passage brings into clearer detail the anthropophagism of the strix. It devours the viscera of its

<sup>5</sup> It is a curious parallel that *Strega* or *Liquore Strega* is now found on the menu of many of our Italian restaurants. This is a mild and sweet cordial, "only slightly alcoholic," made at Benevento, the supposed rendezvous, for ages, of all the *streghe* or witches of Italy. Hence the name of the cordial. The composition of this proprietary article is, of course, a trade secret, but the American representatives of the manufacturers authorize me to state that its distinctive qualities are due to an infusion of aromatic herbs and spices. Punch Strega, Strega Sherbet, Strega Frappée, Strega Highball, etc., contain this cordial as an essential ingredient. It is used also as a condiment in sauces for salads, etc.

<sup>6</sup> Among the *Philologische Thesen* suggested by Theodor Bergk in the *Rh. M.* xx (1865), 290, we find: "Der Pseudolus der Plautus ist nach einem Stücke der mittleren Komödie bearbeitet." Not finding that any one has taken this up, I have collected considerable material that supports it. The evidence seems especially strong for this second scene of the third act.

victims while they are still alive. This feature recurs frequently.

Titinius in one of his unknown *togatae* has given us the only other early Latin reference to the strix. This has been preserved in the *Liber Medicinalis* of Quintus Serenus Sammonicus. In the chapter entitled "Infantibus dentibus vel strige inquietatis," the learned antiquarian, after prescribing for the teething child, adds :

Praeterea si forte premit strix atra puellos  
Virosa immulgens exertis ubera labris,  
Alia praecepit Titini sententia necti,  
Qui veteri claras expressit more togatas.<sup>7</sup>

This passage makes Titinius authority for the belief, in the second century B.C., in a virose, mammalian strix, that is a bugbear of the nursery, and in the prophylaxis of a garlic charm. It also makes Sammonicus an authority for the continuance of the same belief in the third century A.D. Like the Boioan, the Titinian strix is plainly chiropterous. *Atra* is rather vague; it may be dark in color, baneful or ominous, fell or malevolent, but *virosa*,<sup>8</sup> foul, ill-smelling, is distinctively opposite to the bat.

The connection with the nursery first occurs here. This new element is probably due to a syncretism of the Γελλώ legend. This is at least as old as Sappho. The paroemiographer Zenobius gives the reference and the story :

Γελλοῦς παιδοφιλωτέρα· ἐπὶ τῶν ἀώρων τελευτησάντων, ἦτοι ἐπὶ τῶν φιλοτέκνων μὲν, τρυφήν δὲ διαφθειρόντων αὐτά. Γελλῶ γάρ τις ἦν παρθένος καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀώρων ἐτελεύτησε, φασὶν οἱ Λέσβιοι αὐτῆς τὸ φάντασμα ἐπιφοιτᾶν ἐπὶ τὰ παιδιά, καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἀώρων θανάτους αὐτῇ ἀνατιθέασι. Μέννηται ταύτης Σαπφῶ (Cent. III, 3).

<sup>7</sup> Vid. Baehrens' *Poet. Lat. Min.* III, 155, c. lviii, vv. 1035-8, or Ribbeck's *Scaen. Rom. Poesis Fragg.* II, 188.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. "The strong musky odor exhaled, which fills the neighborhood of their haunts, is evidently protective." Theodore Gill, in *The Riverside Natural History*, v, 161. "The acrid odor of their bodies and of the deposits of their valuable coal black guano is almost overpowering." E. Ingersoll: *The Life of Animals; the Mammals*, p. 62.

We shall find that the Γελλώ and the Στρίγλα are commonly identified in the Byzantine and the later Hellenic writers. The two legends preserved such elements in common that concrescence was all but inevitable. In our passage from Titinius we find the earliest extant trace of this. The folk-tales to be cited in the mediaeval and modern portions of our study will furnish the best commentary upon Titinius.

Our bird next appears in the realm of magic and witchcraft. Thus in Horace (*Epod.* 5, 19 ff.) we find among the ingredients of the magic charm that the witch Canidia prepares to win the affections of the aged Varus —

Et uncta turpis ova ranae sanguine  
Plumamque nocturnae strigis.

Likewise the Cynthia of Propertius (III, 6, 29) accuses her rival of using in a magic philtre to seduce the former's lover,

Et strigis inventae per busta iacentia plumae ;

and the old bawd Acanthis in IV, 5, 17, K, in her attempts to alienate the affections of Cynthia,

Consuluit striges nostro de sanguine.

Medea, too, in Ovid (*Met.* VII, 269), when preparing to restore the aged Aeson to youth, puts into her caldron —

Et strigis infames ipsis cum carnibus alas ;<sup>9</sup>

and when preparing the potent drugs in which she dips Creusa's bridal robe, she (Seneca, *Med.* 731 ff.)—

Miscetque et obscenas aves  
Maestique cor bubonis et raucae strigis  
Exsecta vivae viscera.

The strix was potent also in malediction.<sup>10</sup> So Tibullus (I, 5, 52), when he would requite the *callida lena* that procured a rich lover for his Delia, includes in his Ernulphan anathemas —

Et e tectis strix violenta canat.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Boccaccio, *Il Filocolo* (tom. II, lib. 4, quaest. 4): Insieme con carne e ali d' infamate streghe. *Opere Volgari* di G. Boccaccio, Firenze, 1829.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Pliny, *infra*.

The full effect of such an awesome imprecation upon the superstitious *lena* can better be appreciated after reading that the strix was regarded as a veritable bird of hell and was there associated with the punishment of the damned. This view is presented by Seneca and Hyginus.

The former, in the *Hercules Furens* (686 ff.), describes the swamp of the "River of Wailing" —

Palus inertis foeda Cocyti iacet ;  
Hic vultur, illic luctifer bubo gemit  
Omenque triste resonat infaustae strigis.

The latter, in *Fabula* 28, describes the punishment of Otos and Ephialtes, who piled Ossa upon Pelion, or, according to others, offered violence to Artemis —

Ad columnam, aversi alter ab altero, serpentibus sunt deligati. Est strix<sup>11</sup> inter columnam sedens ad quam sunt deligati.

The belief in the Tartarean birds may give significance to the climactic order in Ovid's *Amores* (I, 12, 19 f.), where, in cursing his unlucky love-letter, the poet asserts that the tree from which the tablets had been made has surely afforded a gibbet for some wretched neck and crosses for the executioner, and adds :

Illa (*sc. arbor*) dedit turpes raucis bubonibus umbras ;  
Vulturis in ramis et strigis ova tulit.

The mantic art at times took cognizance of the strix. Thus in describing the incantations of the Thessalian Erichtho, in her resort to necromancy to disclose the future to Sextus, Lucan vividly portrays her imitative utterances —

Latratus habet illa canum, gemitus luporum,  
Quod trepidus bubo, quod strix nocturna queruntur (VI, 688 ff.).

<sup>11</sup> Hyginus has the *v. l. styx*. The same variant is found also in Ant. Lib. *l.c.* It may be due to a popular etymology, "the hateful" bird. Even if it be the true reading, the avified Polyphonte is so clearly a bat and identical with the strix, that we must assume, for Ant. Lib. at least, the equivalence of the terms. While Hesychius, much later, defines στύξ as ὁ σκῶψ τὸ δρνεον, he does not appear to know even this bird, as he also has σκῶπες· εἶδος ὀρνέων, οἱ δὲ κολοίους. This proves no more for Boio, nearly a thousand years earlier, than does another gloss, roughly contemporary with Hesychius, — *strix*· στρουθός.



And in the *Thebais* of Statius among the *peiora omina* observed on Mount Apesas by Amphiaraus, *augur peritissimus*, and Melampus, *celeberrimus vates*, we find

Quin vultur et altis  
Desuper accipitres exultavere rapinis.  
Monstra volant, dirae stridunt in nube volucres,  
Nocturnaeque gemunt striges et feralia bubo,  
Damna canens (III, 508 ff.).

In all these passages, from Horace onward, commentators and lexicographers are wont to identify the strix with the screech owl. This is in supposed consonance with the scholion of Porphyrio on Horace (*l.c.*)—

Avis nocturna mali ominis —

and is doubtless furthered by the fact that the owl is *par excellence* the nocturnal bird of evil omen everywhere from Iceland to Madagascar and has been such since the night of time, save in ancient Athens alone. Furthermore it is mainly due to these passages that *Striges* has become the ornithological appellation of the entire sub-order of the owls.

The passages, however, afford no evidence as to the poets' conception of the identity or affinities of the strix. Horace and Ovid mention its eggs, but Ovid was a skeptic before and after this.<sup>12</sup> Horace and Propertius mention its feathers. Literally, eggs and feathers exclude the mammalian, chiropteran strix of Titinius, but it is natural to ascribe them to any bird, real or imaginary. Even our nightmare, for instance — a cousin-german<sup>13</sup> to the strix, by the way — has her nest, the mare's nest of current deprecation, and Irish folk-lore still believes in the eggs of bats and their potency in malignant charms.<sup>14</sup> These poets, often so felicitous in the choice of words, do not give us a single distinctive attribute of the strix. In Horace, Lucan, and Statius, it is simply *nocturna*;

<sup>12</sup> See *Amores*, I, 8, and *Fasti*, VI, 141 ff., quoted *infra*.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. e.g. Regino Prum, *De eccles. disciplinis*, II, cccclxiv, and Gervasius Tilleberiensis, *Otia Imperialia*, III, 86.

<sup>14</sup> See *Folk-lore*, XXII, 452.

in Ovid, *infamis*; in Seneca, *infausta* and *rauca*.<sup>15</sup> The *queruntur* of Lucan, *gemunt* of Statius, *resonat* of Seneca, and *canat* of Tibullus<sup>16</sup> are all too inclusive to distinguish between a bubonine and a vespertilionine strix. The *busta iacentia* of Propertius may favor the latter, as the bat frequently colonizes such places.<sup>17</sup> In Ovid, Seneca, and Statius, the *vultur* also, as well as the *bubo*, is associated with the strix. If, now, we may assume the identity<sup>18</sup> of the *λαγῶς* in Boio's story with the *bubo*, we shall find recurrent here the three birds of the Polyphonte myth. In that case their Plutonian haunts are the logical outcome of that myth. In all these passages the strix was, as to Porphyrio, a vague and undefined "nocturnal bird of evil omen." There is no compelling evidence for the screech owl.

There is, however, such evidence for the continuance of the Plautine and Titinian legend through this period. Thus the *locus classicus* of the strix is, in Ovid, *Fasti*, VI, 131 ff. :—

Sunt avidae volucres; non quae Phineia mensis  
Guttura fraudabant: sed genus inde trahunt.  
Grande caput: stantes oculi: rostra apta rapinae:  
Canities pennis, unguibus hamus inest.

<sup>15</sup> With *rauca*, cf. "the shrill sudden squeak" or "stridulous scream" of the bat. With *queruntur*, cf. *querellae*, of bats, *Ov. Met.* IV, 413. With *gemunt*, cf. "the piteous cheeping" of bats. With *resonat*, cf. their "loud, incessant chattering," or shrill scream "piercing enough to be heard from afar."

<sup>16</sup> A commentary on the verse in Tibullus may be based upon *Ov. Met.* IV, 414, — *tecta que, non silvas celebrant*, — and the fact that the bat was a hell-bird. Gill (*op. cit.*, 160) and the author of the article *Vespertilio* in Rees' *Cyclopaedia* say it was consecrated by the Greeks to Proserpine. I recall no explicit statement to this effect in the classical authors, but several lend presumptive corroboration. So also in mediaeval and modern times. Cf. the leathern bat-wings of the Devil and the fiends of hell in Christian art (see some fine examples in Doré's illustrations of *Paradise Lost*), and the bat as sacred to Saturn in mediaeval occult philosophy (see H. C. Agrippa, *De occ. phil.*, ed. Lugdun., 1531, p. 40, where he says "To Saturn belong things once consecrated to Dis," and then gives the bat among the *Saturniae aves*). Cf. also the Norse *Edda*, in which the bat is the messenger of Hel, the goddess of darkness and death, and is feared as such (see Oswald, *op. cit.*, p. 120). Cf. also our "Hoosier Poet" on *The Bat*, — "Thou Devil's self, or brat, at least."

<sup>17</sup> Cf. "The rock tombs and temples of India and the tombs and pyramids of Egypt are thronged with various bats." E. Ingersoll, *l.c.*

<sup>18</sup> The writer has in preparation an article on this identification.

Nocte volant, puerosque petunt nutricis egentes :  
 Et vitiant cunis corpora rapta suis.  
 Carpere dicuntur lactentia viscera rostris ;  
 Et plenum potō sanguine guttur habent.  
 Est illis strigibus nomen ; sed nominis huius  
 Causa, quod horrenda stridere nocte solent.

We do not assume that Ovid was necessarily conscious of it, but it is none the less a fact that every item<sup>19</sup> of this de-

<sup>19</sup> We may examine them in detail thus : —

1. *Avidae* : the bat is notoriously voracious. Among the many stories illustrating this we may cite that of Dobson (*Monograph of the Asiatic Chiroptera*, p. 25), who tells us of a little *Cynonycteris marginatus*, weighing but an ounce, that ate twice its own weight of food in three hours. See also Oswald, *Zoölogical Sketches*, p. 125 f.

2. *Genus inde trahunt* : the myth of the Phinean *harpyia* and that of the strix possess common elements and sometimes syncretize. The bat is the best explanation of the Vergilian harpy. Cf. Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, *Cours de l'hist. nat. des Mammif.*, XIII<sup>e</sup> leçon, p. 22: "Virgile aurait-il connu ces grandes chauve-souris ? Ce qu'il dit des ailes, des griffes et de la voracité des Harpyes, leur convient de toutes manières." Also Buffon, *Hist. Nat. ; Mammifères*, tom. V, 55: "Les ailes, les dents, les griffes; la cruauté, la voracité, la saleté, tous les attributs difformes, toutes les facultés nuisibles des harpies, conviennent assez à nos roussettes." See also E. Ingersoll (*op cit.*, p. 67). *Harpyia* is now the zoölogical designation of a genus of the Chiroptera.

3. *Grande caput* : the general appearance of many species because of their long ears. The ear of the *Plecotus auritus*, common in Europe, is about equal in length to its entire body.

4. *Stantes oculi* : apt description of the small but bright, beady, staring eye of the bat. Cf. Gill, *op. cit.*, p. 168, examining an *Atalapha noveboracensis* by a bright light in the evening: "The lids are not brought entirely together and a narrow band of the little bright eye is constantly visible. Touch the bat now gently. The eyelids open and the eye pops out suddenly as if it would escape from its socket. It does not merely look out on the external world from its cell, but pushes itself outward so that about half its circumference is external to the skin." Gill states that this phenomenon is "probably common to other species as well." The *Atalapha* is found in southern Europe.

5. *Rostra apta rapinae* : the muzzle, teeth, and entire manducatory apparatus of the bat is adapted to quick and effective work. Dobson (*l.c.*) speaks of the bat as "a kind of living mill." Cf. Oswald, *l.c.*, for other details.

6. *Canities pennis* : brown and gray are the usual colors of the bat. Cf. also the etymology of *chauve-souris* given by Diez and Littré.

7. *Unguibus hamus inest* : a long and much-hooked claw is attached to the pollex in all species and many have such a claw also on the second digit. See Oswald, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

8. *Nocte volant* : nearly all species are nocturnal or at least crepuscular. Cf.

scription applies in an especial manner to the bat, the Boioan and Titinian strix.

Ovid is in doubt in the lines that follow whether these birds are produced by nature or are the creation of magic, hags<sup>20</sup> transformed into birds by the spells and charms of the Marsi. He then tells this tale:—

When Procas, child of the Latin king, was but five days old,<sup>21</sup> these striges, slipping into his chamber, flew to his cradle and began to suck his heart's blood. The nurse, absent at the moment, heard his cries and ran to his aid. She found on the infant's tender cheeks the traces of their cruel

the names *vukreps* and *vespertilio* and see Symphosius, *Aenigmata*, 28: *Nox mihi dat nomen, primo de tempore noctis.*

9. *Pueros petunt*: the Titinian legend of the strix.

10. *Plenum sanguine*: Some species are sanguivorous. Dobson (*op. cit.*, p. 77 n., quoting Blyth in *J.A.S.B.*, vol. XI) tells of a *Megaderma lyra* that caught a small *Vepertilio*, sucked all its blood and then greedily devoured it. Gill (*op. cit.*, p. 173) found the stomach of a *Macrotus waterhousii* full of coagulated blood, part of which was in the intestine. Cf. Cuvier, *Tableau élément. de Phis. nat. des animaux*, l. II, c. 3, § 1, p. 104: "Ce sont de très grandes chauve-souris des Indes et de l'Afrique: elles égalent la taille de nos poules. On prétend qu'elles sucent le sang des hommes et des animaux endormis." See the story of the Arabian bats and the cassia hunters in Herodotus, III, 110, which Pliny (*N.H.* XII, 19, 42, 85) pronounces fabulous, and suggests as its motive, "his commentis augentes rerum pretia." See also the story of the encounter of the soldiers of Alexander and the bats of India, told by Jehan Wauquelin in his *Merveilles d'Inde* (see Jules Berger de Xivrey, *Traditions Têratologiques*, p. 396 ff.): "Avec ces bestes revinrent cauves-soris, ensi grandes comme on diroit coullons, et avoient dens comme on diroit dens d'omme. Lesquelles soris-cauves frapioient les gens de l'ost parmy le visage et leur firent moult de paine."

11. *Horrenda stridere solent*: Cf. Auctor *Philomelae* (*AL.* 762, 39, Riese), *Strix nocturna sonans et vespertilio stridunt.*

The Cognate *τρίλω* is used of the bat in the *Odyssey*, ω, 7, and the writer of the article *Vespertilio* in Rees' *Cyclopædia*, XXXVII, says they utter "a sharp, stridulous note or scream during their flight." Cf. Ovid, *Met.* IV, 413.

<sup>20</sup> In the *Amores*, I, 8, 13 ff., he had suspected the mode of metamorphosis from human into strigine form, for he speaks thus of the old hag Dipsas who had rare skill in magic art:

Hanc ego nocturnas versam volitare per umbras  
Suspisor, et plumis corpus anile tegi.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. the later belief that unbaptized babes are the special victims of the striges.

claws. His color was already that of the sere and withered leaf on the approach of winter. Forthwith she ran to the nymph Carna and besought her aid. Carna assures her of the safety of her charge and accompanies her to the cradle. After bidding the sorrowing parents to stay their tears, as she will find a remedy, she thrice in due order touches the jambs of the door and thrice its threshold with the leafy branch of an arbutus tree. Then with water made potent by a drug placed in it, she sprinkles the entrance, and taking in her hand the entrails of a pig, two months old, she speaks this conjuration: "Spare, ye birds of the night, the vitals of the child. Take heart for heart, I pray, and entrails for entrails. This life we give to you in lieu of the better one." She lays these in the open air and allows no one to look around<sup>22</sup> at them. Then she places in the window the twig of white thorn (*spina alba*) which Janus had given her, and then the birds could no more come in. After this the child soon regained his color.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> The averted face is a mark of respect to chthonian powers. Cf. Hom. *κ*, 528.

<sup>23</sup> In that mountain district of North Italy known as *La Romagna Toscana*, C. G. Leland (*Etruscan Roman Remains*, ch. vi, p. 107 ff.) found a variant of this story still extant among the *streghe*. Carna there appears as Carradora, who in her life was *una strega buona* and protected infants against evil witches. The story is as follows:—

"There was once in the country a lady who had a small baby. It was a pretty child, but day by day it began to weaken, nor did the mother know what to do. Then she was advised to go to Carradora, who could explain it all because she was a witch who did good as well as harm.

"Then the lady went to the witch, who said: 'Go to thy home and put the babe to bed and put a knife in the window and then return to me.' So the lady did and returned to Carradora, who said: 'Witches come by night to suck the blood of thy child and it must be prevented.' Then the witch took *corbezzolo* (arbutus) and thorns (*spina alba*) and put them into red bags and bound them to the door-posts and windows, and then took the entrails of a very small pig (*un maialino*) and said:—

'Questi sono gl' interiori  
D' un piccolo maiale,  
Che servono per le streghe  
Discacciar, e gl' interiori  
Di si bella bambina  
Sono giovani quanto lei cara,

Ovid tells only so much of the folk-lore of the strix as fits his story of Carna, in which it is the chief episode. The Plautine legend is better represented by Petronius Arbiter (63). Here Trimalchio, after promising his guests a harrowing tale, proceeds:—

“While I was yet a long-haired lad, for from boyhood I led a Chian life, our master’s minion died, a pearl, by Hercules, a paragon and perfect in every regard. While his poor mother was bewailing him and several of us were sorrowing, suddenly the striges began to scream (*stridere*). You would have thought a hound was on the chase of a hare. We had at that time a Cappadocian, a strapping, dare-devil fellow, so strong that he could lift an angry bull. He, carefully wrapping his mantle about his left arm, dashed fearlessly out the door, with drawn sword, and as it were in this spot—May that be safe which I touch!—ran a woman through the middle. We heard a groan, but,—I swear, I’m not lying!—we did not see the striges themselves. Back came our blockhead and threw himself upon a bed. His entire body was as black and blue as if he had been beaten with the cat, for forsooth an evil hand had touched him. We closed the door and returned to our mourning, but when the mother would embrace the body of her son, she touched and saw only a dummy made of straw. It had neither heart, nor insides, nor anything at all. The striges had in sooth already carried off the boy and had substituted an oaf of straw. What think ye? You must believe it. They are women over-wise. They are night hags; they make every thing topsy-turvy. But as for that tall lout of ours, after what happened then, he never came to his color again, but died a few days later, a raving maniac.”

This story has some new features, not found again for several centuries.

Ed e proprio ad atta  
Per amare. E le corne  
Alle strege bisogna fare,  
Che qui dentro non possino più entrare.’

“Then Carradora took the child and made a skein of thread and threw it in the air, and so it was cured.”

Thus the story preserves many of the details of Ovid’s. As the chief source of Ovid in this work was the *Fasti* of the antiquarian Verrius Flaccus, the story of Procas and the striges may be very old.

1. While the striges frequently kill and consume more or less of the bodies of their victims, here they feast on the body of one already dead from natural causes.

2. The fate that overtakes an assailant of the strigine woman.

3. The substitution of a *stramenticius vavato*.

Petronius, however, knows that the striges prey also upon the marrow of the living, as in 134 the old dame Proselenus asks the impuissant Polyænus,

*Quæ striges comederunt nervos tuos ?*

The elder Pliny brings us back to solid ground. After stating that only viviparous animals have mammae and that of birds only the bat is lactific, he adds :

Fabulosum enim arbitror de strigibus ubera eas infantium labris immulgere ; esse in maledictis iam antiquis strigem convenit, sed quæ sit avium constare non arbitror (*N.H.* xi, 232).

Here is strong corroborative evidence for our surmise of the mythical character of the strix in the Augustan and later poets. Pliny was an antiquarian, but he found no bubonine strix in his ancient sources. He found the Titinian strix, but rightly deemed it fabulous. His skepticism, however, availed little or naught against the prevalent superstition. The popular belief would not down.

How many of the Latin passages quoted in the foregoing were derived from Greek originals, we shall probably never know. As many of the writers drew freely from such sources, several of the references to the strix may ultimately have been Hellenic in origin. But in all the long period from Homer to the rise of the patristic literature, I have found no reference to the strix assignable to a definite Greek author, save to Boio alone. The reasonable inference from the early glossographers — whose testimony must be reserved for a later occasion — shows the continued existence of the folk-belief. We have, moreover, explicit testimony to this effect in the remains of Verrius Flaccus, as preserved by Festus (314, 33 Müller):

Strigem<sup>24</sup> (ut ait Verrius) Graeci syrnia<sup>25</sup> appellant, quod maleficis mulieribus nomen inditum est, quas volaticas etiam vocant. Itaque solent his verbis eas veluti avertere Graeci :

Συρριντα πομπειεν νυκτικομαν στριντατολαον ορνιν ανωνυμιον ωκυπορους επι νηας.

As emended<sup>26</sup> in Smyth's *Melic Poets*, p. 158, this becomes :

Στρίγγ' ἀποπομπεῖν νυκτιβόαν, στρίγγ' ἀπὸ λαῶν,  
ὄρνιν ἀνωνυμίαν ὠκυπόρους ἐπὶ νῆας, —

a fragment from an apotropaic folk-ditty used in exorcism of the στρίγγξ.

One Greek story, however, requires brief mention, as it is the evident model for later stories of the aporneosis of the striga. This is found in the *Λούκιος ἡ ὄνος* attributed to Lucian. In the twelfth chapter of this work the author tells us how the magicienne in her boudoir strips herself and stands by a lamp, burning incense and talking much to herself. Then opening a strong cabinet containing numerous pyxides, she selects one of these and proceeds to anoint herself all over with what seems to be an oil. Suddenly wings began to grow and her nose became horny and hooked and she assumed all the properties of a κόραξ νυκτερινός. Then rising on full wing, with a fearful cawing, she flew out of the window in quest of her lover.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Gubernatis, *Zool. Myth.*, 202, says: "Festus derives the word strix a *stringendo*, from the received opinion that they throttle children." Festus does say: "Strigae appellabantur ordines rerum inter se continue conlocatarum a stringendo dictae," — a very different *striga* from that of Gubernatis and that of our theme. This curious error of Gubernatis may be the source of that of Mr. Charles de Kay (*Bird Gods*, 168 f.): "Pliny explains the name of the '*infanda, improba strix*' by the verb *stringere*, to throttle, because the evil bird throttles babes in the cradle." I have not found such a statement in Pliny or any other Latin author.

<sup>25</sup> *Σύρνια* is otherwise unknown in the ancient literature. It is now the ornithological designation of one of the genera of *striges*, or owls.

<sup>26</sup> Emendations proposed by Bergk, Müller, and Scaliger differ only in detail and all depart farther from the reading of Festus.

<sup>27</sup> The sequel shows the peculiar virtue of the unguent, for when Lucius, after witnessing the entire procedure through a crack of the door, tried to imitate it,



The story was retold by the Magus of Madaura in his *Met.* (III, 21) and became widely known in either tongue. It is only one of the many metamorphosis stories current at the time. Its only bearing on the story of the strix is to illustrate a supposed *modus operandi* of the witch in assuming avian form.

The ancient literature of Greece and Rome during the seven centuries from Boio to Sammonicus presents us a fairly consistent view of the strix. The bird is clearly mythical; but the physical characteristics with which the fancy of the ancients invested it were those of a bat and not those of an owl, as so generally supposed.<sup>28</sup> Every attribute ascribed to it, except the generic eggs and feathers — still sometimes ascribed to the bat — belong to the bat, many of them in some especial or peculiar way. Some of them belong to nothing else that flies. The bird is vampiric, but never a true vampire, *i.e.* a revenant, but the result of a fabulous metamorphosis. Though mediaeval and modern folk-tales do not in general ascribe any distinctive physical characteristics to the striga or στρίγγλα in avian form, yet there are occasional outcroppings of the legendary vespertilionine qualities. Indeed, one contemporary folk-tale, *Il Figliuolo del re, stregato*,<sup>29</sup> expressly states that the souls of the three beautiful sisters fare forth for *stregeria* as three pipistrelles.

Assuming as the ancients did the possibility of a metamorphosis from human into avian or other form, what was *a priori* more natural than to consider the bat the result of such a transformation? Did not Aristophanes<sup>30</sup> nickname through mistaking the box, he turned himself, not into the desired bird, but into a long-eared ass. Several formulae are given by mediaeval writers for *Strigarum* (*Lamiarum*) *Unguentum*. In general, infants' fat and narcotic plants are the essentials. So in that "Iliad of Strigism," the *Malleus Maleficarum* (II, I, 3) — "Unguentum ex membris puerorum interemptorum ab eis ante baptismum." Cf. Southey: *The Old Woman of Berkeley*: "I have 'nointed myself with infants' fat."

<sup>28</sup> The common misconception seems due to (1) a too restricted view of the evidence; (2) acceptance of mediaeval conjectures; and (3) too little knowledge of that really interesting "bird," the bat.

<sup>29</sup> See Domenico Comparetti: *Novelline Popolari Italiane*.

<sup>30</sup> *Aves*, 1296, 1564.

the sallow, cadaverous<sup>81</sup> Chaerephon ἡ νυκτερίς? Did not Homer (ω, 5 ff.) compare the souls of Penelope's wooers as they were led off to Hades to cheeping bats? Did not Chaerophon "the Bat" come up to suck the victim's blood<sup>82</sup> as the ghosts<sup>83</sup> did in the Νέκυια of the *Odyssey*? Did not the great Linnaeus himself, because of the resemblance in dentition and such external phenomena as the thoracic position of the mammae, etc., place the bat along with man in the order Primates? Did not his early successors, delving deeper, yet because of placental and uterine characteristics continue the same taxonomic assignment? Do not the Arabs<sup>84</sup> believe that while man is the crown and glory of God's original creation, the bat was the one special creation of Jesus, because an animal so perfect in its teeth, its ears, its mammae, its entire make-up in fact, could not have been a part of the primitive creation? May not the very paucity of ancient Greek and Roman folk-lore of the bat in the classics be in some measure due to an early consciousness of the association with the strix?<sup>85</sup>

The legend of the woman-bat was early contaminated with that of the Γελλώ. This in turn has strong affinities with those of the Hellenic Lamia, the Slavonic vampire, the Hebrew Lilith, the Arabic Ghūl, etc. We find the later legends of the strix incorporating the cardinal characteristics of each of these as well as those of a half score of others, originally distinct.

<sup>81</sup> Ἐπεὶ ἰσχυρὸς καὶ ὠχρὸς τὴν ἰδέαν ὁ Χαιρεφῶν· ὅθεν νυκτερίς ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ πύξιμος. Schol. ad *Nub.* 504.

<sup>82</sup> Assuming αἷμα in *Aves*, 1563.

<sup>83</sup> Souls of the dead still appear as bats in the folk-lore of places as far asunder as Germany and Torres Straits, *Folk-lore*, XIX, 235, 484; I, 79.

<sup>84</sup> *Vid.* Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, pt. II, l. II, c. xxxii, p. 351, for Arabic texts and translations.

<sup>85</sup> One bat story has some striking parallelisms to that of Polyphonte. It is that of the Minyadae, told by Antoninus Liberalis, x (after Nicander and Corinna), Ovid (*Met.* IV, 1-42, 389-415), Aelian (*Var. Hist.* III, 42) and by Plutarch (*Quaest. Graec.* 38). Over zealous in the service of one deity, they spurn another, by whom they are punished with madness and a hunger for human flesh. To satisfy this they rend a child asunder. They are metamorphosed by Hermes, all three to bats (Ov.) or one to a bat and the others to crow and owl (Ael.) or γλαῦξ and βύξα (Ant. Lib.), and flee the light.

As our leading etymologists, *e.g.* Walde and Prellwitz, agree upon the cognation of strix and στρίγξ, we may see a piece of prehistoric folk-lore in the story of the strix, having its primal origin in the phenomena of dreams and of animism, which are also the ultimate sources of most of its later accretions.



XIII. — *A Study of the Social Position of the Devotees of the Oriental Cults in the Western World, Based on the Inscriptions*

BY DR. DWIGHT NELSON ROBINSON

YALE UNIVERSITY

IN an article published several years ago in the *Revue Archéologique*,<sup>1</sup> V. Macchioro, under the title of "Il Sincretismo Religioso e l'Epigrafia," treated the epigraphical material which illustrates the religious phenomena of Southern Italy during the Empire. His main thesis was to prove that almost all the inscriptions hitherto held to be representative of a marked syncretistic tendency in Roman religion are in reality nothing more than the simple expressions of an un-mixed polytheistic belief.

Without stopping to criticise this position, which, in some respects seems to be an highly untenable one, at variance not only with the natural course of development through which Roman religion passed, but also with the facts presented by the evidence both literary and epigraphical, I turn to a suggestion made by Macchioro in the course of his paper.

On page 155 of the article above mentioned he says: "If we make a statistical collection of the inscriptions according to the social position of the dedicants, we shall be able to determine what contributions each class made to polytheism; and restricting such investigation to the priestly class (including the burial inscriptions of the priests) we shall be able to determine the various contributions to worship in general. It is needless to say that by implication we should in this way be able to measure the extent of the religious sentiment in the various classes. In addition, by comparing the earlier inscriptions with those more recent, it is possible to measure the greater or less resistance of the cults . . . while finally, making a study of the geographic distribution of the inscriptions, we can reconstruct the most important centres of the various cults; thus sketching a picture, necessarily incomplete, but not inexact, of the distribution of the cults in the various regions."

<sup>1</sup> 1907, pp. 141 ff.; 253 ff.

The chronological aspect of this problem I have already treated elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> but the social position of the dedicants is a problem which, as far as I know, has not yet been thoroughly investigated by any one, and forms the subject of the present study.

The field covered is that of the Western portion of the Roman Empire, consisting of Rome, Italy outside Rome, and the Western provinces; while the most important divinities whose devotees are considered are the following: (1) Mithras, (2) the Great Mother and Attis, (3) the Egyptian Divinities, and (4) the Syrian Ba'alim, especially I.O.M. Dolichenus and I.O.M. Heliopolitanus.<sup>3</sup>

As soon as we begin thoroughly to investigate the inscriptions that have to do with our subject the fact is at once apparent that the vast majority of them name the dedicant. This is quite natural, for although some devotees were satisfied to use formulae of the type illustrated by *CIL.* VIII, 18220, (I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Dolicheno), by far the greater number preferred in their dedications to couple their own name with that of the divinity honored, thinking thus to acquire a certain measure of public esteem, or at least publicly show their devotion to religion. The abbreviated form of dedication can perhaps be sometimes explained by the lack of space or the nature of the object on which the inscription is engraved.

But the question at once presents itself, is it natural to expect in inscriptions of this class, including not only the direct dedications to the divinities themselves but also those referring in one way or another to the cult, that the social position of the dedicant should be indicated? At this point we cannot fail to take into consideration the very numerous class of inscriptions in form similar to *CIL.* III, 994: Cauti G. Herminius Ermes v(ovit), or *CIL.* II, 3706: M. Badius Hono-

<sup>2</sup> In a thesis presented at Harvard University in 1911, in candidacy for the Doctorate of Philosophy and entitled: "Quibus temporibus religiones ab Oriente ortae et Romae et in provinciis Romanis flourint desierintque quaeritur."

<sup>3</sup> Other divinities, occurring less frequently in the inscriptions, but also considered, are the Dea Caelestis, Deus Arimanius, Deus Casius, Deus Aeternus, Baltis, Sabazius and Ζεὺς Φρύγιος.

r(atu)s et Cornelius Silv(anus) templum Matri Ma(gnae et) Attini de s(ua) p(ecunia) (fecerunt). Were these dedicants simply free citizens, holding aside from that fact no special position in society, or have they neglected more exactly to define their social status?

It is extremely difficult to obtain definite information or conclusive proof on this point, but the large number of inscriptions that do define the dedicant's social position is sufficient to justify the assumption that in such an inscription the definition of one's position by the addition of some such word as *miles*, *mercator*, or *sacerdos*, was, if not practically universal, at least extremely common.

Inscriptions like *CIL.* III, 1788, and 1799, set up by the same person, must of course be considered in this connection, as perhaps proving that a man did not always fully state his social standing. In the first of the above mentioned inscriptions the dedicant merely refers to himself as a *libertus*, in the second he calls himself not only *libertus*, but also a *sevir*. In this particular case the explanation may be that the dedicant attained the sevirate at a period subsequent to the first dedication. However this may be, an examination of a large number of inscriptions leads me to hold in general that if a dedicant mentions in no way his social position, it is permissible to infer in most cases that he was a free citizen but held no particular office either religious or secular.

Another problem is presented by the large number of inscriptions whose dedicants are priests. Their social position undoubtedly varied, as we can see here and there by the evidence of the inscriptions themselves.<sup>4</sup> In regard to the cult of the Magna Mater, it has always been known that for many years no Roman citizen could become her priest,<sup>5</sup> and that on one occasion even a slave of a Roman who had become a Gallus was "trans mare exportatus, ne umquam Romam rever-

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *CIL.* VI, 2260, where the dedicant, Claudia Acropolis, is a *liberta Augusti* as well as priest of the Great Mother. A *sevir* who is also a priest of Isis is mentioned in *CIL.* XIV, 2589. *CIL.* VI, 498 and 501 illustrate the peculiar condition existing in Rome towards the close of the fourth century, when the priesthood was frequently the mark of the aristocratic pagan party.

<sup>5</sup> *Vid.* Dion. Hal. II, 19, 4 f.

teretur.”<sup>6</sup> Our knowledge, however, of the terms under which men and women could enter upon the other priest-hoods is at best obscure. It seems clear, nevertheless, that there were some priests whose whole time was occupied in the discharge of their sacerdotal functions, while for others it appears to have been merely an occasional duty.

Turning now to the inscriptions themselves, let us first take up those of Rome, which should reveal interesting facts, for Macchiore speaks of the conditions there as “pathological,” and my own study has convinced me that from a chronological standpoint the Oriental cults at Rome exhibit phenomena not to be met with elsewhere. Investigation, however, shows that conditions at Rome were far more normal as regards the social position of the dedicants than might reasonably have been expected.

## I. ROME

	MITHRAS	MAGNA MATER	EGYPTIAN	SYRIAN	OTHERS	TOTAL
Private Citizens . . . . .	24	10	11	11	18	74
Officials . . . . .	5	15	3	1	1	25
Priests . . . . .	9	14	27	4	1	55
Soldiers . . . . .	8	0	1	11	3	23
Traders . . . . .	0	0	1	2	0	3
Freedmen . . . . .	9	2	7	3	1	22
Slaves . . . . .	7	0	3	0	0	10
	62	41	53	32	24	212

The first thing worthy of notice is the fact that all the important cults are well represented in the number of the dedicants, Mithras and the Egyptian divinities leading in number, but closely followed by the Great Mother and the Syrian divinities.

When we examine the difference in social position among the dedicants we find the largest number are apparently private citizens, without further distinction. The next largest

<sup>6</sup> This occurred in 77 B.C.; *vid.* Val. Max. VII, 7, 6. Cf. Goehler, *De Matr. Mag. cultu*, 10.



number is that of the priests. It should be understood that this term "priests" is an inclusive one, comprising not only the directing priests but also the other assistants in the temple service, members of the religious collegia,<sup>7</sup> and initiates of the various grades. The number of dedicants among the soldiers is decidedly smaller and quite significantly grouped, chiefly under Mithras and the Syrian divinities, a marked neglect of the Magna Mater and the Egyptian divinities being evident. In view of the importance frequently attached to traders as active agents in propagating these cults, we should particularly note the small number of dedicants of this class. Among the lower classes at Rome, the freedmen and the slaves, the number of dedicants shows a decrease, especially in the number of the slaves,<sup>8</sup> which is less than half that of the liberti.

The official class is quite well represented, due to conditions at Rome to which allusion has already been made,<sup>9</sup> the number of dedicants of this class being much more numerous in the later period.

## 2. ITALY OUTSIDE ROME

### (a) Latium

	MITHRAS	MAGNA MATER	EGYPTIAN	SYRIAN	OTHERS	TOTAL
Private Citizens . .	6	9	6	0	4	25
Officials . . . .	2	2	9	0	0	13
Priests . . . . .	4	7	8	1	0	20
Soldiers . . . . .	0	0	0	2	0	2
Traders . . . . .	0	0	0	0	0	0
Freedmen . . . . .	0	1	0	0	0	1
Slaves . . . . .	1	0	0	0	0	1
	13	19	23	3	4	62

<sup>7</sup> In the numerical tables each collegium is counted as a unit, rather than the number of individuals composing the collegium.

<sup>8</sup> Economic reasons may possibly have been partially responsible for this in the case of the slaves, yet on the other hand it should be remembered that it was not unusual for slaves to set up inscriptions, nor could the cost of many of these simple dedications have been at all heavy.

<sup>9</sup> *Vid. supra*, n. 4 *ad fin.*

## (b) Calabria, Apulia, Samnium, Sabini, Picenum

	MITHRAS	MAGNA MATER	EGYPTIAN	SYRIAN	OTHERS	TOTAL
Private Citizens . . .	1	4	8	4	2	19
Officials . . . . .	0	5	0	0	0	5
Priests . . . . .	2	16	0	0	0	18
Soldiers . . . . .	1	0	0	0	0	1
Traders . . . . .	4	0	1	0	0	5
Slaves . . . . .	0	0	1	0	0	1
Freedmen . . . . .	0	4	1	0	0	5
	8	29	11	4	2	54

## (c) Bruttium, Lucania, Campania, Sicily, Sardinia

	MITHRAS	MAGNA MATER	EGYPTIAN	SYRIAN	OTHERS	TOTAL
Private Citizens . . .	0	6	15	4	1	26
Officials . . . . .	2	4	3	0	1	10
Priests . . . . .	0	13	3	3	3	22
Soldiers . . . . .	1	0	1	0	0	2
Traders . . . . .	0	0	0	0	0	0
Freedmen . . . . .	0	1	3	0	0	4
Slaves . . . . .	0	0	0	0	0	0
	3	24	25	7	5	64

## (d) Umbria, Aemilia, Etruria

	MITHRAS	MAGNA MATER	EGYPTIAN	SYRIAN	OTHERS	TOTAL
Private Citizens . . .	3	1	5	0	1	10
Officials . . . . .	0	2	2	2	1	7
Priests . . . . .	4	1	2	1	0	8
Soldiers . . . . .	0	0	1	0	1	2
Traders . . . . .	0	0	0	0	0	0
Freedmen . . . . .	0	0	4	0	0	4
Slaves . . . . .	1	0	0	0	0	1
	8	4	14	3	3	32

## (e) Cisalpine Gaul

	MITHRAS	MAGNA MATER	EGYPTIAN	SYRIAN	OTHERS	TOTAL
Private Citizens . . . .	12	4	18	1	7	42
Officials . . . . .	8	1	6	0	0	15
Priests . . . . .	6	8	1	0	0	15
Soldiers . . . . .	6	1	1	1	0	9
Traders . . . . .	1	0	0	0	0	1
Freedmen . . . . .	4	1	3	0	0	8
Slaves . . . . .	1	1	1	0	0	3
	38	17	30	2	7	93

The above tables are of interest as showing the relative popularity of the Oriental cults in Italy outside Rome, and it should be carefully noted that with the exception of Cisalpine Gaul, where we find a large number of dedicants to Mithras, the most popular of the Oriental cults seem generally to have been those of the Great Mother and of the Egyptian divinities.

This may be explained by the early introduction of both these cults, and the early official acceptance of the worship of the Great Mother by the Roman state.<sup>10</sup> The Syrian divinities, introduced at a much later date,<sup>11</sup> are very poorly represented.

As regards social position, we find a considerable number of private citizens, a fair number of officials, but almost no soldiers. The number of traders is extremely small. The lower walks of society — the freedmen and the slaves — make a very poor showing. It would therefore seem probable that throughout Italy the Oriental cults were embraced by a higher social type of worshippers than we are sometimes inclined to believe, especially during the Imperial period, to which most of the inscriptions treated belong.

<sup>10</sup> *Vid.* Wissowa, *Religion u. Kultus d. Römer*<sup>2</sup>, 317 ff.; 351 ff., and the literature there cited, especially Livy, XXIX, 10, 14; 14, 13; and XXXVI, 36, 4. Cf. Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, 546 ff., also 563 ff.

<sup>11</sup> *Vid.* Wissowa, *op. cit.*, pp. 359 ff. Cf. Cumont, *Les Mystères de Mithra* (Brussels, 1902), 28 ff.

## 3. BRITAIN

	MITHRAS	MAGNA MATER	EGYPTIAN	SYRIAN	OTHERS	TOTAL
Private Citizens . . . . .	0	1	1	3	0	5
Officials . . . . .	0	0	0	1	0	1
Priests . . . . .	0	0	0	0	1	1
Soldiers . . . . .	8	0	1	4	3	16
Traders . . . . .	0	0	0	1	0	1
Freedmen . . . . .	0	0	0	0	0	0
Slaves . . . . .	0	0	0	0	0	0
	8	1	2	9	4	24

## 4. SPAIN

	MITHRAS	MAGNA MATER	EGYPTIAN	SYRIAN	OTHERS	TOTAL
Private Citizens . . . . .	6	5	9	0	4	24
Officials . . . . .	1	0	1	0	0	2
Priests . . . . .	1	2	2	0	1	6
Soldiers . . . . .	1	0	0	0	0	1
Traders . . . . .	0	0	0	0	0	0
Freedmen . . . . .	0	0	2	0	1	3
Slaves . . . . .	1	0	1	0	0	2
	10	7	15	0	6	38

## 5. AFRICA

	MITHRAS	MAGNA MATER	EGYPTIAN	SYRIAN	OTHERS	TOTAL
Private Citizens . . . . .	2	7	6	0	7	22
Officials . . . . .	6	3	3	1	0	13
Priests . . . . .	0	9	1	0	0	10
Soldiers . . . . .	8	0	1	10	0	19
Traders . . . . .	0	0	0	0	0	0
Freedmen . . . . .	0	0	1	0	1	2
Slaves . . . . .	2	0	2	0	0	4
	18	19	13	11	8	70

## 6. THE GAULS, — Narbonensis, Lugdunensis, Aquitania, Belgica

	MITHRAS	MAGNA MATER	EGYPTIAN	SYRIAN	OTHERS	TOTAL
Private Citizens . . . . .	8	44	5	I	2	60
Officials . . . . .	2	6	2	0	0	10
Priests . . . . .	I	10	6	0	0	17
Soldiers . . . . .	I	0	0	I	0	2
Traders . . . . .	I	I	0	0	0	2
Freedmen . . . . .	I	0	3	0	0	4
Slaves . . . . .	I	0	0	0	0	I
	15	61	16	2	2	96

The foregoing tables for the Gauls show conclusively that the cult of the Great Mother obtained far stronger hold in those provinces than that of any other Oriental divinity. A great majority of all the dedicants are private citizens, many of them women. In no other part of the Western Roman world does any single Oriental cult seem to have gained a stronger foothold among the native inhabitants than the cult of the Great Mother in Gaul. This is probably due to the influence of the taurobolium,<sup>12</sup> a rite which made a very strong appeal to the Gauls on account of its almost melodramatic character, if I may be allowed to use the expression.

In comparison with the popularity of the worship of the Magna Mater, we should observe the small number of dedicants to the Syrian divinities, and the merely moderate number to the Egyptian divinities and Mithras. As already noted in the previous tables, freedmen and slaves form a very small minority of the dedicants.

<sup>12</sup> *Vid.* Wissowa, *op. cit.*, 322 ff. Cf. Prudent. *Peristeph.* x, 1011 ff.; *Carm. c. Pag.* 57 ff.; Firm. Mat. *Err. Prof. Relig.* 27, 8. Cf. Dill, *op. cit.*, 547 and 555 ff. On the origin of the taurobolium *vid.* C. H. Moore in *H. S. C. P.* xvii (1906), 43 ff.; on its history in the West *vid.* G. Zippel, *Festschr. z. fünfzigjähr. Doktorjub. L. Friedländers dargebr.*, Leipzig, 1895, pp. 498 ff., to whose material considerable additions have been made by subsequent discoveries.

## 7. THE GERMANIES

	MITHRAS	MAGNA MATER	EGYPTIAN	SYRIAN	OTHERS	TOTAL
Private Citizens . . . . .	11	2	2	9	1	25
Officials . . . . .	3	0	0	2	0	5
Priests . . . . .	2	0	0	1	0	3
Soldiers . . . . .	14	2	2	9	1	28
Traders . . . . .	0	1	0	1	0	2
Freedmen . . . . .	0	0	0	0	0	0
Slaves . . . . .	1	0	0	0	0	1
	31	5	4	22	2	64

As might be expected in the Germanies, a very large number of the dedicants are soldiers, that class indeed outnumbering any other single class of dedicants.

The other classes, excepting only that of the private citizens, are only sparsely represented. The nationality of the soldier dedicants is indicated by the divinities to whom they made their dedications, that is, to Mithras and the Syrian Ba'alim. The traders are surprisingly few in number.

## 8. THE DANUBE PROVINCES

	MITHRAS	MAGNA MATER	EGYPTIAN	SYRIAN	OTHERS	TOTAL
Private Citizens . . . . .	80	6	12	20	5	123
Officials . . . . .	27	4	9	5	4	49
Priests . . . . .	9	4	2	15	0	30
Soldiers . . . . .	37	2	11	22	6	78
Traders . . . . .	1	0	0	2	0	3
Freedmen . . . . .	22	1	2	0	3	28
Slaves . . . . .	23	1	4	1	0	29
	199	18	40	65	18	340

In the Danube Provinces somewhat the same phenomena appear. The dedications to Mithras and the Syrian divinities are very numerous, and a great number of soldiers appear among the dedicants. The proportion of officials and priests

corresponds roughly to that in the other provinces, but the large number of freedmen and slaves is rather surprising in view of the very small number found elsewhere; nor can the discrepancy find any ready explanation, for the same conditions in this regard might reasonably be supposed to prevail in both the Germanies and the Danube Provinces.

The rapid survey of the preceding pages has disclosed certain definite facts: 1. The devotees of the Oriental Cults were confined to no one class or position in society. Every class, from slave to emperor, is represented, and many classes are largely represented. 2. This representation, though subject to certain local variations, preserves a certain degree of regularity throughout the Western Roman world. 3. The higher and official class is much better represented than would be naturally supposed, while the lower classes, especially slaves and liberti, fail to appear with the frequency one might expect. 4. The extraordinarily small number of dedications made by traders leads to the belief that the influence of traders in the propagation of the cults has been largely overestimated. 5. The wide dispersion of the cults through the various classes points to a movement which should on no account be underestimated, and which is largely important as being one of the ways by which preparation was made for the general acceptance of Christianity.





XIV. — *Heraclitus and the Soul*

BY PROFESSOR ROBERT B. ENGLISH

WASHINGTON AND JEFFERSON COLLEGE

HERACLITUS opens a new world of thought. For him the final search in the universe is not for ultimate matter but for ultimate method. His contribution to the solution of this problem lies in his thesis<sup>1</sup> that the universe and all individual entities abide so long as the same proportion prevails, when the elements are transformed one into another, and so long as the same equality in the transformations of matter is preserved. Our present inquiry is into the origin, nature, and functions of the soul as taught by Heraclitus. To conduct the search properly it will be necessary first to arrive at an understanding of his theory of the universe. Concerning this he speaks as follows :

κόσμον τόνδε, τὸν αὐτὸν ἀπάντων, οὔτε τις θεῶν οὔτε ἀνθρώπων ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' ἦν αἰεὶ καὶ ἔστιν καὶ ἔσται πῦρ αἰεζῶν, ἀπτόμενον μέτρα καὶ ἀποσβεννύμενον μέτρα.<sup>2</sup> πῦρὸς τροπαὶ πρῶτον θάλασσα, θαλάσσης δὲ τὸ μὲν ἦμισυ γῆ, τὸ δὲ ἦμισυ πρηστήρ.<sup>3</sup> θάλασσα διαχέεται καὶ μετρέεται εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον, ὁκοῖος πρόσθεν ἦν ἢ γενέσθαι γῆ.<sup>3</sup> ζῆ πῦρ τὸν γῆς θάνατον καὶ ἀπὸ ζῆ τὸν πῦρὸς θάνατον, ὕδωρ ζῆ τὸν ἀέρος θάνατον, γῆ τὸν ὕδατος.<sup>4</sup>

From these statements it is plain that Heraclitus taught the doctrine of an uncreated universe; that the elemental substance of that universe is fire; that in the cycle of changes the first transformation of fire is water; and that from water appear the further transformations of γῆ and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Zeller, *Pre-Socratic Philosophy*, II, 56.

<sup>2</sup> Fr. 30 (Diels); Clem. *Strom.* v, 105, p. 711; Plut. *de Anim. Procr.* 5, p. 1014 A.

<sup>3</sup> Fr. 31; Clem. *Strom.* v, 105, p. 712; Clement adds this interpretation: δυνάμει γὰρ λέγει ὅτι τὸ πῦρ ὑπὸ τοῦ διοικούντος λόγου καὶ θεοῦ τὰ σύμπαντα δι' ἀέρος τρέπεται εἰς ὑγρὸν τὸ ὡς σπέρμα τῆς διακοσμήσεως, ὃ καλεῖ θάλασσαν, ἐκ δὲ τούτου αἰθῆς γίνεται γῆ καὶ οὐρανὸς καὶ τὰ ἐμπεριεχόμενα.

<sup>4</sup> Fr. 76; Max. Tyr. XII, 4, p. 489; Plut. *de Ei.* 18, 392 C: πῦρὸς θάνατος ἀέρι γένεσις, καὶ ἀέρος θάνατος ὕδατι γένεσις. Marc. IV, 46: ὅτι γῆς θάνατος ὕδωρ γενέσθαι καὶ ὕδατος θάνατος ἀέρα γενέσθαι καὶ ἀέρος πῦρ καὶ ἔμπαλι.

πρηστήρ. In view of the fact, however, that the statements of Clement, Maximus, and Antoninus do not all harmonize, and in view of the further fact that the influence of Stoicism is so clearly marked, some critics<sup>5</sup> have concluded that their statements concerning the place and function of the element air in the theory of Heraclitus are not correct statements of the master's teaching, and, therefore, that the element air does not figure in his system of the universe. It must be admitted at once that the Stoics were greatly indebted to Heraclitus for their theory of the world-order. But granting in the Stoic usage of the formula τροπή πυρός δι' ἀέρος that δι' ἀέρος is invariably an interpolation,<sup>6</sup> yet in the account of the transformations of substance as recorded by Clement we have to deal with four words, πῦρ, θάλασσα, γῆ, πρηστήρ. All of these are sufficiently clear at first sight except πρηστήρ. This word cannot be referred to the Stoics. It is admitted on all sides as Heraclitean. Its usual meaning by definition is 'a hurricane attended with lightning,' 'a fiery whirlwind.' Some commentators take πρηστήρ to mean 'hurricane attended by fiery waterspout.'<sup>7</sup> Others have thought that the element of fire is the only, or the predominant, element in πρηστήρ, holding that it is a practical equivalent of κεραυνός.<sup>8</sup> Others regard πρηστήρ as the form in which water ascends to heaven.<sup>9</sup> It is natural to describe the transformation of fire into water as a violent process, and in naming this transformation to use a term suggestive of such a phenomenon. But that the waterspout, uncommon as it is, should suffice actually to replenish the sea is highly improbable as Heraclitean doctrine. Πρηστήρ is a phenomenon in the class of meteorological changes taking place in that zone, but can be considered only typical. For the same reason πρηστήρ cannot be considered merely equivalent to κεραυνός; for if it is only κεραυνός, then this second form (earth being the first), derived from θάλασσα, is a special manifestation of original

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Zeller, *op. cit.*, II, 47 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.* p. 48, footnote, so concludes.

<sup>7</sup> Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*, 165 f.

<sup>8</sup> Zeller, *op. cit.*, II, 48 (and notes) ff.

<sup>9</sup> Diels, *Herakleitos von Ephesos*, p. viii.

fire of but little potency in the cosmic order. With this interpretation fragment 31 would mean: 'the first transformation of fire is sea, one half of which is earth, the other lightning.' Such an interpretation, however, is inadequate to express the idea in *πρηστήρ*. If there were no idea in this word other than that of fire or lightning, then certainly *πῦρ* or *κεραυνός* would have been used. But there is an additional idea in it, and that idea is air. Again, the word must denote more than the form in which water rises to heaven; for, were this the only idea included in the word, then the process of fire returning to the form of water is left without explanation. And this is decidedly one of the points in the system to be explained.

What, then, is *πρηστήρ*? It is for Heraclitus a natural phenomenon of the whirlwind attended with lightning, resulting in the downpour of rain, typical of the meteorological changes by which fire is transformed into water. The theory requires a powerful force by which cosmic fire is changed into water. This is a necessary and universal transformation, and fire and water are opposite in kind. *Πρηστήρ*, typifying the transformation of cosmic matter downward, presupposes a complementary transformation of matter upward, by which the heavy, dense, dark exhalations from water, the *ἀήρ* of Homer<sup>10</sup> and of Anaximenes,<sup>11</sup> pass upward through essential transformations, and finally as the bright exhalations,<sup>12</sup> dry and ethereal,<sup>13</sup> are ignited in the bowl of the sun. *Πρηστήρ* is the reversal of this process. It represents the dry and warm emanations from the sun proceeding on their downward course, gathering moisture as they go, until, in such phenomena as the whirlwind, the lightning, the waterspout, the downpouring flood of rain,

<sup>10</sup> *Il.* xiv, 288; v, 776, *et al.*

<sup>11</sup> *Fr.* 2; *Aet. Plac.* i, 3, 4; *Dox.* 278.

<sup>12</sup> *Aet. Plac.* ii, 28, 6; *Stob. Ecl.* i, 26; *Dox.* 359: 'Ἡράκλειτος ταῦτον πεπονθέναι τὴν τε σελήνην καὶ τὸν ἥλιον. σκαφοειδεῖς δὲ ὄντας τοῖς σχήμασι τοὺς ἀστέρας, δεχομένους τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς ἰγρᾶς ἀναθυμιάσεως αὐγᾶς, φωτίζεσθαι πρὸς τὴν φαντασίαν, λαμπρότερος μὲν τὸν ἥλιον, ἐν καθαρωτέρῳ γὰρ ἀέρι φέρεσθαι, τὴν δὲ σελήνην ἐν θολωτέρῳ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀμεινωτέραν φαίνεσθαι.

<sup>13</sup> *Cf. Plut. de Defectu Orac.* 41.

they are completely transformed into water. The two processes complete the cycle of the upward and the downward way.

If the question of a name for this function is disturbing, let us remember that Heraclitus modifies the term  $\pi\acute{\upsilon}\rho$  when naming the controlling power of the universe. This power he calls  $\kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha\nu\nu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ . This is the directing force, the intelligence, the thought, the constructive logos of the universe. In a very similar manner he uses  $\pi\rho\eta\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$  as the controlling executive of the transformations in his physical universe. Had Heraclitus used the term  $\acute{\alpha}\eta\rho$ , as Anaximenes did,<sup>14</sup> he would have expressed only one phase of his theory, and that the passive rather than the active phase. Moreover, according to the accepted account of Heraclitus, if  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha$  is a unit, of which the earth is one half and  $\pi\rho\eta\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$  is the other, then of necessity this last must be the air in its varying conditions of humidity, together with meteorological phenomena.<sup>15</sup> That this element is universal in his theory, as fire and water are universal, cannot be maintained. Neither is earth a universal element or a necessary stage in the progress of transformations. Earth is perhaps least so of all the elements. With  $\pi\rho\eta\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$  it forms the divided product of  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha$ , which is the first and necessary form from fire in the transformations of original substance into all objective realities.

In his regard for the importance of the element water Heraclitus is at one with Thales. In fact, water is the germ from which all other things, even fire, are produced. It is  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma \sigma\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\mu\alpha \tau\eta\varsigma \delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ .<sup>16</sup> But the Ephesian saw the necessity of an acting, informing agent in the universe more clearly than did Thales, and for this reason chose a more volatile substance for his cosmic substrate. Yet in no way did he ignore the position of Thales, agreeing with him in this, that water is at some time a necessary state of all matter. From water are derived earth and air. Water disap-

<sup>14</sup> Fr. 2, etc., cited above.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Aet. *Plac.* III, 3, 9; Stob. *Ecl.* 1, 29; Dox. 369.

<sup>16</sup> Fr. 31; see above, n. 3.

pears in the formation of earth and air, and again, it is said,<sup>17</sup> from earth comes water and from water soul. Taken literally, this means that one transformation of matter is from earth to water. This provides for an advance and a retrograde motion between water and earth. But whether this is a universal transformation, requiring all earth originating from water to return again to water, is difficult to say. Looking at the earth as we know it, it is easy to see that out of earth comes somewhat of water. And this may be all that his theory would require. From the meagre fragments this is all we can know. But what is to become of earth if not all is transformed into water?<sup>18</sup> One fragment<sup>19</sup> at least states that in the passing of earth, fire issues. It may well be that the earth vanishes partly into water and partly into fire. That part issuing in fire reaches the original substance in a single transformation. The part issuing in water must suffer yet another transformation to reach original substance. As to *πρηστήρ*, which divides equally with earth the potentiality of water, we have already seen that by transformations going on within itself it issues upward in fire and by the downward path in water.

Let us turn now to the psychic features of Heraclitus' system. Aristotle clearly states<sup>20</sup> that for Heraclitus the first

<sup>17</sup> Fr. 36; Clem. *Strom.* vi, 16, p. 746: ψυχῆσιν θάνατος ὕδωρ γενέσθαι, ὕδατι δὲ θάνατος γῆν γενέσθαι, ἐκ γῆς δὲ ὕδωρ γίνεται, ἐξ ὕδατος δὲ ψυχῆ.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Xenophanes, fr. 27: ἐκ γαίης γὰρ πάντα καὶ εἰς γῆν πάντα τελευτᾷ. *Id.* 29: γῆ καὶ ὕδωρ πάντ' ἐσθ' ὅσα γίνοντ(αι) ἡδὲ φύονται. *Id.* 33: πάντες γὰρ γαίης τε καὶ ὕδατος ἐκγενόμεσθα.

<sup>19</sup> Heraclitus, fr. 76: ζῆ πῦρ τὸν γῆς θάνατον καὶ ἀήρ ζῆ τὸν πυρὸς θάνατον ὕδωρ ζῆ τὸν ἀέρος θάνατον, γῆ τὸν ὕδατος.

<sup>20</sup> *De Anima*, 1, 2; 405 a 24: καὶ Ἡράκλειτος δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναι φησιν ψυχῆν, εἴπερ τὴν ἀναθυμίασιν, ἐξ ἧς τᾶλλα συνίστησιν. Cf. fr. 12 (end): καὶ ψυχαὶ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ὑγρῶν ἀναθυμῶνται. Compare also Macrobius, *S. Scip.* 1, 14, 19: (animam) H. physicus scintillam stellaris essentiae. The Doxographer, 389, Aet. *Plac.* IV, 3, 12, says: Ἡράκλειτος τὴν μὲν τῶν κόσμου ψυχῆν ἀναθυμίασιν ἐκ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ ὑγρῶν, τὴν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ζῴοις ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκτὸς καὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀναθυμιάσεως, ὁμογενῆ.

Because of the phraseology in the Aristotle passage, εἴπερ τὴν ἀναθυμίασιν, critics question the authenticity of ἀναθυμίασιν as a Heraclitean word (see Burnet, p. 168, footnote). But whether ἀναθυμίασιν is or is not a Heraclitean word matters little. In undisputed language Heraclitus teaches that the soul is

beginning of things, ἀρχή, was soul, ψυχή. Fragments 36<sup>21</sup> and 12<sup>22</sup> attest the same origin of soul, viz.: exhalation from water. Now if the origin of things is soul, and soul is an exhalation from water, we seem to face a contradiction. But this apparent contradiction largely disappears if we consider soul as originally preëxistent, but thereafter perpetually replenished by exhalations from water. This would seem to be the force of the present tense, γίνεται, used here and elsewhere in this connection. Again, Aristotle states<sup>23</sup> that Heraclitus calls the first cause, ἀρχή, fire. Obviously the Stagirite sees no diremption in the use of both πῦρ and ψυχή as terms to express the beginning of things. They are indeed different manifestations of the same thing. Again, the real active agent in the process of creation, as Heraclitus conceives it, is strife. One must know, he avers,<sup>24</sup> that war is universal, and that justice is strife, and that all things are produced through strife and necessity. And again<sup>25</sup> he urges his belief in opposition as the unifying element, saying that the most beautiful harmony arises from things drawn asunder, and all things are produced by strife. From well authenticated sources, then, we have in Heraclitus several ideas<sup>26</sup> connected with the origin of the world-order, viz. πῦρ, ψυχή, ἔρις, λόγος. To say that in the beginning any one of these preceded the others would be unwarranted. They are all there, and all operative at the beginning. It may not

replenished from water. The up-keep of soul from water can be explained, however, only by the use of some word that would convey the idea. And to Aristotle at least that word is ἀναθυμίασις. And the language of fr. 12 makes it clear that Arrius considered both ἀναθυμίασις and ἀναθυμῶνται as belonging to Heraclitus.

<sup>21</sup> See above, n. 17.

<sup>22</sup> Καὶ ψυχὰι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὕγρων ἀναθυμῶνται.

<sup>23</sup> *Met.* I, 3; 984 a 7; cf. 996 a 9; 1001 a 15.

<sup>24</sup> Fr. 80; Orig. *c. Celsum*, VI, 42, p. III, II: εἰδέναι δὲ χρὴ τὸν πόλεμον ἔοντα ξυθόν, καὶ δικὴν ἔριν, καὶ γινόμενα πάντα κατ' ἔριν καὶ χρεώμενα [χρεῶν]. (Compare Heidel, "On Fragments of the Pre-Socratics," *Proc. Am. Acad. Arts and Sci.* XLVIII, 710 ff., as to the proper interpretation of this fragment.)

<sup>25</sup> Fr. 8; Arist. *Eth. Nic.* VIII, 2, 1154 b 4: 'Η. τὸ ἀντίξουν συμφέρον καὶ ἐκ τῶν διαφερόντων καλλίστην ἁρμονίαν καὶ πάντα κατ' ἔριν γίνεσθαι. Cf. fr. 53: πόλεμος πάντων μὲν πατήρ ἐστι, πάντων δὲ βασιλεὺς.

<sup>26</sup> Δικὴ may also be added; see fr. 94.

even be clearly apparent what function each of these performs in relation to the world-system. Of fire it is said that it is eternal,<sup>27</sup> and as such is manifest in the thunderbolt, that it is intelligent, and is the cause of the cosmic control of all things.<sup>27</sup> In this respect it is even said to be necessity and satiety, of which the former is, according to his doctrine, the world-order, the latter the world-conflagration. This fire is the beginning and the end of the cycle of world-transformations. In this respect it must be considered a substance, an objective entity. As intelligence, the controlling agency in the world-order, it is mind and thought, though not expressly stated thus in any of the extant fragments. It would seem then that *πῦρ* and *ἔρις* and *λόγος* are the same element in different phases of operation, — fire the ultimate substance, and fire the controlling strife or necessity, and fire the reason of the universe. Further examination of the cosmic soul reveals this further analogy. When *ψυχή* is said to be the beginning of the universe, it is to be understood as the life principle of that universe. Fire and fate furnish the substance and the intelligent directing force at work in the world, but without the principle of life the whole must be a dead, unmoved mass. In this respect it is similar to the Pythagorean theory of the unlimited sphere surrounding the limited sphere, the latter breathing out of and into the former. As we have seen, *ψυχή*, as well as *πῦρ* and *ἔρις*, must in their capacity as *ἀρχή* be considered as ever existing and never created.<sup>28</sup> And the soul is said to rise as an exhalation from water.<sup>29</sup> While there may be some doubt in regard to

<sup>27</sup> Fr. 64; Hippol. IX, 10: τὰ δὲ πάντα οἰακίξει κεραυνός, τουτέστι καταθύνει, κεραυνὸν τὸ πῦρ λέγων τὸ αἰώνιον. λέγει δὲ καὶ φρόνιμον τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ πῦρ καὶ τῆς διοικήσεως τῶν ὄλων αἴτιον· καλεῖ δὲ αὐτὸ χρησμοσύνην καὶ κόρον. Fr. 65: χρησμοσύνη δὲ ἐστὶν ἢ διακόσμησις κατ' αὐτόν, ἢ δὲ ἐκπύρωσις κόρος. Fr. 66: πάντα γὰρ, φησί, τὸ πῦρ ἐπελθὼν κρινεῖ καὶ καταλήψεται.

<sup>28</sup> Fr. 30.

<sup>29</sup> Arist. *de Anim.* I, 2; 405 a 24: καὶ Ἡράκλειτος δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναι φησὶν ψυχὴν εἶπερ τὴν ἀναθυμίασιν. Cf. fr. 12: καὶ ψυχὰς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑγρῶν ἀναθυμιῶνται. Also fr. 114: ξὺν νόφ λέγοντας ἰσχυρίζεσθαι χρὴ τῷ ξυνῷ πάντων, ὄκωσπερ νόμφ πόλις, καὶ πολλὸν ἰσχυρότερος. τρέφονται γὰρ πάντες οἱ ἀνθρώπειοι νόμοι ὑπὸ ἐνὸς τοῦ θείου· κρατεῖ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ὄκωσον ἐθέλει καὶ ἔξαρκεῖ πᾶσι καὶ περιγίνεται. Also fr. 72: ᾧ μάλιστα διηνεκῶς ὁμιλοῦσι λόγῳ τῷ τὰ ὅλα διοικοῦντι τούτῳ διαφέ-

the absolute origin of *ψυχή* as such, there can be no doubt as to its existence in the world-order nor as to the method of its replenishment. And with the world-all as a system we must be content, since Heraclitus himself assumes the eternity of first principles. This cosmic soul then rises as an exhalation, nay it is an exhalation from water.<sup>30</sup> It is a vapor. This is a perfectly natural source from which to replenish the soul of the world-all. Everything else is conceived as coming from water, as a necessary form through which fire is transformed into objective realities, so it is logical to conceive the world-soul as replenished therefrom. To souls it is death to become water, to water it is death to become earth, but water is formed from earth and soul from water.<sup>30</sup>

What, then, is this exhalation, *ἀναθυμίασις*? By definition it is an emanation from water. In the works of Aristotle it is recognized in two forms:<sup>31</sup> it is either *ὕγρᾳ* or *ἀτμιδώδης* [(*ἀτμή* = *ἀτμός*) + *εἶδος*], like vapor, vaporous; or, it is *ξηρᾳ* or *καπνώδης*. At the start, then, soul must be considered vapor or mist. This is especially clear in the passage where the verb is used.<sup>32</sup> It is the dense heavy substance giving weight to the air in the vicinity of rivers and the sea. It is not highly volatile as fire is. It is the result of the action of the sun above on the water beneath. But in the upward movement of the vapor thus formed there occur essential transformations. The farther it is lifted from the sea the lighter, the more volatile and the more ethereal it becomes. Thus the soul born out of the sea as heavy mist rises through infinite transformations until it issues in fire itself, the very first and finest element in the universe. This for Heraclitus is virtually air. It is the vital breath of the uni-

ρονται, καὶ οἷς καθ' ἡμέραν ἐγκυροῦσι, ταῦτα αὐτοῖς ξένα φαίνεται. And fr. 78: ἦθος γὰρ ἀνθρώπειον μὲν οὐκ ἔχει γνῶμας, θεῖον δὲ ἔχει.

In view of these statements there seems to be no reasonable doubt as to the existence of the cosmic soul in the teaching of Heraclitus.

<sup>30</sup> See n. 29, above; also fr. 36.

<sup>31</sup> See Arist. *Meteor.* I, 3, 15; I, 4, 2; II, 4, 1; II, 3, 25.

<sup>32</sup> Arist. *de Anim. l.c.*; also fr. 12: ποταμοῖσι τοῖσιν αὐτοῖσιν ἐμβαλνονσιν ἕτερα καὶ ἕτερα ὕδατα ἐπιρρεῖ· καὶ ψυχὰι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὕγρῶν ἀναθυμῶνται.



verse. It is the half of the sea that starts backward on its upward path directly from the sea. It is the link between the sun which is fire, and the earth and sea. The other half of the sea becomes earth, as we have seen. In this element the progress of transformation upward is delayed one step. The earth is not volatile, yet it passes into fire and water. That portion of it which finally issues in fire recedes directly upward to join its original. That portion which issues in water, vaporizes and joins with the exhalations from the sea, making its way in its various transformations upward until it becomes fire. The cosmic soul is possible only through the medium air, as rising from and connected with elemental water.

As to its functions the world-soul is described<sup>83</sup> as a perceptive, a sentient exhalation, and as acquiring intelligence. Here, then, is a new element. Original fire may be said to embody intelligence, but the upkeep of that function, and the origin and maintenance of a sentient, perceptive function of the world-all as centered in the world-soul, springs from water. These exhalations are, as it were, the vital breath of the cosmic soul. Thus its outgoings are seen in the function of intelligence manifest in the directing of all things. This is the thunderbolt with intelligence darting through the universe and controlling all its movements. And the intakings, the replenishings, of the cosmic soul appear in the sentient, perceptive function developed from the emanations from water. Moreover, this process results in intelligence, so that this function is ultimately replenished from the same source. Thus the cosmic psychic cycle is complete. To sum up this process: the original element is fire endowed with intelligence. This, through the thunderbolt, its executive, controls and directs all; from water, a transformation of fire, arise exhalations which produce the sentient and perceptive

<sup>83</sup> Fr. 12; Arrius Did. ap. Eus. *P.E.* xv, 20; Dox. 471, 1: Ζήνων τὴν ψυχὴν λέγει αἰσθητικὴν ἀναθυμίασιν, καθάπερ Ἡράκλειτος· βουλόμενος γὰρ ἐμφανίσαι, ὅτι αἱ ψυχὰι ἀναθυμιάμεναι νοεραὶ αἶετ' γίνονται, εἰκασεν αὐτὰς τοῖς ποταμοῖς λέγων οὕτως· ποταμοῖσι, κτλ. This interpretation may well be considered an accurate statement of Heraclitus' doctrine, especially since Arrius quotes the philosopher directly in the next clause.

soul, which ultimately gains intelligence, thus contributing to the upkeep of original intelligence, which is fire.

The individual soul now occupies our attention. Its source is water.<sup>84</sup> There is, however, this difference between the individual soul and the cosmic soul as to origin. In the universe the cosmic soul of necessity rises from the water contained in the cosmic elements. The human soul, if we may trust the later interpreters,<sup>85</sup> is derived from exhalations both without and within the body. This, too, is perfectly consistent with his statements about the cosmic soul, for although it can arise only from water within itself since the universe is all embracing, yet the individual soul has an identity of its own which consistently originates with its origin. Furthermore, in the simple theory of the cosmos Heraclitus even provides for water from earth, as well as water from the sea as the origin of soul. It is easy to understand, then, that the soul of the individual has its existence in the combination of the cosmic soul which eddies all about it with the exhalations which arise from within the body. As is the cosmic soul to the universe, so is the human soul to the individual; it is his life's breath, his knowledge, and his will.

Elsewhere<sup>86</sup> the soul is spoken of as a spark of stellar essence. If we examine the nature of this exhalation as related to the individual soul, we see that the cosmic soul is reproduced in that of the individual. The exhalations at the first are heavy. Intelligence is at a low ebb. Life itself flutters in the air and wavers in the balance. Gradually all is changed. The mind becomes more active, the senses more

<sup>84</sup> Fr. 36. This statement, taken with that in Fr. 12, makes it plain that 'soul' is used in different senses; the former statement is appropriate to the idea of the world-soul, the latter to that of the individual soul.

<sup>85</sup> Aet. *Plac.* IV, 3, 12; Dox. 389: 'Ἡράκλειτος τὴν μὲν τοῦ κόσμου ψυχὴν ἀναθυμιάσειν ἐκ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ ὑγρῶν, τὴν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ζῴοις ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκτὸς καὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀναθυμιάσεως, ὁμογενῆ.

<sup>86</sup> See above, n. 20. This suggests the doctrine ascribed to Theophrastus (Dox. 492), in which it is said that the sun (so Heraclitus, Dox. 351) is an intelligent, burning mass rising out of the sea, and (fr. 6) new every day, is replenished from the sparks assembling out of the exhalations from water. Xenophanes is said (Dox. 492) to have ascribed the renewal of the sun to the setting on fire of the clouds.

alert. Life is moored to earth by stronger ties. Intelligence develops. Ultimately the soul, if kept dry, issues in the finest substance, fire. But at this point a difficulty arises. Most writers<sup>37</sup> insist that because the soul is said to be fire it is once for all fire and nothing else. This positively contradicts Heraclitus' idea of becoming, which is the soul and centre of his entire theory. It is neither true of his theory of the cosmic soul nor of the individual soul. Just as the cosmic soul originates in exhalations from water, just as it is dense, heavy, moist, unrefined, and not highly intelligent while in its low estate, so the human soul at the first is heavy, dense, moist, unrefined, dull, and with a low degree of intelligence. Yet this potentially is the soul just as much as it is after essential transformations have turned it into intelligent fire. This is plainly shown by Heraclitus in his teaching concerning the gratification of human desires and appetites. In undisputed language he says,<sup>38</sup> 'it is hard to contend with passion; for whatever it desires to gain it buys at the cost of soul.' 'When a man becomes drunken he is led about by a beardless boy, staggering, not knowing whither he goes, for his soul is wet.'<sup>39</sup> And again, 'it is the delight of souls to become moist.'<sup>40</sup> In part the same lack of soul activity takes place in sleep. They that are awake have one and a common world, but those that sleep turn aside each into a world of his own.<sup>41</sup> But in sleep there is not the entire loss of mentality as there is in drunkenness, since the former is a natural and necessary condition, while the latter is a voluntary overthrow of the reign of reason. One of the later writers at some length has explained Heraclitus' theory of cognition and its interruption in sleep. In part he says:<sup>42</sup> "We be-

<sup>37</sup> See Zeller's lengthy discussion on this subject; *op. cit.*, II, 79 ff.

<sup>38</sup> Fr. 85: *θυμῷ μάχεσθαι χαλεπὸν· ὅ τι γὰρ ἂν θέλῃ, ψυχῆς ὠνεῖται.* Cf. also Arist. *Pol.* V, II, p. 1315a29; *Eth. Nic.* II, 2, p. 1105a8; *Eud. Eth.* II, 7, p. 1223b22.

<sup>39</sup> Fr. 117; Stob. *Flor.* V, 7; cf. M. Antonin. IV, 46.

<sup>40</sup> Fr. 77. On this fragment see Heidehl, as above, p. 708. <sup>41</sup> Fr. 89.

<sup>42</sup> Sextus Empiricus, *adv. Math.* VII, 129-131: *τοῦτον δὴ τὸν θεῖον λόγον καθ' Ἡράκλειτον δι' ἀναπνοῆς σπᾶσαντες νοεροὶ γινόμεθα, καὶ ἐν μὲν ὕπνοις ληθαῖοι, κατὰ δὲ ἔγερσιν πάλιν ἐμφρονες· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ὕπνοις μυσάντων τῶν αἰσθητικῶν*

come intelligent beings when by means of respiration we draw in this divine reason. In sleep we are sunk in forgetfulness, but intelligence returns when we awake. For when we sleep, the sensory avenues being closed, the mind which is in us is separated from what is alike begotten in the surrounding element, except that a union by means of respiration is preserved as a sort of root; and the mind thus cut off loses the power of memory which it previously had. But when we wake, again peering forth through the avenues of sense as through windows and uniting with the surrounding element, it recovers its power of reason. For, just as embers when brought to the fire are set aflame, but when separated therefrom are extinguished, so that part within us when separated from kindred substance outside is void of reason, but through union with it by many pores (*i.e.* by the avenues of sense and respiration), it becomes the same in kind and form as the whole." This comment of Sextus is not inconsistent with the meagre fragments of Heraclitus' utterances on the same subject. The lapse of consciousness, memory, and reason in sleep is due to the partial severing of the necessary connection between the individual soul and the cosmic soul. When this connection is restored, the quickened functions of the mind return. When this connection fails to be restored, the long sleep of death ensues. But naturally Heraclitus regards sleep as a natural phenomenon and says<sup>43</sup> that when sleeping, men are fellow-workers in

πύρων χωρίζεται τῆς πρὸς τὸ περιέχον συμφύλας ὁ ἐν ἡμῖν νοῦς, μόνῃς τῆς κατὰ ἀναπνοῆν προσφύσεως σωζομένης οἰοεὶ τινος ῥίζης, χωρισθεὶς τε ἀποβάλλει ἢν πρότερον εἶχε μνημονικὴν δύναμιν. ἐν δὲ ἐγρηγορήσει πάλιν διὰ τῶν αἰσθητικῶν πύρων ὡσπερ διὰ τιῶν θυρίδων προκύψας καὶ τῷ περιέχοντι συμβάλλων λογικὴν ἐνδύεται δύναμιν. ὅνπερ οὖν τρόπον οἱ ἀνθρακες πλησιάσαντες τῷ πυρὶ κατ' ἀλλοίωσιν διάπυροι γίνονται, χωρισθέντες δὲ σβέννυνται, οὕτω καὶ ἡ ἐπιζενοῦμεῖσα τοῖς ἡμετέροις σώμασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ περιέχοντος μοῖρα κατὰ μὲν τὸν χωρισμὸν σχεδὸν ἄλογος γίνεται, κατὰ δὲ τὴν διὰ τῶν πλείστων πύρων σύμφυσιν ὁμοιοειδῆς τῷ ὄλῳ καθίσταται. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν κοινὸν λόγον καὶ θεῖον καὶ οὐ κατὰ μετοχὴν γινόμεθα λογικοὶ, κριτήριον ἀληθείας φησὶν ὁ Ἡράκλειτος, ὅθεν τὸ μὲν κοινῇ πᾶσι φαινόμενον τοῦτ' εἶναι πιστὸν· τῷ κοινῷ γὰρ καὶ θεῷ λόγῳ λαμβάνεται· τὸ δὲ τιμὴ μόνῳ προσπίπτων ἀπιστὸν ὑπάρχειν διὰ τὴν ἐναντίαν αἰτίαν.

<sup>43</sup> Fr. 75: τοὺς καθεύδοντας οἶμαι ὁ Ἡράκλειτος ἐργάτας εἶναι λέγει καὶ συνεργοὺς τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ γινομένων.

what is going on in the world. In the same way he held that waking and sleeping, life and death, youth and age, are one and the same, for through change the latter become the former and through change the former become the latter. But there is this difference between the loss of mentality in sleep and in drunkenness, that the former is a perfectly natural phenomenon accompanying the experiences of life, and the latter is an abnormal phenomenon in which the soul by voluntary action relinquishes its sovereignty, becomes saturated in the floods of passion, and loses contact with its near of kin outside. The inference is that the soul has the capacity to pass through the whole series of transformations until it issues in the fire of intelligence, but that to raise the soul to its highest refinement is a difficult task at best, and that the process of voluntary degradation of the soul is psychical suicide.

What, then, can be the substance of the living soul thus admitting of saturation at the expense of its more refined and more effective nature? We are forced to the conclusion that there is nothing so like it as air. To be sure we must take the ancient concept of this element, somewhat different from our own. The chief characteristic, however, is motion. It is difficult to see how a philosopher like Heraclitus, depending entirely on the theory of flux for his universe, could do other than make use of air as an element in his philosophical system. While air to us is not vapor, it was one and the same to the ancient mind. When the ancients said<sup>44</sup> that the soul passed into thin air, their idea was of air not necessarily in its ethereal nature but as it is about us, varying in temperature, moisture, and density. To object to this interpretation on the ground that it savors too strongly of Stoicism is to ignore the fact that Epicurus<sup>45</sup> and his followers, quite as

<sup>44</sup> Cf. 'Atque in ventos vita recessit,' Virg. *Aen.* iv, 705; cf. also such expressions as 'quae quantum vertice ad auras | aetherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit,' *id.* *G.* II, 291-292.

<sup>45</sup> Aet. *Plac.* iv, 3; Stob. *Ecl.* i, 49; Dox. 389, defines the soul for the Epicureans: 'Ἐπίκουρος κράμα ἐκ τεττάρων, ἐκ ποιοῦ πυρώδους, ἐκ ποιοῦ ἀερώδους, ἐκ ποιοῦ πνευματικοῦ, ἐκ τεττάρτου τινὸς ἀκατονομάστου· τοῦτο δ' ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ αἰσθητικόν· ὧν τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα κίνησιν, τὸν δὲ ἀέρα ἤρεμIAN, τὸ δὲ θερμὸν τῆν φαινομένην

well as the Stoics, made the chief elements of the soul air, wind, and heat. These were all, partially or wholly, derived from theories that had existed before. And it is not a far cry from Heraclitus' *ψυχή*, or even *πρηστήρ*, to the Stoic *ἔνθερμον πνεῦμα*, or to the Epicurean *ἐκ ποιοῦ ἀερώδους, ἐκ ποιοῦ πνευματικοῦ*. But the one passage which would give us the unmistakable meaning of Heraclitus' teaching has been so variously reported by different writers that it has been given up as hopeless or has been rejected from the Heraclitean canon. This is fragment 118. According to the accepted reading it stands:

αὐγὴ ξηρὴ ψυχὴ σοφωτάτη καὶ ἀρίστη.<sup>46</sup>

There are various Ms. readings: *αὕη ξηρὴ, αὐγὴ ξηρὴ, αὕη* (alone), *αὐ γῆ ξηρὴ*. Various authors quote it variously: *αὕη ψυχὴ σοφωτάτη καὶ ἀρίστη*,<sup>47</sup> *ξηρὰ ψυχὴ σοφωτάτη*,<sup>48</sup> *αὕτη γὰρ ψυχὴ ξηρὴ* (elsewhere *αὕη γὰρ ψυχὴ καὶ ξερὴ*) *ἀρίστη καθ' Ἡράκλειτον, ὥσπερ ἀστραπὴ νέφους διαπταμένη τοῦ σώματος*,<sup>49</sup> *αὕτη γὰρ ξηρὰ ψυχὴ καθ' Ἡράκλειτον. Ὑγρότης δὲ οὐ μόνον ὄψιν ἀμβλύνει καὶ ἀκοήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατόπτρων θιγοῦσα καὶ μιχθεῖσα πρὸς ἀέρα ἀφαιρεῖ τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὸ φέγγος*; <sup>50</sup> again, *αὐγὴ δὲ ψυχὴ ξηρὰ σοφωτάτην καὶ ἀρίστην . . . οὐδέ ἐστι κάθυγρος ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου ἀναθυμιάσεσι, νεφέλης δίκην σωματοποιουμένη*,<sup>51</sup> and even, *οὐ γῆ ξερὴ, ψυχὴ σοφωτάτη καὶ ἀρίστη*.<sup>52</sup>

Balancing the worth of these various statements, some critics<sup>53</sup> have concluded that the proposition *αὐγὴ ξηρὴ σοφωτάτη* is not Heraclitean.

In view of the fact that none of the readings seems satis-

*θερμότητα τοῦ σώματος, τὸ δ' ἀκατονόμαστον τὴν ἐν ἡμῖν ἐμποιεῖν αἰσθησιν· ἐν οὐδενὶ γὰρ τῶν ὀνομαζομένων στοιχείων εἶναι αἰσθησιν.* Cf. Diog. Laert. x, 63. The Stoic view that the whole soul is *ἔνθερμον πνεῦμα* makes use of only the one element in the soul. It is altogether likely that both schools derived the idea from early sources.

<sup>46</sup> See Zeller, *op. cit.*, II, 79 ff., and notes.

<sup>47</sup> Stob. *Flor.* v, 120.

<sup>48</sup> Porph. *Antr. Nymph.* c. 11.

<sup>49</sup> Plut. *Rom.* c. 28.

<sup>50</sup> Plut. *de Def. Orac.* 41, p. 432.

<sup>51</sup> Clement, *Paedog.* II, 156, C.

<sup>52</sup> Philo, ap. Eus. *P. E.* VIII, 14, 67.

<sup>53</sup> See Zeller, *op. cit.*, II, 79 ff., and notes.

factory, I should prefer for *ἀνγή* to read *αὔρη*.<sup>54</sup> *Ἀνγή ξηρή* is tautological, or even contradictory. *Ἀύρη* is an easy original, is an Ionic form, and was in vogue before<sup>55</sup> Heraclitus, and persisted after his time.<sup>56</sup> Here, then, is ready to hand a word in meaning consistent with and varying only slightly in form from the accepted word, while the accepted word is meaningless. Furthermore, *ἀνγή* is a very unusual word among the thinkers of the time of Heraclitus. Parmenides seems to use it only once, fr. 15, in the extant fragments, and that in connection with the sun. To be sure, Homer uses the term frequently, but always in its usual meaning of 'light.' It is found several times in the fragments of Empedocles, but never in any unusual sense or connection. Moreover, there can be no good reason why Heraclitus should have ignored air as a cosmic element. There was already in vogue a use of *ἀήρ* identified with soul. Anaximenes,<sup>57</sup> it is said, identified the human soul with air, and called the corresponding element air or breath (*ἀήρ* or *πνεῦμα*). Again, adopting this reading, we at once come into harmony with all the later writers<sup>58</sup> who have assumed that

<sup>54</sup> Even the Aeolic form *αὔρη* (= *ἀήρ*, Homeric *ἠήρ*) is preferable to *ἀνγή*. For the Homeric use, see *Il.* III, 881; v, 776; VIII, 50; XIV, 228. Gilbert, in *Archiv f. Gesch. d. Phil.* XXIII (1910), 410, says: "Der *ἀήρ* erscheint schon bei Homer in 30 Wiederholungen als ein feststehender, charakteristischer Begriff"; Hesiod, *Ἔργα*, 549 ff. kennt ihn in dieser seiner Bedeutung; . . . Anaximander gibt ihm eine in sich geschlossene Sphäre; Anaximenes setzt ihn als die Grundsubstanz in den Mittelpunkt alles Weltgeschehens.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Homer, *Od.* v, 469.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Euripides, *Supp.* 1048.

<sup>57</sup> Fr. 2; cf. *Aet. Plac.* I, 3, 4; *Dox.* 278: 'οἶον ἢ ψυχῆ; φησιν, 'ἡ ἡμετέρα ἀήρ οὐσα συγκρατεῖ ἡμᾶς, καὶ ὅλον τὸν κόσμον πνεῦμα καὶ ἀήρ περιέχει.' λέγεται δὲ συνωνύμως ἀήρ καὶ πνεῦμα. Compare Schultz, in *Archiv f. Gesch. d. Phil.* XXII (1909), 293 ff., where the use of air as one of the four elements in Heraclitus' teaching is maintained on the ground of the four transformations of deity and the four pairs of opposites.

<sup>58</sup> There is a very significant passage in Plutarch, *de Defect. Orac.* 41, which as an interpretation of Heraclitus is important. In speaking of the breath as light, warm, dry, and ethereal, he says that this is the dry soul of Heraclitus, making use of the following language: "Ἄμα δ' ἂν τις οὐκ ἀλόγως καὶ ξηρότητα φαίη μετὰ τῆς θερμότητος ἐγγινομένην, λεπτόνουν τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ ποιεῖν αἰθερώδες καὶ καθαρὸν. Αὕτη γὰρ ξηρὰ ψυχὴ καθ' Ἡράκλειτον. Ἐγρότης δὲ οὐ μόνον ὄψιν ἀμβλύνει καὶ ἀκοήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατόπτρων θιγοῦσα καὶ μυχθεῖσα πρὸς ἀέρα ἀφαιρεῖ τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὸ φέγγος. (The text is not without flaw, but the meaning seems clear.)

air is one of the elements in Heraclitus' teaching, and that the soul is air. And the upward transformation of this element, both in the universe and in the individual, until it approximates, or issues in, fire, is explicable on this basis. The farther this cosmic soul recedes from water, from which as mist it emanates, the finer, purer, and more ethereal it becomes until it is swept in grand swirls of eddying ether into the sun.<sup>59</sup> Yet a measure of warmth and dryness belongs to the cosmic soul as it surrounds and communicates with the individual soul, and from this source the individual soul derives its intelligence. In keeping itself dry by living on a high level it becomes relatively wise and good. Ultimately the soul of the individual must make its way abroad as the life breath, and according to its nature as dry and wise does it rise through space to join itself with the world-soul of fire and intelligence, or as wet and unwise does it sink to the level of water, to be absorbed by the denser and grosser exhalations where its identity is lost. The dry soul and wise mounts through intermediate transformations to lose itself in the world-soul of rational fire; the wet soul loaded with the heavy exhalations from self-indulgence, reverts to water, its original form. But ultimately from water rise the exhalations which replenish the cosmic soul. Consequently the way up and the way down ultimately are the same.

Let us look briefly at the functions of the soul. These may be called objective and subjective. As instances of the former we have the operation of the sense organs, and consequent sensuous impressions. Eyes, he says, are better witnesses than ears,<sup>60</sup> but both are unreliable<sup>61</sup> for men with stupid souls. If all things should become smoke, then the nostrils alone would perceive.<sup>62</sup> Souls have the sense of

<sup>59</sup> This, too, is much like the Pythagorean belief in the central and peripheral fire. Cf. also Arist. *de An.* I, 5, 15: δ ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς ἔπεισι καλουμένοις λόγος· φησὶ γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὄλου εἰσιέναι ἀναπνεόντων, φερομένην ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνέμων.

<sup>60</sup> Fr. 101 a; Polyb. XII, 27: ὀφθαλμοὶ γὰρ τῶν ὠτων ἀκριβέστεροι μάρτυρες.

<sup>61</sup> Fr. 107; Sext. Emp. VII, 128: κακοὶ μάρτυρες ἀνθρώποισιν ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ὄτα βαρβάρους ψυχὰς ἐχόντων.

<sup>62</sup> Fr. 7; Arist. *de Sens.* V, 443 a 23.



smell in hades.<sup>63</sup> When awake we share one world in common, but when asleep each turns aside into his own world.<sup>64</sup> As to what is perceived, he says, all the things we see when awake are death, and all the things we see when asleep are sleep.<sup>65</sup> Furthermore, the senses are deceptive.<sup>66</sup> Again he asserts,<sup>67</sup> "all that can be seen, heard, and learned, that I esteem." Several terms are used in connection with the subjective functions of the soul: τὸ σοφόν, νόος, φρήν, τὸ φρονεῖν, σοφίη γνώμη. In the use of these various terms we glean from Heraclitus that wisdom,<sup>68</sup> τὸ σοφόν, is one thing, that the people generally do not have a high degree of sense or understanding,<sup>69</sup> yet withal understanding is common to all men,<sup>70</sup> that it is the part of all men to know themselves and to understand,<sup>71</sup> that understanding is the greatest virtue,<sup>72</sup> that reason<sup>73</sup> is all about us, an entity with which we most constantly associate, and yet from which we are mostly removed, and that thing which we daily encounter appears to us strange. In a still more striking passage we read ψυχῆς ἐστι λόγος ἑαυτὸν αὔξων.<sup>74</sup> Again, all human laws are nourished by one which is divine,<sup>75</sup> for it has whatever power it

<sup>63</sup> Fr. 98; Plut. *de Fac. in Orb. Lun.* 28, p. 943 E.

<sup>64</sup> Fr. 89; Plut. *de Superst.* 3, p. 166 C.

<sup>65</sup> Fr. 21; Clem. *Strom.* III, 21, p. 520.

<sup>66</sup> Fr. 46; Diog. Laert. IX, 1, 7.

<sup>67</sup> Fr. 55; Hippol. *Refut.* IX, 9.

<sup>68</sup> Fr. 32; Clem. *Strom.* V, 116, p. 718: ἐν τὸ σοφὸν μόνον λέγεσθαι οὐκ ἐθέλει καὶ ἐθέλει Ζητὸς ὄνομα. Cf. also fr. 41: εἶναι γὰρ ἐν τὸ σοφόν, ἐπίστασθαι γνώμην ὅτι ἐκυβέρνησε πάντα διὰ πάντων. See HeideL, *op. cit.*, on fr. 41.

<sup>69</sup> Fr. 104; Procl. *in Alc.* p. 525, 21 (1864): τίς γὰρ αὐτῶν νόος ἢ φρήν; δῆμων αἰδοῖσι πείθονται καὶ διδασκάλῳ χρεῖωνται ὁμίλῳ οὐκ εἰδόντες ὅτι 'οἱ πολλοὶ κακοί, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἀγαθοί.'

<sup>70</sup> Fr. 113; Stob. *Flor.* I, 179: ξυνὸν ἐστὶ πᾶσι τὸ φρονεῖν.

<sup>71</sup> Fr. 116; Stob. *Flor.* V, 6: ἀνθρώποισι πᾶσι μετέστι γινώσκειν ἑωυτοῦ καὶ φρονεῖν. HeideL, see above, rejects this fragment and questions fr. 112.

<sup>72</sup> Fr. 112; Stob. *Flor.* I, 178: τὸ φρονεῖν ἀρετὴ μεγίστη.

<sup>73</sup> Fr. 72; Marc. Antonin. IV, 46: ᾧ μάλιστα διηλεκῶς ὁμιλοῦσι λόγῳ τῷ τὰ ὅλα διοικοῦντι τούτῳ διαφέρονται, καὶ οἷς καθ' ἡμέραν ἐγκυροῦσι, ταῦτα αὐτοῖς ξένα φαίνεται.

<sup>74</sup> Fr. 115; Stob. *Flor.* I, 180, a. See Adam, *Religious Teachers of Greece*, 212-240; also Gilbert in *Archiv f. Gesch. d. Philosophie*, XXIII (1910), 415. Diels, *Heraclitus von Ephesos*, interprets this fragment: "Der Seele ist das Wort (Weltvernunft) eigen, das sich selbst mehrt."

<sup>75</sup> Fr. 114; Stob. *Flor.* I, 179.

wills, and it suffices for all things, and more than suffices. Here two things are plain. Logos exists in the universe and in the individual, and Logos expressing itself in law is the means of communication between the individual and the universe. The same is seen in the statement *ἦθος ἀνθρώπου δαίμων*.<sup>76</sup> For *ἦθος*, which is the result of the exercise of *νόμος*, is the link that binds man to earth on one hand, to the gods on the other. We read again<sup>77</sup> that human *ἦθος* has not wisdom, but divine *ἦθος* has. But there are gradations, various levels, as it were, to which the *δαίμων* (*ἦθος*) in the individual rises or falls. Among mortals it is at the lowest level in the worst, and at the highest in the best. Thus the Sibyl<sup>78</sup> is able to span with her voice a thousand years because of the god within her. And just to the extent that individuals attain a high level of *ἦθος*, which is *λόγος*, which is *δαίμων*, just to that extent is it true that immortals are mortals, mortals immortals, each living in the other's death, and dying in the other's life,<sup>79</sup> and to this extent are human and divine nature identical. But this is in the nature of the case relative. Mortals may reach a certain limit, but beyond that only the god has place. He embodies in himself<sup>80</sup> complete antitheses, for he is day and night, winter and summer, war and peace, satiety and hunger.<sup>81</sup> He speaks not, conceals not, but gives a sign,<sup>82</sup> that is, manifests himself in many guises and under many names.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Fr. 119.

<sup>77</sup> Fr. 78: *ἦθος γὰρ ἀνθρώπειον μὲν οὐκ ἔχει γνώμας, θεῖον δὲ ἔχει*. Heidel, see above, suggests *ἔθνος* in place of *ἦθος*.

<sup>78</sup> Fr. 92; Plut. *de Pyth. Orac.* 6, p. 397 A: *Σίβυλλα δὲ μαινομένη στόματι καθ' Ἡράκλειτον ἀγέλαστα καὶ ἀκαλλώπιστα καὶ ἀμύριστα φθεγγομένη χιλίων ἐτῶν ἐξικνεῖται τῇ φωνῇ διὰ τὸν θεόν*.

<sup>79</sup> Fr. 62; Hippol. IX, 10: *ἀθάνατοι θνητοί, θνητοί ἀθάνατοι, ζῶντες τὸν ἐκείνων θάνατον, τὸν δὲ ἐκείνων βίον τεθνεώτες*.

<sup>80</sup> Fr. 67; Hippol. *ib.*: *ὁ θεὸς ἡμέρη εὐφρόνη, χειμῶν θέρος, πόλεμος εἰρήνη, κῆρος λιμός*. See Heidel's interpretation of this fr. (*op. cit.*).

<sup>81</sup> See Schultz, "Die Kosmologie des Rauchopfers nach Heraklits Fr. 67," in *Archiv f. Gesch. d. Phil.* XXII (1909), 197-229. The chief interest for us in this article lies in the explanation of the complete antitheses ascribed by Heraclitus to God, as shown by the four transformations of deity corresponding to the four elemental substances.

<sup>82</sup> Fr. 93; Plut. *de Pyth. Orac.* 18, p. 404 D.

<sup>83</sup> Fr. 67.

On its objective side, then, the soul has to do with sense impressions and external realities. On the subjective side it develops reason and understanding, and links itself with the qualities and powers of the gods.

As to a standard of truth Heraclitus is an idealist. The senses are not reliable. The inner intelligence alone can rightly judge the nature of reality. The comment of Sextus is here much to the point. He says:<sup>84</sup> the common and divine reason from the possession of which we are called intelligent beings is the criterion of truth, since that which appears alike to all men is trustworthy; for it is comprehended by common and divine reason; and for the opposite reason what happens to be the experience of one person alone is untrustworthy. Moreover, all things perceived by the senses are always in a state of flux, so that, as Aristotle observes (*Metaph.* XII, 4), if there is to be a science and knowledge of anything, we must assume that other objects besides the sense objects of Heraclitus must exist in nature, since there can be no science of things that are always changing. Thus, in the teaching of Heraclitus Aristotle saw the possibility of the doctrine of ideas. But how can there be individual experience if the individual is sustained by union with the cosmic soul? To answer this question we must turn again to the origin of the soul. It arises, as we have seen, as an exhalation from water. The supply of water is furnished both from the sea and from the earth, 'for water comes from earth, and soul from water.' In a somewhat parallel way the human soul arises as an exhalation from water, both from within and outside the body. While water as an element might appear the same from whatever source derived, there is in this statement of a double source of its supply an apparent effort to explain the identity of the human soul as at least during human life different from the cosmic soul, and different from other human souls. On any other basis it seems quite impossible to account for differences of experience and opinion admitted by Heraclitus. Individual experience cannot stand as a criterion of reality

<sup>84</sup> *Adv. Math.* VII, 131.

when it differs from the common experience of other men. There are then certain characteristics of the individual soul. Plainly enough the traits of reason and judgment which conform to the universal type are derived from and are sustained by the cosmic soul. But differences that make the individual an individual exist. These can be explained only from the dual origin of the aqueous element entering into the composition of the soul, and the consequent modification of the cosmic soul in its constant communication with the inner soul of man. For just as the cosmic soul is perpetually being replenished by the constant rising of exhalations from the surface of waters, so the individual soul is perpetually being replenished by the exhalations rising from within, supplemented by contact with the soul without. Granted, then, that the origin of each soul differs from that of others, the conclusion is necessary that it continues to be different. It is on this basis that the assertion 'divine nature has wisdom, but human nature has not' is to be explained. In this way human nature and individual identity are not incompatible with cosmic law and universal reason.

But in his gloomy pessimism Heraclitus seems to find most men doing what they ought not to do. Divine reason is eddying all about us, and it is the part of all men to know and understand, yet many live as though they had an understanding characteristic of themselves, and are farthest removed from that with which they most constantly associate, until the logos which they daily meet appears to them strange. In this Heraclitus seemed to see through the willful neglect of mankind a depressing and degrading of the divine law, which if properly adhered to would bring society to its highest level. In this also we see the significance of another statement:<sup>85</sup> 'even a mixed drink, if it is not stirred, separates into its ingredient parts.' As this is true, so the elements composing the soul must be kept in motion, or, owing to natural tendency, they settle down into heavier mist and moisture, the fire that might predominate in the soul is extinguished, and all is chill and dark. As a

<sup>85</sup> Fr. 125.

result this also is true that before all other things the best choose one thing, immortal glory among mortals, but the many take their fill like cattle.<sup>86</sup> Thus it is that sense perception, which is essentially individual, cannot be relied upon as a standard of truth; and individual opinion is false because it may arise from a condition of soul in which there is the least, if any, portion of the cosmic soul present. But the higher in the scale the individual ascends, the more thoroughly is he identified with the world-logos, because of the predominating proportion of refined soul-stuff within him. Such is the Sibyl. And because of the god in her she can span ten centuries of human thought and action. To such an extent is she free from error in judgment and error in action because her soul is aflame with divinity. But on the other hand errors of all kinds are found in the wet and unwise soul. The fire of divinity is nearly or wholly extinguished. Vice and gratification of passion have place at the cost of soul.

In this study we have found that 'soul' figures in two senses in the teachings of Heraclitus. There is a cosmic soul, and there is an individual soul. The origin, functions and destiny of either cannot be understood except in relation to the other. The upkeep of both is found in the exhalations from water, understood as *ἀήρ* in the Homeric sense. 'Αήρ, then, is to be admitted as one of the Heraclitean elements necessary to his system. These emanations for the world-soul necessarily arise from within the world itself, but those for the individual soul arise both from without and from within. Perception and intelligence are psychic functions. There are certain modifications and interruptions of the exercise of these functions, such as sleep and intoxication. The destiny of the individual soul, as stated by the later interpreters<sup>87</sup> is reversion to the world soul. This may well be an authentic account of his doctrine. Such destiny would naturally result from antecedent relations between them during the life of the individual. If the soul is dry and wise, it joins the upward emanations, and is merged into

<sup>86</sup> Fr. 29.<sup>87</sup> Sext. Emp. *Pyrrhon.* III, 230.

original fire, the world-intelligence; if wet and unwise, it joins the downward flow, and is merged into moisture, from which all emanations upward rise. The unending process, the upward and the downward path, the unceasing transformation of fire into water, typified by *πρηστήρ*, and of water into fire, accomplished in *ἀήρ*, are one and the same. Change is eternal. But the individual has power to direct the transformations of his own soul. Each soul is dual in origin, and maintains an individual identity while sharing the common understanding of all. Ultimately, then, the evil soul is lost in the downward way, while the dry soul and wise reverts to its original untainted. Thus the integrity of the cosmic soul is preserved, and the cycle is complete.

XV. — *The Old Doric of the Tell el Amarna Texts*<sup>1</sup>

BY PROFESSOR GEORGE HEMPL

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

THIS paper is an abstract from my forthcoming volume entitled *Old Doric before the Exodus*, St. John's Press, Stanford University. I shall limit myself to an historical introduction, a translation of the letter of Tarqondōrōus (except the inventory of presents), and the interpretation of a few sample lines. This will suffice to give an idea of the nature and importance of these early Greek documents. For details and for the rest of the text, I must refer to the book itself.

## I

Among the cuneiform tablets found at Tell el Amarna, on the eastern bank of the Nile, there are two that are not written in Assyrian, but in a language hitherto unred and generally supposed to be Hittite. I had found, in November, 1912, that Hittite pictographic texts were written in the same language

<sup>1</sup> In this paper I have aimed to use the spelling recommended by the Simplified Spelling Board (1 Madison Av., New York), but I have not hesitated to employ a few other simplifications. As these deviations from nomic spelling usually affect the ends of words, they rarely interfere with ready recognition. But, for the sake of those foreigners who know English chiefly by eye, I may call attention to the following matters. Final *-nce* is usually changed to *-ns*: *influnce* / *influens*, *province* / *provins*, *prince* / *prins*, *whence* / *whens*. When short *e* is spelt *ea*, the *a* is dropped: *re(a)lm*, *de(a)th*, also *e(a)rly*, etc. When short *u* is spelt *ou*, the *o* is dropped: *c(o)untry*, *d(o)uble*, *enough* / *enuf*, *rough* / *ruf*, *numer(o)us*, etc., and similarly *would* / *wud*, *should* / *shud*, and *y(o)u*, *y(o)ur*. When *r* is spelt *wr*, the *w* is omitted: *(w)rite*, *(w)rack*, *(w)reck*, etc. Silent *e* is omitted after a short vowel, provided this does not disguise the word: *hav(e)*, *giv(e)*, *genitiv(e)*, *collectiv(e)*, *masculin(e)*, *deserv(e)*, *solv(e)*, etc.; but *one*, *done*, *some*, *above*, etc., are not changed as they involve other matters too. Observe also *ar(e)*, *du(e)*, *valu(e)*, *fo(e)*, etc., and *g(u)ard*, *disg(u)ise*, *dau(gh)ter*, *nei(gh)bor*, *shal(l)*, *los(s)*, *unles(s)*, etc.

I may add that I have ventured to employ *telemetathesis*, *telemimēsis*, *teleterōsis*, in the sense of German *Fernmetathese*, *Fernassimilation*, *Fern dissimilation*. For the use of *Javonian*, see *I-ia-u-e-ni*, page 207.

as the pictographic texts of Minoan Crete ( *Harper's Magazine*, 1911, 122 / 198 ), that is, in Greek of the type known to us as Attic. On examining the Tell el Amarna texts the following month, I was surprised to find them Doric. Later I observed that the inscription on one of the stones found at Malatia, on the upper Euphrates, tho in Hittite pictographs, was Doric. And soon other Doric texts appeared, one after another. For example, the Kfatiu garden-charm preserved in an Egyptian text from the end of the New Kingdom ( Wainwright, *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, 1913, 6 / 32 ) turned out to be Doric, and thus stamped the people of Kfatiu ( eastern Cilicia and northern Syria ) as Dorians; see page 195. And even one of the cuneiform texts found by Winckler at Pteria ( *Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*,<sup>2</sup> 1907, 35 / 19 ), the only one to which I have access, is Doric; see page 190.

The longer text from Tell el Amarna is a letter from Targondorous, king of Arzama / Arzawa, to Amenophis III. of Egypt. The name *Arzama* is explained below, the name *Targondorous* on page 211. Amenophis died about 1380 B.C. Our text, therefore, represents the usage of about 1400 B.C. The so-called shorter letter is no letter at all, but a song of triumph in celebration of the exploits of "Labbaia," that is, Lappaio(s), or Lappaeus. Lappaeus boasts of having invaded the land of the Hittites ( called *I-ia-u-e-ni(s)* = 'Iafēves,<sup>3</sup> as the Athenians were called 'Ιά(φ)οῦες by Homer ) and of having brought war upon the people of "inviolable Pteria" ( *aš-su-ú-li* *Ḫa-at-ra-ai* = ἄσυλι *Qatrai*, Attic ἄσύλου Πτερίας ). For the explanation of forms, see the Word-list, page 201 ff.

As I have shown in detail in my report on Old Doric, *Arzama* is the name of a state and its capital, the latter of which appears in classical geography as *Arsamea*, a city on the western bank of the upper Euphrates. *Arsam-ēa*, *Arsin-ia*, *Arsam-osata*, *Arsan-ias*, and *Arzen*<sup>4</sup> roughly mark the outlines

<sup>2</sup> All references to Winckler are to this article.

<sup>3</sup> For accent marks on Doric forms, see page 197.

<sup>4</sup> Compare such Iranian names as *Arsam-a*, *Arsam-as*, *Arsim-as*, *Arsam-os*, *Arsan-os*, *Arsan-ia*, etc.



of the provins of *Arzan-ene*. Of this the capital was Amida. This *A-mīda* reflects the locativ-dativ  $\acute{a}$   $M\bar{i}\delta\acute{\alpha}$  <  $\eta$   $M\eta\delta\acute{i}\hat{a}$ , with regular Doric los of pretonic  $\iota$ ; see page 197.  $\eta$  is the weak form of  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ , 'in.' The change of  $\bar{\epsilon}$  to  $\bar{i}$  is common to many languages besides Greek and English (cf. Middle-English *mē*, now pronounst *mī*, tho still speld *me*). For such nominativs from locativs, compare German *Meppental* from erlier *im Eppental*, and *Stanco*, the modern name of the iland of Cos, from  $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$   $\tau\alpha\nu$   $\text{Κ}\omega$  'to Cos.' The los of pretonic  $\iota$  betrays the one-time Doric speech of the neiborhood of Amida. But *A-mīda* is no other than a variant of *Mēdā-n*, speld in cuneiform *Metan* and (with Assyrian locativ endings) *Mitan-i*, *Mitan-u*, etc. For *Mēdā-n* is from  $M\eta\delta\acute{i}\hat{a}\nu$ , with regular los of intervocalic  $\iota$ , and absorption of  $\epsilon$  in the preceding long  $a$ . Compare *Nu-sa-an*  $\text{Ḫa-an-da-an am-me-}\epsilon$  =  $\text{Νυσᾶν Κα}\eta(\alpha)\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu \acute{\omicron}\mu\acute{\iota}\lambda$ , that is,  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\text{Νύση}$   $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\text{Κανάθη}$   $\tau\epsilon$  'in Nysa as in Canatha,' that is, 'from Caria to Palestine,' used in line 7 of the *Song of Lappaeus* in describing the extent of the Hittite Empire. But  $M\eta\delta\acute{i}\hat{a}$  <  $M\eta\delta\acute{i}\hat{a}$  (with Doric los of pretonic  $\iota$ , see *A-mīda* above) is Old Doric for  $M\eta\delta\acute{i}\acute{\alpha}$ . In other words, we hav to do with what was the home of the Medes before they climed the eastern mountins and descended into the Media of history. The  $\eta$  of  $M\eta\delta\acute{i}\acute{\alpha}$ , for the  $\bar{a}$  seen in Persian *Mādā*, is Javonian fonology. But the los of  $\iota$  again betrays Doric accentuation and fonology. As *Medan* /  $M\eta\delta\acute{\alpha}\nu$  has this  $\eta$  too, it is clear that the Doric form was based upon the Javonian —

*Mādā* —  $M\eta\delta\acute{i}\acute{\alpha}$  —  $M\eta\delta\acute{\iota}(\iota)\hat{a}$  —  $M\eta\delta\acute{\alpha}\nu$ .

For Doric wud not hav changed the  $\bar{a}$  to  $\eta$ , had it got the name direct.

These filological data reveal the following historical facts. The Medes once dwelt in Medan; on pressing eastward, they left their land and its name to Javonians (Hittites), who in turn yielded to Dorians. The Hittite conquest of Medan is doutles to be brot into connection with the Hittite conquest of Babylon. As the latter is believd to hav taken place about the nineteenth century, the former probably occurd

not far from 1900 B.C. In my report on Hittite I have shown the Javonian origin and fonology of the name *Tešup*; here I need but state that *Tešup*, more correctly *Tešupaš*, *Teišbaš* (for *Tešibaš*), *Tišebu(š)*, etc., are nothing but variant spellings of Θησιππο(ς), an Old-Doric adaptation of Javonian Θήσιππος 'the mare's suckling' (Gruppe, page 584), which is the full form of Θησεύς, the name of the national hero of Athens, whose foster-mother / wife was *Hippe* / *Hippa* / *Hippolyte* (see below). The true Doric form of Θήσιππος would have been Θᾶσιππο(ς). From this it is clear that the god and his name were adopted by the Dorians from the Hittites whom they found in Medan. When, now, we consider that the people of Medan had by 1400 so thoroughly assimilated the institutions of their Hittite predecessors that they regarded the god *Tešup* as their own national god, and even believed that he helped them in their later struggles with their Hittite neighbors, we must conclude that the Doric conquest of Medan could not have taken place much later than 1500.

But the Doric conquest of Medan evidently did not mean perpetual Doric dominion. We can detect one or two racial factors that were neither Doric nor Hittite, and which continued to have more or less vitality. In the first place, the members of the royal house bore names, some of which were Iranian, for example, *Artatama* and *Artasumara*, beginning with the *Arta-* familiar to us in Persian names like *Artaxerxes*, while others were Greek, for example, *Gilu-hippa* and *Taduhippa*. This clearly reflects the blending of a Greek strain with what was perhaps the original Iranian royal family. The *-hippa* of the Greek names is the name of the goddess *Hippa*, thus *Tadu-hippa*, 'the hand-maid of Hippa,' from θᾶτᾶ(ς), 'servant,' and Ἴππα, 'Hippa,' *Pudu-hippa*, 'love of Hippa,' from ποθος, 'desire,' 'love,' etc. (pages 190, 204). But *hippa* / *ίππα* is the Doric form of the Ἰππη seen in Ἰππη / *Hippe*, the name of one of the wives of Theseus. Therefore it was a Doric admixture that the royal stock suffered. When, however, Tušratta, king of Medan, wrote to Amenophis III. and Amenophis IV., he did not, like his neighbor Tarqondorous of Arzama, write in Doric, but either in

Assyrian or in a language which is still undeciphered.<sup>5</sup> We therefore have reason to believe that the ethnological element of the population of Medan that spoke this undeciphered language had, at the time, the upper hand in the state.

The extracts that Winckler published in 1907<sup>6</sup> from the Assyrian cuneiform tablets found at Pteria, throw much light on the political and ethnological problems of the history of the time. After the son of Tušratta had conspired with his servants and slain his father, strife broke out in the royal family. The brother of Tušratta, Artatama II., who was king of Ḫarri / Ḫaru while Tušratta was king of Medan, prevented Mattiuaza, the son of Tušratta, from ascending the throne of his father, but himself took possession of Medan, and set up his son Sutatarra as viceroy. During the vice-regency of Sutatarra, his father Artatama used the resources of Medan to placate Assyria and Alše, and squandered the possessions of the Ḫarri in like fashion. Thus Medan went to rack and ruin. At this juncture Subbiluliuma, the king of the Hittites, decided to set up Mattiuaza on his father's throne, and gave him his daughter in marriage. The Ḫarri being impoverished and in a wretched state, he sent them some of his people with cattle, sheep, and horses, in order to rehabilitate the land.

From this it would appear that there was a state called Ḫarri, and also that there were Ḫarri people in Medan. This is explained by Winckler by assuming that the Ḫarri in Medan represent a foreign element that at one time conquered the country, and later formed an aristocratic or patrician class, as did the Normans in England, the Franks in France, and the Teutonic knights in Slavic Prussia. Now *Ḫarri* and *Ḫaru* would be natural cuneiform spellings (see page 197) for Greek *κόροι*, Doric *κωροι*, 'lads,' 'attendants at sacrifices,' 'soldiers,' 'knights.' And it is interesting to observe that it

<sup>5</sup> For attempts to solve the problem, see Sayce, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1900, 22 / 171 ff.; and Messerschmidt, *Mittheilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1899, 4. The latter paper is not accessible to me.

<sup>6</sup> See page 186 above, also the *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, 1908, 1 / 41 ff., 1912, 4 / 90 ff.

was in the Doric state of Sparta that the word had the meaning 'knights.' If this reconstruction is correct, the Doric character of the Ḫarri probably furnishes an additional reason why Subbiluliuma was inclined to support them, as we shall see directly.

The succession of Dorians to the lands of other Greeks is, of course, exactly what we are familiar with in Greece and Crete and other parts of the Greek world. If it happened in Medan, there is no reason why something of the kind may not have taken place in Pteria. Before this can be definitely settled, we must know more of what lies hidden in the cuneiform tablets from Pteria. In reply to my request for one or two photographs or transcripts of these tablets, Dr. Güterbock, the secretary of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, informed me that such reproductions were not available. He had, however, the courtesy to send me a copy of Winckler's preliminary report, see page 186. On page 19 of this pamphlet I found in a footnote an abstract from one of the tablets of Ḫattusil II., which is clearly Doric, see page 213. Unless we prefer to assume that there chanced to be a Doric scribe at the Hittite court who had the confidence of his Javonian master, and executed important state documents for him, it would appear that a Doric line had come to reign over Pteria. I may add that the wife of Ḫattusil II. had the Doric name *Pudukhipa* (page 188). Now, Winckler clearly saw (page 17) that the grandfather of Ḫattusil II., namely Subbiluliuma, was the founder of a new dynasty, being the son of Ḫattusil I., who was not king of Pteria but of Ku-uš-sar, a name not otherwise known.

In the *Song of Lappaeus* (lines 14-15) we are told that it was on his return from Cos to Asia that the hero humiliated the king of Pteria, —

*Ki-i-kán ab-bi Ku-iš ap-šar-aš Aš-za-a-i na-an an-pa-[ la ],*

Κιχον ἀπὶ Κωεσ ἀψορρος Ἀσῶν ναῶν ἀμφάλου(ς),

Attic: Ἐκίχον ἀπὸ Κῶ ἄψορρος Ἀσίας νηῶν ἀμφιάλου,

Returning from Cos, I made my way to Asia in ships upon  
the high sea,

as tho it was the most natural thing in the world for him to be in Cos. In fact, we cannot but feel that Asiatic Doris was already Asiatic Doris, and that the Dorians that Homer (*Od.* 19 / 177) knew in Crete were already there. This leads us to suspect that the name of the Doric island is contained also in the new *Ku-uš-šar*. As Winckler pointed out (page 52) in the case of *kšatra / šatar*, and as I have shown in numerous other cases in my reports on Hittite and Old Doric, foren *-ra* is apt to appear in cuneiform writing as *-ar* (page 195). In order to explain *Ku-uš-šar* we therefore have to seek a Greek word ending in *-pa*. I have no hesitation in concluding that this Greek word is *Κω(ο)ς-ερα*, 'the land of Cos,' compare *Ire-land*, *Eng-land*, etc. *Ku-uš* may spell *Κωος*, a grade of the *Κωες* in the *Song of Lappaeus*, or *Κως*, a contraction of *Κωος*. As *ερα* would be accented *ερά* in Doric, the loss of the pretonic *ε* is normal (page 197). It would thus appear that Subbiluliuma was a Doric prince whose father was lord of Cos and later established himself in Pteria in such a position that, while not made king of the realm, he felt warranted in changing his name to one that has come down to us as *Ḫattusil / Ḫetasira / Ḫatusaru*, that is, *Qατ(ρ)ο-σελα(ς)*, 'Pterian splendor,' or 'the glory of Pteria,' while his son became king in reality, and assumed the throne name *Subbiluliuma / Sapalulu*. Being a Doric prince, it was natural that Subbiluliuma should support the Doric element in Medan, that is, the *Ḫarri*, as also that he had at an earlier date formed an alliance with Artatama II., the king of *Ḫarri*.

Now, we learn from the *Song of Lappaeus* (page 186) of a great defeat of the Hittites at about the time that *Ḫattusil* and Subbiluliuma established the Doric dynasty in Pteria, and it would be difficult to account for two such events so near one another. In other words, we are forced to believe that *Ḫattusil*, the Doric prince of Cos who established himself in Pteria, is no other than Lappaeus, the Doric prince from Cos, who boasted of the conquest of Pteria. It therefore goes without saying that the hero of the *Song of Lappaeus* was not the Doric chieftain Lappaeus of whose exploits in Syria we learn in the Assyrian letters found at Tell el Amarna. *Lappaeus*,

that is, *Λαππα-ιος*, Attic *Λαμπα-ιος*, means 'nativ of Lappa / Lampa.' There wer several towns with the Doric name *Lappa*, and there doutles wer many men named *Lappaeus*.

Now, on the Assyrian tablets found at Pteria, *Subbiluliuma* does not call himself *Subbiluliuma* simply, but *Subbiluliuma* preceded by the ideogram for 'sun' or 'sun god,' namely, *šamšu* or *Šamaš*, Greek *Ἥλιος* / *Helios*. *Subbiluliuma* is, then, an epithet of the sun god *Helios*, and it behoves us to seek to explain it. We alrely knew the word in the Egyptian form *Sapalulu*, also renderd *Sapalul* or *Sapal* and *Saparer* or *Saplel*. The two forms *Sapalulu* and *Subbiluliuma* throw light on one another. We shal see directly that *Sapalulu* is the nominativ and *Subbiluliuma* the accusativ, but used as either nominativ or accusativ. The *a* / *u* of the first syllable reflects either *a* or *o*, or an *a* that got the *o*-sound herd in *or*, under the influens of the following labial, just as the *a* of *war* (which formerly rimed with *car*) got such an *o*-sound after the labial *w*. The *a* / *i* of the second syllable reflects the intermediate vowel *e*; compare *-sil*, *-siru*, and *-saru* as spellings of *-σελα(ς)* in *Ḫattusil* / *Ḫatusaru* above. *lul* is the way to spel *ll*, or duple *l*; *ll* wud not necessarily do so, just as *bb* does not spel a duple *b* or *p*. These facts ar enuf to show that we hav before us primitiv forms of the name 'Ἀπόλλων, erlier 'Ἀπέλλων. This is a *-yōn* / *-yon* stem. The *y* regularly duple the preceding *λ* and ultimately disappeard. In the nominativ we expect either the *-ōn* that prevaild in Greek ('Ἀπέλλων) or the *-ō* that prevaild in Latin (*homō* > *homo*). In *Sapalulu* we probably hav the latter, namely, *Σαπελλω*. Stil, it is not impossible that *Sapalulu* / *Σαπελλω* is by origin an accusativ that came to be used as either accusativ or nominativ, being the prototype of the later accusativ 'Ἀπόλλω. In the normal accusativ we expect *-on-ḡ*, later *-oma*, and (by analogy to the other forms with *-v*) *-ona*. Our *Subbiluliuma* spels *Σαπελλογομα*, from \**Sapel-yon-ḡ*. The later 'Ἀπόλλωνα has *ω* by analogy to the nominativ 'Ἀπόλλων. *Sapalulu* / *Σαπελλω* by the side of *Subbiluliuma* / *Σαπελλογομα* makes it appear that *y*, after doubling a preceding *λ*, fel away before a long vowel erlier than before a short one.

The same is true of Etruscan. The Σ-wud at first sight suggest more archaic Doric than that of the Tell el Amarna texts, in which initial σ- had become h- and was generally ignored in writing; but this is probably not the case, the retention being due here to a special cause. For, whether we are to read the preceding ideogram for 'sun' as ἥλιος or as Φοῖβος, the word ends in -s, and this with the following s-wud form -ss- and persists as s-.<sup>7</sup> And thus is Schroeder's identification of *Agni Saparyenya*, 'the adorable fire (or light)' and *Phoebus Apollo* (Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, 1887, 29 / 193; Gruppe, 296) justified to the fullest extent.<sup>8</sup> It is significant that Apollo was preëminently a Doric god and, in prominent characteristics, corresponded to the Hittite god Tešup. That he became the chief god of the Dorians may be in part due to the fact that he was the god of the wanderer and the colonist, and so was especially adored at each new settlement.

In the historical prelude to one of his treaties, Sapello discloses the fact that in the days of his father, Qatrosēlas, numerous eastern dependencies of the Hittite empire had rebelled. This is easily understood if we remember that Pteria had fallen before the attacks of her enemies, and that it was Sapello's father, Qatroselas, who had proved himself the most vigorous foe of Pteria. Effective as his conquest was, it is not likely that it was complete, and it is evident that during his time the empire was in a more or less unsettled state.

<sup>7</sup> In Javonian Greek, which did not lose final -s, as Old Doric did (see *Ir-za-ār-pa* in the Word-list), the initial Σ- of Σαπέλλων was lost in the final -s of the preceding Φοῖβος (just as English *an napron* became *an apron*); and thus we see why Ἀπέλλων / Ἀπόλλων does not appear with the ruf breathing that ordinarily represents an older initial σ-. In the name of the Doric town in northern Syria the s-, being usually not postsibilant, underwent the normal change to h-, which, however, ultimately became silent, as is shown by the modern *Aleppo*: —

Nom. Σαπελλ(γ)ῶ(ν) > Ἀπελλῶ(ν) > Ἀλεππῶ(ν) > *Aleppo*, —  
 Acc. Σαπελλ(γ)ῶμα > Ἀπελλόμα;

for which we have the spellings:

Nom. (*Sapalulu*), *Halabu*, *Halybōn*, *Aleppo*,  
 Acc. (*Subbituliuma*), *Hapallama* (Winckler, page 19).

<sup>8</sup> Germanic *god*, too, originally meant 'the adored.'

When Sapello became king, he undertook to put things to rights, and proceeded to reconquer the citis and petty states that had severd their allegians to Pteria or refused to be subject to the Doric hous that had usurpd the Pterian throne. Indeed, he went farther and, taking advantage of the lax régime of Amenophis IV., led or forced all the Doric and Semitic states of upper Mesopotamia and northern Syria to abandon their allegians to Egypt and cast in their fortunes with rejuvenated Pteria. In one case, when he had defeated the people of a rebellius city in eastern Pteria, they withdrew from Pterian territory and betook themselvs to the neiboring state of Isuwa. This was evidently a district subject to the king of Medan; for Sapello, who had previously had truble with Tušratta, the king of Medan, says he crost the Euphrates and laid Isuwa waste, in defians of Tusratta. The cuntry people he left in possession of their lands, but the city people he permitted to go to their kin elsewhere, and gave their possessions to incoming Pterians. The question arises, What and where was Isuwa? So much is certin: it lay east of the Euphrates and in territory subject to Medan. I wud suggest that *Isuwa* is a cuneiform spelling of 'Ισα(ρ)ϕâ / 'Ισα(ρ)μâ, a metathesized form of the 'Αρσιϕ(ι)â / 'Αρσιμ(ι)â reflected in classical 'Αρσινία, the name of a city in the provins of Arzenene, halfway from the Euphrates to Medan / Amida (see page 187). In my report on Old Doric I hav delt in more detail with the fonology of the varius forms of the name and the fonetic valus of the cuneiform caracter *ϕi / mi / ma / wa*.

Enuf has been said to make it clear that the long serch for Arzama / Arzawa and the land of the city of Medan / Mitani is ended. The exact relation of the one to the other certinly shifted from age to age, as with all these states (Winckler, page 34). The conquest of Hittites by Dorians seems, as elsewhere, to hav resulted in the submergens of Javonian speech in Doric, except for minor matters, such as the persistens of Javonian η in the stems of adopted names like Μηδâv < \*Μηδιâι-εν, Hittite \*Μηδίαι-εν, and Τεšur (page 188). Even the name *Qatrops*, 'Hittite,' was adopted by the



Doric intruders and made to apply to their institutions, as witness its use by Tarqondorous in line 20 of his letter to Amenophis III. We have seen (page 191) that the Doric conqueror of Pteria assumed the name *Qατρο-σελα(ς)*, 'Pterian splendor,' or 'the splendor of Pteria.' His grandson was given the same name, while his granddaughter was called *Ilāni-ir-in-na* (Winckler, page 19), that is, 'Ελλᾶνρινᾶ, Attic 'Ελληνρινη, 'the halo of Hellas,' — an appellation that presents the name *Hellas* in an unexpected way and may throw light on the history of the word. Moreover, it was the Doric form of the name *Pteria* that spread to neighboring peoples. For early Hittite *Qτερία*, later Hittite *Πτερία*, Ionic *Πτερήη*, appeared in early Old Doric as \**Qστριᾶ*, later *Qστρᾶ*, with regular loss of pretonic *ι*; and this formed the basis of the form *χτᾶ*, spelled *Heta*, *Cheta*, *Kheta*, etc., as well as of the many variants that I have explained in detail in my report. Here I need but cite some of the reflexes of the name as applied to northern Syria (page 186):

	OLD DORIC		EGYPTIAN		SEMITIC
early	* <i>Qστριᾶ</i>	>	<i>Kfatiu</i>		
later	<i>Qστρᾶ</i>	>	<i>Kf-t-r</i> / <i>Kp-tar</i>		<i>Cp-tar</i> / <i>Capthor</i>
late	<i>Πετρᾶ</i>	>			<i>Pitru</i> , <i>Pethor</i> .

*Kf-* and *Kp-* represent the effort to spell the Indo-European labiovelar *q*, usually heard as *cw* or *ch*. In cuneiform writing, Greek *ρ* after a consonant disappears or suffers metathesis (page 191), and there is reason to believe that these spellings reflected, to some extent at least, real phonological changes in the pronunciation of the Greek words by foreigners. In this connection I may add that one of the successors of Tarqondorous bore a name whose future greatness he little suspected — *Alakšandu* (Winckler, page 41) = 'Αλεξανδ(ρ)ο(ς). It is possible that the *ρ* of the group *νδρ* was assimilated to the preceding stop, but its absence may be purely graphic. Cuneiform writing did not admit of the spelling of such a group as *νδρ*: either the *ρ* had to be ignored, as was done here, or an *a* had to be inserted; for example, *-an-da-ru*. For the loss of *s*, see *Ir-ša-ap-ša*, page 207.

It is obvious that we must remodel our conceptions of the chronology and prehistory of Greek lands and peoples. The Greek world was a great deal larger, Greek civilization was much older, and Greek speech broke up into dialects at a far earlier day than we have been led to suppose. A thousand new questions arise, and many old problems will have to be reconsidered. But I do not regard it as a part of my task to solve these. My work is linguistic. Here I strive to do what lies in my power, knowing that the determination of the speech of ancient peoples is the surest and quickest means of solving related questions. But these I leave to others. Only here and there, where the new light shines particularly bright, have I permitted it to tempt me from the linguistic highway into historical and archaeological bypaths.

Moreover, such archaeological and historical excursions as I have ventured to make, and even the philological deductions that I have drawn from the new material, must under no circumstances be confounded with the question of the nature of the language in our documents. They might one and all be mistaken, and still the fundamental problem be unaffected thereby. A man may find a gold hoard and mispend it; but his misuse of his treasure can in no way be used as an argument that he did not correctly recognize the gold, or that it wasn't gold at all. I have encountered so much loose thinking on this subject that I know that this warning is not uncalled for.

I have said that our conceptions of the early movements of European peoples, and particularly of those of the Greeks, will have to be revised in the light of the new linguistic data. But I may be permitted urgently to insist that I be not held personally responsible for all the readjustments that will have to be made. It is easy to ask: "If what you say is so, how do you account for the collapse of Minoan civilization; and how do you conceive the Achaean world; and what relation do your Dorians bear to the traditional Doric invasion?" These are questions that demand much historical learning as well as mature consideration. The ability to decipher puzzling scripts does not suddenly endow a philologist with the knowl-

edge or the judgment that wud enable him to handle problems like these as they shud and must be delt with.

Nor do the difficultis that these readjustments may encounter constitute any reason why one shud withhold his acceptans of my interpretation of these texts. This interpretation stands or fals solely on its own merits as judgd by linguistic canons alone. And if it stands, it must be accepted as the truth, no matter how many difficult problems it may open up, or what precius theoris or long-cherisht beliefs it recks.

## II

My text of the letter of Tarqondorous is based upon that of Knudtzon, *Die zwei Arzawa-Briefe*, Leipzig, 1902. As most cuneiform characters hav more than one fonetic valu, Knudtzon did not always know which one was to be taken, but he generally hit it right. Where I deviate from his text in the lines that I interpret I shal say so.

Cuneiform characters do not always provide means for the differentiation of similar sounds, and (as has been pointed out by Winckler and others) the provincial texts from upper Mesopotamia ar more or les laxly ritten. In our text I find that the sibilant letters *s*, *š*, *š*, *z*, ar used interchangeably, and that cognate consonants like *c*, *g*, *ch*, *q*, are not differentiated, that is, any one of the characters (*k*, *g*, *h*, *q*) may be used to spel any one of the sounds. Even in good Assyrian texts the letter *h* was used to spel Greek, *χ*, *q*, *κ*. Assyrian had no *o*, and so no letter for it. When cuneiform characters wer used to rite foren languages, the foren *o* (for example, Greek *ω*, *o*, *ou*) was ritten either *a* or *u*. This indifferent use of *a* and *u* led to the occasional employment of *u* to spel *a*: *an-tu* (line 25) = *ἀντα*, *aš-šū* (line 28) = *ἄσσοα*, etc.

As is wel known, the Doric accent differd from the Attic, being usually one mora nearer the end of the word. This is clearly illustrated in our texts by the frequent los of a pre-tonic vowel, which cud not fal out in Attic, becaus it was accented; see *As-za-a-i*, *Ir-ša-ap-pa*, *li-il-hu-mi-i*, *Medan*, *Nu-sa-an*, *Ha-an-da-an*, *Hat-ra-a*, *an-pa-[la]*, *eš-ra-ni-š*, *Ku-uš-*

[continued on p. 200]

## TRANSCRIPTION OF CUNEIFORM TEXT

- (1) [ A-na ] Ni-mu-ut-ri-ia šarru rabû šār ( mātu ) Mi-iš-ša-ri  
 (2) [ um-na ] Tar-ḫu-un-da-ra-uš šār ( mātu ) Ar-za-ma ki-bf-ma.
- 
- (3) *Kat-ti mi dmq-in, bit-zun mi, dam-meš mi, tur-meš mi,*  
 (4) ( amêlu-meš ) gal-gal-aš, zab-meš mi, ( imêru ) kúr-ra-zun mi,  
 (5) *bi-ib-bi-it mi, kúr-kúr-zun mi kán-an-da*  
 (6) *ḫu-u-ma-an dmq-in.*
- 
- (7) *Du-u | q-qa kat-ta ḫu-u-ma-an dmq-in e-eš-tu,*  
 (8) bit-zum ti, dam-meš ti, tur-meš ti, ( amêlu-meš ) gal-gal-aš,  
 (9) zab-meš ti, ( imêru ) kúr-ra-zun ti, *bi-ib-bi-it ti,*  
 (10) *kúr-zun ti ḫu-u-ma-an dmq-in e-eš-tu.*
- 
- (11) *Ka-a-aš-ma-at-ta u-i-e-nu-un 1 Ir-ša-ap-pa*  
 (12) ( amêlu ) *ḫa-lu-ga-tal-la-an mi-in a-ú ma-ni tur-sal ti.*  
 (13) *Ál-ḫiš mi ku-in dam-an-ni ú-wa-da-an-zi*  
 (14) *nu-uš-ši. Li-il-ḫu-mi-i ni-an sag-[ an ] du-ši.*  
 (15) *Ka-a-aš-ma-ta up-pa-aḫ-ḫu-un 1 su-ḫa se-li-ia azag-gi-ru*  
 (16) *dmq-an-ta.*
- 
- (17) *A-ni-ia at-ta-aš ma-mu ku-e da-aš ḫa-at-ra-aš | u-*  
 (18) *ub-bi wa-ra-at-mu Ne-it-ta up-pa-aḫ-ḫi. Egir an-da*  
 (19) *na-aš-ta ( amêlu ) ḫa-lu-ga-tal-la-a | t-ti-in am-me-el-la*  
 (20) ( amêlu ) *ḫa-lu-ga-tal-la-an. Egir-pa Ḫat-ra-a ḫu-u-da-a ak-*  
 (21) *na i-na-a | t-ú-wa-an-du.*
- 
- (22) *Nu-ut-ta ú-wa-an-zi ú-da-an-zi tuš-ša-ta tur-sal ti.*  
 (23) ( Amêlu ) *ḫa-lu-ga-tal-aš mi-iš ( amêlu ) ḫa-lu-ga-tal-la-š | a-*  
 (24) *ku-iš tu el-ú it-na-aš ag-ga-aš.*  
 (25) *Nu-mu an-tu uḫ-š-u-uš ga-aš-ga-aš kúr-ia-aš. Ub-bi-iš-ta-du aš šu-un*  
 (26) *Zi-in-nu-u | k-ḫu-u-ma-an-da.*
- 
- (27) *Nu-ḫa ad du-š | a-aš-šu kúr-e i-ga-it.*  
 (28) *Nu-u | t-at ka-a-aš-ma bi-ib-bi-eš-sar up-pa-ḫu-un aš-šu up-pa-[ ak ]*  
 (29) *ki iš-ša ri-iš-ši Ir-ša-ap-pa ( amêlu ) ḫa-lu-ga-tal-[ la-a ].*

NOTE. The upright | signifies that the preceding final letter and the following initial letter are represented by one cuneiform character.

TRANSLATION INTO ENGLISH

- (1) [ To ] Nimutria, the great king, King of Egypt,  
 (2) [ thus ] Tarqondorous, King of Arzama, rites.
- 
- (3) Providens protects me,  
 (6) a fostering providens ( protects )  
 (3) my dwellings, my wives, my children,  
 (4) the nobles, my warriors, my steeds,  
 (5) my chariots, ( and ) my fair lands.
- 
- (7) And may a like fostering providens protect yu,  
 (10) a like fostering providens ( protect )  
 (8) yur dwellings, yur wives, yur children, the nobles,  
 (9-10) yur warriors, yur steeds, yur chariots, ( and ) yur lands.
- 
- (11) As a commissioner I hav sent Hierosäbus  
 (12) my nobleman, for the jewel yur dauter.  
 (13) My messenger wil accompany the lady on the  
 (14) jurny home. I shud like to get new armor as a gift.  
 (15) By the commissioner I hav sent a pair of golden vessels.  
 (16) ful weit.
- 
- (17) The grief of her mother and father wil bring down impre-  
 cations  
 (18) on accursed Netho. Then on the  
 (19) homeward jurny let one of yur noblemen accompany  
 (20) ( my ) nobleman. And ( while stil ) there ( in Egypt ) let  
 (21) the sacred Hittite pelts be offerd.
- 
- (22) The south winds wil bring rain, wil do honor to yur  
 distinguisht dauter. (23) May my nobleman, may the  
 nobleman  
 (24) ( that ) yu send drive off daring chieftins.  
 (25) I shal provide against ( them ) capable, trustworthy gards.  
 May these support ( the travelers ) as tho (26) they wer  
 protected by Zeus.
- 
- (27) And now may some pledges reach yu.  
 (28) And may the knight ( that ) I send duly present whatever  
 things  
 (29) Hierosabus the commissioner, skild in speech, shal bring.

*šar* ( page 191 ), *a-aš-šu-uh-ta* ( page 214 ), etc. But as we can not always be sure of the location of the Doric accent, it has seemd to me wisest to leav the Doric text without accent marks, unles there was some special reason to cal attention to the distinctivly Doric usage, for example, to explain the los of the pretonic vowel appearing in the corresponding Attic form.

The first two lines of the letter of Tarqondorous form the addres and ar in Assyrian. In the greeting, tho the text is Doric, a good many Assyrian ideograms ar used, and farther on in the letter a few more occur. All such material I hav printed in Roman letters insted of in Italic.

In interpreting lines 11-16 I giv the text in four forms: ( 1 ) Old Doric in literal transliteration, ( 2 ) Old Doric in ordinary Greek letters, ( 3 ) Attic, ( 4 ) English. The explanation of the forms I hav incorporated in the Word-List. In the Attic text I hav not hesitated to use a word which is Attic in form, even if it may not be found in an Attic text. Nor hav I hesitated to retain an Attic form or word corresponding to the Doric, even if it was not just the one that wud be used in Attic in just this place or connection.

[ 11 ] *Ka-a-aš-ma-at-ta u-i-e-nu-un* 1<sup>9</sup> *Ir-ša-ar-ḫa*

= Κοσματα(ν) ριεμαν Ἱερόσαβο(ν)

Attic: Κοσμητήν ἱέμην Ἱερόσαβον

As a commissioner I (hav) sent Hierosäbus

[ 12 ] (amêlu) *ḫa-lu-ga-tal-la-an mi-in a-ú ma-ni* tur-sal *tí*

καλογαθαλον μιν αὐ μανι(ν) (θυγατερα) τι(ν).

καλοκάγαθὸν ἐμὸν ἐπὶ (μάννον) θυγατέρα σήν.

my nobleman for the jewel yur dauter.

[ 13 ] *Ál-ḫiṣ*<sup>10</sup> *mi ku-in dam-an-ni ú-wa-da-an-zi* [ 14 ] *nu-us-si.*

\*Ἄγγελος μὲν(ν) κοιν δομονι ραδανσι νοσσι.

\*Ἄγγελος ἐμὸς σὺν ἀνάσση νοστήσουσι.

My messenger wil accompany the lady on the jurny home.

<sup>9</sup> Before *Iršaarḫa* there stands the number 1, the usual determinativ of the proper name of a male. Before the following word, *ḫatugatallaan*, is *amêlu* 'man,' the Assyrian determinativ placed before the names of tribes, classes, or professions.

<sup>10</sup> The two characters that špel this word ar capable of expressing varius syllables. Knudtzon misred them *an-ud*, see pages 197, 202.

*Li-il-hu-mi-i ni-an*<sup>11</sup> *sag-[an] du-ši. [15] Ka-a-āš-ma-ta*  
 Δελχῶμι νιαν σαγαν δοσι(ν). Κοσματα  
 Δελάχομι νέαν σάγην δόσιν. Κοσμητῆ  
 I shud like to get new armor as a gift. By the commissioner

*ur-pa-ah-hu-un 1 su-ha se-li-ia azag-gi-ru [16] dmq-an-ta*  
 ὑπαγον ἐν ζυγο(ν) σηλία (χλω)ρου τυχοντα.  
 ὕπηγον ἐν ζυγὸν σήλια χρυσοῦ τυχόντα.  
 I (hav) sent a pair of vessels of gold, ful weit.

## III

## WORD-LIST

*a-āš-šu-uh-ta*, see page 214.

*ab-bi*, see *ku-in*.

*Agni Saparyenya*, see page 193.

*āl-hiš* (13) = ἄλγισ, Lithuanian *algis* 'messenger'; whens the derivativ \*ἄλγ-ελος, which (by teleterosis of *l-l* to *η-l*) became the later ἄγγελος. The genitiv singular of ἄλγισ is found in line 17 of the *Song of Larraeus* in the form of *āl-hiš-uš*, which spels ἄλγισος. The *š*-stems originally ended in *-ei* in the genitiv and had the genitiv suffix *-s*; but in Greek this original *-eis* was erly displaced by new analogical formations, Wright, § 328.<sup>12</sup> In our Old Doric it wud appear that the *i*-grade of the stem had prevaield thruout the singular. This made the genitiv like the nominativ. The same thing happend in Latin in a slightly different way; for example, *fīnis*, *finis*, for erlier \**feinis*, \**feineis*.<sup>13</sup> In Old

<sup>11</sup> The text reads: *ni-an sag du-ši*, a slip for *ni-an sag-an du-ši*, with los of the second *-an*,—a very common form of misriting. This text Knudtson changed into *šaman-an rēši-ši*, with the following explanation: "Ferner liegt es A. 14 sehr nahe, *ni*, hier wahrscheinlich = „Öl“, und *sag · du*, ein Ideogramm für „Kopf“, wegen des je folgenden Zeichens (*an* und *ši*) babylonisch-assyrisch *šaman* (Status constr. von *šamnu* „Öl“) und *rēši* (Gen. von *rēšu* „Kopf“) zu lesen, wie ich auch thun werde," page 33. And this he renders: "Öl für den (oder: ihren) Kopf," page 44.

<sup>12</sup> All referenses to Wright ar to his *Comparative Grammar of the Greek Language*, Oxford University Press, 1912.

<sup>13</sup> It is od that the origin of Latin *fīnis* shud so long hav eluded the etymologist. *fīnis* < \**feinis* (Venetic plural *veinēs* 'boundaris') = Lithuanian *geinis*, the *e*-grade corresponding to the *o*-grade which is seen in \**foinis*, Latin

Doric, at a time subsequent to the los of medial *-s-*, the *-os* of the genitiv of consonant-stems was added to the genitiv, whereby —

nominativ	ἀλγῖς	}	became	{	ἀλγῖς
genitiv	ἀλγῖς				ἀλγῖος.

Knudtzon ( pages 9–10 ) read *an-ud* in place of *ál-ḥiś*, the characters admitting of both interpretations; and this *an-ud* he regarded as the ideograms for ( 1 ) ‘sky’ or ‘god’ and ( 2 ) ‘light’ or ‘sun,’ translating the two ‘Sonnengott.’

*amêlu*, plural *amêlu-meš* ( 4, 8, 12, 19, 20, 23, 29 ), Assyrian determinativ for ‘person’ or ‘people.’

*Amida*, see page 187.

*am-me-el* ( line 7 of the *Song of Lappaeus*, see page 187 ) = ὄμιλ ‘together with,’ ‘as wel as,’ ‘and.’ This adverb-conjunction is related to ὄμιλος ‘crowd,’ ὄμιλία ‘a coming together,’ etc. But its exact formation is not clear to me. It looks most like the locativ of a consonant-stem without special locativ ending. It is also found in line 11 of the *Song* in the spelling *amêl*, where *iš tu amêl* = ἧς τυ ὄμιλ, which in Attic wud be εἷς σὺ \*ὄμι ‘one and the same with yu,’ ‘just like yu’; compare εἷς καὶ ὁμοίος = εἷς καὶ ὁ αὐτός.

*an-ḥa-[ la ]* ( the *Song*, line 15, see page 190 above ) = ἀμφάλο(ς), Doric for ἀμφιάλος ‘sea-girt,’ ‘out of sight of land,’ ‘on the high sea.’ For los of pretonic *ι*, see page 197.

*an-tu* ( 25 ) = ἀντα, see page 197.

*an-ud*, see above.

*Apollo*, see page 192.

*ap-šar-aš* ( the *Song*, lines 14 and 21, see page 190 above ) = ἀψορρος ‘going back,’ ‘returning.’

*Arsamea*, *Arsamosata*, page 186.

*Arsanias*, *Arsinia*, pages 186, 194.

*Artasumara*, *Artatama*, see pages 188, 189.

*Arzama*, pages 186, 194.

*Arzanene*, page 187.

*fūnis* ‘rope.’ The *fūnis* was, then, originally the rope put up to mark the sacred limits beyond which the crowd was not permitted to step. [Fay rites me that Bréal connects *fūnis* with *fūnis*, *Mém. Soc. Ling.* 15/137, to which I hav no acces.]



*Arzawa*, pages 186, 194.

*Arzen*, page 186.

*aš-šu* ( 28 ) = ἄσσα, see page 197.

*aš-šu-ú-li* ( the *Song*, line 21, see page 186 ) = ἄσυλι, genitiv in *-ī* of ἄσυλος, ἄσυλον 'inviolable.' See *nu-uš-ši*, page 209.

*As-za-a-i* ( the *Song*, line 15, see page 190 above ) = Ἄσαι < \*Ἀσιῶι, Old Doric for Ἀσίας '( of ) Asia.' The los of pretonic *ι* is regular. For the genitiv in *-ā-ī*, see *Hat-ra-a*. This earliest occurrens of the name *Asia* in a Greek text is interesting, tho we cannot be sure of its exact application. It is apparently used as not including Cos and the other ilands off the coast of Asia Minor. And as Lappaeus says he came from Cos to Asia *ναων ἀμφαλος* 'in ships, out of sight of land,' we feel that he was not referring to the neighboring Anatolian coast, as, for example, the cuntry about Ephesus, but to some more distant parts, most likely the Syrian littoral.

*a-ú* ( 12 ) = *av* 'for.' This *av* 'for,' 'after,' is a preposition, the mate of the adverb *au* 'forth,' 'away'; cf. Latin *au-fero* 'take away,' etc. This *au* 'forth' and *av* 'back,' 'again,' evidently arose in *av καὶ av* 'back and forth.' By origin *av* is a demonstrativ adverb = 'there' ( Brugmann, *Demonstrativpronomina*, page 97 ), and so *av καὶ av* wud be parallel with *ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα* 'back and forth,' originally 'there and there,' 'huc et huc,' etc.

*azag-gi-ru* ( 15 ) probably = *χλωρον* 'of gold,' 'golden.' *azag-gi* is one of the ideograms for 'gold.' The character that represents the ending may spel *aš*, *rum*, *ru*, *dil*, *til*, or *ina*. The *-aš* might represent Greek *-as* or *-os*; but neither wud do for the genitiv of *χρυσός* 'gold.' We must therefore seek some other word. If we assume that the local word for gold was akin to Phrygian *γλουρεα* or *γλουρος* 'gold,' two possibilities arise: ( 1 ) that the word was declined like *γλουρεα* and had *-ε(ι)ας* in the genitiv; ( 2 ) that it was declined like *γλουρος* and ἄργυρος 'silver' ( Sanscrit *árju-na-m* 'silver,' nuter of *árju-na-h* 'white' ) and was no other than *χλωρός* 'yellow,' and thus a cusin of English *gold*. In the latter case the cuneiform character that spels the suffix must hav

its variant valu *-ru*, that is, *-pou*. And this I think is right. Nevertheless, it is only fair to acknowledge that all that is certain is that we here have a word that meant 'gold,' and that its genitive ended in *-as* or in *-pou*. The genitive in *-ou* is found also in Minoan, Hittite, and the Old Ionic of the Phaistos Disc. For its early use, see Drewett in the *American Journal of Philology*, 1913, 34/43 ff.

*bi-ib-bi-es-sar* (line 28) = *πιπισωρ* 'knight,' literally 'expert in matters pertaining to horses,' compare *ἵππεύς*, *ἵπποτρόφος*, *ἵπποβότης*, etc. See *bi-ib-it* below, and compare *is-sar* (line 29) = *ἴσωρ*, Attic *ἴστωρ* 'expert'; and *es-ra-ni-s* (the *Song*, line 25) = *ἰσρώνες* 'dramatic poets,' Old Doric for *ἰστρώνες*, whence Latin *histrion* 'actor.' The τ was first lost in the group *στρ*, then by analogy in *στωρ*. For loss of pretonic ι, see page 197. Cf. also Fay, *American Journal of Philology*, 1913, 34/40, § 102, also § 104.

*bi-ib-it* (lines 5, 9) = *πιπιτ* < \**ἵπιτ*, which would be *ἵπιτ* in Attic. The word means 'things pertaining to horses,' but here was probably restricted to the meaning 'chariots'; for other versions of this international form of greeting have the word for 'chariots' in this place. In form, the word is a neuter collective *t*-derivativ (Brugmann, II, I, § 317) of *ἵππος* 'mare,' 'horse,' corresponding to the masculine *t*-derivativ (Brugmann, II, I, § 315) seen in Latin *equus*, *equitis*, 'horseman.' Compare *ἵππότης* 'horseman,' which is based on a parallel feminine collective. It is evident that Indo-European *ew* had (at least medially) become *ππ* (Brugmann, I, § 603) at a time when *q* (see *ku-e* 'and,' line 17) was still intact.

The various forms of *ἵππος* deserve special attention. In the first place, the ruf breathing of the usual Greek forms has never been explained. In the second place, cuneiform *hi-pa* in names like *Tadu-hi-pa*, page 188, does not reflect an *h* equivalent to the ' of *ἵππος*; for the usual Greek ruf breathing is generally ignored in cuneiform texts. Assyrian *h* was the letter for the guttural fricative spelt *ch* in Scotch *loch* and German *Loch*; but it was used also to represent any Greek-velar consonant (see page 197), perhaps most often Greek *q*, for example, in *Hat-ra-a* = *Qatpā*, pages 195, 206. Now, our

*bi-ib-it* = *πιπιτ* < \**ιπιπιτ* furnishes the key to the explanation of the *h* of *hipa* and the ' of *ιππος*. In each case we have to do with tele-mimesis, whereby the first syllable of the word is made to begin like the second. The *w* of *ecwos* was unvoiced by the preceding *c* and became *hw* (= *wh* in *what*), just as English *equity* is pronounced *echiti* more often than *ecwiti*. By tele-mimesis, *ec-hos* became *hwec-hos*, and between the velars the *e* rose to *i* (cf. English *quick* by the side of German *queck* / *keck*). The velar stop *c* and the velolabial fricative *hw* compromised in the labial stops *pp*; and the initial velolabial fricative became *h*. The feminine *hippa* is spelled *hipa* in cuneiform, and the masculine *hippos* < *hippos* is spelled *ιππος* in ordinary Greek. The tele-mimesis seen in *πι-πος* from *ιππος* is, of course, much younger than that seen in *hwec-hos* from *echos*. In fact, it constitutes a repetition of the process, thus:

*echos* > *hwec-hos*, *hwic-hos*, *hippos*;  
*hippos* > *pi-ros*.

Exactly the same is true also of *bi-ib-bi-eš-šar*, page 204.

*Cheta*, see page 195.

*dam-an-ni* (13) = *δομονι*, the locative-dative of an *n*-stem meaning 'lady'; cf. Latin *dominus* / *domina*, Greek *ἀδμενίδες* 'δοῦλαι.' Knudtzon (page 9, 35) took *dam* for the ideogram for 'woman.'

*dmq-an-ta* (15) = *τυγχοντα* or *τυχοντα*, 'ful weit,' literally 'hitting the mark,' that is, 'exact(ly).' In lines 30-31 we are told that the vessels weigh 20 minae, that is, ten minae each. If *dmq-an-ta* spells *τυγχοντα* (= *tychonta*), the earlier *τυγχο* had not yet become *τυγχανω*, Wright, § 466-467.

*du-ši* (14) = *δοσι(ν)* the accusative of *δosis* 'gift.' For the loss of *-v*, see *ka-a-aš-ma-at-ta*. For the assimilation, see *ú-wa-da-an-zi* and *nu-uš-ši*. The two accusatives are here used as after a verb of choosing.

*en* = *έν* 'one.' In line 15 we find *ι su-ha-la-li-ia*, and in line 30 *ι en su-ha-la-li-ia*, that is, in one case the figure *ι*, and in the other the figure *ι* followed by the word *one*. Here, as in the case of *ni-an*, the final *-n* is retained before an initial

sibilant. The masculin ḥs, Attic εἶς, is found speld *iš* in line 11 of the *Song*, see *am-me-el*, page 202.

*e-ša-at*, see page 214.

*eš-ki* (the *Song*, line 25) = *ισχι* 'of the power,' cf. Attic *ισχύς*, *ισχύος*, and see page 210.

*eš-ra-ni-š*, see *bi-ib-bi-eš-šar*.

*Giluhipa*, see page 188.

*Ha-an-da-an*, see page 187.

*Ha-at-ra-ai*, see *Ha-at-ra-a*.

*Ha-at-ri* (the *Song*, line 25) = *Qatrî* 'of the Pterian,' see page 210.

*ḥa-lu-ga-tal-la-a* (19, 29) = *ḥa-lu-ga-tal-aš* (23), *ḥa-lu-ga-tal-la-š* (23) = *καλογαθαλο(s)*, Old Doric for *καλοκάγαθος* 'nobleman.' The accusativ *ḥa-lu-ga-tal-la-an* is found in lines 12 and 20. The corruption of the word is both natural and interesting. The trouble was caused by the reduplicated fonology *κα—κα-γα*, which resulted in the anticipation of the *γα* in place of the second *κα*, and the later change of *καλογα—κο* to *καλογα—λο*:

*καλοκαγαθος* >  
\* *καλογαθακος* >  
*καλογαθαλος.*

It is interesting to observe that, while classical Greek retained the form *καλὸς κάγαθος*, *καλοὶ κάγαθοί* (*καλοκάγαθος* appearing first in Pollux, 180 A.D.), the conglomerat form prevailed in Doric at so early a day that its make-up was forgotten and its form distorted.

*Harri*, see page 189.

*Ha-at-ra-a* (the *Song*, line 10) = *Qatrâ* < \**Qatriâ*, the Old-Doric form of Hittite *Qτερία / Πτερία* 'Pteria'; genitiv *Ha-at-ra-a-i* (*id.*, line 22, see page 186) = *Qatrâi* < \**Qatriâi*, for which Hittite has *Qετριâs* in early texts and *Πτερίας* in later. The genitivs in *-â-s / -â-î* correspond to the Latin genitivs in *-â-s / -â-î*, like *familiâs / familiae*; see *As-za-a-i*, *aš-šu-ú-li*, and *nu-uš-ši*. The dativ *Ha-at-ra-a-i* is found in lines 12–13 of the *Song*. See pages 194, 195.

*Hattusil*, *Hatusara*, see pages 190, 191, 195.

*Heta*, see page 195.

*Hetasira*, see pages 190, 191.

*Hippa*, see page 188.

*I-ia-u-e-ni* ( the *Song*, line 3, see page 186 ) = 'Ιαφενε(ς), a grade of 'Ιά(ϕ)ονες / 'Ιωνες 'Javonians.' I propose that we use *Javonian* for the common stock of which the Ionians, the people of Attica, the Hittites, and the Minoans wer branches, also for any one or more of these; and that we employ *Ionic* only in the narrow sens. In this way we may avoid the ambiguity involved in using *Ionic* for two different but similar conceptions, and the awkwardnes of such a conglomerat as *Attic-Ionic*.

*il-lî-iš*, see page 214.

*Ionic*, see *I-ia-u-e-ni*.

*Ir-ša-ap-pa* ( 29 ) = 'Ιρσάβο(ς), Attic \*'Ιερόσαβος, literally 'priest of Sabos'; cf. 'Ιερο-βάαλ, 'Ιερό-θεος, etc. *Ir-ša-ap-pa* ( 11 ) = 'Ιρσάβο(ν). After a short vowel a final -s usually disappears unles a vowel follows. This rule holds also for Lycian, Etruscan, and Old Latin. The los of o is du to its being pretonic in Doric. The later Doric form of *ίερός* is *ιαρός*, and such a form may hav been the basis of *ίρός* in the Doric of Arzama, with regular los of pretonic vowel, and thus may be reflected in our 'Ιρ-σάβο(ς). Stil, we may hav to do with the form which produced Lesbian *ίρος*, Ionic *ίρός*, Buck, *Greek Dialects*, § 13, 1.

*iš* = ἦς 'one,' see *am-me-el*, also *en*.

*iš-šar*, see *bi-ib-bi-eš-šar*.

*Isuwa*, see page 194.

*Javonian*, see *I-ia-u-e-ni*.

*ka-a-aš-ma-at-ta* ( 11 ) = κοσμάτα(ν), Attic κοσμητήν, accusativ of κοσμητής 'commissioner' or 'director' of an expedition. Final -ν is frequently silent before an initial consonant. This phenomenon is the caus of what was later known as the use of ν-movable. See *mi-in*, *du-ši*, *up-pa-ah-hu-un*, *ni-an*. We are familiar with the like phenomenon in English in the case of final -r. Those speakers that sound -r only before a vowel ( thus, *fo(r) the father of my fathe(r)* ) ar prone to insert an -r- between two vowels ( *Emma[r] is gon*

and *A(r)thu(r)* keeps calling "Emma!" from *mo(r)ning* til night, and *Gallia[r]* est omnis *divisa[r]* in *pa(r)tes tres*. The *ka-a-aš-ma-ta* 'by the commissioner' in line 15 is the instrumental in *-ā*, Wright, page 159.

*kat-ta*, see *kat-ti*.

*kat-ti* (line 3) = *κουτι* 'protects,' the Old-Doric third singular present indicativ of the athematic verb (meaning 'hear,' 'listen,' 'watch,' 'care for,' 'protect') which is attested by Latin *caveo* 'look out,' 'be on one's guard,' 'take care of,' 'protect,' by the side of Greek *ἀκούω* 'hear,' 'listen,' 'heed,' etc. For *a = ou*, see page 197; for *-τι*, see *ú-wa da-an-zí*, page 213. The athematic third singular imperativ *kat-ta = κουτω* is found in line 7.

*Kheta*, see page 195.

*ki-i-kán* (the *Song*, line 14, see page 190 above) = *κιχον*, Old Doric for *ἐκίχον*, aorist of *κί(γ)χάνω* 'reach,' 'come to,' governing the genitiv, as in Soph. *O.C.* 1487.

*ki-ša-at*, see page 214.

*ku-e* (17) = *γε*, the later *τε* 'and,' see page 204.

*ku-in* (13) = *κωιν* 'with,' 'in company with,' 'and.' *κωιν* erlier *\*κοιμ*, arose out of *\*κομι*, probably under the influens of *κοινος* < *\*κομιος* 'common,' 'what one has together with others,' in which *-ιος* was *-γος*, not *-ιος*. *\*κομι* is from *κομ* (Latin *com-*, *cum* 'with') + the locativ-demonstrativ *ι* seen in *περί / per*, *ἐνί / ἐν*, etc. Old Doric was fond of such forms, compare *ab-bi* = *ἀπι* 'from,' line 14 of the *Song of Laërtaeus* (see page 190 above), and *u-ub-bi* = *ὑπι* 'on,' 'upon,' lines 17-18 of the letter. Old-Doric *ἀπ-ι*, Lesbian *ἀπ-υ*, and Attic *ἀπ-ς* (speld *ἄψ*), Latin *ap-s* (speld *abs*), show *ap* with one of the three locativ/demonstrativ suffixes *i*, *u*, *s*. As used in our text, *κωιν* is practically a conjunction, meaning 'and,' for it is followd by the plural verb. The phenomenon is observable in all languages, compare *Syrus cum illō vostrō consusur-rant*, Terence, *Hauton*, 473; and Goethe's *Der Pfarrer mit dem Vater gingen bedenklich dem Gemeindehause zu*.

*Ku-iš* (line 14 of the *Song*, see page 190 above) = *Κωες*, for *Κῶ*, a genitiv of *Κῶς* 'Cos.' The new *Κωες* is to *Κῶ* as accusativ *Κῶ* is to *Κῶν*. Genitivs in *-ες* ar frequent in

Minoan Greek. I am not certain as to the original form and inflection of this word. See also the following word.

*Ku-uš-šar*, pages 190, 191.

*Lab-ba-ia*, *Lappaens*, see pages 186, 191.

*li-il-hu-mi-i* (14) = *λελχώμι*, Old Doric for *λελάχοιμι* 'I shud like to get,' reduplicated second aorist optativ of *λαγχάω* 'obtain.' The Old-Doric form is not the original, but a more original form than the Attic. The original form was \**λελάχιοι*, which regularly became \**λελάχω*. By association with the corresponding athematic form in *-μι*, the thematic form also took *-μι*, whence \**λελάχωμι*, Doric \**λελαχώμι*, later our *λελχώμι*, with loss of the pretonic vowel. The change of \**λελάχωμι* to *λελάχοιμι* was due to the influence of other optativ forms, in which *οι* had regularly remained intact, see Wright, § 536.

*maḥ-an-ma-za*, see page 214.

*ma-ni* (12) = *μανι(ν)*, the accusativ of \**μανι(ς)*, Sanscrit *mani-h* 'jewel,' cf. *μάννος* 'necklace.'

*ma-za-gan*, see page 214.

*Medan*, see pages 187, 194.

*mi*, see *mi-in*.

*mi-in* (12) = *μιν* 'my,' the later Doric dativ *ἐ-μιν*, but used as a genitiv (cf. Homeric *ἐμέθεν*, both genitiv and dativ), or rather as an indeclinable possessiv adjectiv (compare English *his*, originally the genitiv of *he*). The *-ν* is here preserved because the next word begins with a vowel. If no vowel followed, the form *μι* was used, as in line 13, and frequently in lines 3-5. See *ka-a-aš-ma-at-ta* and *ti*.

*na-an* (the *Song*, line 15, see page 190 above) = *ναῶν*, Attic *νηῶν / νεῶν*, genitiv plural of *ναῦς* 'ship,' the locativ-genitiv, or genitiv of place.

*ni-an* (14) = *νιαν*, Old Doric for *νέαν* 'new,' Buck, *Greek Dialects*, § 9, 5. This is one of the few cases of the riting of final *-n* before a consonant, see *ka-a-aš-ma-at-ta*. Here, as in the case of *en*, it is before an initial *s*.

*Nu-sa-an*, see page 187.

*nu-uš-ši* (14) = *νοσσι* 'on the homeward journey,' locativ of *νόστος*. We have to do with the *e*-stem *νοστε-* + the

locativ-demonstrativ  $\bar{i}$ , which absorbed the preceding  $\epsilon$  at so early a date that it was able to assibilate the preceding  $-\tau$ , which remained intact in other positions, for example, before the  $-\nu$  of the genitiv *νοστου*, speld *na-aš-ta* in line 19, also in line 17 of the *Song of Lappaeus*. The fact that  $-\tau i$  was assibilated to  $-\sigma i$  after  $\sigma$  as well as after a vowel (see *du-ši, ú-wa-da-an-zi*), shows that  $\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{i}$  is not due to the preservation of original  $*\epsilon\sigma-\tau i$ , but that original  $*\epsilon\sigma-\tau i$  regularly became  $*\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma i/*\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\acute{i}$ , and that this was changed to  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{i}$  (under the influence of the secondary  $-\tau$ ) at a time when the second person was still  $*\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma i$  or  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\acute{i}$ , whereby the third person  $*\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma i/*\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\acute{i}$  was distinguished from the second person  $*\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma i/\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\acute{i}$ . Old Doric distinguished the third person from the second by using the plural  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau i$  also as a singular, so in the Garden-Charm, see page 186.

The locativ in  $-(e)\bar{i}$  also assumed the function of a genitiv: *aš-šu-ú-li* and *Ha-at-ri eš-ki*, which see. This genitiv is identical with the genitiv in  $-\bar{i}$  ( $< -e\bar{i}$ ) found in Celtic, Etruscan, Venetic, and Latin; it must not be confounded with the locativ in  $-e\bar{i}$ .

*Pudukhira*, see pages 188, 190.

*sag-[an]* (14) = *σαγαν*, Old Doric for *σάγην* 'armor.' For the omission of  $-an$ , see footnote, page 201.

*Samaš, šamšu*, see page 192.

*Sapaλ(ul)*, *Sapalulu*, see page 192, also 189, 190, 191.

*Saparar*, see page 192.

*Saparyenya*, see page 193.

*se-li-ia* (15) = *σηλία* 'vessels.' The word *σήλιον* is recorded only by Hesychius and as 'a small vessel used by bakers.' I find no account of it in the etymological dictionary; compare, however, Latin *seria* 'a large earthen vessel,' whose origin, too, is undetermined. If these words are related, they would seem to point to some foreign source. Forcellini suggests Hebrew *sir* 'olla.' Such vessels were often sent abroad as gifts, just as Tarcondarotus sent these, and in this way their names, too, were likely to spread to foreign lands. Knudtzon reads *la-li-ia*, and Winckler *ki-li-ia*, but the first character is almost identical with the usual sign for *se*.



*Stanco*, see page 187.

*Subbiluliuma*, see pages 189, 190, 191, 192.

*su-ħa* ( 15, 30 ) = ζυγο(ν) or ζυγο(ς) 'pair.' 1 *suħa* = 'one pair,' 'a couple,' 'two,' with a following plural noun, just as in the case of German *ein paar Schuhe* and of English *one dozen eggs*. For the loss of the final consonant, see *ka-aš-ma-at-ta* and *Ir-ša-ap-pa*.

*Sutatarra*, see page 189.

*Taduħipa*, see page 188.

*Tar-ħu-un-da-ra-uš* ( line 2 ). The final character used in spelling this name has been variously identified with the ( similar ) characters for *ba*, *du*, and *uš*, most often with that for *uš*, which is correct ( see Winckler, page 40 ). The name is Ταρχου(ο)δωρως. This δωρως wud later be \*δωρως ( Wright, § 340 ), which is to δῶρον 'gift' as δμῶς 'servant' is to δῶμος 'hous.' The name Ταρχου(ο)δωρως wud thus hav the signification 'gift of Tarquo,' with referens to the god of that name. Compare Διδ(σ)δοτος, Θεοδώρητος, etc.

*Tešibaš*, *Tešup(aš)*, see page 188.

*ti* ( 12, 22 and often in 8-10 ), also

*t-ti-in* ( 19 ) = τι(ν) 'yur,' the later Doric dativ τιν but used as a genitiv, or rather as an indeclinable possessiv adjectiv. The -ν is preservd before the initial vowel of *am-me-el-la* in line 19. When no vowel followd ( that is, at the end of a sentens or before a word beginning with a consonant ), the form *ti* was used; see *mi-in*.

*tur-sal* ( 12, 22 ) is the Assyrian ideograf for 'dauter' and throws no light on the Old-Doric form of the word, — any more than & and + and Old-English 7, all ligatures of Latin *et*, giv any indication of the pronunciation of the English word *ond* / *and*.

*u-i-e-nu-un* ( 11 ) = *φιεμαν* or *φιεναν* ( according as the telemimesis of -μ-ν to -ν-ν is orthografic or fonological ), Attic *ιέμην* / *ιέμην* 'I sent ( on my busines ).'

The relation of the meaning 'send' to that of 'desire' demands a word of explanation. We may start with the idea of 'move quickly,' 'speed,' 'hasten'; or 'caus to move quickly,' 'despatch,' 'chase,' 'hunt'; cf. *φιερός* 'quickly';

οἴκαδε ἰέμενος = German *nach Hause jagend*; *Sie jagte ihn gleich nach dem Arzt*; Latin *vēnor* 'to hunt.' The divergent meaning 'long for,' 'desire,' arose out of the idea 'run after,' 'try to catch,' 'seek'; cf. *She was always running after the boys* = 'She was boy-mad'; *You ar looking for truble* = 'You ar anxious to get into truble.' In much the same way the idea 'long for,' 'desire ardently,' arose out of the idea 'reach for,' 'try to grab'; cf. German *langen* 'extend the arm,' 'reach for,' English *long for* 'desire ardently,' German *ver-langen* 'yern for,' 'demand'; also *μαίωμαι* 'extend the hand,' 'strive for,' *μαιμάω* 'be eager for.' It was natural that the meaning 'desire' (that is, 'be eager to get for one's self') shud become restricted to the middle voice. In the Greek that we hav hitherto known, the meaning 'send' is expresst by ἵημι (with short ι) < \*γι-γῆ-μι, Latin *jacio* 'throw,' 'caus to go.' It is probably du to the association of the two words that the ruf breathing was often attached to ἵεμαι / ἴεμαι.

I hav assumed that in *u-i-e-nu-un* / *φιεμαν* we hav a case of the spelling of *a* with *u*; see page 197. But it is possible that *u* here has its more usual valu *o*, and that our form is *φιεμον*. Whether this be so or not, I wud suggest that the hitherto unexplained ending *-μᾶν* / *-μην* arose out of an erlier *-μον*. It is natural to assume that there once was in the first person an ending *-μο* corresponding to the *-σο* and *-τό* of the second and third persons:

μι	μ	μαι	μο
σι	ς	σαι	σο
τι	τ	ται	το.

By analogy to the activ *-ομ* / *-ον*, the middle *-μο* wud redily become *-μομ* / *-μον*, whens our *φιεμον* or *φιενον*. The later change of *-μον* to *-μᾶν* / *-μην* must be brot into relation with the struggle that took place in the dual, between *-τον* and *-σθον*, on the one hand, and *-τᾶν* / *-την* and *-σθᾶν* / *-σθην*, on the other. This struggle was not definitely settled, but tended in favor of the *-ᾶν* / *-ην* forms in secondary tenses, and was apparently definitely so settled in the case of the first person

singular. I may add that *-μην* was already in vogue in Minoan Greek. On the linear tablet given by Evans on page 32 of his *Scripta Minoa* it occurs in three verbs, the first of which is *ἰσ-τά-μην* and the second *ἦ-μην*.

*υρ-ρα-αῖ-ἡ-υ-υ-ν* ( 15 ) = *υρ-ρα-ἡ-υ-υ-ν* ( 28 ) = *ἵπαγον* 'I brot,' 'I sent.' The final *-ν* is preserved before the following initial vowel; see *ka-a-aš-ma-at-ia*.

*u-ub-bi* = *ἵπι*, see *ku-in*, page 208.

*ἦ-wa-da-an-si* ( 13 ) = *φάδανσι* 'they go,' 'they wil go.' I think it more likely that the form is parallel to the Latin indicativ *vadant(i)* 'they wade' than to the subjunctiv *vādant(i)* 'they go,' tho it has the meaning attacht in Latin to the latter. Old Doric shows practically no trace of a future form, Wright, § 498. Our text, which has original *-nti* regularly speld *-nzi*, as wel as varius other forms with *-si* for original *-ti*, shows that Doric sufferd assibilation as other Greek did, but that the *-ti* was, in some cases, later restored by analogy; for example, *-nti* by analogy to *-nt*, *-ntai*, and *-nto*. See *nu-uš-si* and *du-si*. In fact, the analogical proces had begun in the time of our text; for, while the plural stil shows the assibilated *-νσι*, the singular already had *-τι*, for example, in *kat-ti* = *κouvτι* 'protects' ( see page 208 ).

#### POSTSCRIPT

The extract given by Winckler from one of the cuneiform tablets of Qatroselas II. ( see pages 186, 191, 190 ) begins as follows : —

*mah-an-ma-za* a-bu-ia 1 *mur-ši-li-iš il-lī-iš ki-ša-at* aḫ-ia *ma-za-gan* 1 *Muttalli-iš* a-na kussi a-bi-su *e-ša-at*. Winckler recognized the words ritten with Assyrian ideograms ( those not Italicized ) and gatherd that the text shud read something like 'When my father Mursilis died, my brother Muttallis ascended the throne of his father.' But the first word quoted by Winckler, namely, *mah-an-ma-za*, which he took to mean 'when,' is really the final verb of the preceding sentens, thus :

- - - - - *maḥ-an-ma-za.*

Abu-ia I *Mur-ši-li-iš il-lî-iš ki-ša-at.*

Aḥi-ia *ma-za-gan* I *Muttalli-iš* a-na kussi a-bi-šu *e-ša-at.*

'- - - - - I contrived.

My father Mursiliš died of inflammation of the bowels.

My brother Muttalliš, with general consent, ascended the throne of his father.'

*maḥ-an-ma-za* = *μᾶχανᾶσα*, Attic \**ἔ-μηχάνησα* 'I prepared, or contrived,' the aorist activ of *μηχανάω* / *μηχανάομαι*. — *il-lî-iš* = *ἰλε(ο)ῖς*, dativ plural of *ἰλεός* / *εἰλεός* 'a grievous disease of the intestines.' — *ki-ša-at* = *κείσατ*, Attic *ἔ-κεισε* 'lay down,' 'succumb to'; compare Latin *occumbo*, German *erliegen*, *einer Krankheit unterliegen*. The *a* represents either (1) the *a* of the first person, introduced into the third person, as into the second (Wright, page 309), or (2) an excrescent *ə* between the *σ* and the *τ* of the original (*ἔ*)*κειστ*; see *e-ša-at* below. — *ma-za-gan* = *μουσικόν*, adverbial nuter = *μουσικῶς*, either in the sense of 'harmoniously,' 'with general consent,' or in that of 'suitably,' 'as was proper,' 'in due course.' — *e-ša-at* = *είσατ*, Attic *εἶσε* 'he took his seat (on),' 'mounted (to).' For the ending, see *ki-ša-at* above.

In connection with *ki-ša-at* 'he succumbd,' 'died,' I may add that when Qatroselas speaks, a few lines farther on, of the death of his brother Muttallis, he uses the very interesting form *a-aš-šu-uh-ta* = *ἀσυχτό* < \**ἀσυχο-τό*, Attic *ἡσυχούτο*, 'he was at rest.' From this it is clear that, in Old Doric at least, the *o*-denominatives were at first inflected as athematic verbs, that is, with the endings *-το*, etc., added directly to the *o* of the stem; and it would appear that the singular had followed the analogy of the dual and plural in placing the accent on the ending, (the converse of what we observe in *εἶμι* / *ἴμεν* for earlier *εἶμι* / *ἰμέσ*), after which the pretonic *o* fell out (page 197).

XVI. — *The Plot of the Querolus and the Folk-tales of Disguised Treasure*

BY PROFESSOR DEAN P. LOCKWOOD

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

THE belief that the *Querolus* (or *Aulularia*), the anonymous comedy of the fourth century A.D., is a direct adaptation of the *Aulularia* of Plautus has long since become traditional.<sup>1</sup> So far as I am aware, no voice has ever been raised in opposition to this belief, though in France the tradition seems to have died a natural death.<sup>2</sup> The belief, however, has con-

<sup>1</sup> Teuffel<sup>6</sup>, § 421 a: "der Querolus . . . eine wunderliche Nachbildung der plautinischen Aulularia. . . ." W. Heyl, *de Querolo comoedia*, Gissae, 1912, p. 12: "nostra quidem aetate certum habemus auctorem Plauti Aululariam imitatum esse." Schanz, § 791: "Die ausgezeichnete plautinische Komödie Aulularia reizte einen Dichter, der wahrscheinlich dem vierten Jahrhundert angehört, den Stoff (!) in etwas anderer Weise zu bearbeiten." A. Klotz, *Zeit. für roman. Philol.* xxx (1906), 195: "Dass Plautus noch gelesen wurde, ergibt sich . . . aus der Nachahmung der Aulularia, die uns in dem Querolus erhalten ist." A. W. Ward, *Hist. of Eng. Dram. Lit.*, 1899, I, 6: ". . . the *Querolus* . . . in its Prologue distinctly announced as an adaptation of the *Aulularia* of Plautus. . . ." [Unfortunately, the seeming announcement of the Prologue is not compatible with the rest of the play.] M. Manitiu, "Beitr. zur Gesch. des Ovid, etc., *Philol.* Supbd. VII (1899), 758: "Dass Plautus in der späteren Kaiserzeit nicht mehr viel gelesen wurde, ergibt sich aus den Bearbeitungen der Aulularia zum Querolus und des Amphitruo zum Geta." [One need not ask for better evidence that the *Querolus* is "no longer much read" to-day. The *Geta* is as genuine an adaptation of Plautus' *Amphitruo* as the *Querolus* is remote from any and all of the extant plays of Plautus. Cf. Jos. S. Tunison, *Dram. Traditions of the Dark Ages*, 1907, p. 195: "The story (of the *Geta*), instead of being supplementary to Plautus' *Amphitruo*, as *Querolus* to *Aulularia*, is a parody upon its original."] K. von Reinhardtstötner, *Plautus*, 1886, p. 265: "Thatsächlich ist das Stück . . . auf der Aulularia des Plautus aufgebaut und oft auch so benannt worden." Bernhardt, *Grundriss*, 1872, p. 458: "ein geistloses Lustspiel . . . gezogen aus der vielleicht schon vor dem vierten Jahrhundert aufgelösten Aulularia."

<sup>2</sup> The first evidence of this is perhaps the article of Ch. Magnin, "La comédie au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Rev. des deux mondes*, 1835, II, 633 ff., in which Magnin offers a full synopsis of the play, and has nothing to say about its derivation from the *Aulularia* of Plautus. In the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXII, 40, Victor Le Clerc calls the *Querolus* a sort of sequel to the *Aulularia*, "une espèce de continuation." Havet, *Le Querolus*, Paris, 1880, pp. 15-16, says not a word about

tributed not a little to the neglect and undervaluation of the *Querolus*. It is my purpose, therefore, in this article, first, to demonstrate that the plot of the *Querolus* is entirely independent of the *Aulularia*; second, to discuss the analogues and sources of this plot.

It seems incredible that those who have edited and dissected the *Querolus* should not have had their eyes opened to the absurdity of the traditional view. As long ago as 1875 Peiper bore unwitting testimony to the lack of connection between the two plots when he wrote: "Ex antiqua Aulularia praeter fabulae nomen (*i.e.* the alternative title) et Euclionis Larisque personas ipsamque ollam auri medio in foco defossam pauciora expectatione auctor transcripsit."<sup>3</sup> It is strange that Peiper should not have realized the obvious implication of his own words. The fact is, that the author of the *Querolus* took nothing from the *Aulularia* of Plautus,

the *Aulularia* of Plautus. He conjectures that the plot of the *Querolus* is derived from a Greek original. R. Pichon, *Les derniers écrivains profanes*, Paris, 1906, chap. IV, outlines the play in full, making it perfectly obvious that there is no trace of imitation of the *Aulularia*. He compares the *Querolus* to other plays, *e.g.* p. 233: "... l'auteur du *Querolus*, qui se croyait un disciple de Plaute, offre plutôt une image effacée de Térence"; p. 227: "... elle ressemble mieux à l'*Asinaria* ou au *Curculio*"; p. 223: "La donnée première de la pièce vaut bien celle de l'*Asinaria*, de la *Mostellaria*, du *Rudens*, etc."

The French tradition has apparently been followed in Germany by students of the Drama. As long ago as 1866, J. L. Klein, *Gesch. d. Dramas*, III, 638, declared that the *Querolus* "hat nichts von Plautus als den Titel," and his outline of the play proves it. W. Creizenach<sup>2</sup>, *Gesch. d. neueren Dramas*, Halle, 1911, I, 19 ff., has developed the suggestion of Victor Le Clerc: "... der *Querolus*, jene Fortsetzung der plautinischen *Aulularia*, die, wie wir sahen, im Mittelalter für ein Werk des Plautus gehalten wurde. Der Titelheld ist ein Sohn des Geizhalses Euclio, der in der *Aulularia* die Hauptrolle spielt."

Why Klein and Creizenach, not to mention the French scholars from Magnin to Pichon, should be ignored by Skutsch, Kroll, Schanz, Klotz, Manitius, and others, I fail to see.

Le Clerc and Creizenach are apparently followed by Jos. S. Tunison, *loc. cit.* and p. 188, where the *Querolus* is called "supplementary" to the *Aulularia*.

<sup>3</sup> *Aulularia sive Querolus*, ed. R. Peiper, Teubner, 1875, p. xxix. References to the text of the *Querolus* in this article are to page and line of Peiper. In citing passages, however, I have adopted the readings of R, now generally conceded to be the best manuscript. The more recent text of Havet, Paris, 1880, is too eccentric to be usable. See W. Heyl, *De Querolo comoedia*, Gissae, 1912, pp. 7-9.

save the four superficial details which Peiper mentions; and two of *these* are open to question, for the supposed alternative title rests upon an ancient misinterpretation and a modern emendation of a passage in the Prologue;<sup>4</sup> and the name "Euclio," like the name "Geta," is generic. The Lar familiaris, on the other hand, though undoubtedly a suggestion from the *Aulularia*, stands outside of the plot; and the conventional burying of the pot of gold, even if derived from the *Aulularia*, will prove to be one of the least significant details in this complex story.<sup>5</sup>

The *Querolus* is preceded by a dedicatory epistle to Rutilius, in which the author tells the circumstances of the composition of the play and outlines the plot. Especially to be noted is the following statement (3, 11 ff.): . . . sermone illo philosophico ex tuo materiam sumpsimus. Meministine ridere tete solitum illos qui fata deplorant sua? . . . The

<sup>4</sup> This is the real crux of the matter. The Prologue says (5, 9): *Aululariam hodie sumus acturi, non veterem ac rudem, investigatam et inventam Plauti per vestigia*. This led the mediaeval scribes to entitle the play not merely "*Aulularia*," but "*Plauti Aulularia*," whence Vital of Blois and John of Salisbury regarded it as a genuine play of Plautus. The same passage has led the modern editors to assume that the play was an *adaptation* of Plautus' *Aulularia*. Daniel, the editor of the *princeps* (Paris, 1564), emended *ac* to *at*, and the universal acceptance of this emendation established the traditional view. Most subsequent editors have entitled the play *Querolus sive Aulularia*. Those who have read no further than the Prologue and those who, in reading the whole play, have been interested only in linguistic or other special problems, have naturally accepted the statement of the Prologue as final, and have completely overlooked the fact that the play itself did not bear out the statement. Therefore we must conclude either that the statement is false, or that there is some other way of interpreting it. I shall indicate presently what I believe to be the correct interpretation, consistent with the plot of the play itself.

<sup>5</sup> Peiper's list of imitations of earlier authors in the *Querolus* has been carefully revised and supplemented by Heyl. Convinced of the dependence of the *Querolus* upon the *Aulularia*, Peiper further searched out every identity or similarity of phrase in the two plays, even down to a solitary *vah* and such universal idioms as *habeo gratiam* (p. xxix). Even so, Peiper could muster only eighteen passages. Heyl has cut down Peiper's total to seven, which he classifies as sure imitations of the *Aulularia*; but of these seven only two are convincing, viz.: Q. 6, 1 and 40, 17-18. If this be true, the *Aulularia* stands on an even footing with fourteen other plays of Plautus and five of Terence, from each of which the author of the *Querolus* drew one or two phrases in his revival of Old Roman Comedy.

argument<sup>6</sup> or outline of the plot begins at 3, 18, concluding with the words (4, 23 ff.): *Exitus (fabulae) ergo hic est: ille dominus (i.e. Querolus), ille parasitus (i.e. Mandrogerus) denuo fato collocantur suo ambo ad sua.* We see at once that the plot or action of the play is intended to exemplify (1) the power of fate, in the familiar "reversal of fortune," and (2) the futility of grumbling thereat. The character which is chosen for delineation is that of the pessimist, not the miser.

The author's Prologue to the spectators (5, 4-26) opens with the following words: *Pacem quietemque vos spectatores nostros sermo poeticus rogat, qui Graecorum disciplinas ore narrat barbaro et Latinorum vetusta vestro recolit tempore.* The *sermo philosophicus* of Rutilius has become a *sermo poeticus!* The author has drawn from Greek sources and revived the old Roman Comedy! (How far removed he was from the Greek original, we shall consider presently.) . . . *Aululariam hodie sumus acturi, non veterem ac rudem, investigatam et inventam Plauti per vestigia.* We are to act to-day an *Aulularia* (i.e. a play of Treasure), not ancient and uncouth, composed in the footsteps of Plautus. *Fabula haec est: Felicem hic inducimus fato servatum suo, atque (e) contrario fraudulentum fraude deceptum sua. Querolus, qui iam nunc veniet, totam tenebit fabulam. Ipse est ingratus ille noster, hic felix erit. E contrario Mandrogerus aderit fraudulentus et miser.* The moral of the play is the power of fate: the pessimist shall see the error of his ways, and the deceiver shall be caught in his own toils. . . . *Sed an Querolus an*

<sup>6</sup> Havet (*op. cit.*, II-12, 15-16) has interpreted the play with a curious literalness, which would create obstacles to the understanding of any Roman comedy. He declares the character-scenes (I, 2 and II, 4) to be inconsistent with the action of the play (in this he is followed by W. Creizenach, *op. cit.*, 19 f.), and concludes, therefore, that the character-study of Querolus was the sole element which the author drew from Rutilius. But the author declares that he drew the *materia* from Rutilius, and by *materia* he seems to mean the plot or action (cf. 5, 16). It is obvious that we must not demand finished technique from the author of the *Querolus*. As J. L. Klein long ago pointed out (*op. cit.*, III, 640 f.), the *Querolus* betrays its mediaeval character by putting the cart before the horse: the moral comes first and dominates the thought; the story is an appendage to the moral.



*Aulularia* haec dicatur fabula, . . . vestra erit sententia. It is yours to judge whether this play deserves to be called an *Aulularia* or not!<sup>7</sup>

I need not here rehearse the familiar plot of the *Aulularia* of Plautus. Keeping in mind that it is a broad and farcical character-study of the miser, set in the hackneyed framework of a New Comedy love intrigue, let us examine in detail the plot and structure of its so-called derivative, the *Querolus*.

The story up to the point where the action of the play begins is as follows<sup>8</sup>: A certain miser, Euclio<sup>9</sup> by name, kept his hoard in an urn, which he disguised with an epitaph and venerated as though it contained the ashes of his father.<sup>10</sup> Now it came to pass that Euclio was suddenly called away on a journey. He had time only to bury<sup>11</sup> his precious urn before the family hearth and to commend it to the pious and *sentimental* care of his son Querolus. Euclio, having been away from home for three years,<sup>12</sup> died in a foreign land.

But the secret did not die with Euclio. On his death bed, fearing that the buried fortune would be stolen,<sup>13</sup> he confided

<sup>7</sup> If, instead of starting with a presumption as to the meaning of these passages, we first read the play and then return to them with suspended judgment, we can arrive at only one obvious conclusion, viz. that the author, modestly enough, hoped that his play might be regarded as a second *Aulularia*, comparable to the great classic play of Treasure. Cf. Du Ménil, *Les Origines lat. du théâtre mod.*, p. 15: "La réputation que la pièce de Plaute (i.e. *Aulularia*) avait conservée, en recommandait le titre aux préférences des lettrés, et nous croirions volontiers qu'un bel esprit, fort peu soucieux du théâtre latin, l'emprunta sans façon vers le septième siècle, comme Vitalis le fit une seconde fois pendant le douzième."

<sup>8</sup> See the two "argumenta": in the dedicatory epistle (3, 18-5, 1) and in act 1, sc. 1 (6, 9-7, 2). Wherever I have taken additional details from the play itself, I have indicated it in the notes.

<sup>9</sup> Hence the assumption that this play is "une espèce de continuation" of the *Aulularia* of Plautus — a romantic sequel, as it were. See n. 2, above.

<sup>10</sup> Note at once that we are not dealing with commonplace buried treasure, but with that type of ingenuity familiar to every age in the tricks of smugglers or in the devices of householders, who prefer hiding-places of their own choosing to savings banks. The customs officer and the professional burglar are equally adept at penetrating such disguises.

<sup>11</sup> Note that the burial of the treasure is entirely secondary. Its security does not depend upon its being thus hidden from view, as will presently appear.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Act v, sc. 3 (51, 23).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Act v, sc. 3 (52, 8).

his secret to a parasite, Mandrogerus, who happened to be the companion of his travels. That there might be no mistake, he carefully described his house, his son's appearance, and the exact location of the buried pot of gold,<sup>14</sup> and he signed a *testamentum per epistulam*, promising to the parasite half of the treasure as reward, provided he faithfully carried the information to Querolus. But whether through inadvertence or not,<sup>15</sup> Euclio made no mention of the fact that the pot of gold was disguised as a cinerary urn.

ACT I, SC. I. EXPOSITION. Enter Lar familiaris, who after announcing himself as the guardian spirit of the house of Querolus, briefly outlines the plot. He delights in paradox and reiterates the moral.<sup>16</sup> He then depicts the character of Q. and prepares the audience for the debate in which he is to confute the grumbler's pessimism. He predicts that Querolus will be more than ever "querulous," because his father's sudden death has left him without inheritance.

ACT I, SC. 2. CHARACTER STUDY. Enter Querolus, cursing his *fatum*. Greeted politely by the Lar, he answers testily (8, 2-20). The Lar thereupon reveals his true identity, and declares the purpose of his present encounter with Q., namely, to take Q. to task for his complaining and to explain away his doubts.<sup>17</sup> After a long debate, Q. is con-

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Act II, sc. I (24, 3-24).

<sup>15</sup> The arguments are inconsistent on this point. In the dedicatory epistle we read (4, 6-7): *Locum tantummodo thesauri senex ostendit, oblitus doli* (Peiper's punctuation is wrong); and in act I, sc. I (6, 16-18): *Peregre moriens uni tantummodo rem indicavit . . . cui tamen sive oblitus sive supervacuum putans de busto et titulo nihil exponit*. But a few lines further on we read (6, 25-26): *Iste ornam cum reppererit, bustum putabit: sic ille prospexit (!) senex*.

<sup>16</sup> *E.g.* (6, 13) *aurum celabat palam . . .* (6, 19 f.) *Querolo iuxta fatum hoc sufficit. Nunc ergo thesaurus habetur omnibus ignotus et notus tamen, etc.* With the last compare Plautus, *Rudens*, 1044, *etsist ignotus, notus, etc.* (Heyl, p. 18).

<sup>17</sup> The Lar challenges Q. to propound a topic (8, 21-9, 21). Q. puts all his doubts and complaints in one question: Why do the unrighteous flourish and the righteous perish? The Lar retorts by compelling Q. to confess himself a sinner, therefore unfit to speak on behalf of the down-trodden righteous (9, 21-11, 21). Q. would go, but the Lar detains him, and forces him to give ear to two propositions: (1) that Querolus, if miserable, is not undeservedly so; (2) that he is in reality fortunate (11, 21-12, 2). To prove the first proposition, the Lar refutes Q.'s complaints (*a*) of his false friends (12, 3-13, 9), (*b*) of his poverty (13, 9-14,

vinced, and begs to know his own fate. He is completely mystified when the Lar in paradoxical terms prophesies that this very day great wealth and happiness shall be thrust upon him (20, 24, *velis nolis, hodie bona fortuna aedes intrabit tuas*). The Lar leaves Q. and enters the house. After a perplexed soliloquy, Q. follows, suspecting the Lar of being a hoax after all.

Act II, sc. 1. ACTION BEGINS. (Mandrogerus, the parasite, proves untrue to his trust.) Enter Mandrogerus from abroad, with his apprentices, Sycophanta and Sardanapalus. M. brazenly describes himself as a snarer of men, with a keen nose for the smell of gold (22, 9-23, 3). Each of the three tells his dream of the night before (23, 3-24, 1). The plotters now approach and identify the house. They rehearse their plans (24, 1-25). They withdraw to await the arrival of Querolus, M. by himself, Syc. and Sard. together (24, 25-25, 4).

Act II, sc. 2. Enter Querolus, commenting on the mysterious disappearance of the Lar. Sard. and Syc. at once begin in a loud voice to discuss the prowess of a certain clairvoyant, Mandrogerus by name, whom they have just met. Q. overhears them (25, 5-21) and enters into the conversation. Sard. and Syc. cleverly draw him on. Finally M. himself approaches (25, 21-27, 20).

Act II, sc. 3. Interrogated by Syc. and Sard., M. gives proof of his wisdom<sup>18</sup> (27, 21-33, 5). Asked to give proof of

11), (*c*) of his wicked slave (14, 11-16), (*d*) of the loss of his crops (14, 17-23), (*e*) of his wicked neighbor (14, 23-15, 15). To prove the second proposition, the Lar forces Q. to acknowledge (*a*) that he is not without blessings (15, 15-20), (*b*) that he has no grounds to envy others (15, 20-16, 6) [*e.g.* soldiers (16, 6-12), magistrates (16, 12-17, 6), *togati* (17, 7-18, 2), lawyers (18, 2-10), merchants (18, 11-14), Titus with his *capsae* (18, 14-17), the old usurer with his *concubinulae* (18, 17-25), and lastly, even those blessed with shamelessness (18, 25-19, 2)], (*c*) that no man can judge who of his fellow-beings is truly happy (19, 2-21).

<sup>18</sup> To the question "quae sunt optima sacrorum genera vel cultu facilia," he replies by a lengthy satire on the religious cults of the day (28, 9-32, 22). To the question "quaenam igitur praedicas," he answers "nihil esse melius, quam ut aliqui fato nascatur bono," and adds "genii sunt colendi, quoniam ipsi decreta fatorum regunt" (32, 22-33, 5).

his clairvoyant powers, he displays uncanny knowledge of Sard. and Syc. (33, 5-34, 5). Then turning to Querolus, M. casts his horoscope, and tells him all his troubles, for which the awe-struck Q. demands a remedy (34, 5-35, 1). M. declares that the house of Q. must be purified by secret rites, at which only strangers can assist. He therefore requests Sard. and Syc. to be his assistants (35, 1-15). Q. suffers some qualms of doubt, and despatches his slave Pantomalus to summon a neighbor (Arbiter), after which P. is to rejoin his master at any cost (35, 15-20) M. declares that the stars are propitious, and the rites must begin at once. He asks Q. for a chest in which to carry out the *lustrum*. All go within (35, 20-36, 6).

Act II, sc. 4. INTERLUDE. CHARACTER STUDY. Enter Pantomalus, who, on the way to summon Arbiter, soliloquizes on the severity and irascibility of his master Querolus, thereby revealing his own naïve idea of proper leniency towards servants (36, 7-39, 3). He decides, however, that he prefers Q. to Arbiter (39, 4-12). But the lot of a slave is not so hard as most people think. P. paints a gorgeous picture of the nocturnal revels of the servants, and concludes that he had rather not be "free" (39, 12-41, 11).

Act III, sc. 1. ACTION RESUMED. Enter Mandrogerus and Querolus. The latter carries the chest, and complains of its weight. M. reminds him that ill luck is heavy. Q. puts down the load, and M. orders him to enter the house again and bar every door, and let no person or thing pass in or out for three days, that the bad luck may not return again. M. and his assistants will throw the *lustrum* into the river.

Act III, sc. 2. Querolus being safely under lock and key, the three conspirators are jubilant. They are sure that the buried pot is in the chest of earth, which Q. has so obligingly brought out of the house for them, though in their haste they had not been able to examine it carefully. They hurry off to find a safe place to divide their booty.

Act IV, sc. 1. Enter Pantomalus and Arbiter. P. complains of Q.'s temper, and tries to ingratiate himself with Arbiter (43, 12-44, 9). Approaching the house, they find it

locked, and no one answers their call. P. volunteers to guide A. to a secret door by which they can enter (44, 9-22).

Act IV, sc. 2. DÉNOUEMENT. Enter Mandrogerus, Sardanapalus, and Sycophanta, puzzled and chagrined. (45, 5 ff., *Aurum in cinerem versum est . . . O fallax thesaurē.*) They bitterly bewail their fate (44, 23-45, 22). Again they carefully scrutinize the urn and read the inscription: TRIERINUS · TRICIPITINI · FILIUS · CONDITUS · ET · SEPULTUS · HIC · IACET, and they smell the perfumed ashes (45, 23-46, 13). They regret that they did not heed the warning of ill-omens (46, 13-47, 1). Their chagrin turns to petulant spite, and they decide to revenge themselves on the credulous Q. Sard. creeps up to the window and reports that Q. with his household is standing guard within. Sard. calls out to Q. to open the door, adding (47, 20), *Ego sum tua fortuna, quam redituram praedixit magus.* While Syc. beats on the door to draw the defenders to that point, M., with loud taunts, hurls the urn through the window, and the three conspirators flee. Sard., however, overcome with curiosity, returns at once to eavesdrop. He hears shouts of rejoicing and the clink of gold. The urn has burst open at Q.'s feet, and the treasure lies upon the floor. Sard. is bewildered (48, 20, *metamorphosis hic agitur: bustum abstulimus, aurum abiecimus*). He runs to warn his companions of their predicament (47, 1-48, 24).

Act V, sc. 1. EXPOSITION. Enter the Lar familiaris, who comments on the paradoxical turn of events and draws a moral from the dénouement (48, 25-49, 8). He then briefly outlines the concluding scenes of the play. (49, 9 ff., *Quantum ad personam Queroli spectat, perfecta iam sunt omnia. Sed Mandrogerontem . . . nunc inlaqueari volo.*) Mandrogerus will return and produce the testament of Euclio and impudently claim his legacy (49, 9-17).

Act V, sc. 2. Enter Querolus, Arbiter, and Pantomalus. Wonderingly they discuss the turn of events and recall the prophecy of the Lar. Mandrogerus is seen approaching, and they hastily plan to receive him. P. is sent within to get the fragments of the urn.

Act v, sc. 3. Mandrogerus addresses Q. politely, but is received with scant courtesy. After some parleying, M. presents the testament of Euclio and demands his share, for willy-nilly he has revealed the treasure to Q. (51, 9-52, 21). Q. denies that he has seen any treasure and bids M. produce it or be charged with theft (52, 21-54, 11). M. confesses that he threw the urn through the window, and at Q.'s request he identifies the fragments and pieces together the inscription. Q. thereupon charges him with sacrilege (54, 11-55, 4). Q. threatens to hale M. into court, but M. begs for mercy and appeals to Arbiter, who urges Q. to forgive (55, 5-13). Q. continues to taunt M., but finally yields and accepts him as his own parasite, on condition that he learn new rules of service (55, 14-59, 2).

Act v, sc. 4. Enter Syc. and Sard. to share in the general amnesty. Q. bids them be off, and they ask for a *viaticum*. \* \* \*

Here, unfortunately, there is a lacuna in our manuscripts, followed by a fragment of a satirical *Decretum Parasiticum*, which may have been added to the play because of the jesting reference to mock *leges conviviales* at the conclusion of act v, sc. 3 (58, 15 ff.). The end of the play, therefore, is lost, but it is obvious that very little has fallen out, perhaps only a brief conclusion to act v, sc. 4, for the outcome of the plot, as foretold in the dedicatory epistle, is complete: *Ille dominus, ille parasitus denuo fato collocantur suo ambo ad sua*.

Such is the comedy which has been too often dismissed from consideration as a mere reworking of the *Aulularia* of Plautus. To the host of damning critics R. Pichon is a refreshing exception. ". . . elle n'est pas mal écrite," he writes, "elle n'est pas ennuyeuse."<sup>19</sup>

I venture to suggest that the *ennui* which has assailed readers of the *Querolus* is due to a circumstance which has hampered dramatic composition in more than one period of literature: I mean the introduction of long digressions, satiric or otherwise, on topics of the times. It is these

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.*, 241.

digressions which are most apt to lack general appeal and to be tedious to the modern reader. They seem only to impede the action. There are three such discursive passages in the *Querolus*: (1) the "scholastic" debate between Q. and the Lar in act I, sc. 2; (2) M.'s satire on religions and his display of astrological lore in act II, sc. 3; (3) the *controversia* in which Q. and M., with a variety of rhetorical *colores*, dispute the ownership of the treasure in act V, sc. 3. If we eliminate these incumbrances, there remains a dramatic plot of considerable skill — a plot which bears not the slightest relation to the *Aulularia* of Plautus. In the light of these facts, therefore, the accepted tradition must be discarded.

If, then, the *Querolus* is not an adaptation of the *Aulularia*, what is it?

In a general way we find an answer to this question in a group of well-known folk-tales,<sup>20</sup> which I shall call tales of Disguised Treasure.<sup>21</sup> A brief résumé will indicate the nature of these tales<sup>22</sup> and the place which the *Querolus* occupies among them. Having established the affinities of the *Querolus*-story, we shall then inquire into the immediate sources of the play.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. R. Pichon, *op. cit.*, 222 f.: "c'est, enfin et surtout, une histoire de voleur volé, de trompeur pris à ses propres ruses, c'est-à-dire une de ces histoires qui seront toujours bien accueillies dans notre pays, témoin tant de fabliaux, la *farce de Patelin*, et mainte fable de La Fontaine"; and A. W. Ward, *loc. cit.*: "This comedy, of course, conveys the familiar lesson of 'the biter bit' through an ingenious plot." My own conclusions were arrived at independently of these suggestions.

<sup>21</sup> The hoarding of treasure is a familiar motive in the folk-tale, drawn, as all such motives are, from actual human experience. The distinguishing characteristic of the group of tales which I shall here discuss is that the treasure is not artlessly *buried* or hidden where mere patient search may reveal it, but cunningly disguised *in the open*, so that perchance he who holds it in his very hands may know it not; whereas he who detects or solves the riddle of the disguise is rewarded, or (stranger still) he who vents his spleen in petulance or desperation unexpectedly profits thereby. See n. 10. This group of tales is easily distinguished from the *Pardoner's Tale* (Chaucer) and others, wherein the *buried* treasure brings death or misfortune upon those who find it.

<sup>22</sup> I have gathered together as many as have come under my observation. I cannot pretend to have exhausted the possibilities. Analogues are endless chains.

Classification<sup>23</sup> of tales of Disguised Treasure :

I. No ulterior purpose in the disguising of the treasure.

A. One actor. Action direct.

(a) Briefest possible form of the tale. Deals only with the finding of the treasure.

(1) Aesop, Fable of the Man and the God of Wood (Halm, 66, Babrius, 119, La Fontaine, iv, 8): A certain man who was very poor complained that Hermes,<sup>24</sup> before whose image he prayed daily, did not bring him prosperity. At last in wrath he dashed the image of the god upon the ground, and out of its head rolled a treasure of hidden gold.

(2) A variant of the same tale forms the plot of J. Schultz's *La Neuvaîne de Colette*: A "loveless" maiden prays for happiness to the image of St. Joseph. Her prayers being unavailing, she petulantly throws the image out of the window. The image strikes and wounds a young man passing by, who, nursed by Colette, becomes her lover. Thus she unexpectedly gains the treasure for which she prayed.

B. Tale complicated by the addition of a second actor. Action indirect.

(a) Tale expanded to include both the disguising and the finding of the treasure.

(1) *Querolus* (see above, pp. 219 ff.). The tale, reduced to its lowest terms, is as follows: A certain man disguised his pot of gold as a cinerary urn. Dying in a far country, he confided *half* of his secret to a stranger, telling him where to find the "pot of gold" and bidding him share it with the lawful heir. The stranger turned thief and *stole* the "pot of

<sup>23</sup> There is no definitive method, perhaps no satisfactory method even, of classifying folk-tales. My purpose being merely to demonstrate the existence of a common element in these tales, I have adopted what seemed to me the most convenient arrangement, namely, to proceed from the simple to the complex. Least of all do I wish to imply that this method of classification necessarily indicates the line of historical growth and chronological sequence. The various elements which go to make up folk-tales recur in endless permutations and combinations.

<sup>24</sup> So Babrius. The prose Aesop does not specify the god. Hermes Eriou-nios, the revealer of hidden treasure, is, of course, peculiarly appropriate.



gold." But when he got it in his hands, he found it a cinerary urn, and, believing himself duped, he petulantly cast it back into the house from which he had stolen it. The urn, striking at the feet of the rightful heir, burst open and revealed the gold.

Note that the discovery of the treasure is made not by the grumbler himself, but by an unwilling agent, viz., a would-be thief. Careful motivation is necessary: *e.g.* the treasure must be so well disguised as to deceive even one who suspects its presence; the thief must know more than the rightful heir, but not *all*; the thief must restore his supposedly worthless booty and at the same time bring about the discovery of its true worth.<sup>25</sup>

(2) The Jew who beat the image of St. Nicholas (*Legenda Aurea*, III, 9): A certain Jew entrusted his treasure to the watchful guardianship of an image of St. Nicholas. Thieves stole the treasure. The Jew in wrath flogged the image. St. Nicholas thereupon appeared in a vision to the thieves, who voluntarily restored the treasure.

This tale is obviously akin to the Querolus-story, though the actual disguising of the treasure has fallen into the background, owing to the shifting of the emphasis. The "moral" is the conversion of the Jew. The *recovery* of stolen treasure does just as well as the *discovery* of disguised treasure. The thief is led to restore the money, not by his own petulance nor unwittingly, but by the fear of St. Nicholas and voluntarily.

<sup>25</sup> In the play a second folk-tale is interwoven, namely, the trick whereby Mandrogerus and his apprentices succeed in stealing the "pot of gold." This is the tale of the Fakir or Wonder-working Impostor (cf. T. Wright, *Latin Stories*, 1842, no. 110, "De domina Romana," and no. 120, "De vetula divinatrice"). It is this which Pichon refers to as the "histoire de voleur volé"; and A. W. Ward, as "the biter bit"; see n. 20. It is not essential to the original story that we know *how* the pot was stolen. It adds to the interest of the play, however, when this is included as a subordinate plot, and dramatically combined with the principal plot in such a way that one stroke is the dénouement of both. In the *Querolus* the author naïvely indicates the twofold character of the plot by the second exposition (act V, sc. 1), in which the Lar says (49, 9 ff.): *Quantum ad personam Queroli spectat, perfecta iam sunt omnia. Sed Mandrogerontem . . . nunc inlaqueari volo.*

II. The treasure disguised for an ulterior purpose.

(a) By a sagacious father to reform a prodigal.

Ballad of the Unthrifty Heir of Linne. There are many analogues, Occidental and Oriental (cf. W. A. Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, 1887, II, 53). The story is essentially as follows: A certain man, upon his death-bed, gave to his son a key to a chamber which was to be entered only in case of dire extremity. The son, having wasted his patrimony, in despair bethought him of the key. He entered the secret chamber and found it empty save for a halter which hung from the ceiling. In shame and desperation he put his head in the noose, but when he threw his weight upon the rope, it pulled loose and down fell a shower of gold upon his head.<sup>26</sup>

(b) The treasure disguised by a debtor to deceive his creditor.

The Hollow Staff (Conon, *Διηγῆσεις*, no. 38 in Photius; Anon. apud Stobaeum, *Flor.* xxviii, 18; *Legenda Aurea*, III, 8; Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, part 2, chap. 45; etc. For Oriental analogues, see Dunlop-Liebrecht, p. 455, n. 8; E. Rohde, *Der griech. Roman*<sup>2</sup>, 1900, Anh. 596, n. 3). The story is essentially as follows: A borrows money from B. When B calls for his loan, A claims to have already paid it, and volunteers to support his claim by public oath. Meanwhile A has concealed an equivalent sum of money in a hollow staff.

<sup>26</sup> Among the analogues of this tale there is one of special interest in connection with the *Querolus*. It is the *Θησαυρός* of Menander, which Luscius Lanuvinus translated for the Roman stage. The plot is given by Donatus, ad Ter. *Eum.*, Prol. 10 (cf. O. Ribbeck<sup>2</sup>, *Com. Rom. Frag.* p. 84): *adulescens, qui rem familiarem ad nequitiam prodegerat, servulum mittit ad patris monumentum, quod senex sibi vivus magnis opibus apparaverat, ut id aperiret, illaturus epulas, quas pater post annum decimum caverat inferri sibi. Sed eum agrum, in quo monumentum erat, senex quidam avarus ab adolescente emerat. Servus ad aperiendum monumentum auxilio usus senis, thesaurum cum epistola ibidem reperit. Senex thesaurum tamquam a se per tumultum hostilem illic defossum retinet et sibi vindicat. Adulescens iudicem capit, apud quem prior senex, qui aurum retinet, causam suam sic agit 'Atheniense bellum, cum Rhodiensibus | quod fuerit, quid ego hic praedicem, quod tu scias?' etc.*

Note that here, as in the *Querolus*, the finding of the treasure is followed immediately by a *controversia* as to its ownership.

A and B repair to a temple or an altar, A pretending to be lame and using the gold-filled staff to support his steps. Arrived at the altar, A asks B to hold his staff; then, raising his hands on high, he swears that he has already repaid the loan. B in wrath dashes the staff against the altar. Out rolls the gold.

(c) The disguised treasure is designed by Divine Providence to reward the pious and to reprove the wicked or vain-glorious.

(1) The Hollow Loaf: *Deus plus potest quam imperator*. (J. Klapper, *Exempla*, 1911, no. 94; cf. Wright, *Lat. Stories*, 104; Gower, *Conf. Amant.*, v, 2391 ff., etc.) Exemplum de duobus cecis habemus, qui fuerunt Rome, quorum unus clamabat per civitatem cottidie: Bene est adiutus, quem deus vult iuvare. Alius clamabat: Bene est adiutus, quem imperator vult adiuvare. Quod cum innotuisset imperatori, fecit fieri unum pastillum fortiter coctum et talentis aureis plenum et ceco suo ad ianuam vociferanti fecit illud dari. Qui rediens obviavit altero ceco. A quo requisitus, si datum sibi fuisset aliquid ad ianuam imperatoris, respondit datum sibi esse panem durissimum et ponderosissimum. Quem sciens alius pastillum emit denarijs tribus et veniens ad uxorem suam pastillum fecit aperiri et invenit talenta auri. Quibus permutatis pro pecunia ditati sunt et a mendicitate cessaverunt. Alius vero cecus ad ianuam imperatoris iterum mendicans requisitus ab imperatore, quid fecisset cum dato sibi pastillo, respondit se alii ceco pro tribus denarijs dedisse. Quod audiens imperator reperit eum quasi indignum et male fortunatum et confirmavit sententiam alterius ceci, quia melius est confidere in adiutorio dei quam in adiutorio hominum.

We have here a conflict of purposes. The King's reward, by the interposition of Divine Providence, goes astray; and he who disguises the treasure, as well as those who receive it, learn God's lesson.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> It is possible to interpret the Querolus-story in the same way. The Lar, representing "Fate" or Divine Providence, allows the undeserving Mandrogerus to obtain the treasure, only to surrender it unwittingly to the rightful owner. Thus the righteous and the unrighteous alike learn the inscrutable power of "Fate."

(2) The Miraculous Test of Ownership (*Gesta Rom.* 109; Wright, *Lat. Stories*, 25 and 86; cf. Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice*, episode of the caskets; etc.). The story is essentially as follows: A wicked man hoards treasure in a hollow log. The log, carried away by a flood, falls into the hands of a righteous man, who discovers the gold and puts it aside to await the owner. The wicked man meanwhile goes hunting for his lost treasure, telling his tale wherever he goes. He finally comes to the finder of the treasure, who, to discover God's will, puts the question of the ownership to the test of chance. Either the wicked man must choose between three loaves, one of which contains a portion of the money; or having accepted as a dole the loaf which contains the money, he inadvertently returns it to the finder. In any case fate decides against the wicked man.<sup>28</sup>

(d) The treasure becomes the prize of any man who can solve the riddle of its disguise.

(1) A word to the wise from a repentant roué: Le Sage, *Gil Blas*, Preface: "Deux écoliers alloient ensemble de Penafiel à Salamanque. Se sentant las et altérés, ils s'arrêtèrent au bord d'une fontaine qu'ils rencontrèrent sur leur chemin. Là, tandis qu'ils se délassoient après s'être désaltérés, ils apperçurent par hasard auprès d'eux, sur une pierre à fleur de terre, quelques mots déjà un peu effacés par le tems, et par les pieds des troupeaux qu'on venoit abreuver à cette fontaine. Ils jetèrent de l'eau sur la pierre pour la laver, et ils lurent ces paroles Castellanes: *Aqui está encerrada el alma del Licenciado Pedro Garcias. Ici est enfermée l'âme du licencié Pierre Garcias.*

Le plus jeune des écoliers . . . se leva pour s'en aller. Son compagnon, plus judicieux, dit en lui même: il y a là-dessous quelque mystère: je veux demeurer ici pour l'éclaircir. Celui ci laissa donc partir l'autre, et sans perdre de

<sup>28</sup> The opening words of the version in the *Gesta Romanorum* are worth quoting for their clear indication of the difference between *disguised* and *buried* treasure: *Quidam faber . . . multam pecuniam collegit et unum truncum implevit et ipsum iuxta ignem posuit in conspectu omnium, ut nullus de eo suspicionem haberet, quod pecunias haberet.*

tems se mit à creuser avec son couteau tout autour de la pierre. Il fit si bien qu'il l'enleva. Il trouva dessous une bourse de cuir qu'il ouvrit. Il y avoit dedans cent ducats, avec une carte sur laquelle étoient écrites ces paroles *en latin*: sois mon héritier, toi qui as eu assez d'esprit pour démêler le sens de l'inscription, et fais un meilleur usage que moi de mon argent."<sup>29</sup>

(2) A fragment of a tale, which seems to belong in this group, is no. 84 of J. Klapper's *Exempla* (Heidelberg, 1911): *De Liberio imperatore, qui thesaurum invenit*. Liberius . . . . Et cum transiret per quoddam palacium inperiale, vidit in pavimento tabulam marmoream, in qua erat crux sculpta. Cumque illam fecisset levare dicens: Indignum crucem pedibus conculcari, que in pectoribus et in frontibus hominum debet esse, apparuit sub illa tabula eodem modo crux signata. Cumque et illam levare fecisset, apparuit tercia tabula consimilis et cum imperator ammirando et illam levare fecisset, invenit infinitum thesaurum.

Here the treasure is perhaps a reward for him who is wise enough to reverence the Holy Cross.

So much in general for the group of folk-tales to which the *Querolus* belongs.

One more problem remains to be considered: what were the immediate sources of the play?

In seeking an answer to this question, as to the question of the date and authorship of the play, we are dependent upon internal evidence alone. I am inclined to the following hypothesis: the *philosophicus sermo* of Rutilius, dealing with Fate, contained stories or examples to illustrate the power of Fate. One of these was a synopsis of a Greek New Comedy or perhaps of a Latin *fabula palliata* of the Republican Period.<sup>30</sup> This, redramatized by a playwright of the fourth century, is our *Querolus*. The original Greek comedy drew

<sup>29</sup> I suspect that the story of the emperor who found a golden sarcophagus, inscribed with the words 'expendi, donavi, servavi, habui, habeo, perdidit, punior' (*Gesta Rom.* 16 and 192), in spite of the monkish interpretation of the mystic words, may perhaps be akin to the tale of Pedro Garcias.

<sup>30</sup> See n. 26.

its plot from the folk-tales of Disguised Treasure and of Wonder-working Impostors.

There is one definite indication, which so far as I know has never been observed, that the *Querolus* is derived from a Greek tale which was descended from the Aesopic fable of Hermes (see p. 226). Twice in the text of the *Querolus* we are told that the inscription on the false cinerary urn was TRIERINUS ' TRICIPITINI ' FILIUS. I believe that TRIERINUS TRICIPITINI stands for Τριεριούνιος Τρικεφαλαίου<sup>81</sup> of the Greek comedy. When the cinerary urn was substituted for the image of Hermes, two epithets of Hermes, one of them especially appropriate to the discovery of treasure, were chosen for the fictitious epitaph. When the Greek was translated into Latin, Τρικεφαλαίου was rendered TRICIPITINI, with a clever play on the famous Roman cognomen. Whether Τριεριούνιος was simplified to TRIERINUS or the longer form TRIERIUNIUS has been corrupted in the Mss., I should not venture to say.

To recapitulate: I have tried to show (1) that the *Querolus* proves upon analysis not to be an adaptation or imitation of the *Aulularia* of Plautus, nor of any extant classical comedy, the traditional interpretation of the Prologue to the contrary notwithstanding; (2) that the principal plot of the *Querolus* is akin to many folk-tales of Disguised Treasure; (3) that the *Querolus* is derived from a Greek original, resembling the Θησαυρός of Menander, and that this Greek original was perhaps descended from the Aesopic fable of Hermes.

<sup>81</sup> One thinks at once of Τρισμέγιστος, but I have been able to find no trace of the *Querolus*-story in Hermetic literature.

XVII. — *The Sacred Bond*

BY PROFESSOR CAMPBELL BONNER

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

THERE are certain curious customs, reported from various parts of the world, which, examined together, lead to a general observation that is not without value to the student of religions. It appears from these customs that the relation between a divine being and a human worshiper may be made closer or brought into special prominence by the use of a physical symbol; or that an act of devotion may be emphasized and given a degree of permanency by representing it in a material form.

This principle is probably best known through certain prayer-customs. Travelers in Japan tell us of the little prayer-cairns of pebbles erected before the statues of Jizo, the protector of children.<sup>1</sup> Others speak of the less pleasant custom of pelting altar-screens, or even the images of gods and demons, with "spit-balls" — in this case bits of paper inscribed with a prayer, and then chewed to a pulp by the petitioner.<sup>2</sup> In Chinese Turkestan the traveler sometimes sees his guide pause to throw a stone upon a wayside cairn. When questioned the native explains, "That is a prayer."<sup>3</sup> The rosary, apart from its mnemonic convenience, probably owes its origin, in some degree, to the desire of the worshiper to associate his prayer with a permanent material symbol; and ecclesiastical scholars have cited, as a possible prototype of the rosary, a custom like that of the Egyptian hermit Paul, who kept count of his three hundred prayers by using a like number of pebbles, which he threw out of a fold of his robe, one by one, as he finished each orison.<sup>4</sup> M. René Dussaud has made a study of the custom, widespread in Northern

<sup>1</sup> Lafcadio Hearn, *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, I, 43 f., 60, 220-222.

<sup>2</sup> W. E. Griffis, *The Mikado's Empire*<sup>1</sup>, 382; Isabella J. Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*<sup>4</sup>, I, 69; Hearn, *op. cit.*, 80.

<sup>3</sup> Personal information from Professor Ellsworth Huntington, of Yale.

<sup>4</sup> Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, 20.

Africa and other Mohammedan regions, of laying a stone, or other small object, upon a saint's tomb or some other holy place. This he considers a materialization of prayer.<sup>5</sup>

In this paper I shall attempt to illustrate the use of a physical bond, such as a cord, chain, or fillet, to represent and emphasize the worshiper's relation to the deity as a suppliant protected by him, or as a devotee bound and consecrated to a god or a sacred object.

Tennyson has given poetical expression to this thought in some familiar lines about prayer in his "Passing of Arthur":

For so the whole round earth is every way  
Bound by gold chains about the feet of God.<sup>6</sup>

It is probable that the religious literature of many peoples would afford examples of metaphors representing the worshiper as bound by "cords of love" or "bonds of service" to a divinity.

For classical students an inquiry of this kind naturally proceeds from three familiar incidents. There is, first, Herodotus' story (I, 26) that the people of Ephesus, when besieged by Croesus, dedicated their city to Artemis by connecting the fortifications to the temple by means of a long rope, or as Aelian has it (*V. H.* III, 26), by running a number of cords from the walls and gates to the pillars of the temple. Thucydides relates that Polycrates dedicated the island of Rhenea to Apollo by passing a chain across the narrow channel which separates it from Delos (III, 104). According to Plutarch (*Solon*, 12), Cylon and his followers, when leaving the Acropolis, tried by a similar device to retain the pro-

<sup>5</sup> "La Matérialisation de la Prière en Orient," *Bull. et Mém. de la Soc. d'Anthr. de Paris*, 1906, pp. 213-218. I do not think that the desire to materialize the prayer is the only influence at work, even in the cases to which M. Dussaud devotes special attention. He has not, in my opinion, entirely refuted the views advanced by Doutté; see the latter's reply, *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, 419 ff., esp. 434, n. 1. I take this occasion to say that I am preparing a study of the customs of stone-throwing and cairn-building wherein I hope to treat the subject more fully than previous investigators have done.

<sup>6</sup> According to J. Comyns Carr (*Cornhill Magazine*, XLI, 44), Tennyson may have derived this figure from a striking sentence in a sermon by Archdeacon Hare (*The Law of Self-Sacrifice, ad fin.*).



tection of Athena; they kept hold of a long thread which they had fastened to the statue of the goddess. When the thread broke they were attacked and put to death by the opposing faction.

The significance of these cases has not been overlooked; several commentators call attention to the importance of tactual connection, in rites of consecration and supplication, which the instances manifestly reveal. For further elucidation no small debt is due to students of cultural anthropology. Tylor (*Primitive Culture*<sup>4</sup>, I, 117) and Liebrecht (*Zur Volkskunde*, 309 f.) have collected several examples that resemble the Greek cases in one particular or another. In the following paragraphs I have repeated their more apposite illustrations, and have added further material from my own reading. Before proceeding, however, it is worth while to note that the act of Polycrates may be regarded simply as an extension of the common practice of dedicating objects of ordinary size by attaching them, or hanging them, to a sacred object by means of a fillet.<sup>7</sup> In the case of the Cylonian conspirators there must have been a feeling that the power of the goddess was communicated to the men through the cord which they held; hence their persons were sacrosanct as long as the connection remained unbroken. The dedication of Ephesus occupies a middle position. All the following examples reveal, in one form or another, a belief that some possessing or protecting influence is extended through the connecting bond, or that a magical power, or *mana*, is transmitted by it.

Among the Ostyaks of Siberia, when a reindeer is sacrificed at a sick man's door, the patient holds in his hand a cord attached to the victim offered for his benefit.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, among the Garos of Assam a long thread is stretched between a sick man and the altar on which a fowl is to be offered for his benefit.<sup>9</sup> The Vedic literature attests a curious custom of

<sup>7</sup> Boetticher, *Baumkultus*, 77; here cited from Pley, *De lanæ in antiquorum ritibus usu*, 57.

<sup>8</sup> Tylor, *l.c.*, from Bastian, *Mensch*, III, 117.

<sup>9</sup> Playfair, *Garos* (London, 1909), 91; here from Scheffelowitz, *Das Schlingen- und Netzmotiv im Glauben und Brauch der Völker* (Giessen, 1912), 35.

attaching yellow birds to a patient's bed, in order that the jaundice may be transferred to them and carried away.<sup>10</sup> In another Indic sacrificial custom, the tying of the victim to the *yūpa*, or sacred post, has been regarded as a means of consecrating him; <sup>11</sup> but this interpretation has been called into question by some Sanskritists.

Naturally, in some cases which seem akin to those already described, the effort of persons engaged in a ceremony to touch a cord or some other belonging of a holy object is due merely to the feeling that even an indirect contact with the sacred thing has power to bestow a blessing. In synagogues of orthodox Jews, when, after the reading of the Law, the sacred scroll is carried back from the reader's desk to the holy ark, those members of the congregation who possibly can, touch the body or at least the mantle of the scroll, and kiss it. The same thing is done during the feast of the Rejoicing of the Law, the eighth day of the Feast of Tabernacles, when all the scrolls are carried around seven times.<sup>12</sup> There is apparently a like idea in Virgil's description (*Aen.* II, 238 f.) of the way in which the wooden horse, supposed to be a sacred object, is drawn into Troy: *pueri circum in-nuptaeque puellae Sacra canunt, funemque manu contingere gaudent.* On the occasion of the restoration of the Capitol (*Tac. Hist.* IV, 53) the presiding praetor, after the completion of the sacrifices and prayer, touches the fillets which had been bound about the huge foundation-stone, and it is then dragged into position by priests, dignitaries, and nobles, aided by numerous volunteers from the crowd. It has been conjectured that a ceremonial touching of the altar formed part of Greek rites of sacrifice and dedication.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *Atharva Veda*, I, 22, 4, with *Kausikasutra*, 26, 18; *Sacred Books of the East*, XLII, 7 f., 263 f. I owe the reference to the kindness of Professor G. M. Bolling.

<sup>11</sup> Hubert and Mauss, in *L'Année Sociologique*, 1897-1898, pp. 59, 64.

<sup>12</sup> This information I derive from Dr. Ernst Riess, of the Boys' High School, Brooklyn, who also pointed out to me the ritual coloring of the following Virgilian example.

<sup>13</sup> Hock, *Griechische Weihegebräuche* (Würzburg, 1905), 106; the author cites a fourth-century votive relief to Asklepios (*Ath. Mitt.* II, pl. xvi, *Arch. Zeit.* 1877, p. 143).

An English traveler among the Buddhists of southern India witnessed in 1828 a ceremony of relic-worship which he describes as follows: "A sacred thread . . . is fastened round the interior of the building, and its end, after being fastened to the reading platform, is placed near the relic. At such times as the whole of the priests who are present engage in chanting in chorus, the cord is untwined, and each priest takes hold of it, thus making the communication complete between each of the officiating priests, the relic, and the interior walls of the building."<sup>14</sup> A rope seems to have been used in certain Greek cult-dances.<sup>15</sup> Aside from its obvious convenience as an aid to united action and a guide in difficult figures, there may have been a feeling that the solidarity of the worshipers was thus indicated.

Liebrecht (p. 309) refers to a common European custom of passing chains round and round a church, and to a form of vow mentioned in old Breton songs, in which the votary promises a cord or girdle of wax long enough to go three times around the church and then be fastened to the altar or crucifix. He believes that the original purpose of such cords and chains was to extend the sanctifying and protecting influence of the sacred object, or of the holy place in a narrow sense, to its surrounding precinct. Ohnefalsch-Richter (*Kypros*, p. 89, n.) reports that the Greek Christians of Cyprus sometimes make a long rope of cotton and pass it several times around the church and upon the tower. In this, as well as in Liebrecht's examples, there may be present something of that apotropaic value of the encircling cord to which Liebrecht calls attention elsewhere in the essay cited.

Interesting illustrations of the manner in which even indirect physical contact with a stranger insures the protection of a suppliant are afforded by the traditional laws of the desert. W. Robertson Smith writes: "In modern Arabia a protected stranger is called a *dakhil*, from the phrase *dakhaltu ʾalaika*, 'I have come in unto thee,' that is, have sought the protec-

<sup>14</sup> R. Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, 241; Tylor, *l.c.*

<sup>15</sup> Nilsson, *Griech. Feste*, 381; Robert in *Hermes*, XXI, 166, n. 1; Diels, *Sibyll. Blätter*, 91 f. Cf. Ter. *Ad.* 752, and the ancient commentators.

tion of thy tent. . . . Nay, it is enough to touch the tent-ropes, imploring protection."<sup>16</sup> Similarly Layard: "Amongst the Shammar, if a man can seize the end of a string or thread, the other end of which is held by his enemy, he immediately becomes his *dakhil*. If he touch the canvas of a tent, or can even throw his mace toward it, he is the *dakhil* of the owner."<sup>17</sup>

In a number of monuments of Mesopotamian art we may recognize attempts to represent the sacred bond between a suppliant human being and a divine protector. On a relief of the period of Ashur-nazir-pal we see kneeling, one on each side of the sacred tree, two kings who are holding tasselled streamers which hang down from the winged sun-disk.<sup>18</sup> A design of the same sort, but with the kings standing, is shown on an Assyrian seal-cylinder in the British Museum.<sup>19</sup> On another seal, the Fish-Man, or Fish-God holds a band hanging from the winged disk.<sup>20</sup> In several archaic specimens, the streamer or cord is attached, not to the winged disk, but to another sacred object, apparently a winged door or gate — possibly the gate of sunrise.<sup>21</sup> The interpretation of all these monuments is difficult and doubtful, and it is not to be denied that what I have called a cord might have been meant for a ray of light or a stream of water. On a cylinder in the Harvard Semitic Museum there is little doubt that the "cord" hanging from the wings of the disk is a stream of water.<sup>22</sup> But even if the cords were originally rays or streams, that symbolism was evidently forgotten, for the execution of most designs of this sort points clearly enough to an effort to represent tactual connection between the god and the worshiper.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, 1885, p. 41.

<sup>17</sup> *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, 317.

<sup>18</sup> C. J. Ball, *Light from the East*, 32.

<sup>19</sup> Well shown in Jeremias, *Das alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients*<sup>2</sup>, fig. 65 (same number in the English translation); the imperfect cut in Ward's *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, p. 227, fig. 695, must be corrected by the aid of the accompanying text.

<sup>20</sup> Layard, *op. cit.*, 343.

<sup>21</sup> Ward, *op. cit.*, figs. 350, 351, 353; cf. text, p. 36.

<sup>22</sup> Ward, *op. cit.*, 217, fig. 656.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Ward, *op. cit.*, 396.

It seems probable that in actual cult ceremonies, as well as in symbolic art, the sacred bond played its part.

That we may better understand certain instances that must be treated presently, we should bear in mind that the bond between a worshiper and a sacred object may be regarded as merely a special phase of the magic of binding and loosing in general; and that this magic, when brought into connection with theistic ritual, usually aims to give over some person or thing bound to a divine power. Babylonian religious texts, as is well known, make frequent allusion to the acts of binding and loosing, especially in connection with ceremonies intended to relieve the sick from the attacks of demons of disease. As an outward badge of the service of a divinity one may instance the wreath of cord, which, as Herodotus tells us (I, 199), was worn by the female votaries of Mylitta in Babylon. We infer from the Epistle of Jeremiah (42 f.) that this cord was broken when the women had completed the sacrifice of their persons, and had thus relieved themselves of their obligation to the goddess.<sup>24</sup> The rope bound on the head appears as a mark of servitude and submission in the first book of Kings (xx, 31 f.), where the servants of Ben-hadad sue for their master's life. In Greek witchcraft a knotted band of wool may serve to devote an enemy to the infernal deities (*καταδεσμός*), or it may simply consecrate a vessel or other offering to a god. A similar band of wool constitutes the *στέμμα*, or fillet, to which Greek writers allude so often; and the *στέμμα* is now recognized as a bond consecrating its wearer.<sup>25</sup> *ταινίαι*, which in ordinary cult serve

<sup>24</sup> Herodotus speaks of the wreath of cord as *στέφανος θώμιγγος*, and also refers to passages marked off by cords (*σχοινοτενέες διέξοδοι*), leading here and there among the waiting women. The language of the Epistle (*περιθέμεναι σχοινία . . . ὅταν δὲ τις αὐτῶν ἐφελκυσθεῖσα . . . τὸ σχοινίον διερράγη*) is such that, taking it in connection with Herodotus, we may venture the suggestion that the women wore a rope around the waist, and that this rope, during the period of their waiting, was made fast, perhaps to the wall of the temple. Charles, in his discussion of this passage (*Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*), says: "The expression *ἐφελκυσθεῖσα*, 'dragged after him,' seems to imply a cord round the woman's waist, a sort of Venus's girdle, which is then symbolically broken."

<sup>25</sup> *Daremberg-Saglio*, s.v. *consecratio*, p. 1449; Pley, *De lanæ in antiquorum ritibus usu* (Giessen, 1911), 26, 35, and cap. ii *passim*.

much the same purpose as *στέμματα*, are called *ἱεροὶ δεσμοί* by Hesychius (*s.v.* *ταυρία*). It is fairly certain that, whether a worshiper attached himself to a god's image or only bound a fillet round his head in token of his devotion, the same idea is at work; just as, so far as the principle is concerned, it makes no difference whether a man holds a cord fastened to a cult-idol, like Cylon's followers, or wears a sacred image or medal slung round his neck, like ancient worshipers of Cybele and Artemis<sup>26</sup> and certain Christians of to-day. Paul's description of himself as *δέσμιος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ* (Ephes. iii, 1; Philem. 1, 9 f.) may be explained, it seems to me, by the currency of the idea of binding in ancient religious thought. Reitzenstein, I find, has given a similar explanation, proceeding from a somewhat different point of departure.<sup>27</sup>

The usual gestures of Greek suppliants, clasping the knees or touching the chin of a superior, were doubtless prompted partly by the wish to detain the person addressed and prevent him from withdrawing himself, partly by the feeling that immediate clinging contact might at least temporarily delay a repulse or a stroke. In the Arabic laws of *dakhīl*, which have been mentioned above, we have a striking proof that even indirect contact was efficacious to protect a suppliant. So among the Greeks the tactual connection might, at need, be extended, as in the case of the Cylonian conspirators. That other instances of the practice occurred in ordinary custom is likely enough. Considerations of propriety, or a heightened feeling for the sanctity of a cult-image might forbid the clasping of the image itself, yet permit a suppliant to hold a fillet depending from it, like the fillets that hang from the hands of the Ephesian Artemis, the Samian Hera, and Zeus of Mylasa.<sup>28</sup> Here we may mention a legend of Cyzicus told by Aelian (fr. 46) about certain women suppliants who clung to the statue of Artemis in such a way that her neck-

<sup>26</sup> See the relief of an archigallus, Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, II, fig. 867, and cf. Roscher, *Lexikon*, I, 590.

<sup>27</sup> *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, 81; cf. *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen*, 73.

<sup>28</sup> *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, pp. 283-284; *Cat. of Greek Coins in Brit. Mus.*, *Ionia*, p. 71, pl. xiii.

lace was broken when they were dragged away. The threat of Aeschylus' suppliant maidens (463, 465) that they will hang themselves to the statue unless protected may have been suggested by stories about refugees who tied themselves to an altar or an image.

The tragedy, in fact, presents a number of passages that appear to throw light upon our inquiry, and yet are tantalizingly inadequate for satisfactory proof; but we may claim something for their aggregate effect. Sixty years ago Dr. B. H. Kennedy, writing in the *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology* (1, 234 f.), argued from the third line of Sophocles' *King Oedipus* that suppliants retained some connection with their characteristic emblem, the filleted bough, even after it had been laid upon the altar. He suggested that the woollen fillet was wound about the neck of the suppliant, who thus sat tied, as it were, beside the altar. It is not surprising that this idea, verging as it does upon the grotesque, should have attracted few adherents; and in fact the proposed interpretation cannot well be derived from the word *ἐξεστεμμένοι* and its context. But Paley repeated Kennedy's suggestion in connection with several Euripidean passages where it fits better; and it still finds acceptance among English scholars.<sup>29</sup> The passages in question are the following: In the *Iphigenia at Aulis*, 1216, Iphigenia says to Agamemnon

ἱκετηρίαν δὲ γόνασιν ἐξάπτω σέθεν  
τὸ σῶμα τοῦμόν, ὅπερ ἔτικτεν ἦδε σοι.

*Orestes*, 382 f.:

τῶν σῶν δὲ γονάτων πρωτόλεια θιγγάνω  
ικέτης ἀφύλλον στόματος ἐξάπτω λιτάς.

The use of the word *ἐξάπτω* is to be noted.

*Androm.* 894 f.:

στεμμάτων δ' οὐχ ἦσσονας  
σοῖς προστίθημι γόνασιν ὠλένας ἐμάς.

*Heracl.* 226:

ἀλλ' ἄντομαί σε, καὶ καταστέφω χεροῖν.

<sup>29</sup> See Paley's notes on Eur. *Suppl.* 32, *Heracl.* 124, *Iph. Aul.* 1216, and on Aesch. *Suppl.* 641; Wedd on *Or.* 383, and Way's note in his translation.

καταστέφω is used of the act of attaching a fillet to a sacred object in *Heracl.* 124; cf. *Iph. Aul.* 1478.

Interesting also is the situation at the opening of Euripides' *Suppliants*, where Aethra, besieged by the suppliant women of Argos, remains beside the altar holding a bough (the θαλλὸς ἰκτῆρ of l. 10), which she calls δεσμός ἄδεσμος (32) — 'a bond of mild constraint.'

After making full allowance for the freedom of poetic language, it is fairly plain that the clasping arms of the suppliant are analogous to the fillets with which he would deck an altar, and that the suppliant considered himself bound by the fillet of his wreathed bough to the altar of the god. We need not believe, with Kennedy, that the asylum-seeker tethered himself by a band around his neck, but it is very likely that in the presence of threatening enemies he would call attention to his claim upon divine protection by grasping the fillet that hung from the bough on the altar. A significant gesture of this sort is mentioned in the account of the Theban Daphnephoria.<sup>30</sup> A staff of olive-wood, decorated with branches of laurel, flowers, fillets, etc., was carried in procession, and the daphnephoros walked behind holding to the laurel. In this act I can see nothing more than an indication of the devotion of the daphnephoros to Apollo and his sacred tree.

The foregoing considerations may now be applied to the interpretation of an obscure bit of Greek ritual. Concerning a sanctuary of Artemis near Kaphyiae in Arcadia Pausanias tells the following cult-legend (VIII, 23, 6 ff.). Some children at play found a rope and fastened it around the neck of the image, saying that Artemis was being strangled.<sup>31</sup> The people of the town punished the sacrilege by stoning the children. A plague then visited the place, and the oracle directed the people to give the bodies of the children proper

<sup>30</sup> Proclus ap. Phot. *Bibl.* p. 321 (in Westphal's *Scriptores Metrici*, 248).

<sup>31</sup> ἐπέλεγεν ὡς ἀπάγχουτο ἡ Ἄρτεμις. Some authorities translate, less circumspectly, "hanged." But despite the confident statement of a writer in a recent number of *Philologus* (LXXII, 375), ἀπάγχω means 'throttle,' 'strangle' simply, as well as 'strangle by hanging.' Cf. *Odys.* XIX, 230, *Ar. Nub.* 1385.



burial, to perform certain other ceremonies — which Pausanias, in his provoking manner, does not describe — and to call the goddess thenceforth “Strangled Artemis.”

Manifestly the legend is meant to explain a ceremony which involved placing a cord around the neck of the statue (so Hitzig-Blümner *ad loc.*). But the evidence does not justify Farnell (*C.G.S.* II, 428) in deriving the story from a “custom of hanging the mask or image of the divinity of vegetation on a tree to secure fertility.” Nor do I think it necessary to assume that the story indicates a local custom of making sacrifices to Artemis by hanging, although Nilsson (*Griech. Feste*, 235 f.) has shown that such hanged offerings occur in close connection with Artemis worship elsewhere. I would suggest that we have an adequate explanation of the Arcadian custom if we assume that the rope ceremony was a form of supplication indicating the devotion of the worshipers and the protection extended by the divinity.<sup>82</sup>

I close with a brief discussion of a Roman legend and a Roman monument. Ovid (*Fast.* IV, 291–328) tells a story that when the image of the Great Mother was brought to Rome, the ship bearing it ran aground at the mouth of the Tiber, and could not be moved forward until a certain Claudia Quinta, whose character had been under suspicion, proved her chastity by drawing the vessel upstream with her unaided hand.<sup>83</sup> It is supposed that this scene is depicted upon a well-known marble altar in the Capitoline Museum.<sup>84</sup> The legend has been critically examined by Ernst Schmidt in his *Kultübertragungen* (1–30), and need not be discussed in detail. But I may offer the following suggestions.

<sup>82</sup> A legend occurring in connection with the cult of Hecate at Ephesus (Eust. ad *Odys.* XII, p. 1714, 43; Schneider, *Callim.* II, 356, 4) seems to show that there a “hanging myth” arose from a peculiarity of a neck-ornament on the image. Note especially the words *καὶ αὐτὴν μὲν . . . ἀπάγξασθαι, τὴν δὲ θεὸν περιθείσαν αὐτῇ τὸν οἰκείον κόσμον Ἐκάτην ὀνομάσαι*. The close relation of Artemis and Hecate emphasizes again the curious prominence of the cord, rope, or neck-band in the cult and legends of Artemis.

<sup>83</sup> The legend presents numerous variations in detail. The sources are gathered together in Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* *Claudia Quinta*, and in the work of E. Schmidt cited in the text.

<sup>84</sup> *Catalogue of the Museo Capitolino*, p. 181 f., pl. 43.

Numerous hagiographic legends, both of the ancient and the mediaeval periods, reduce themselves to this formula: A sacred object refuses to leave or to pass a favored spot, and so either cannot be moved at all, or yields only to a favored person.<sup>35</sup> Since such stories often arise from local jealousies or preferences, it is hard to put aside the conjecture that the story of the ship stopping at the mouth of the Tiber arose at a time when a cult of the Mother had established itself at Ostia, and its adherents claimed priority for the local shrine even as against the Roman temple. The earlier existence of an obscure community of Cybele worshipers at Ostia seems intrinsically probable; but proof is lacking, and the earliest evidence of the cult is said not to antedate the second Christian century.<sup>36</sup>

As Schmidt points out (p. 16 f.), the emphasis laid upon the virtue of Claudia, as upon that of Scipio Nasica, who received the image, according to Livy (xxix, 14, 9 ff.), merely magnifies the sanctity of the occasion; and the motive of the ordeal (compare the story of Tuccia, Val. Max. viii, 1, 5) is extraneous, and serves only to heighten the dramatic character of certain versions. Hence the deed of Claudia is not an essential part of the legend. Its inclusion in the fabric of the story may be explained by the following hypothesis.

The prototype of such works as the Capitoline altar was intended to present nothing more than the figure of a female votary standing reverently before an image of the Great Mother on her sacred ship, and holding a fillet tied about the prow of the vessel. One should observe, first, that it is unmistakably a fillet that the woman on the altar holds; not a chain, as some cuts show it (Baumeister, fig. 864, for example), and not a girdle, as it is incautiously described in the British School's Catalogue of the museum — unless we are to assume that holy women used a fillet for a girdle. Secondly, we know of representations of Cybele on shipboard which do not show any person drawing the vessel; so, for example, a terra-cotta antefix published by Visconti (*Annali*, 1867, tav.

<sup>35</sup> Delehayé, *Les légendes hagiographiques*, 35 f., Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 99 ff.

<sup>36</sup> Lily R. Taylor, *The Cults of Ostia*, Bryn Mawr, 1912, p. 57.

d'agg. G). Such representations may mark Cybele as an alien deity,<sup>87</sup> but they need not have anything to do with the circumstances of her solemn entry into Rome. The Mountain Mother becomes a traveler and a protector from the perils of the sea when her votaries betake themselves to navigation and sojourn abroad.

Now the purpose, I repeat, of the prototype of such works as the Capitoline altar was simply to show the devotee in connection with her patron goddess. But if some prominent Roman matron adopted the worship of the Great Mother soon after its introduction, and erected a monument of the kind described, it would be a natural error, in course of time, to think that the monument stood in some relation to the portentous passage of the sacred ship up the Tiber. This supposed relation would, of course, influence the execution of later monuments of the type, like the Capitoline altar itself; for there the posture of the figure suggests that the woman is drawing the vessel, even though the fillet is not drawn taut.

<sup>87</sup> Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 88 ff., especially 93 f. The importance of the ship in connection with the cult of Cybele, quite apart from the Claudia legend, is shown by *CIL*, vi, 494, a dedication by a certain Q. Nunnius Telephus, *matri deum et navi salviae*.



PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

FORTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

HELD AT CAMBRIDGE, MASS., DECEMBER, 1913

ALSO OF THE FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE

Philological Association of the Pacific Coast

HELD AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

NOVEMBER, 1913

AND OF A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE LATTER

HELD AT BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

APRIL, 1913



MEMBERS IN ATTENDANCE AT THE FORTY-FIFTH  
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Charles F. Sitterly, Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J.  
Harry de Forest Smith, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.  
Kendall Kerfoot Smith, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.  
Kirby Flower Smith, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

Herbert Weir Smyth, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.  
Duane Reed Stuart, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.  
Helen H. Tanzer, Hunter College, New York, N. Y.  
Everett E. Thompson, New York, N. Y.  
Willmot H. Thompson, Jr., Acadia College, Wolfville, N. S.  
Charles H. Thurber, Boston, Mass.  
James A. Tufts, Phillips Academy, Exeter, N. H.  
B. L. Ullman, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.  
Harry B. Van Deventer, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.  
Henry B. Van Hoesen, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio.  
La Rue Van Hook, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.  
Frank Vogel, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass.  
John W. H. Walden, Cambridge, Mass.  
Raymond Weeks, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.  
Monroe N. Wetmore, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.  
Arthur L. Wheeler, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.  
Henry Wood, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.  
Willis P. Woodman, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y.  
F. Warren Wright, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.  
Herbert H. Yeames, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y.

[Total, 156]

# AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

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## I. PROGRAMME

MONDAY, DECEMBER 29

FIRST SESSION, 2.45 O'CLOCK P.M.

FRANCIS G. ALLINSON

Some Passages in Menander (p. 65)

CATHARINE SAUNDERS

The Site of Dramatic Performances at Rome in the Times of Plautus  
and Terence (p. 87)

B. L. ULLMAN

Dramatic Satira<sup>1</sup>

CLIFFORD H. MOORE

Recognition in Roman Comedy

ANDREW RUNNI ANDERSON

The Unity of the Enclitic *-ne* (read by Professor Knapp)<sup>2</sup>

WILLIAM PETERSON

More About the *Dialogue* of Tacitus (read by the Secretary)<sup>3</sup>

HENRY L. CROSBY

Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 1029-1037, and *Peace*, 751-760 (read by title  
p. xx)

GEORGE DWIGHT KELLOGG

The Greek Motives of the First Scene of Plautus' *Menaechmi* (read  
by title, p. xxxii)

HAMILTON FORD ALLEN

Greek Mummy-Labels in the University Museum, Philadelphia  
Two Inscribed Bits of Wood in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston  
(read by title)

<sup>1</sup> Published in *Classical Philology*, IX, 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* 174-188.

<sup>3</sup> Published in the *American Journal of Philology*, XXXV, 74 ff.

ANDREW RUNNI ANDERSON

Repudiative Expressions in Greek Drama, and in Plautus and Terence (read by title, p. 43)

GRACE HARRIET MACURDY

The Epithets of Artemis in Bacchylides, v, 98 f., and x, 35-39 (read by title, p. xxxvii)

GEORGE M. BOLLING

Homericæ (read by title)<sup>1</sup>

Notes on the Topography of Ilios: the Rivers and the Gates (read by title)

## JOINT SESSION WITH THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

8 O'CLOCK P.M.

HAROLD NORTH FOWLER

The Present and Future of Classical Studies in the United States: Annual Address of the President of the Philological Association (p. xxvii)

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 30

SECOND SESSION, 9.40 O'CLOCK A.M.

CAMPBELL BONNER

The Bond between the God and the Worshipper (p. 233)

DWIGHT NELSON ROBINSON

A Study of the Social Position of the Devotees of the Oriental Cults in the Western World, Based on the Inscriptions (p. 151)

GORDON J. LAING

Tertullian and the Pagan Cults (p. xxxv)

ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE

The Conclusion of Cicero's *de Natura Deorum* (p. 25)

GEORGE CONVERSE FISKE

Lucilius and Persius (p. xxi)

CLARENCE P. BILL

Early Greek Influence on Asia Minor (p. xvi)

<sup>1</sup> Published in the *American Journal of Philology*, xxxv, no. 2.

GUY BLANDIN COLBURN

Epithets of the Gods and Heroes in Catullus (read by title, p. xvi)

ROBERT B. ENGLISH

Heraclitus and the Soul (read by title, p. 163)

JOHN CAREW ROLFE

Notes on Suetonius (read by title, p. xlvii)

HERBERT WEIR SMYTH

A Preliminary Survey of the Mss. of Aeschylus (read by title, p. liii)

HENRY BARTLETT VAN HOESEN

Abbreviations in Latin Papyri (read by title, p. 39)

R. B. STEELE

The Passive Periphrastic in Latin (read by title, p. 5)

SECOND JOINT SESSION WITH THE MODERN LANGUAGE  
ASSOCIATION

2.45 O'CLOCK P.M.

JAMES W. BRIGHT

Address in Memory of Professor Francis A. March<sup>1</sup>

H. J. ROSE

The Witch Scene in Lucan (p. 1)

WILLIAM GARDNER HALE

Report of the Joint Committee on Grammatical Terminology

WILLIAM FENWICK HARRIS

An Especial Need of the Humanities in Democratic Education

THIRD JOINT SESSION WITH THE MODERN LANGUAGE  
ASSOCIATION

8 O'CLOCK, P.M.

ALEXANDER R. HOHLFELD

Light from Goethe on Our Problems :

Annual Address of the President of the Modern Language Association<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Copies of this address, reprinted from the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, have been sent to all the members.

<sup>2</sup> Published in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXIX, lviii ff.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 31

THIRD SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK A.M.

DEAN P. LOCKWOOD

The Plot of the *Querolus* and Folk-tales of Disguised Treasure  
(p. 215)

GRACE HARRIET MACURDY

The Water-gods and Aeneas in *Iliad*, xx-xxi (p. xxxviii)

SAMUEL GRANT OLIPHANT

The Story of the Strix : Ancient  
(read by Professor Arthur L. Wheeler, p. 133)

EDITH FAHNESTOCK and MARY BRADFORD PEAKS

A Vulgar Latin Origin for Spanish *padres*, meaning "Father and  
Mother" (read by Professor Elizabeth H. Palmer, p. 77)

CHARLES P. G. SCOTT

The Ape and the Popinjay

CARL DARLING BUCK

The Semasiology of Words of Speaking and Saying<sup>1</sup>

EDWIN W. FAY

Pada Endings and Pada Suffixes (p. 107)

J. E. GRANRUD

A Preliminary List of Cicero's Orations (read by title, p. xxvii)

WALTER WOODBURN HYDE

The Evidence for the Dating of Statuaries of Olympic Victors (read  
by title, p. xxx)

FOURTH SESSION, 3.30 O'CLOCK P.M.

THOMAS FITZHUGH

Aristotle's Theory of Rhythm (p. xxiii)

JOHN CUNNINGHAM ROBERTSON

Humor in Three Philosophical Dialogues of Lucian (p. xlv)

CHARLES CHRISTOPHER MIEROW

Some Noticeable Characteristics of the Style of Euegippius (p. xl)

ROLAND G. KENT

The Etymological Meaning of *pomerium* (read by title, p. 19)

<sup>1</sup> To be published in *Modern Philology*.

EVAN T. SAGE

An Additional Note on the History of Certain Mss. of Petronius  
(read by title, p. lii)

HENRY A. SANDERS

Two Old Testament Quotations in the Gospels<sup>1</sup>

EDGAR HOWARD STURTEVANT

The Genitive and Dative Singular of the Latin Pronominal Declension  
(read by title, p. 99)

HERBERT CUSHING TOLMAN

Does *yaunā takabarā* Signify 'Shield (*i.e.* Petasos)-wearing Ionians'?  
(read by title, p. liii)

HERBERT W. MAGOUN

The Anomalies of the Greek Tetrachord (read by title, p. xxxviii)

FRANK GARDNER MOORE

Note on Tacitus, *Dialogus*, 34 (read by title, p. xliii)

<sup>1</sup> Published in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, LXXI, 275 ff.

## II. MINUTES

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS, December 29, 1913.

The Forty-fifth Annual Meeting was called to order at 2.45 P.M. in Emerson Hall, Harvard University (room J), by Professor Harold North Fowler, of Western Reserve University, President of the Association.

The Secretary, Professor Frank Gardner Moore, of Columbia University, reported from the Executive Committee the following list of new members :<sup>1</sup>—

- Prof. Earl Brownell Babcock, University of Chicago.
- Prof. Charles Wesley Bain, University of North Carolina.
- Pierre Arnold-Bernard, Leonia, N. J.
- Dr. Leonard Bloomfield, Leipzig, Germany.
- Rhys Carpenter, Bryn Mawr College.
- E. A. Coffin, Hartford High School.
- George H. Cohen, Yale University.
- Edmund D. Cressman, University of Kansas.
- George E. Dimock, Jr., Yale University.
- Miss Edith Fahnestock, Vassar College.
- James Fulton Ferguson, Bryn Mawr College.
- J. E. Granrud, University of Minnesota.
- Prof. D. D. Hains, Wabash College.
- Dr. Gustave Adolphus Harrer, Jr., Princeton University.
- Prof. Charles Baker Hedrick, Berkeley Divinity School.
- Prof. Clarence Nevin Heller, Franklin and Marshall College.
- Prof. George Howe, University of North Carolina.
- Prof. Arthur Leslie Keith, Carleton College.
- Dr. George A. Land, Lawrenceville School.
- Max Levine, Hobart College.
- Miss Caroline Vinia Lynch, Dorchester Centre, Mass.
- Dr. Samuel Hart Newhall, Phillips Exeter Academy.
- Henry Spackman Pancoast, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Prof. Walter Petersen, Bethany College.
- Thomas DeCoursey Ruth, Princeton University.
- Robert Maxwell Scoon, Princeton University.
- Everett E. Thompson, New York, N. Y.
- Prof. Frank Butler Trotter, University of West Virginia.
- Miss Susan E. Van Wert, Hunter High School, New York.
- E. R. B. Willis, Cornell University.
- Prof. Francis A. Wood, University of Chicago.

<sup>1</sup> Including a few names added later by the Committee.



The Secretary further reported the publication of the TRANSACTIONS and PROCEEDINGS, Volume XLIII, at the beginning of October.

The Treasurer read the following report:—

RECEIPTS	
Balance, December 27, 1912 . . . . .	\$679.70
Sales of Transactions . . . . .	\$94.48
Membership dues . . . . .	1729.00
Initiation fees . . . . .	160.00
Dividends . . . . .	6.00
Interest . . . . .	23.79
Offprints . . . . .	1.50
Philological Association of the Pacific Coast . . . . .	200.00
Total receipts to December 26, 1913 . . . . .	<u>2214.77</u>
	\$2894.47

EXPENDITURES	
Transactions and Proceedings (Vol. XLIII) . . . . .	\$1446.78
Salary of Secretary . . . . .	300.00
Postage . . . . .	67.50
Printing and stationery . . . . .	82.63
Express . . . . .	1.25
Press clippings . . . . .	5.00
Seal . . . . .	6.20
Total expenditures to December 26, 1913 . . . . .	<u>\$1909.36</u>
Balance, December 26, 1913 . . . . .	985.11
	<u>\$2894.47</u>

It was voted to accept the Secretary's report, and to refer that of the Treasurer to the usual committee.

The Chair appointed Professors Elmer Truesdell Merrill and Frank Cole Babbitt a Committee to audit the Treasurer's accounts.

A Committee on the Place of the Next Meeting was also named by the Chair, as follows: Professors Kirby F. Smith, Clifford H. Moore, and William N. Bates.

The Chair further appointed a Committee on Resolutions as follows: Professors Martin L. D'Ooge, Charles Knapp, and Gordon J. Laing.

The remainder of the session was given to the reading and discussion of papers.

JOINT SESSION WITH THE MODERN LANGUAGE  
ASSOCIATION

Monday evening, December 29.

The Societies met in room D, Emerson Hall, at 8 P.M., the President of the Modern Language Association, Professor Alexander R. Hohlfeld, of the University of Wisconsin, presiding.

Professor George H. Palmer welcomed the members in the name of Harvard University.

The annual address of the President of the Philological Association was then delivered by Professor Harold North Fowler, of Western Reserve University, under the title, *The Present and Future of Classical Studies in the United States*.

SECOND SESSION

Tuesday morning, December 30.

The Association met at 9.40 A.M. in room J, Emerson Hall. The President occupied the chair, and the session was devoted to the reading and discussion of papers.

SECOND JOINT SESSION WITH THE MODERN LANGUAGE  
ASSOCIATION

Tuesday afternoon, December 30.

The Associations met in room D, at 2.45 P.M., and were called to order by Professor Hohlfeld, President of the Modern Language Association. Later the chair was occupied by Professor Carl D. Buck, Vice-President of the Philological Association. Papers were read, and a memorial address on the life of the late Professor Francis A. March, and his services to philology, was delivered by Professor James W. Bright, of Johns Hopkins University. The Report of the Joint Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature was presented by its Chairman, Professor William Gardner Hale, of the University of Chicago.

THIRD JOINT SESSION WITH THE MODERN LANGUAGE  
ASSOCIATION

Tuesday evening, December 30.

The Societies met in room D, Emerson Hall, at 8 P.M., the President of the Philological Association presiding. The annual address of the President of the Modern Language Association was delivered by Professor Alexander R. Hohlfeld, of the University of Wisconsin, on *Light from Goethe on Our Problems*.

THIRD SESSION

Wednesday morning, December 31.

The Association was called to order at 10 A.M., by the President, in room J, and the remainder of the morning was occupied by the reading of papers and discussion.

FOURTH SESSION

Wednesday afternoon, December 31.

The business meeting of the Association was called to order by the President at 2.45 P.M. (room J).

Professor John C. Kirtland made a report as Chairman of the Philological section of the Joint Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature, including a statement of attendance of the representatives of this Association at the different meetings of the Committee held during the year; and asked that the Committee be continued.<sup>1</sup>

Professor Hale, as Chairman of the Joint Committee, explained the delay in sending out copies of the Report to the members, and set forth the wishes of the Committee in regard to a final edition of the same, containing a history of the movement, with special reference to the English and Austrian commissions, and an index.

On motion of Professor Sanders,

*Voted*, That the report of Professor Kirtland's Committee be accepted and adopted.

On motion of Professor Clifford H. Moore,

*Voted*, That the report of the Joint Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature be received by the Association.

*Voted*, That the representatives of the American Philological Association upon the Committee be continued; and that the representatives of this Association be authorized to act in its behalf in completing the Report and providing for its publication.

After much discussion of motions by Professors Knapp and Durham; looking to the postponement of action until the next annual meeting, the former was withdrawn, and for the latter it was voted by a plurality of 36 to 19 to substitute a resolution offered by Professor Kirtland, which was then adopted, as follows:—

*Voted*, That the Association express its sense of the desirability of uniformity of grammatical terminology in the work of the schools; and recommend that the

<sup>1</sup> The Report was accepted and commended by the National Education Association; at Salt Lake City, July 10, 1913, and by the National Council of Teachers of English, at Chicago, November 29, 1913; it was approved by the Modern Language Association, at Cambridge, December 31, 1913.

schools follow the general lines of the Report of the Joint Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature, with the understanding that this recommendation does not carry with it approval of all the terms proposed in the Report.<sup>1</sup>

The Auditing Committee reported, by its Chairman, Professor Elmer Truesdell Merrill, that it had found the Treasurer's accounts in order.

From the Committee on International Meetings,<sup>2</sup> Professor Merrill reported progress, and asked to have the Committee continued, which was done.

Professor Merrill, as Chairman of the Committee on Nominations, made a statement of the aims of the Committee, and offered the following list of nominations: —

*President*, Professor Edward Capps, Princeton University.

*Vice-Presidents*, Professor Carl Darling Buck, University of Chicago.

Professor Edward P. Morris, Yale University.

*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 Adams Scott, Northwestern University.

Professor Kirby Flower Smith, Johns Hopkins University.

Professor Arthur L. Wheeler, Bryn Mawr College.

It was voted that the Secretary cast a single ballot for the officers nominated, and they were thereupon declared elected.

The Committee on the Place of the Next Meeting, by its Chairman, Professor William N. Bates, reported, recommending that the Association decide whether it wishes to meet with the Institute, and if so, that it appoint a committee to confer with the committee of the Institute, to arrange a place of meeting. It was then

*Voted*, That the question of the time and place of the next meeting be referred to the Executive Committee with power.

On motion of Professor Martin L. D'Ooge, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions,

<sup>1</sup> In fairness to all concerned, it may be added that no objections to any particular terms were mentioned in the course of the discussion. It was not implied that important differences of opinion were likely to arise. The purpose of the last clause was understood to be merely to disclaim responsibility for details, such as in the nature of the case could not be brought before the members present at this session.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. XL, xiv; XLI, xii. The Committee consists of Professors Merrill, Martin L. D'Ooge, and Edward P. Morris.

*Voted*, That the Members of the American Philological Association express their sincere thanks for the delightful hospitality and generous privileges extended to them by the President and Corporation of Harvard University, by Radcliffe College, by the Harvard Club and the University Club, and by Mrs. John L. Gardner, of Boston, and by the Colonial Club of Cambridge, and the Harvard Union.

They also desire to express their grateful appreciation of the efficient service of the Local Committee of Arrangements, and of the gracious courtesies of Professor and Mrs. Herbert Weir Smyth and Professor and Mrs. George Lyman Kittredge, which have contributed no small share in making the forty-fifth annual meeting of the Association a memorable one both for enjoyment and profit.

*Voted*, That the Secretary send a copy of this resolution to each of the persons and organizations named.

The President laid before the Association certain proposals made by the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast with regard to the possibility of furnishing some of the members of that society with copies of the Publications of the Modern Language Association, instead of our Transactions and Proceedings.

*Voted*, That the relation of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast be referred to the Executive Committee with power.

The remainder of the session was given to the reading of papers, Professor Buck, and then Professor Fowler, presiding.

At the close of the session the President announced the appointment of Professor John Carew Rolfe, of the University of Pennsylvania, as a member of the Nominating Committee.

Adjourned.

The next annual meeting will be held at Haverford College, December 29-31, 1914, in conjunction with the Archaeological Institute of America.

## III. ABSTRACTS

1. Early Greek Influence on Asia Minor, by Professor Clarence P. Bill, of Western Reserve University.

This paper gives a résumé of the actual effects produced upon the *βάρβαροι* of Asia Minor before the time of Alexander, as far as these effects are indicated by our present evidence. Minor effects appear as early as 700 B.C., for example, in Phrygia; but in the next four centuries we have no positive indications of important Greek influence outside of Lydia, Caria, and Lycia. In Lydia and Caria substantial effects are seen in the use of alphabets mostly borrowed from the Greeks, in the partial introduction of the Greek language, the importation of Greek architecture and sculpture, the use of coins of Greek style (at least in Caria), and the adoption of some Greek elements in religion. In these two countries, however, there is no evidence for anything deeper than simple borrowing; in no department of life do we see Greek influence overcoming native ways and conceptions, and substituting therefor the ideals and methods of Greece. Such a thing is found in Lycia only, where Greek influence before Alexander culminates. For in Lycia native architecture is completely made over on Greek models, the ideals and methods of Greek sculpture are learned by native sculptors, the Greek language is apparently fast rising to predominance over Lycian, and the Lycian coins become substantially Greek, as far as type and workmanship are concerned.

Nevertheless, the territory showing effects of Greek influence is very small and is practically confined to the lower lands near the coast. From a geographical standpoint these lands belonged more naturally with Greece than they did with the high plateau that formed the bulk of the peninsula; so that in hellenizing them Greece was in a sense only taking what naturally belonged to her. The great high country, which constituted the real Asia Minor, gives as yet no evidence of having been affected, in any important way, by Greek influence.

2. Epithets of the Gods and Heroes in Catullus, by Professor Guy Blandin Colburn, of the University of Missouri.

In most of the poems of Catullus<sup>1</sup> names of the gods and heroes occur only in exclamations or colloquial phrases without epithet;

<sup>1</sup> Text of R. Ellis, 1878, with a few changes in the use of capital letters.

but in the songs, *Dianae sumus in fide, Collis O Heliconii, Vesper adest: iuvenes consurgite*, and in the poems in the epic manner, *Super alta vectus Attis, Peliaco quondam prognatae vertice* (which alone furnishes four fifths of the material for this study), *Omnia qui magni dispexit, Quod mihi fortuna, 1-60*, these names come more often and with varied epithets.

It is almost wholly the Greek gods and heroes that Catullus describes. Even when he uses the Roman name he usually pictures the Greek personage, as in 64, 390, *vagus Liber Parnassi vertice summo*. Of the *di indigetes*, only four (Iuppiter, Iuno, Mars, Vulcanus) receive epithets, and only four others are named at all. We find only a few *numina abstracta* (Amor, Concordia, Fors, Fortuna, Fides, Victoria), for Catullus does not naturally dwell upon the abstract. There are mentioned about forty Greek divinities, great and small, and about the same number of other mythological characters, such as Perseus and Ariadne, also sixteen names of winds, rivers, and other natural forces, where personification is possible, though not always certain.

Nearly half of all occurrences (43 %) contain no epithet. Noticeable among these are exclamations; e.g.

doctis, Iuppiter! et laboriosis, 1, 7.

Iuppiter! ut tristi lumina saepe manu, 66, 30.

ita me iuvent caelites, 61, 197.

ita me dii ament, 97, 1.

(also with colorless epithet in

Di *magni!* salapatium disertum, 53, 5.)

and proverbial, colloquial, or metonymic phrases; e.g.

riches: *divitias Midae*, 24, 4.

a feat: *Herculi labos*, 55, 13.

the Romans: *Romuli nepotes*, 49, 1; *Romuli gentem*, 34, 22; *Remi nepotes*, 58, 5.

the careful are the winners: *amat Victoria curam*, 62, 16.

not for anyone's sake: *non si Iuppiter ipse petat*, 70, 2.

reduced his uncle to silence: *patrum reddidit Harpocraten*, 74, 4; cf. 102, 4.

Excepting names of winds, rivers, and stars, there are but few clear cases of the use of the god for the thing that the god protects or provides: *omni tempore*

nimio e labore somnum capiunt sine Cerere (*i.e.* frumento), 63, 36.

O nuptae semper Concordia vostras | semper Amor sedes incolat  
*assiduus*, 66, 87.

sive utrumque Iuppiter (*i.e.* ventus) | simul secundus incidisset in  
pedem, 4, 20.

(insulas) quascumque . . . fert uterque Neptunus (*i.e.* liquor), 31, 3.  
una omnis surripuit Veneres (*i.e.* venustates), 86, 6.

Doubtful instances of the name of the god put for that of the thing  
are :

praeterea infestum *misero* me tradere Amori (dolori ?), 99, 11.  
nam simul ac fessis dederit Fors (fors ?) copiam Achivis, 64, 366.  
flammeus ut *rapidi* Solis (solis ?) nitor obscuretur, 66, 3.  
ibi Sompnus (somnia ?) excitum Attin fugiens *citius* abiit, 63, 42.  
estne novis nuptis odio Venus (voluptas ?), 66, 15; cf. 63, 17.

The personages most richly provided with epithets are : Iuppiter ;  
*aestuossus, genitor divum, maximus, omnipotens, omnivollus, pater,*  
*pater divum, rector caelestum, summus.* Venus ; *Amathusia duplex,*  
*bona, colens Idalium, creata ponto caeruleo, dea, Dione, diva, Ery-*  
*cina, sancta* twice. Diana ; *cultrix unigena, dea, Iuno Lucina, La-*  
*tonia, Luna, progenies Iovis magna, Trivia, Trivia potens.* Cybele,  
8 epithets. Theseus, 6. Amor, Arsinoe, Hymenaeus, 5 each.

The only combinations (personage and epithet), which occur more  
than once are : *bona* Venus, 2 occurrences ; *cinaedus* Romulus  
(*i.e.* Caesar), 2 ; *dea* [Cybele,<sup>1</sup>] 2 ; *ferox* Theseus, 2 ; *Hymen* Hy-  
menaeus, 46 ; *Hesperus* [Vesper], 4 ; *pater divum* [Iuppiter], 2 ;  
*sancta* Venus, 2 ; *virgo Ramnusia* [Nemesis], 3 ; *Zephyrus* [Favo-  
nius], 2.

Certain few colorless epithets are promiscuously applied : *e.g.* *diva*  
[Arsinoe], [Cybele], [Thetis], Venus ; *dea* Cybele, [Cybele], [Diana],  
Pasihea, [Venus]. *dae* Amadryades, [Erinyes], [Musae]. Also *dea*  
*magna* Cybele, *dea vehemens* Nemesis, *deus tardipes* [Volcanus].  
The other epithets exactly repeated with different personages  
are *rapidus* Sol (*i.e.* sol), Triton (*i.e.* flumen) ; *saevus* Boreas,  
[Minotaurus] : *vagus* Liber, Sol. There are sixteen groups that  
show partial repetition, two of which will suffice for examples : *virgo*  
*regia* [Ariadna], *virgo Ramnusia* [Nemesis], *virgines doctae* [Musae],  
and *sancta* Venus, *puer sanctus* [Amor], *coniunx sancta* [Iuno].

The *cognomina deorum* (cult-names like *Iuppiter Stator, Venus*  
*Victrix*) are not employed by Catullus as epithets for the gods.

<sup>1</sup> Square brackets indicate that the name of the god or hero is omitted.



Instances of possible borrowing of epithets from earlier or contemporary Latin poetry are rare and inconclusive.<sup>1</sup>

Epithets which are words of Greek origin are few; they are mostly proper names or proper adjectives: e.g., *Amathusia duplex*, *cinaedus*, *Eumenides*, *Hesperus*, *Minois*, *moecha*, *mulier notha*, *nympha frigerans*, *Phoebus*, *virgo Ramnusia*, *Zephyrus*. Very few of the epithets appear to be translations of the Greek.

A considerable number, chiefly compound words, are apparently coinages of Catullus: e.g. *deus tardipes*, *pinnipes noctifer*, *Nysigenae*, *tutamen opis Emathiae*, *septemgeminus*, *aequoreae*, *salisubsalus* (?), *coniugator amoris boni*, *Amphitryoniades falsiparens*, *nympha frigerans*, *cultrix unigena* and *unigena Memnonis*.

Turning to the meanings of the epithets, we find that Catullus, who in general deals with the visible and tangible, makes the largest class of words descriptive of gods and heroes that expressing moral characteristics: e.g. *expers terroris* Achilles, *dea magna* Cybele, *omnivolus* Iuppiter, *periurus* [Pelops]. Almost equally large, however, is the class expressing physical characteristics: *puella pernix* [Atalanta], *tener* Attis, *pulcherrima* Laudamia, *deus tardipes* [Volcanus], *fratres pileati* [Castor et Pollux]. A considerable number of epithets connect the personage with some locality: *incola Itoni* [Minerva], *colens Idalium* Venus, *virgo Ramnusia* [Nemesis]; or with some kindred: *Minois* [Ariadna], *genitor nympharum* Oceanus, *gemellus Castoris* [Pollux], *progenies Iovis magna* [Diana].

To a remarkable extent in Catullus the epithet displaces the name. Of all the occurrences of epithets (149) over half (83) — not counting the reiterated *Hymen* Hymenaeus — appear without the name of the god or hero. For instance, we find the epithet *deus tardipes* instead of the name Volcanus; instead of Theseus we find *hospes malus*, *iuvenis*, *immemor*, *navita perfidus*; Diana is named twice without epithet, appears nowhere with both name and epithet, but is alluded to eight times by the use of various epithets without the name.

In Catullus two thirds of all gods and heroes named are given some epithet; in Horace three fourths are provided with epithet. Catullus makes proportionately less use of epithets than Horace. He repeats them more frequently, and appears to coin new epithets more freely. Horace employs more translations of the Greek epithets.

<sup>1</sup> In common with Ennius: *Trivia* Diana; *maximus*, *omnipotens*, *pater*, *pater divum*, *summus* Iuppiter; in common with Plautus: *bona* Venus, *summus* Iuppiter.

3. Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 1029-1037, and *Peace*, 751-760, by Professor Henry L. Crosby, of the University of Pennsylvania.

The similarity between these passages is a phenomenon as well known as it is striking. Most scholars have supposed, apparently without question, that for some sufficient reason the poet in composing the *Peace* chose to borrow a passage from his play of the year before. This view seems so natural as to need no defence, had not a different interpretation been put forth.

Hamaker (*Mnemos.* III, 241 sqq.) pronounced *Wasps*, 1029-1042, to be spurious, an interpolation in imitation of the passage in the *Peace*. Van Leeuwen, for very similar reasons, in both editions of the *Wasps* views the passage in the *Peace* as the earlier, but, unlike Hamaker, holds the poet himself responsible for the lines in the *Wasps*, a view that accords well with his theory that the play as we have it is the product of revision for a performance subsequent to its production in 422 B.C. Starkie in his edition of 1897 expresses a similar view, seemingly influenced by van Leeuwen, whose edition of 1893 he says that he used.

The arguments on which this theory is based are twofold. In the first place, it is claimed that such an attack was possible only after the death of Cleon. To this a sufficient answer would be that the whole play of the *Wasps* is a very thinly veiled attack upon that demagogue, as van Leeuwen himself admits, so that it is hard to see why the poet should have drawn the line at the passage in question. Secondly, certain difficulties are found in the language of the passage in the *Wasps*. Line 1029 is said to be faulty in point of grammar, inappropriate in view of the context preceding, and weak in comparison with *Peace*, 751. A sufficient answer to these charges has been made by von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (*Sitzungsb. d. koenigl. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1911, p. 468). Furthermore, the imperfect tense of the verbs *ἐλαμπον*, *ἐλιχμῶντο*, *εἶχεν* is held to indicate that Cleon was then dead. Would it not be more reasonable to view these imperfects as used in a descriptive sense, referring primarily, however fantastic the picture, to the immediate situation of the encounter in the *Knights*, to which allusion is made in line 1029, the first clause in the sentence?

What appears to be a clear indication that the lines were written for the performance of 422 B.C. is found in line 1037, in the phrase *ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἔτι καὶ νυνὶ πολεμεῖ*, which is intimately joined to the

preceding, a reference to the unflinching attitude maintained by Aristophanes toward Cleon. The phrase could hardly have been composed after Cleon's death, and it is significant that in its counterpart in *Peace*, 759-760, the past tense is used, as of something then ended.

On the other hand, there are some serious difficulties in the lines in the *Peace*. It has been noticed that *πρῶτον μὲν* of line 754 has nothing to balance it in what follows, so that Hamaker actually proposed to substitute for the line the reading of *Wasps*, 1031! Beginning with the same line, we find a sudden and seemingly inexplicable shift from the third to the first person wherever allusion is made to the poet; whereas the parabasis of the *Wasps* consistently employs the third person throughout. Furthermore, why should as characteristic and effective a line as *Peace*, 753, be wanting in the *Wasps*, if the latter were the result of borrowing? Finally, *Wasps*, 1043, seems clearly to allude to 1030, and since from 1044 it is seen that those lines were composed for the year following the first edition of the *Clouds*, it would follow that the same is true of 1030 and consequently of the passage as a whole.

#### 4. Lucilius and Persius, by Professor George Converse Fiske, of the University of Wisconsin.

The object of the paper was (1) to present the general results of an investigation extending over a period of two years upon the relation of Horace to Lucilius; (2) as typical of method to give a comparative analysis of certain portions of two Lucilian satires in books xxix and xxx and of Horace, *Sat.* I, 4, 100-143; (3) The general conclusion of the paper was that we can reconstruct Lucilian themes parallel to Horace's satires 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10 in book I and of 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, in book II.

After a brief summary of the investigations and opinions of earlier scholars, Iltgen, Zawadzki, Tyrrell, Marx, and Cichorius, the paper defended the thesis that most of Horace's satires were in one sense paraphrases of Lucilian themes rendered in terms of contemporary life with consummate literary art. Verbal imitation is, of course, not excluded, indeed occurs when aesthetically demanded, but fundamentally the relation between Lucilius and Horace is one resting upon the identity of their themes and types. Horace's method was shown to be essentially the same as that of the Italian, French, and English writers of classical satire in dealing with their models, Horace,

Persius, and Juvenal. In this sense Horace's great predecessor and model was Lucilius. But Lucilius probably reflects the influence of the study of Greek satiric literature, which most nearly attained the focal point of expression in the New Comedy, in the related *χαρακτῆρες* of Theophrastus, and above all in the *τὸ σπουδογέλοιον* of the popular Cynic-Stoic philosophers, as may be proved even by a cursory examination and comparison of the vast store of commonplaces gathered in Gerhard's *Phoenix von Kolophon* with the Latin satirists.

It was impossible to present even a general summary of results, but the full publication of the investigation will show in particular that the *main* theme<sup>1</sup> of:

Horace, I, 1 = Lucilius, XIX.	Horace, II, 1 = Lucilius, XXX, 5, and XXVI, 4.
Horace, I, 2 = Lucilius, XXIX, 3, and VIII.	Horace, II, 2 = Lucilius, XXVII (a satire).
Horace, I, 4 = Lucilius, XXX, 2.	Horace, II, 3 = Lucilius, two satires in XXVIII and XXX.
Horace, I, 5 = Lucilius, III.	Horace, II, 4 = Lucilian model probable.
Horace, I, 6 = Lucilius, XXX, 2.	Horace, II, 7 = Lucilian material similar to that used in I, 2.
Horace, I, 7 = Lucilius, II.	Horace, II, 8 = Lucilius, XX.
Horace, I, 9 = Lucilius, VI.	
Horace, I, 10 = a restatement of I, 4 with some resemblances to Lucilius, XXVI, 1, the <i>τόπος</i> of the poet's audience.	

The main body of the paper as read presented a comparative analysis of the last 43 lines of Horace I, 4 and of Lucilius XXIX, 806, 808, 811, 812, XXX, 1054, 1038. The purpose was to illustrate concretely the method of the general investigation. First it was shown that Horace's father was a mouthpiece for the empirical morality of the Cynics. His pedagogy and that of the Cynics have the following eight points in common: (1) teaching of morality by *praecepta* and concrete examples (cf. the *χρηστοὶ λόγοι*); (2) These examples drawn from contemporary life; (3) And from the New Comedy; (4) Horace's father and Horace himself, like the Cynics, contrast their ideals with those of the world. (5) The emphasis on *fama* is parallel to the Cynic *νομίζεσθαι χρηστός*. (6) Horace and his father use self-mockery, the method of the Cynic *εἴρων*. (7) The satirist-sage employs self-examination and self-blame for *mediocria vitia*. (8) The fruit of this self-examination, a sort of auto-dialectic, is sincerity.

<sup>1</sup> Usually we have considerable incidental imitation of other satires in addition to the satire which furnishes the main theme.

Now the first satire of book xxix of Lucilius contains a similar exposition of the educational theories of the Greek philosophers, which was Horace's general model. Thus 808 = 103-105; 806 = 105, 106; 811 = 107-108; 812 = 115-119; 805, 1054 = 131-137; 1036 = 137-140; 1038 = 140-143.

The object of the investigation is not to prove that Lucilius was the sole model of Horace, for the writer is not a believer in *exclusive* sources. The influence of Bion and Menippus, and of Horace's studies in the popularizations of Stoic, Cynic, and Epicurean philosophy current in Augustan Rome was profound. Every satire moreover is redolent with the personality of Horace himself, with the social and aesthetic ideals of the Augustan age. With no derogation to the originality of Horace, therefore, it was held that Lucilius established the central themes of Horatian satire.

The results of the investigation will later be published in full.

#### 5. Aristotle's Theory of Rhythm, by Professor Thomas FitzHugh, of the University of Virginia.

In my *Indoeuropean Rhythm* (1912), in opposition to the speculative constructions of hellenizing theory, I sought to show the original nature of Indoeuropean rhythm as a familiar, ordered, duplicational, or tripudic count, applied to the scheme of Indoeuropean speech. Its fundamental short verse is the tripudic dimeter or tetrapodic stress-count:

one-two one-two

whose catalectic equivalent is the tripod or tripudium proper:

one-two-three.

The most primitive type shows each count represented by an integral word or word-group, without precise differentiation of thesis and arsis. Hence the frequency of the four-word and three-word dimeters in our oldest tradition; cf. my *Sacred Tripudium* (1909), *Italico-Keltic Accent and Rhythm* (1909), *Literary Saturnian* (1910), and K. Meyer,<sup>1</sup> *Ueber die älteste irische Dichtung* (1913):

<sup>1</sup> Failure to observe such fundamental phenomena has occasioned Meyer's metrical and rhythmical error and confusion both here and elsewhere (e.g. in his 'Primer of Irish Metrics'). His method of metrical and rhythmical inquiry consists in counting syllables and talking vaguely of 'rhythmische Gliederung.' His syllable-counting hypothesis lags behind the standpoint even of Zeuss and Zim-

## TRIPUDIC DIMETERS OR ACCENTUAL TETRAPODIES (TRIPODIES)

Old-Latin ( <i>Carmen Arvale</i> ):	sinas   incurrere    in   pleoris. one   two    one   two
Old-Irish (Meyer, <i>l.c.</i> , I, I, p. 16):	dāla   cach-rīg    rōmdai. one   two    one-two
Old-Latin (Scipionic Inscription):	honc   oino    ploirume. one   two    one-two
Old-Irish (Meyer, <i>ibid.</i> ):	nida   dīr    dermait. one   two    one-two

But already with our earliest tradition we find the counts becoming intensively regulated as stress-feet with main count (thesis) and subordinate count (arsis):

Old-Latin ( <i>Carmen Arvale</i> ):	enos   Lases    iuvate. one-two   one-two    one-two-three
Old-Irish (Meyer, p. 17, 14 Dist.):	ruiri   Mache    mārcharptech. one-two   one-two    one-two-three
Old-Latin (Livius Andronicus):	virum   mihi    Camena. one-two   one-two    one-two-three
Old-Irish (Patrick's Hymn):	génair   Patraicc    in Nemthur. one-two   one-two    one-two-three

Here the last two main counts of the dimeter are subsumed within a single tripudic word-foot or word-group. So also may the first two:

Old-Latin ( <i>Carmen Arvale</i> ):	semunis    alternei. one-two-three    one-two-three
Old-Irish (Meyer, p. 18):	cathchorach    crūaidrī. one-two-three    one-two-three

Thus the assumption of K. Meyer (p. 4) of an older and essentially different type of verse in Old-Irish from the type of St. Patrick's Hymn and the rest is an error due to the total misconception of Italic-Keltic accent and rhythm, "wenn auch Windisch, Thurneysen, Rhys und *ich selbst* uns gelegentlich mit ihr (sc. dieser älteren ganz anders gestalteten Metrik) beschäftigt haben."

mer, and his erroneous theory of Old-Irish 'metrics' is contradicted in each verse by his equally erroneous theory of Old-Irish accent. It is not surprising, therefore, that tripudic doctrine compels him, as well as myself, to violate *his*, not my, accentual theory at every turn; cf. his footnote, p. 4. His theory of un-rhythm is an injustice to the genius of the Keltic race.

Thus the original tripudic accent of Indoeuropean speech gave the cue to its tripudic rhythm, and made the tripudic dimeter acatalectic and catalectic (accentual tetrapody and tripody) the source and starting point of the whole evolution. With the change in Indo-Iranian and Greek from a stress accent to a musical accent, the tripudic stress-count became a tripudic syllable-count. Here too, as in the earliest Latin and Keltic tradition, our oldest Greek verse shows each count represented by the undifferentiated word foot, without the later nice differentiation of syllabic thesis and arsis. In the Dionysos-hymn of the women of Elis, our oldest phase of Greek verse, precisely as in the oldest Italic and Keltic types, we have a tripudic word-count by twos and threes and fours, with the long syllable instead of the acute stress to signalize the main count or ictus in each word-foot :

ἐλθεῖν,   ἦρω    Διόνυσε,	— /   — /    υ υ / υ
Ἄλειον   ἐς    ναόν	υ / υ   / / υ
ἄγρον   σὺν    χαρίτεσσιν,	— /   / / υ υ / υ
ἐς ναόν,	/   / / /
τῶ   βοέῳ    ποδὶ θύων.	/   υ υ / / υ υ / —
ἄξιε   ταῦρε,    ἄξιε   ταῦρε	/ υ υ   / υ / / υ υ   / υ

Here, then, just as in Old-Latin and Old-Irish, each word or word-group represents a rhythmic foot or undifferentiated count, and these counts are in tetrapodies and tripodies, and therefore tripudic ; cf. Usener, *Altgriechischer Versbau*, pp. 80 f. The original tripudic accentual tetrapody and tripody has become in Greek and Indo-Iranian the tripudic syllabic or quantitative tetrapody and tripody.

We may therefore define Indoeuropean rhythm as a simple, ordered duplicational or tripudic count applied to the scheme of Indoeuropean speech. This measured tripudic count may be signalized by stroke of hand or foot (*thesis*) or by stress of voice (*ictus* or *percussio*). The problem as to the use of the ictus in Greek vanishes into thin air : the ictus is precisely as necessary and as unnecessary for quantitative as for accentual rhythm. The prominence of *ictus* or *percussio* in Latin metrical theory is due to the frequent and deliberate artificiality of the classical count in Latin, where it was often called upon to assert itself in conflict with the natural stress-count of the word.

So much for the obvious results of my previous inquiry into the origin and nature of Indoeuropean rhythm. At once the astounding insight of Aristotle's equation ῥυθμός = ἀριθμός, when interpreted 'rhythm' = 'count,' challenges our attention, *Rhetoric*, III, 8, 1 : ὁ δὲ

τοῦ σχήματος τῆς λέξεως ἀριθμὸς ῥυθμὸς ἐστίν, 'now the count applied to the scheme of speech is what rhythm is.' The commentators, overlooking the concreteness of Aristotle's thinking, have here satisfied themselves with vague reference to Plato's *Philebus* and Pythagoras' philosophy of number, missing the real Aristotelian relation of rhythm to number; it is as a "familiarly known, ordered count, applied to the scheme of speech," that Aristotle defines rhythm as ἀριθμὸς, *Probl.* XIX, 38: ῥυθμῶ δὲ χαίρομεν διὰ τὸ γνώριμον καὶ τεταγμένον ἀριθμὸν ἔχειν, καὶ κινεῖν ἡμᾶς τεταγμένως. That this simple, ordered count was duplicational or tripudic is implied in the immediate context of the *Rhetoric*, where Aristotle passes from the discussion of rhythmic structure to that of periodic structure, from the rhythm of speech to the rhythm of thought, as he evidently views the matter, *Rhetoric*, III, 9, 3: ἀριθμὸν ἔχει ἢ ἐν περιόδοις λέξεις, ἢ πάντων εὐμνημονευστότατον. διὸ καὶ τὰ μέτρα πάντες μνημονεύουσι μᾶλλον τῶν χυδῆν· ἀριθμὸν γὰρ ἔχει ᾧ μετρεῖται. Accordingly, the period too involves this same illuminating count-principle as verse itself, and that Aristotle regarded the fundamental nature of the periodic count as duplicational is expressly stated in the subsequent context and implied in each of his many illustrations: ἔστι δ' ἐν κώλοις μὲν λέξις ἢ τετελειωμένη τε καὶ διηρημένη καὶ εὐανάπνευστος . . . κῶλον δ' ἔστι τὸ ἕτερον μῦρον ταύτης, where ἕτερον expresses the duplicational count of the members in the rhythm of the Greek period.

Thus the duplicational rhythm of Indoeuropean speech finds its instinctive reflex in the duplicational rhythm of Indoeuropean thought, and the Indoeuropean tripudium becomes the source and *raison d'être* of the whole evolution. Parallelism and antithesis, assonance and rhyme, are but instinctive and natural refinements upon the duplicational count of the rhythmic period, and with these minor elements in its total harmony the context in Aristotle's discussion closes.

The folk-psychological insight of Aristotle's equation ῥυθμὸς = ἀριθμὸς, 'rhythm' = 'count,' is curiously confirmed by the instinctive usage of the Latin race, whose word for rhythm is *numerus*, or count. "Numeros memini," says Vergil, "si verba tenerem," "I remember the rhythm (counts), if I only recalled the words." The duplicational or tripudic character of this, our "familiarly known, ordered" Indoeuropean count, as illustrated in the basal tetrapody and tripod on Indoeuropean verse, is confirmed by Greek θρίαμβος, διθύραμβος, and Latin *triumpus*, *tripudium*, *nostra dinumeratio*, of ancient literary and grammatical tradition.



6. The Present and Future of Classical Studies in the United States, by Professor Harold North Fowler, of Western Reserve University.

The speaker conceded that the study of the classics had been, for a time, in the past artificially encouraged, but asserted that the reaction had gone too far. The reaction is due in part to the excessive emphasis upon so-called practical subjects in our colleges, in part to the restlessness of the age. It was pointed out that the interests of those who devote themselves to the classics and those who make modern languages their life work are in many respects identical, but that neither the classics nor the modern languages can be allowed to drop out of our colleges. The study of the classics must continue, and should meet at present, not with further opposition, but with encouragement. Its progress depends chiefly upon those who teach the classics in our colleges, not upon archaeologists or those who give courses in ancient literature through the medium of translations, or even of those who carry on original research and teach their advanced pupils to do the same. What is now most essential is courageous, enthusiastic teaching of the classical languages and literatures in schools and colleges.

7. A Preliminary List of Cicero's Orations, by Professor J. E. Granrud, of the University of Minnesota.

A complete list of all the speeches which Cicero delivered—whether written or not—and of all the speeches which he wrote for publication or for others, but did not deliver, would be interesting and valuable. After the lapse of two thousand years, however, it cannot be secured. In the course of his varied career Cicero probably delivered hundreds of addresses of which every trace has been lost. But we can still find some record or other of a considerable number of orations. A. Westermann in his *Geschichte der römischen Beredsamkeit* has a list of 116, but 4 are acknowledged to be spurious, and 2 or 3 others are based on a poor text or insufficient evidence. C. F. W. Müller in his edition of Cicero's works gives a list of 57 speeches that are fairly complete, another list of 17 of which fragments exist, and the titles of 31 others which have been completely lost. He also mentions the *pro negotiatoribus Achaëis* and the reference to a 16th Philippic. If we accept all, the total will be 108. The lists in the edition of Orelli and in the *Cicéron Orateur* by

V. Cucheval (109) are quite similar, and need not detain us at present. All these lists include chiefly addresses that were published, whether delivered or not, but also several that cannot be proven to have been published. The latter class ought either to be consistently excluded or included in full. I believe that for certain purposes all the orations of every class should be included, and I have made a provisional list, — the first one of its kind, so far as I know. Of course I claim no discoveries, and I hope I am guilty of no inventions. The new speeches in my list are well known to every scholar who is thoroughly familiar with the life of Cicero. I have arranged the orations according to surnames where known or existing, and according to the first word of each title, disregarding prepositions. I have added also the traditional dates in order to make it easier to identify the speeches. The final register will contain brief descriptions, *e.g.* the question at issue, the names of the speakers on both sides, of defendants in lawsuits, and the result. Additions and corrections will be necessary, and suggestions will be appreciated.

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|--|---|
| 1. Pro adolescentibus Siculis, B.C. 75.      | 21. Laudatio C. Caesaris, B.C. 56.                        |
| 2. Pro C. Antonio collega, B.C. 59.          | 22. In L. Calpurnium Pisonem Caesoninum, B.C. 55.         |
| 3. De Antiocho II rege Commagenes, B.C. 54.  | 23-26. In L. Sergium Catilinam, B.C. 63.                  |
| 4. De agro Campano referendo, B.C. 56.       | 27. Laudatio M. Porci Catonis, B.C. 46.                   |
| 5. Pro A. Licinio Archia poeta, B.C. 62.     | 28. Orationes pro ceteris scriptae, ?                     |
| 6. Pro P. Asicio, B.C. 56.                   | 29. Pro M. Cispio, B.C. 56.                               |
| 7. Pro L. Sempronio Atratino patre, B.C. 56. | 30. De consulatu suo, B.C. 61.                            |
| 8. Pro T. Ampio Balbo, ?                     | 31. Contra contionem Q. Caecili Metelli Nepotis, B.C. 62. |
| 9. Pro T. A. Balbo scripta, perhaps B.C. 46. | 32-33. Pro C. Cornelio, B.C. 65.                          |
| 10. Pro L. Cornelio Balbo, B.C. 56.          | 34. Pro M. Licinio Crasso, B.C. 54.                       |
| 11-15. Pro L. Calpurnio Pisonem Bestia, ?    | 35. Cum Lilybaeo decederet, B.C. 74.                      |
| 16. Pro L. C. P. Bestia, B.C. 56.            | 36. Cum populo gratias egit, B.C. 57.                     |
| 17. In T. Munatium Plancum Bursam, B.C. 52.  | 37. Cum provinciam in contione deponeret, B.C. 63.        |
| 18. Pro T. M. P. Bursa, ?                    | 38. Cum senatui gratias egit, B.C. 57.                    |
| 19. In Q. Caecilium divinatio, B.C. 70.      | 39. Pro rege Deiotaro, B.C. 45.                           |
| 20. Pro A. Licinio Caecina, perhaps B.C. 69. | 40-41. Pro P. Cornelio Dolabella, probably B.C. 52.       |
|  | 42. De domo sua apud pontifices, B.C. 57.                 |
|  | 43. Pro Livio Druso (Claudio) senatore, B.C. 54.          |

44. De eis, qui ob iudicandum accepissent, quaerendis, B.C. 61.  
 45. Pro Sulla Fausto, B.C. 66.  
 46. Pro L. Valerio Flacco, B.C. 59.  
 47. Pro M. Fonteio, B.C. 69.  
 48. Pro C. Fundanio, B.C. 66.  
 49. In A. Gabinium, B.C. 54.  
 50. Pro A. Gabinio, B.C. 54.  
 51. Pro Q. Gallio, B.C. 66.  
 52. Pro L. Caninio Gallo, B.C. 55.  
 53-54. Pro M' Acilio Glabrione, B.C. 48.  
 55. Pro A. Cluentio Habito, B.C. 66.  
 56. De haruspicum responso, B.C. 56.  
 57. In C. Herennium, B.C. 60.  
 58. De imperatore adversus Dola-bellam deligendo, B.C. 43.  
 59. Pro C. Popillio Laenate, ? 60-63. De lege agraria, B.C. 63.  
 64. De lege Flavia, B.C. 60.  
 65. Pro lege Manilia, B.C. 66.  
 66. Pro libertate Tenediorum, B.C. 54.  
 67. Pro Q. Ligario, B.C. 46.  
 68-69. De locatione Asiatica inducenda, B.C. 61.  
 70. De C. Manilio, B.C. 66.  
 71. Pro C. Manilio, B.C. 66.  
 72. Pro C. Manilio, B.C. 65.  
 73. Pro M. Claudio Marcello, B.C. 46.  
 74. Pro D. Matrino, B.C. 66.  
 75. Pro C. Messio, B.C. 54.  
 76. Pro T. Annio Milone, B.C. 55.  
 77. Pro T. A. Milone, B.C. 53.  
 78-79. Pro T. A. Milone, B.C. 52.  
 80. Pro muliere Arretina, B.C. 79.  
 81. Pro L. Licinio Murena, B.C. 63.  
 82. Pro L. Mustio, B.C. 74.  
 83. Pro negotiatoribus Achaëis, ?  
 84. Cum Q. C. Metello Nepote disputatio, Jan. 1-2, B.C. 62.  
 85. Pro P. Oppio, B.C. 67.  
 86. Pro C. Orcivio, B.C. 65 (?).  
 87. Pro Q. Mucio Orestino, ?  
 88. Pro L. Roscio Othone, B.C. 63.  
 89. De pace, B.C. 44.  
 90. In petitionem Vatini, B.C. 54.  
 91-104. Philippicae I-XIV, B.C. 44-43.  
 105-106. Philippicae XV-XVI, B.C. 43.  
 107. Pro C. Calpurnio Pisone, B.C. 63.  
 108. Pro Cn. Plancio, B.C. 54.  
 109. Pro Cn. Pompeio scripta oratio.  
 110. Pro C. Rabirio Postumo, B.C. 54.  
 111-112. De potestate rei frumentariae Pompeio danda, B.C. 57.  
 113. De proscriptorum filiis, B.C. 63.  
 114. De provinciis consularibus, B.C. 56.  
 115. In P. Clodium Pulchrum et Curionem, B.C. 61.  
 116. In P. C. Pulchrum contiones, B.C. 61.  
 117. In P. C. Pulchrum, B.C. 56.  
 118. In P. C. Pulchrum edictum Racili.  
 119. Laudatio Porciae sororis Catonis.  
 120. Pro P. Quinctio, B.C. 81.  
 121. Pro C. Rabirio, B.C. 63.  
 122. De Reatinorum causa, B.C. 54.  
 123. De rege Alexandrino, B.C. 56.  
 124. Pro S. Roscio Amerino, B.C. 80.  
 125. Pro Q. Roscio comoedo, B.C. 76.  
 126. Pro M. Caelio Rufo, B.C. 56.  
 127-128. Pro M. Saufeio, B.C. 52.  
 129. Pro Scamandro liberto, B.C. 74.  
 130. Pro M. Aemilio Scauro, B.C. 54.  
 131. Pro M. A. Scauro, B.C. 54-52.  
 132. Pro Q. Caecilio Metello Pio Scipione (Nasica), B.C. 60.  
 133. Laudatio Serrani Domestici fili.

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|---|---|
| 134. Pro P. Sestio, B.C. 56.                        | 142-143. Pro M. Tullio, B.C. 71.                          |
| 135. Pro Sthenio Thermitano, ?                      | 144. Pro L. Vareno, B.C. 71.                              |
| 136. Pro P. Cornelio Sulla, B.C. 62.                | 145. In P. Vatinius interrogatio,<br>B.C. 56.             |
| 137. Pro supplicatione decem die-<br>rum, B.C. 63 ? | 146. Pro P. Vatinius, B.C. 54.                            |
| 138-139. Pro A. Minucio Thermo,<br>B.C. 59.         | 147. In C. Verrem, at Syracuse, B.C.<br>70.               |
| 140. Pro Titinia Cottae, ?                          | 148-153. In C. Verrem actio prima<br>et secunda, B.C. 70. |
| 141. In toga candida, B.C. 64.                      |   |

8. The Evidence for the Dating of Statuaries of Olympic Victors, by Professor Walter Woodburn Hyde, of the University of Pennsylvania.

The aim of this paper is to bring together all the evidence for the dating of the statuaries of Olympic victors, which is now known to us from literary, epigraphical, and archaeological sources. Such older works as those of H. Brunn, *Die Geschichte der griechischen Künstler* (Stuttgart, 1857-59), and E. Löwy, *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer* (Leipzig, 1885), so far as they relate to the sculptors of victor statues at least, must now be supplemented by the great mass of new material accumulated in recent years. Thus the publication of the inscriptions found in the Altis at Olympia during the German excavations of 1875-81, finally comprehended in the fifth volume of the Olympia publications, *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, by W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold in 1896, necessitated a revision of the material relating to athlete sculptors (see pp. 235-258; cf. pp. 641-662). Also a Greek papyrus found at Oxyrhynchus in Egypt, comprising lists of Olympic victors of Ols. 75-83 (edited by Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Pt. II, 1899, no. ccxxii, pp. 85-95, and commented on by C. Robert in an article in *Hermes*, xxxv (1900), pp. 141 sq., entitled "Die Ordnung der olympischen Spiele und die Sieger der 75-78 Olympiade"), threw much new light on certain sculptors. The present writer in his *De olympionicarum statuis a Pausania commemoratis* (Halle, 1903) discusses the dates of all the victors mentioned by Pausanias in his victor periegesis of the Altis (VI, 1, 1-18, 7) on the basis of the new data. In that work abundant proof was given that statues of nearly contemporaneous victors were generally grouped together in the Altis, as were those of the same family or state, or those victorious in the same contest, and those whose statues were executed by the same artist. In this way, from a study of the topographical positions of these statues at Olympia

(outlined on pp. 63 sq., and discussed in detail by the author in an article in *A.J.A.* xvi [1912], 203-229), the chronology of many sculptors whose dates were hitherto unknown could be reasonably approximated.

The results based on all this new evidence are as follows: Pausanias names 188 victors, to whom 192 monuments were erected; of these the inscribed bases of 40 were found in the excavations of the Altis. In all, 51 sculptors of 102 statues are named by Pausanias, no new sculptor appearing in the inscriptions. Besides these, 61 other victors with 63 monuments are known to us from inscribed bases found at Olympia, and are not mentioned in the lists of Pausanias. Here, again, no new name of an artist appears.

Of the sculptors mentioned by Pausanias and in these inscriptions, the dates can be assigned exactly or approximately thus: in the sixth century B.C., first half, 1, second half, 1, end, 3; from the end of the sixth and beginning of the fifth, 1; from the fifth century B.C., first half, 8, middle, 4, second half, 3; from the end of the fifth and beginning of the fourth, 3; from the fourth century B.C., first half, 8, middle, 1, second half, 2, end, 3; from the end of the fourth and beginning of the third, 3; from the third century B.C., first half, 2, second half, 1, end, 2; from the end of the third and beginning of the second, 1; from the second century B.C., first half, 2. No sculptor later than the second century B.C. is named. In addition to these results, one sculptor can be assigned to a date after Alexander the Great and the epoch of another cannot be definitely determined.

Besides these artists known to us from Pausanias or from inscriptions found in the Altis, we also have knowledge of 41 victors, to whom 44 monuments of various kinds were erected outside Olympia in other parts of the Greek world (see Hyde, "Greek Literary Notices of Olympic Victor Monuments outside Olympia," *TAPA*, XLII, 53-67). Of these victors 35 had statues, and their dates range from the seventh century B.C. to the fourth A.D.; ten of these had monuments also at Olympia. Of these the names of the sculptors of only four appear, three of whom (Myron, Pythagoras of Rhegium, and Lysippus) were already known as having worked at Olympia; thus only one new sculptor, Caphisias of Boeotia, who lived in the fourth century B.C. (cf. *C.I.G.*, nos. 1582, 1562) is added from this source, making the grand total of victor statuaries known from all sources 52.

9. The Greek Motives of the First Scene of Plautus' *Menaechmi*, by Professor George Dwight Kellogg, of Union College.

Following the general method of Leo (*Plaut. Forsch.*<sup>2</sup>, 110 ff.), I have made an analysis of the opening monologue of the parasite Peniculus, to determine, if possible, Greek phrases and motives which may be "precipitated," as it were, from the Latin solution. But other Greek elements not present in the solution are lost to us, just as in differentiating an equation the "constants" disappear, and cannot be restored in the process of integration. So a translator seldom can produce a verbal "translation": more often he transforms, recasts, substitutes, omits, inserts, combines, and analyzes to conform to the idiom or taste of the language used. (Cf. Max C. P. Schmidt, *Stilistische Beiträge*, Leipzig, 1907, I, 19-30, "Die konstruktiven Kategorien.") Moreover, as Plautus, even at the beginning of a new play, probably took liberties which we cannot check by an extant original, the experiment in retroversion given below must be regarded merely as a framework for the Greek phrases which may appear through the analysis, or we may see in it Plautus wearing a Greek comic mask.

#### I. THE PARASITE'S εὔρημα

The witty suggestion, that *lenta vincla escaria* would hold a slave fast better than gyves and fetters, seems thoroughly Greek. (1) τὰ δεσμά (also τὰ δέσματα) = 'fetters'; τὰ ἐδέσματα = 'food,' 'fodder' in Engl. slang. (2) ἡ χοῖνιξ = (a) 'a man's daily ration of corn' (ἡ γὰρ ἡμερήσιος τροφή, Diog. L. VIII, 18); (b) a 'fetter,' Demosth. *de Cor.* § 129; Aristoph. *Plut.* 275; punned upon in Aristoph. *Vesp.* 440. (3) φορβευά (fr. φορβή, 'food') means 'feeding-string' for horses at the manger; the ἱμάντες of Hom. *Il.* x, 567. Cf. φιμός, κημός. (4) Cf. Thucyd. II, 76, 4, χαλαραῖς ταῖς ἀλύσεισι 'slack chains' and v, 94, *lenta vincla*; ἄλυσις = 'chain'; ἄλεισις = 'grinding of corn'; ἄλευρον = 'meal.' (5) ἀρτάνη = 'bridle,' 'halter'; ἄρτος = 'bread.' (6) βρόχος = 'noose,' 'snare'; βρόχω = 'gulp down.' (7) τὰ ῥῦτά = 'reins'; τὸ ῥῦτόν = 'the flowing bowl.' Messius Cicirrus (Hor. *Sat.* I, 5, 65-69) all but suggests 'bonds of bait': cur umquam fugisset, cui satis una | farris libra foret. For cajolery of slaves, see Plato, *Rep.* IX, 579. In *Schlaraffenland* ἐμπιπλάμενοι σίτων ἄδην καὶ ποτῶν (Plato, *Politic.* 272) men would swallow the food like bait (cf. Xen. *Mem.* II, I, 4). Like cattle they would have

their noses in the manger (Plato, *Rep.* ix, 586, βοσκημάτων δίκην κάτω ἀεὶ βλέποντες καὶ κεκυφότες εἰς γῆν καὶ εἰς τραπέζας βόσκονται χορταζόμενοι). Thus the χοῖνιξ-motive merges into the wider Utopia-motive.

## II. THE PARASITE'S NAME

If the jokes in 78, 285, 391 are based on a pun in the Greek, we must choose for *detergeo* (79) one of some 30 Greek verbs meaning 'brush, sweep, clean, wipe,' perhaps, κορέω or ἐκκορέω. ὁ Κόρυδος = 'the tufted (lark),' ὁ Κόρμος = 'sweep' ('oar,' Eurip. *Helen.* 1601), κόρκορος, τραπέζοκορος, κερκοῦρος (= λέμβος, Λέμβος, name of a parasite (v. Ribbeck, *Kolax*, p. 71) and as if κέρκος, οὐρά) suggest themselves. Κόρυδος (Eucrates), an historical character, is mentioned in nine comic fragments (cf. Athen. vi, 241 d ff.), and is called 'the copper-smith,' χαλκότηπος, by Cratinus the younger (π, 291 K.). Κόρυδον τὸν χαλκότηπον πεφύλαξο, perhaps, in a Pickwickian sense (his arm, his sledge; the table, his anvil!). But the name also suggests 'cleaning fluid.' If he *were* a blacksmith, it would be natural for him to babble of gyves and fetters, while, *in persona parasiiti*, his εὔρημα of the χοῖνιξ would receive adequate motivation and be more amusing. Alciphron's Πινακοσπόγγισος (iii, 27 Schep.) seems his own invention and does not suit vv. 285, 391. Perhaps the true solution of the problem may lie nearer at hand. *Peniculus* may be a Greek loan-word reduced analogically to a Latin form. The comic poets speak of the πίννα, a luscious bivalve, from whose beard a fuzzy silk-like cloth was made. If such a cloth were used for cleaning shoes and tables (cf. *gausape*, Hor. *Sat.* ii, 8, 11), \*πιννόκορος and (by analogy with αἰγικορέϊς, αἰπόλοι) \*πιννοκόλος would be possible. This a popular etymology would assimilate to *peniculus*. In Plaut. *Rudens*, 1008-1009 it appears to be associated with some sea animal: Trachalio threatens *quasi peniculus novus exurgeri solet . . . exurgebo*, when Gripus the fisherman replies: *adfligam te . . . ut pisces soleo polyrum*. \*πιννόκορος would also mean 'oyster-sated.' The Latin used *penicillus*. Festus (208, 230 M.) suggests rather a popular etymology when the connection with πίννα had been forgotten, such as might happen to our "sponge."

## III. COMMENTARY ON *Men.* 77-109

77. Cf. Antiphanes (ii, 94 K.). — 78. Cf. Aristoph. *Eccl.* 847. If my hypotheses are correct, no lacuna need be assumed on the score of motivation of 79 ff. — 79. δέσμοισιν (Homer.) to match ἐδέσμοισιν in

87. — 81. Cf. Timocles (II, 456 K.). — 82. Cf. Eur. *Alc.* 537, 1039; Philemon (IV, p. 34 M.); Aesch. *Pers.* 531; Soph. *Phil.* 1265; *O.T.* 667. — 84. Cf. Aesch. *Prom.* 770, 1006. — 88. Cf. Eur. *Suppl.* 1110; Plato, *Pol.* 272; *Rep.* IX, 586; Xen. *Mem.* II, 1, 4; Hor. *Sat.* II, 7, 38. — 89. Cf. Hom. *Il.* X, 567; Lucian, *Asin.* 619 Jac.; Xen. *Eq.* V, 1, 3, 4. — 90. Cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 1407; *Prom.* 479 f. — 94. Cf. Thuc. II, 76, 4; Xen. *Eq.* V, 4; οὕτω δεδεμένους χαλᾶ μάλλον ἢ διασπᾶ τὰ δεσμά. — 95. Cf. Hor. *Sat.* II, 7, 20. — 96. Aesch. *Prom.* 325. — 97. ἐπισίτιος = παράσιτος; also 'one who works for food, not wages.' χοῖνιξ; cf. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 440. — 98. ὁ τρέφων = 'the patron'; ἀνατρέφω is a medical term, 'feed up'; cf. 99. — 101. Cf. Cic. *ad Fam.* IX, 26, 3, multi cibi = edacem. Cf. ὀψοφαγίστατος, πολυτροφώτατος, πολυτελέστατος. — 101. Cf. Aristoph. *Nub.* 1203; Xen. *Anab.* V, 4, 27, ἄρτων νενημένων; Aristoph. *Eccl.* 838 ff. ἐπινεασμένα, νεασμένα. — 102. \*λοπαδικά to match *patinarias*. — 103. Motive in Euangelius (IV, 572 Mein.). — 104. Cf. Thucyd. II, 74, 1. — 105. May not οἰκῶ δόμον help to solve the text of *domi domitus sum*? Cf. Timocles (II, 456 K.) for the motive. — 106. The reading *id quoque iam* = καὶ ταῦτα δῆ. οἱ τεταγμένοι, cf. Thucyd. II, 81, 4. — 108. sc. ἡ θύρα.

## IV. TRANSLATION

- 77 τὸν <Κόρυδον?> ἐπικαλοῦσι μ' οἱ νεώτεροι,  
 78 σιτούμενος γὰρ τὴν τράπεζαν ἔκκορῶ.  
 79 οἱ μὲν πεδῶντες αἰχμαλώτους δέσμοισιν  
 80 δούλους τε δραπέτας ἔχοντες ἐν πέδαις  
 81 ἀνωφελῶς ποιοῦσιν, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ.  
 82 ἣν γὰρ κακοῖσιν ἄλλο τοῦτο προσῆ κακόν  
 83 μάλλον θέλουσιν ἀποδιδράσκειν κἀδικεῖν  
 84 λύσαντες αὐτοὺς τῶν πεδῶν ὅπωςτιοῦν.  
 85 ἣ τοι προσέτι τρίβουσι ῥίνη τὸν κρίνον  
 86 ἣ πάτταλον λίθῳ κατακόπτουσ' ἀφρονῶς.  
 87 εἰὰν δὲ βούλη δραπέτην κατέχειν τινά  
 ἵνα μὴ φύγη πη, δῆσον αὐτὸν ἐδέσμοισιν,  
 88 βρωτοῖσι γὰρ χρὴ καὶ ποτοῖσι καταπεδᾶν.  
 90 ἣν γὰρ διδῶς τῷ τι πότιμον καὶ βρώσιμον  
 91 καθ' ἡδονὴν τε κὰς κόρον καθ' ἡμέραν,  
 89 πλήρει πὶ τραπέζῃ καταδήσας τὸ ῥύγχιον,  
 92 μὰ τὸν Δί', οὔποτε φεύζεται, φονεύς περ ὦν,  
 93 ἀλλ' εὐπετῶς τὸν ἄνδρα ταύτη τῇ πέδῃ



- 94 ἕξεις, χαλαρώτατ' ἐστὶ γὰρ τὰδέσματα ·  
 95 ὅσφ τανύεις, τόσφ δὲ συντονώτερον  
 96 κατέχει. τὰ νῦν μὲν εἰμι παρὰ Μέναιχμον, ᾧ  
 97 ἐπισίτιος πάλαι πότ' αὐτὸς κρίνομαι,  
 ἄκλητος ἵν' ἀπολαμβάνω τὴν χοίρικα.  
 98 ἀνὴρ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος οὐ τρέφει γ', ἀλλ' ἀνατρέφει  
 99 οὐδὲς γὰρ ἄμεινον τὴν θεραπείαν ποτὲ ποιεῖ.  
 100 οὕτως ὁ νέος ἐστ' αὐτὸς ὄψοφαγίστατος,  
 101 οὕτως τε τραπέζας παρατίθησι νενησμένας  
 102 τεκταίνεται τε καὶ λοπαδίκ' ἄθροίσματα,  
 103 ὥστ' ὀρθὸν ἐπὶ κλίνῃ τίν' ἐστάναι χρεῶν,  
 τῶν ἀκροτάτων ἂν τίς τι βούληται λαβεῖν.  
 104 ἐγὼ δέ, πολλῶν διαλιπουσῶν ἡμερῶν,  
 105 οἰκῶ δόμον δὴ μετὰ τῶν τιμίων φίλων ·  
 106 οὐτ' ἐσθίω γὰρ οὔτε προσαγοράζομαι  
 εἰ μὴ τι τιμώτατον · καὶ ταῦτα δὴ,  
 107 οἱ τίμιοι τεταγμένοι λείπουσί με.  
 108 πρόσειμι νῦν πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἀνοίγνυται ·  
 109 ἰδοῦ, Μέναιχμον αὐτὸν ἐξιόνθ' ὀρώ.

10. Tertullian and the Pagan Cults, by Professor Gordon J. Laing, of the University of Chicago.

This study is based upon a collection of all the references to pagan cults in Tertullian's writings. Its aim is to show what pagan divinities or rites are singled out by him for attack, and to what extent his representation of Roman gods agrees with the facts.

He pays especial attention to the *Sondergötter*, ridiculing their ubiquity and the highly elaborate system of division of labor under which they operated. His longest description of them is found in *ad Nationes*, II, 11 : *dividentes omnem statum hominis singulis potestatibus ab ipso quidem uteri conceptu, etc.* ; but there are references also in other parts of his works. The idea that every stage in a child's growth or a man's life and every step in every process should be under the special protection of some deity seems to him too absurd to be considered seriously. But did these *Sondergötter* play the part in the religion of the people which Tertullian assigns to them? Examination proves that our chief sources of information in regard to them are Tertullian himself and St. Augustine, who in turn seem to have drawn most of their information from Varro's *Antiquitates Rerum Divinarum*. Some of Varro's material doubtless goes back

to priestly records, but many details of explanation and classification have been added by himself. In a word, although there is, in certain fields, evidence of a tendency among the Romans to postulate divine supervision for even the minutiae of some actions and processes (cf. the genuine *Sondergötter* given by Fabius Pictor and the Arval Inscriptions), Tertullian's account of this characteristic of Roman religion is based not on his own observation of the religious practices of his time, but on the book theology of Varro, or at best of the pontiffs. And the unfairness of his attack consists in attributing to the belief a prominence it never had.

The Jupiter of Tertullian's writings is not the Jupiter of the old Roman religion; he is not even a hellenized Jupiter. Nor is he the Zeus of Greek religion. He is the Zeus of mythology, of folk-lore, and of the lighter forms of literature. For, when Jupiter was identified with Zeus, the vast mass of legend connected with the latter was transferred to the former. The transfer did not affect the ritual of Jupiter to any great extent, but it resulted in large accretions to the mythology which was attached to his name and which became one of the staples of Roman literature. The cult of Jupiter contained many fine religious conceptions, but in current mythology he was credited with qualities and escapades anything but divine. Tertullian is concerned chiefly with the latter aspect of the god. To the nobler side of the cult he does not refer. For the most part he depicts only the Jupiter of Greco-Roman mythology. His references to ceremonies or ritual are rare, and in the most important of these, namely the reference to the alleged human sacrifice to Jupiter Latiaris (*Apolog.* 9), he is in error.

The treatment of Hercules is another clear-cut example of Tertullian's method. With the exception of two contemptuous references to the tithes of the Ara Maxima (*Apolog.* 14 and 30), he passes over the significant and important features of the cult of the demigod, and fastens on the culpable and immoral elements of the legends of his labors and wanderings. Yet both in Greece and Rome the story of Hercules had its moral significance. The hero persistently appears on the right side of things. This is seen not only in the story of his choice, but in the main drift of the other legends. When his cult was introduced into Rome, the two most salient characteristics of the worship were (1) the offering to him of tithes of booty procured in war or of profit gained in trade and (2) the use of the altar in the taking of oaths and the making of contracts. These were the aspects

of the cult best known to the Roman masses, and it was with fair-dealing in business agreements that Hercules of the Ara Maxima was most closely associated. But to these characteristics of the Hercules cult Tertullian pays no attention. His comment on the *decima* in *Apolog.* 14 is that the god was probably cheated. For the rest, he details episodes of immorality or stupidity that appear in the mythology of Hercules.

In Tertullian's references to the cult of Aesculapius also we fail to find any appreciation of the good which was in it. He mentions it in *ad Nationes*, II, 14, where he recounts with noticeable zest Pindar's statement in the third *Pythian* that Aesculapius' death by lightning was merited, inasmuch as he had, from motives of cupidity and avarice, carried on an extremely doubtful kind of medical practice. Cf. also *Apolog.* 23. Only in one passage does he treat the cult with any degree of respect, namely in *de Corona*, 8, where he attributes the belief that Aesculapius discovered medicine to the idea that men had that anything of great value must be derived from some god.

Tertullian's criticism of the cults mentioned is typical of the method which he follows throughout his polemics. The details of his attacks upon other *di indigetes* and *di novensides* need not be given here. Of the *sacra peregrina* he assails especially the cults of Cybele and Attis, Isis, and Mithra.

II. The Epithets of Artemis in Bacchylides, v, 98 f. and x, 35-39, by Professor Grace Harriet Macurdy, of Vassar College.

These epithets have been criticized as irrelevant or excessive in number. H. W. Smyth (*Melic Poets*, 407) says that the epithet *σεμνᾶς* (v, 99) loses its strength when conjoined with the beautiful *καλυκοστεφάνου* and that *χρυσηλάκατος* in x, 38 (*Melic Poets*, 420) is less to the point than the epithet *εὐκλεια* would have been. He finds that the epithet *ἡμέρα* (x, 39) serves infelicitously as a beginning of the myth. R. C. Jebb (*Bacchylides*, 63) holds that the crowd of epithets in x, 37 ff. actually impairs the force of each. Both these editors take *χρυσηλάκατος* in the meaning of "with golden shaft." Smyth apparently regards *καλυκοστέφανος* as referring only to adornment.

Both *καλυκοστέφανος* and *χρυσηλάκατος* are epithets of Artemis as fertility goddess. The former refers to vegetation, the latter to the spindle, emblem of women. The epithet *ἡμέρα* is the title of the healing goddess of the springs of Lusoi. In *ἀγροτέρα* she is presented

as the goddess of the wilder places and in *τοξόκλυτος* in her conventional aspect in art. The adjective *σεμνᾶς* used in v, 99, goes well with *καλυκοστέφανος* in its ritual sense. In this sense the latter word is used of the maiden suppliants of Artemis in x, 108. They are *καλυκοστέφανοι* in honor of the goddess. In the Naples Vase (Reinach, *Peintures de Vases Antiques*, M, 52) representing the healing of the Proetides, Artemis wears the polos (which is found together with the spindle on the coins representing Athena Ilias), has the lance in her left hand, and an indistinct short object which I hold to be a flower in her right hand. The lance replaces the distaff or spindle in the later representations of the Athena Ilias type. In earlier representations the healing goddess of vegetation may well have appeared as *χρυσηλάκατος* instead of holding the lance as here.

I hold that the adjectives *ἡμέρα*, *καλυκοστέφανος*, *χρυσηλάκατος* refer to the Artemis of the primitive type, goddess of women and of healing, worshipped at Lusoi. She is well called *σεμνή*. The other epithets suggest the conventional Artemis of Greek art.

12. The Water Gods and Aeneas in *Iliad*, xx-xxi, by Professor Macurdy.

The paper endeavors to establish that to a degree hitherto unnoted there exists in these two books of the *Iliad* an antithesis between gods of the height and gods of the stream, which has behind it a long tale of fighting between the invading Northmen, worshippers of the Achaean Sky-god and of his Valkyrie daughter Athena, and the river-worshipping tribes, extending from the Danube on to Troy. Aeneas is the representative of the tribes from the head of the Axios river (through whom the Achaeans have fought their way south) who have settled at Troy. He has come into the circle of the Anatolian water-goddess and her Trojan paramour and is protected by the water-god Poseidon.

This paper is to be published in the *Classical Review*.

13. The Anomalies of the Greek Tetrachord, by Dr. Herbert W. Magoun, of Cambridge, Mass.

The account of the Greek tetrachord given by Aristides Quintilianus differs so materially from anything usually found on that subject in modern works that it merits careful attention. Minute intervals

were involved ; but their character and relationship are not explained. Aristides, however, has taken pains to make the matter clear by using numerical ratios to represent the various tetrachordal intervals. Some of them have no modern equivalent ; but the difficulty that results can be met by the use of fractional indices to show what part of a tone is added to a given note to obtain the required pitch. It does not seem to have been thought of.

Aristides says that there are six tetrachordal scales. They are : (1) the Enharmonic, (2) the Soft Chromatic, (3) the Hemiholion Chromatic, (4) the Tone Chromatic, (5) the Soft Diatonic, and (6) the Severe Diatonic. Of the last, he gives two varieties. But there was also a third ; for he omits a simple and obvious form. There were, therefore, eight in all. They were these : —

1)	C	.	$C\frac{1}{4}$	.	$C^\sharp$	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	F	6 :	6 :	48
2)	C	.	$C\frac{1}{3}$	.	$C\frac{1}{2}$	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	F	8 :	8 :	44
3)	C	.	$C\frac{2}{3}$	.	$C\frac{3}{4}$	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	F	9 :	9 :	42
4)	C	.	.	.	$C^\sharp$	.	.	D	.	.	.	.	F	12 :	12 :	36
5)	$C^\sharp$	.	.	D	.	.	.	$D\frac{3}{4}$	.	.	.	.	$F^\sharp$	12 :	18 :	30
6)	$C^\sharp$	.	.	D	.	.	.	E	.	.	.	.	$F^\sharp$	12 :	24 :	24
7)	$C^\sharp$	.	.	.	.	D $^\sharp$	.	.	.	F	.	.	$F^\sharp$	24 :	24 :	12
8)	$C^\sharp$	.	.	.	.	D $^\sharp$	.	E	.	.	.	.	$F^\sharp$	24 :	12 :	24

The ratios are those of Aristides (1, 9). The spaces represent the intervals roughly. An enharmonic note ( $D\frac{1}{4}$ ) is avoided in the Soft Diatonic (5), and two groups result. Only the Severe Diatonics are usually mentioned. They are called, respectively, the Dorian (6), the Lydian, and the Phrygian. The omission of the last, which is the beginning of a modern minor scale, may be due to its simplicity. Aristides says that any one can sing a diatonic tetrachord, educated persons can sing a chromatic one, and the most eminent attain to the enharmonic one. Aristoxenus intimates (14) that the quarter-tone taxes both voice and ear to the limit in the matter of tone-variation. It was, therefore, their goal in music ; but it was neither melodious nor agreeable from our standpoint. Doubtless, the tuning of the instruments would have seemed to them the finest selection of a modern orchestra. Some dared to decry the unnatural scales ; but they were looked upon as "incapables."

14. Some Noticeable Characteristics of the Style of Eugippius, by Dr. Charles Christopher Mierow, of Princeton University.

#### I. ADVERBIAL USAGE

Perhaps the most noticeable peculiarity of the *Vita Severini* is a profuse employment of adverbs and adverbial conjunctions. They meet the eye on every page, and scarcely a sentence is free from one or more of them. As the present writer has dealt with this subject at some length elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> it must suffice here merely to restate the conclusions to which he was drawn by a study of this phase of the style of Eugippius. Such a summary will be found in the closing paragraphs of this article.

#### II. NOUN USAGE — ABSTRACTS

1. Even the casual reader of Eugippius cannot fail to notice the extremely large number of abstract nouns that occur in his pages. One is constantly reminded of the changing vocabulary of the language by seeing old and familiar words replaced by others of more unusual complexion, as, for example, the employment of *oratio* for *preces*. Of course, some of these are specifically Christian locutions, some are in good use in classical prose, some are rare; the noticeable thing here is their constant employment and the extremely large number of abstract formations. So we find, for example, such words as: *compellatio*, 19, 4, *commonitio*, 42, 2, *contestatio*, 42, 2, *dominatio*, 40, 4, *extensio*, 15, 1, *intercapedo*, 29, 3, *opitulatio*, 34, 2, *oratio* meaning prayer, 4, 2, *et passim*, *praedicatio*, cap. 1, *refectio*, 39, 2, *relatio*, 11, 2, and many others.

2. Moreover the attention is arrested by such striking sentences as: Danuvium ita saepe glaciali nimietate concretum, 4, 10, where "glacial excessiveness" is the striking rhetorical substitute for something more prosaic and commonplace. Again we read: "they were led out from the daily barbary of most frequent depredation": de cotidiana barbarie frequentissimae depraedationis, 44, 5. Into the town of Lauriacum the people are said to have brought "all the sufficiency of their poverty": omnem paupertatis suae sufficientiam, 30, 1; and mention is made elsewhere of a field which its owner found — locustarum pernicie funditus . . . abrasum, 12, 5. In this Eugippius seems to be somewhat awkwardly affecting a mannerism

<sup>1</sup> *Classical Philology*, VIII, 436-444.

common enough in patristic writings. One very noteworthy sentence from which a phrase has already been quoted above contains no less than five abstracts: *ut omnem paupertatis suae sufficientiam intra muros concluderent, quatenus inimicorum feralis excursio nihil humanitatis inveniens statim . . . immania crudelitatis desereret*, 30, 1. (See also 5, 2, *adversitate*, 6, 1, *incolumitate*, 8, 3, *corruptio*, 9, 4, *conversationis* and *instructio*, 27, 3, *barbarie*, 28, 2, *evectio*, 31, 4, *depraedatione*, 31, 5, *vastatione* and *compulsione*, 40, 4, *captivitate*.)

3. A construction very common in Eugippius is the use of an abstract instead of a modifying adjective in such phrases as "eternity of life" for "eternal life": *me de vitae perpetuitate debuisti consulere*, 5, 2; *nihil proficiente diversitate remedii*, 6, 1. (See also 3, 2, *pernicie*, 12, 1, *atrocitas*, 18, 1, *maturitate* and *corruptio*, 29, 1, *protectione*, 29, 3, *vastitatem*, 44, 2, *solitudine*.)

4. Similarly, an abstract noun with a modifying adjective often occurs with adverbial force, especially in the ablative of manner. Instances of this are to be found scattered throughout the entire book, but a few examples may suffice: *ad castellum luctuosa vociferatione revertitur*, 12, 5; *audaci temeritate vel magis . . . intrepida devotione*, 29, 1. (See also Ad. Pasch. 9, *hilaritate*, 3, 3, *devotione*, 5, 2, *prosperitate*, 12, 6, *lamentatione*, 17, 1, *sollicitudine*, 23, 2, *veneratione*, 30, 1, *sollicitudine*, 46, 1, *devotione*.)

5. The use of the abstract for the concrete is carried to great lengths, and the resulting phrases are often as striking as they are expressive. So we read: *segetem . . . locustarum densitas devoravit*, 12, 4; *si quo modo offensa divinitas vestrarum lacrimarum inundatione placetur*, 43, 5. (See also 1, 5, *interrogatione* and *vastatione*, 8, 3, *custodia*, 26, 2, *iussione*.)

6. Frequently Eugippius uses in connection with an abstract noun a modifying adjective where a dependent genitive would seem more natural. Thus we find the adjective used instead of an objective genitive construction: *ut . . . a Romana vastatione cohiberet*, 19, 3. As a substitute for the possessive genitive this construction is still more common, as in the sentence: *mansuetudinem regiam tu saepe convellis*, 40, 2.

7. Finally, abstract nouns occur in many phrases with a redundancy that savors of technical and often of religious phraseology. Such are the expressions: *vespertinae laudis officio*, cap. 13; *de mortis confinio liberatum*, 8, 6; *gratiarum retulimus actionem*, 45, 2. (See also 2, 1, *sacrificii vespertini sollemnitas*, 8, 2, *vilissimi . . . ministerii*

*servitute*, 43, 2, *condicione mortis instante*, 43, 8, *maeroris suffusione*, 43, 6, *sermonis affatu*, 29, 1, *fidei calore*.)

### III. BALANCE AND PARONOMASIA

Though this biography is remarkably free from the formal *disciplinae liberalis* . . . *constructio* and *grammatici culminis decor* in which the author's revered friend, the Deacon Paschasius, appears to have been such a past master, its style reveals on the part of Eugippius a fondness for paronomasia and a love of balanced phrasing. Wherever he has the chance, he aims at euphonic expression. Pairs of participles are especially common, as: *accipientes* . . . *ac dimittentes*, 8, 4; *stantem ac dicentem*, 29, 2. (See also 12, 7; 24, 2; 24, 3.)

Often it happens that two rhyming words or carefully balanced phrases are used with more regard for sound than sense, the second merely repeating in slightly different form the idea already expressed by the first. Thus we find: *temerator atque contemptor*, 12, 5; *cupiditatis* . . . *ancillam et* . . . *avaritiae mancipium*, 3, 2. (See also 8, 4; 17, 1; 36, 4.)

This balanced arrangement of words and phrases is commonly used also in presenting contrasted ideas. For example: *non temeraria praesumptione, sed religiosa necessitate*, 9, 2. (See also 4, 11; 8, 5; 12, 7.)

This paper presents only a general, preliminary survey of some of the more noticeable characteristics of the style of Eugippius, preparatory to a later more detailed investigation. To recapitulate the conclusions reached in this study, we have seen:

I. That in the *Vita Severini* adverbial usage is marked by a profuse use of adverbs, by the interchange of the positive and comparative degree as equivalents in intensity, by the disappearance of distinctions between adverbs of similar meaning, and by the frequent use of adverbs as mere connectives with little or no regard for their original force or signification.<sup>1</sup>

II. That Eugippius employs an extremely large number of abstract nouns, many of which have supplanted the more familiar words of classical Latin, and that such abstracts are used in varied combinations, often taking the place of adjectives or adverbs as well as of concrete nouns, and that they are frequent in stereotyped phrases where their use is redundant.

III. That he is prone to use words of like sound in pairs, and aims to obtain an effective style by the use of carefully balanced phrases.

<sup>1</sup> See *Classical Philology*, VIII, 436-444.



The first of these stylistic peculiarities seems to be a personal trait of Eugippius; the other two serve rather to show how he has been affected by the current Patristic Latin of the later periods, probably most by St. Augustine.

This paper will appear in the *American Journal of Philology*.

15. Note on Tacitus, *Dialogus*, 34, by Professor Frank Gardner Moore, of Columbia University.

In an interesting *opusculum* published in *Hermes*, XLVIII, 474 ff., Gudeman finds new evidence for the Tacitean authorship in an imitation of *Dialogus*, *l.c.*, in Eumenius; since this fact taken in connection with his imitations of the *Agricola* elsewhere makes it probable that he had access to a Ms. of the minor works.

The *Dialogus* passage contrasts the old-time training of the young orator by actual experience of the forum with the sham-battles of the rhetorical schools: *ita nec praeceptor deerat, . . . nec adversarii et aemuli ferro, non rudibus [Mss. sudibus] dimicantes*, etc., — a passage which Eumenius seems to have had in mind when pleading, in 297, for the restoration of the schools of Augustodunum (Autun). He apologizes for his momentary desertion of academic seclusion, to appear before a larger world: *Neque enim tanta me aut neglegentia aut confidentia tenet ut nesciam quanta sit inter hanc aciem fori et nostra illa secreta studiorum exercitia diversitas*. The antitheses which follow may be tabulated as follows:

[the rhetorical school]	[the forum]
ibi armantur ingenia, →	hic proeliantur.
ibi prolusio, →	hic pugna committitur.
	hic plerumque velut sudibus et saxis,
illic semper telis splendentibus dimicatur. <sup>1</sup>	hic sudore et quasi 'pulvere sordidus,'
illic insignis ornatu laudatur orator,	
ut, si uterque experiundi	causa officia commutent,
	alium quidam tubarum sonus et strepitus armorum,
alium quaedam triumphi schema deterreat.	

— *pro Rest. Scholis*, 2.

<sup>1</sup> The rarity of *dimicare* as applied to the gladiatorial school is immaterial in the face of Tacitus' use of the word, *l.c.* — its only occurrence in his works.

Gudeman, however, appears unwilling to divorce the *tela splendentia* from figurative combat, in contrast with preliminary training, and in avoiding this lesser difficulty he accepts a much more questionable interpretation, which obliges us to assume that after the second *ibi/hic* the orator suddenly reverses his demonstratives, and says *hic*<sup>2</sup>/*illie*<sup>1</sup> when he should normally have used *illie/hic*. Admitting for the moment that gestures might make this proceeding less violent than at first appears, we find that we are next forced to account for another reversal of demonstratives immediately following; for *hic*<sup>4</sup>/*illie*<sup>2</sup> correspond (except in order) to the first and second *ibi/hic*. That the orator, with all his show of blushes and embarrassment, should really be so confused as to invert his scheme without warning, and then, as suddenly repenting, should return to the original framework, is too much for us to believe.<sup>1</sup>

And yet Gudeman proposes to take *sudibus et saxis* of the schools, as a reminiscence of the old corruption *sudibus* in *Dialogus*, *l.c.* He considers *saxis* a senseless addition from other sources, and of course sees in *telis splendentibus* a parallel to *ferro, ib.* But a glance at *insignis ornatu* and *quaedam triumphi schema* below suffices to show that the display of glittering arms, etc., that never have seen real service is meant. Such is the rhetorician's "Kadettenfabrik," in contrast to the rough knocks given and taken in the actual conflicts of the bar, where one *often* makes use of any weapon that comes to hand. Thus *plerumque* has point, and *velut* is not a mere admission "dass dem Rhetor etwas nicht ganz in Ordnung schien." And we do not have to assume—how can we?—that Eumenius was ignorant of the fact that as weapons *sudes* were employed only in real warfare.

It is entirely reasonable to suppose that he knew the *Dialogus* passage, *sudibus* and all, and also that he had wit enough to adapt it to his own purposes. Professor Gudeman prefers to think him incapable of anything better than a mechanical reproduction, not without meaningless padding,—a thesis which can be defended only by rashly abandoning the parallel lines running straight down through the passage. Surely this is not so small a *clinamen* that courtesy requires a concession which we are nowhere even asked to make. Is it not far easier to believe that *telis splendentibus* is unexpectedly applied to the schools? After all it is not the daily drill of the gladiatorial

<sup>1</sup> The need of variety in a passage of this kind is fully met by the chiasmus, *ibi*<sup>2</sup> *hic*<sup>2</sup> *hic*<sup>3</sup> *illie*<sup>1</sup>.

school which furnishes this part of the imagery, but some dress-parade occasion, when the *tela* were real, but merely for show, and the conflict a sham-battle.

16. Humor in Three Philosophical Dialogues of Lucian, by Professor John Cunningham Robertson, of St. Stephen's College.

The word 'humor' here describes any word, phrase, or passage whose purpose or tendency is to cause laughter; including humor in the narrower sense, wit, irony, and sarcasm.

Lucian's fame rests largely upon his humor and his constant treatment of Philosophy. Three dialogues well illustrating both are the *Sale of Lives*, the *Fisherman*, and the *Icaromenippus*.

Each dialogue is broadly humorous in its outlines, besides being humorous in its parts. To examine the humor of the parts, *i.e.* of special words, phrases, and passages, after briefly sketching the humor of each dialogue as a whole, is the object of the paper which is here summarized.

The humor of the three dialogues is at the expense of Philosophy, or rather of sham philosophers. In the *Fisherman* alone, a serious purpose also appears—in several consecutive serious pages wherein Lucian defends his attitude toward Philosophy.

The present summary cannot sketch the humor of each dialogue as a whole, since lack of space forbids an analysis of each. We pass, therefore, to a consideration of the humor in the parts.

As humor and wit cannot be kept strictly apart, no more can humor of thought (fact) and humor of diction. The dividing line is not definite.

Much of the humor of diction in the three dialogues can be classified, much cannot. Moreover, there are words and passages as to which it is doubtful whether there is any humorous intent.

The notes to the editions of Williams and of Allinson furnish much aid in the study of Lucian's humor.

Following is an attempt to classify the kinds of humor in the three dialogues.

*Parody.* Humorous parody might be defined as a prose or verse quotation altered to produce a humorous effect. In the *Fisherman*, 6 cases; *Sale*, etc., 1 case; *Icarom.*, 3 cases. There are also cases of humorous quotation *without* alteration—not parody. *Fisherman*, 7 cases; *Sale*, etc., 1 case; *Icarom.*, 3 cases. Moreover, there are

cases of parody in the broader sense—see the *Standard Dictionary*, s.v.—‘any burlesque imitation of something serious.’ *Sale*, etc., 5 cases; *Icarom.*, 2 cases.

Examples. Humorous parody: *Sale*, etc., 9: ‘Ἡ φρήν σοι ἀलगήσει, ἣ δὲ γλῶσσα ἔσται ἀνάληγτος, parodying Eur. *Hippol.* 612. Humorous quotation: *Fisherman*, 22, ὡς ὁ μέγας ἐν οὐρανῷ Ζεὺς πτηνὸν ἄρμα ἐλαίων ἀγανακτήσειεν ἄν, εἰ μὴ οὗτος ὑπόσχοι τὴν δίκην, from Plat. *Phaedr.* 246 E. Parody in the broader sense: *Sale*, etc., 10, the parodic description of the Cynics. These three sources furnish more humor in the three dialogues than any other humorous device.

*Asyndeton*. *Fisherman*, 6 cases; *Sale*, etc., 5 cases; *Icarom.*, 3 cases. Of words, cola, or sentences. Not always of undoubtedly humorous intent: e.g. (of words) *Fisherman*, 42: πῆρα πώγων κολακεία ἀναισχυντία βακτηρία λιχνεία συλλογισμὸς φιλαργυρία.

*Anaphora*. *Sale*, etc., 4 cases: e.g. 20: μόνος οὗτος σοφός, μόνος καλός, μόνος δίκαιος ἀνδρείος βασιλεὺς ῥήτωρ πλούσιος νομοθέτης καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅποσα ἐστίν (anaphora with asyndeton).

*Paronomasia*. Only in the form of the pun. *Fisherman*, 4 cases; *Sale*, etc., 10; *Icarom.*, 2: e.g. *Fisherman*, 51, a pun on the name of the philosopher Chrysippus and χρυσίον.

*Gorgianic Figures*. *Fisherman*, 1 case, *Icarom.*, 1, e.g. *Icarom.*, 21: ἦν μὴ τοὺς φυσικοὺς ἐκείνους ἐπιτρέψῃ καὶ τοὺς διαλεκτικούς ἐπιστομίῃ καὶ τὴν Σποὰν κατασκάψῃ καὶ τὴν Ἀκαδημίαν καταφλέξῃ (isocolon and homoioteleuton).

*Humorous Endings*. *Fisherman*, 4 cases, e.g. 19, where Lucian, asked his name, replies: Ἐμοὶ Παρρησιάδης Ἀληθίωνος τοῦ Ἐλεγκέκλεους.

*Anticlimax*. *Sale*, etc., 1 case, 2: ἀριθμητικὴν, ἀστρονομίαν, τερατείαν, γεωμετρίαν, μουσικὴν, γοητείαν.

*Humorous Oaths*. *Sale*, etc., 2 cases, *Icarom.*, 2: e.g. *Sale*, etc., 4: Οὐ μὰ τὸν μέγιστον τοῖνον ὄρκον τὰ Τέτταρα. . . .

*Humorous Plurals*. *Icarom.*, 3 cases; e.g. 1: ἡλίους καὶ σελήνας.

*Humorous Proverbs*. *Fisherman*, 1 case, 37: Ἡρακλῆς, φασί, καὶ, πίθηκος.

*Humorous Metaphors*. *Fisherman*, 6 cases, *Sale*, etc., 4, *Icarom.*, 6; e.g. *Icarom.*, 27: τοὺς μετοίκους τούτους καὶ ἀμφιβόλους θεούς.

*Humorous Simile*. *Fisherman*, 2 cases, *Sale*, etc., 2 cases, *Icarom.*, 6 cases; e.g. *Icarom.*, 17, human beings compared to a multitude of choruses.

*Humorous Application of Philosophical Words.* Sale, etc., 6 cases, *Fisherman* (35, ἀδιάφορον).

*Humorous Coined Words.* *Fisherman*, 2 cases, 47: ἀλωπεκίας and πιθηκοφόρους.

*Humorous Combination of Physical and Mental Characteristics,* *Fisherman*, 42: πῆρα πώγων κολακεία ἀναισχυντία βακτηρία λιχνεία συλλογισμὸς φιλαργυρία.

*Humorous Description of Philosophical Sects by Outer Characteristics,* e.g. Sale, etc., 7, the Cynic philosopher.

*Humorous Story.* *Fisherman*, 36.

*Humorous Stock Joke,* the Pythagorean aversion to beans, Sale, etc., 6.

As to the humor of thought, as distinguished from humor of diction, to gain an idea of that, the dialogues should be read. A collection of the instances of humor of thought in the three dialogues revealed that the *Icaromenippus* contains more than the other two dialogues, — the *Fisherman*, though longest, containing least.

Such a study as this may have value for two classes of persons, — the student or teacher of Greek literature, and the professional humorist who must master the works of his humorous predecessors, ancient and modern. And Lucian is very modern.

## 17. Notes on Suetonius, by Professor John C. Rolfe, of the University of Pennsylvania.

1. In *Jul.* 19, 2, eandem ob causam opera ab optimatibus data est ut provinciae futuris consulibus minimi negotii, *id est silvae callesque*, decernerentur, the reference unquestionably is to the assignment, in accordance with the Sempronian law, of the provinces which the consuls were to govern at the close of their term; note the plural *futuris consulibus*. The provinces are further defined, either by Suetonius or by some scribe, with the words *id est silvae callesque*. On this phrase Willems, *Le sénat de la répub. rom.*, II, 576, n. 5, makes the following comment: "Les mots *id est silvae callesque*, qui n'ont pas été expliqués jusq'ici et qui sont inexplicables, sont une glose, comme le *id est* l'indique, d'un grammairien peu au courant des institutions de l'époque . . . les *silvae callesque* n'ont jamais été des provinces consulaires." It is true that the phrase *silvae callesque* has never been satisfactorily explained, and it is unique; for the view of Casaubon that we have a parallel in Tac. *Ann.* IV, 27 (et erat isdem regionibus Curtius Lupus quaestor, cui provincia vetere ex more calles evenerant)

may be rejected without hesitation, whether we read *calles* with the Mss. or *Cales*, with Nipperdey and Mommsen. But that it is a gloss is surely not proven by the use of *id est*: cf. *Jul.* 56, 6; *Aug.* 32, 3; 88; 97, 2; *Tib.* 24, 1; *Galb.* 3, 1; 8, 2; *Vesp.* 11; *Dom.* 17, 1, with the comments or equally significant silence of the editors; also Baumgarten-Crusius, *s.v. id est*.

In considering whether any passage is a gloss or not, the question may fairly be asked, whether it throws light on the words which it is supposed to define. In this case the answer must be in the negative; for *silvae callesque* furnishes the only difficulty in an otherwise clear sentence. Another reasonable query is, whether the alleged gloss is more likely to have been written by the author or by some scribe. Now it is not easy to understand how any scribe could have known of the existence of a quaestor's "province," or sphere of duty, so obscure that it is referred to but once in our extant literature (*Tac. Ann.* iv, 27); or if he did know of it, how he could possibly have confounded it with the provinces assigned to *two consuls* to govern. If this be admitted, we may dismiss the idea that *silvae callesque* was written by "un grammairien peu au courant des institutions de l'époque," and take it as a correct enough, although obviously colloquial, designation of provinces *minimi negotii*, which did not require a great army or offer opportunities for distinction; that is, "mere woods and pastures." It is most easily understood as a bit of political slang (see *Class. Jour.* vii, 126), which would have been familiar to Suetonius, but hardly to a scribe or grammarian of later times. It is possible, though less probable, that it was a new coinage for the occasion, in which case also it is more naturally attributed to Suetonius than to a copyist. In any event it is difficult to regard it as a gloss, or to explain it in any other way than the one which I have suggested.

2. In *Aug.* 53, 2 (non temere urbe oppidove ullo egressus est . . . nisi vespera aut noctu, ne quem officii causa inquietaret. In consulatu pedibus fere, extra consulatum saepe *adoperta* sella per publicum incessit) the Mss. are unanimous for *adoperta*, but Roth, Shuckburgh, and Preud'homme read *adaperta*. Shuckburgh says: "to ride with the curtains of the *lectica* closed was a sign of pride," citing *Cic. Phil.* ii, 106; *Gell.* x, 3, 5; *Mart.* xi, 98, 12. But in none of these passages is there any suggestion of pride. Martial refers to a man who rode thus to escape the *basiatores*, Cicero to one who was carried through the city *ut mortuus*, while the costly joke of the unhappy

peasant in Gellius was doubtless of the same character as Cicero's quip. The man was too "dead and alive" to travel like a live man. In fact, we have better reason for assuming that it was a sign of pride and ostentation to ride in an open litter; see *Juv.* I, 64 ff. The suggestion of Lipsius, that Augustus rode in a closed litter for the same reason that led him to enter and leave towns at night, — *ne quem officii causa inquietaret*, — is natural, since the two habits are mentioned together. Furthermore, the emperor's custom of napping as he rode (*Aug.* 78, 2) would be easier and less conspicuous in a closed litter.

It has been assumed with Lipsius and, to judge from the passages which he cites, with Shuckburgh, that Suetonius here uses *sella* for *lectica*. Although this is rare, and, according to Blümner, *Privatalt.* 445, n. 11, is never done, the supposition nevertheless seems reasonable, in view of the emperor's habits and state of health, and because we have but this single reference to his use of a *sella* and seven to his using a *lectica*. This question, however, does not affect that of the choice between *adoperta* and *adaperta*, since what has been said of the *lectica* in that connection applies equally well to the *sella*.

3. In *Aug.* 76, 2 (*panis unciam cum paucis acinis uvae duracinae comedi*) it is clear that *acinis* refers to the individual grapes of a cluster, and Shuckburgh's literal translation, "berries of hard-berried grape," is correct. He explains it, however, as meaning "a few dried raisins," which is also the rendering of Thomson-Forester. But the term for raisins is *uva passa* of the cluster and *acinus passus* of the individuals; we may perhaps give the latter meaning also to *aridum acinum* in *Hor. Serm.* II, 6, 85, unless the reference is to some kind of a dried berry. Furthermore, the derivation, use, and meaning of *dur-acinus* do not justify that translation. Georges, Stahr, and Holland give the meaning 'hard-skinned' or 'hard-coated,' although Holland, with a truer feeling for the meaning of the word, adds "or, with hard kernels." Since *acinus* means, first 'a berry' and then 'a seed,' 'hard-seeded' would be correct enough, if it were not meaningless. 'Hard-berried' is the natural meaning (see also Forcellini-De Vit), and *uvae duracinae* were grapes with a firm, hard pulp, suited for eating, but not so well adapted to the making of wine; see *Mart.* XIII, 22; *Colum.* III, 2, who defines them as *firmi durique acini*. This meaning also suits the application of *duracinus* to other fruits, certainly that of Pliny (*N.H.* xv, 113) to a clingstone peach, and probably that to a kind of cherry and to the *pira Crustumina*. Nei-

ther of the last two could reasonably be described as 'hard-seeded,' since all cherries have that characteristic and it is meaningless as applied to pears. Since a hard-skinned fruit would give the impression to the touch of being firm-fleshed, the former meaning is not in itself impossible, but it does not suit Pliny's description of the peach, or Columella's of the grape, to say nothing of other cases.

18. The Witch Scene in Lucan (*Pharsalia*, VI, 419 sqq.), by Professor H. J. Rose, of McGill University.

An unfortunate tendency of the Stoics, especially the later sects, was to consider that any idea which had long found credence among many men must be largely true, and to defend such ideas along pseudo-rational lines, as supporting their own supernaturalism. Such an attitude is shown by their adoption of the *consensus gentium* argument in theology; it is further illustrated by their patronage of astrology. It is therefore not surprising that the Stoic Lucan has a good knowledge of Black Magic, as is shown by the scene under discussion.

The chief points are: (1) 508 sqq., Erichtho will dwell in no city. The cities would not desire her certainly, for her presence would surely violate the *pax deorum*; but also Erichtho might well fear that her charms would be less effectual in the presence, say, of the rites of Apollo Alexikakos.

(2) Her materials. These seem to be chiefly bits of dead bodies, 533 sqq. These were actually used by ancient witches; see Petron. 63, Apuleius *Met.* I, 21 sqq., and especially Tac. *Ann.* II, 69, 5, *humanorum corporum reliquiae . . . quis creditur animas numinibus infernis sacrari*. What did the witches want them for? Possibly cannibal feasts for one thing; also necromancy, — but a fresh and unblemished corpse is used for this, 619 sqq.; again, messages are sent by the mouth of the dying, 564; this custom survives, see Lawson, *Modern Greek Folk-lore*, 345. But how are the *reliquiae* supposed to act?

(a) Perhaps as poisons. The dead are poisonous in an Australian belief; see Howitt, *Tribes of S.-E. Australia*, 362. But no exact classical parallel.

(b) Human flesh would make a more realistic substitute for the conventional wax doll in such charms as those described in Theok. II. Animals' flesh is still occasionally so used, as any anthropological museum will show. Human flesh would be still better.



(c) Most likely, however, that this is the underlying idea: the dead have a sort of magnetism and can draw the living after them to the under-world. Cf. the avoidance of the dead or dying, e.g., by the Lenguas (Grubb, *An Unknown People*, 161), the Manipuris (Hodson, *Naga Tribes*, 166), and in Ontario (*Folk-Lore*, xxiv, ii, 223). Classical examples, XII Tables, x, 1, Bruns; Plutarch, *QR*, 5; Eur. *I.T.* 947 sqq., and many others. Under polytheism the form this idea would naturally take would be, as Tacitus says, that by means of the dead one could make over the living to the infernal gods. So in Dion. Hal. ii, 10, 3, *sacer*, practically = 'tabu,' becomes *θῦμα τοῦ καταχθονίου Διός*. Ideas (a) and (b) might result from (c). Another off-shoot is illustrated in 543 sqq., the collection of instruments of execution or suicide. These have caused death and may do so again; cf. Verg. *Aen.* x, 333-335.

Again, Erichtho may sometimes want these fragments for beneficial magic (cf. 531-532). A bit of a tombstone and a cross-nail are so used, Lucian, *Philops.* 11, 17; a modern example, *Folk-Lore*, xxiii, i, 17.

Use of unborn babes, 558-559. Not simply magical (as in India, Thurston, *Omens and Superstitions of S. India*, 227). A sort of religious rite (*aris*, 559); the gods are given the life of one who should live to spare one who should die. Cf. 710; Ov. *Met.* vii, 167; and the story of Alkestis.

(3) The incantation, especially 730-749. (a) 732, *nomine uero*. The knowledge of the true name gives power over its bearer. The ordinary names of the Furies (Tisiphone, etc.) are mere descriptions. This idea is very common, e.g. Plin. *N.H.* iii, 65, Plut. *QR*, 61. Similar is 736; a monster is helpless in his true form; cf. the legends of Proteus and of Thetis; 739 sqq., an idea less common in the classical field,<sup>1</sup> that a similar power is given by reciting the true story; see *Kalevala*, runo ix, tale of Iron; cf. Stewart, *Myths of Plato*, 203 sqq.; Comparetti, *Traditional Poetry of the Finns*, 281 sqq. This, perhaps, is why an unfinished tale is *οὐ θέμης*, Plat. *Gorg.* 505 d; cf. *Legg.* vi, 752 a. Originally it was *ineffectual*, not *impious*.

742 sqq. The words *pessime mundi arbiter* simply refer to Pluto. The three sons of Kronos are all *arbitri mundi*, since between them they rule the universe; Pluto is *pessimus* of the three in dominions and character. But 744 sqq. refer probably to Ahriman. Since Micyllus' time (1503-1558) they have been taken to allude to Demo-

<sup>1</sup> Some classical and post-classical examples, with further references, in Heim, *Incantamenta magica Gr. Lat.* 495 sqq.

gorgon; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 516 and schol. *ad loc.* Demogorgon is indeed a mystic and it would seem a magical divinity; see Roscher's *Lexikon*, s.v.; but (a) Statius seems to imply, and the schol. still more definitely, that he is a good god. This being so, it is odd that Erichtho should worship him. (b) Positive evidence of the nature of the being she threatens to invoke is given by 749-750, which places him at the bottom of the Homeric Tartaros, © 16. This might merely put him among the followers of Kronos, *ibid.* 479, but the following words, *Stygias qui peierat undas*, seem to settle the matter. If he always breaks the oath which Zeus never breaks, surely he is an anti-Zeus, an Oriental Ahriman or Satan. Cumont, therefore (*Réligions Orientales*, 266, American trans.), is right in finding Ahriman in this passage, although he finds him in the wrong place, namely 742. The same work gives evidence that he was becoming known in the Greco-Roman world.

Possibly Statius also knew something of Ahriman; cf. *Theb.* xi, 443-446, a passage which Butler (*Post-Augustan Poetry*, 226) not unjustly considers Miltonic in its tone.

19. An Additional Note on the History of Certain Mss. of Petronius, by Dr. Evan T. Sage, of the University of Pittsburgh.

This paper supplements an earlier discussion (read before the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast in April, 1913; see below, p. lxvi). By the aid of photographs not then accessible, the attempt is made to decide the relation of two leaves of Petronius (Va) bound in a volume of Plautus at Leyden, to the incomplete Bernensis 357 (B). This question, vigorously debated by Bücheler and Beck, was of necessity left open before. Comparison of the hands and external evidence seem to show that the two Mss. were originally one, as Bücheler (following Mommsen) had contended. The photographs make it possible to correct a number of errors in the apparatus of Bücheler and Beck.

Bücheler identified B with a Ms. used by Pithoeus and called by him *Altissiodurensis*, and his view has been accepted by Usener, Traube, and Manitius in turn. But readings of the two Mss., taken mainly from Bücheler himself, show that the two Mss. were not the same. There seems to be no other ground for believing that B came from Auxerre, though this is not excluded. It is practically certain that B belonged to Pierre Daniel, who acquired most of the Fleury

library. Petronius was known in the Middle Ages and Renaissance at both places; there was a valuable Ms. at Fleury and a lexicon quoting the *Satirae*, while Heiric of Auxerre was acquainted with Petronius. The indications point rather to Fleury as the home of B, though the lack of certain knowledge of these libraries makes a more positive statement impossible.

20. A Preliminary Survey of the Manuscripts of Aeschylus, by Professor Herbert Weir Smyth, of Harvard University.

There exist about one hundred Mss. of Aeschylus, many of which, containing only the *Persae*, *Septem adversus Thebas*, and *Prometheus*, are not mentioned in any edition of the poet. It is the purpose of this survey to give a detailed statement, so far as is possible, of all the Mss., together with such palaeographical and other information as may be of service to the textual critic who is interested in following the course of Aeschylean tradition from the tenth to the sixteenth century. The paper will be published at a later date.

21. Does *yaunā takabarā* (Dar. NRA) Signify 'Shield (*i.e.* Petasos)-wearing Ionians'? by Professor Herbert Cushing Tolman of Vanderbilt University.

Among the various interpretations of *takabarā* one of the most recent is that of Andreas, "*die petasos tragenden*," (*Verhandlungen des 13 Internationalen Orientalisten Kongresses*, 96 ff., 1904), an epithet which he refers specifically to the Macedonians. The Babylonian version seems to render the expression by a paraphrase, [*matuya*]-*ma-nu ša-nu tū ša ma-gi-na-ta ina kaḫḫadi-su-nu na-šu-u*, "other Ionians who wear (or bear) the shields on their head." (Cf. Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften am Grabe des Darius*, 1911.) Does this mean, as Weissbach supposes, that the petasos to the Babylonian resembled a shield and that the Persian epithet refers to this peculiar head-covering? If it be so, we should expect to find such distinction clearly marked on the royal graves in the sculptured type of the *yaunā takabarā* supporting the throne. This is not the case, for the relief on the tombs both at Naḫši-Rustam and Persepolis show the petasos worn by the *yauna* "Ionian" (clearly seen on Xerxes' grave), the *skudra* "Thracian" (clearly seen on grave of Darius II) as well as by the *yaunā takabarā* (clearly seen on graves of Xerxes and Darius II). The reliefs of the *yauna* and the *yaunā takabarā* show the regular Greek costume, *i.e.* chiton and chlamys, petasos, and

sword slung from the shoulder. If the monuments exhibit the same dress, how could an epithet be justified which seems explicitly to imply a marked difference? Again, while the petasos is worn on the Grave of Darius II by the *skudra* "Thracian," yet on the Grave of Artaxerxes II he wears a slightly pointed cap overlapping the ears somewhat like the Scythian head-dress. This is doubtless due to the conception of the sculptor of this late relief, and the mistake is easily explained since the dress of the *skudra* in all other particulars is Scythian, consisting of trousers, and a trimmed cloak open at the neck and cut away at the bottom. If a distinctive epithet were needed, it seems as if it should apply to the *skudra* since the petasos is the only portion of his costume which differentiates him from the Scythian.

While the Babylonian expression is descriptive, yet it must be admitted that the Persian is ambiguous. Granted that *taka* corresponds to the Bab. *ma-gi-na-ta* in the sense of "shield," the epithet *takabarā* would naturally be interpreted as "shield-bearing," since there is nothing in the term to suggest a shield-formed hat worn on the head.

In the inscription of Darius on the south retaining wall of the terrace (Pers. e.) the Ionians are differentiated as "those of the mainland and those on the sea," *yaunā tyaiy uškahyā utā tyaiy drayahyā*, 13-14. As corresponding to the latter division I had suggested for *takabarā* the interpretation "sea-faring" (YAv. *taka*, "water course" + *bara*, cf. *asabāri*, Tolman, *Lexicon*, 91). In that case the phrase of the Bab. version would be entirely supplementary, describing a characteristic of the Ionian which appeared striking to the Babylonians themselves. We have evidence of lack of correspondence in the trilingual version of this inscription. For example: Elam. *te-nu-um-da-ut-ti-ra*, "giver of the sacred law," where if we relied on this word for a supplement for the Persian we should restore \**dainadā-tāram*, yet the text gives the regular *framātāram*, "chief"; Bab. [*ilu ina*] *ilani<sup>mes</sup> rabu-u*, *ilu a-ḥu-ur-ma-az-da* "great god among gods is Auramazda," for Pers. *baga vazarka auramazdā*, "great god is Auramazda"; Pers. *ariya ariya ciθra*, "an Aryan, of Aryan lineage," omitted in Bab. The Pers. *auramazdā yaθā avaina imām būmim yau . . .*, "when Auramazda saw this earth in commotion," the Bab. renders, *a-ḥu-ur-ma-az-da' ki i-mu-ru matate<sup>mes</sup> an-ni-ti ni-ik-ra-ma a-na l[i]b-bi a-ḥa-meš*, "when Auramazda saw these lands hostile and in mutual strife." The Elam. *tur-na-inti hu-pi-me-ir tur-na-inti*, "thou shalt know, thou shalt know," is for the Pers.

*xšnāsāhy adataiy azdā bavā[t]iy*, "thou shalt know, then to thee shall be the knowledge," and repeated for latter expression in l. 36. The Pers. [*hac*]ā *parsā*, "far from Persia," finds as its equivalent in Bab. *ru-ú-ku ul-tu mati-šu*, "far from his own land." We might mention how in the Behistan Inscription the Bab. (iv, 67) adds failure to bring sacrifice to the warnings of the king for the preservation of his memorial after the customary Assyrian phraseology, as well as the Elam. supplementary clause (iv, 62) *u-ra-mas-da an-na-ap 'har-ri-ya-na-um*, "Auramazda, the god of the Aryans."

Let us restore what must have been the ordinary Persian word for "shield." It is seen in New Pers. *sipara* and the Hesych. phrase *σπαράβαραι οἱ γερβ(ῥ)όφοροι*. Consequently we have little doubt that the form was \**spara*. The *sparā* (γέρρα), "wicker shields," form part of the equipment of the door-keepers sculptured on the tacara of Darius, the South-east Building, and the Hall of 100 Columns at Persepolis, and corroborate the account of the Greek writers; cf. Hdt. vii, 61. ἀντὶ δὲ ἀσπίδων γέρρα: ix, 61, φράξαντες γὰρ τὰ γέρρα οἱ Πέρσαι ἀπίεσαν τῶν τοξευμάτων πολλὰ ἀφειδέως. It would be this wicker shield and not the notched shield carried by the guard as seen in the sculptures of Persepolis (e.g. the Audience Relief, Hall of 100 Columns) which would suggest the Macedonian petasos. We should expect, therefore, \**sparabarā* as the epithet implying the figurative meaning suggested.

The Bab. *ma-gi-na-ta* would correspond to the Hebrew מַגֵּן, 2 Ch. 23, 9, used metaphorically for "defence" and applied in Jb. 41, 7 to the scale-like covering of the crocodile. The Pers. *taka* might be derived from I. E. *teñk* > Skt. *tañk*, "draw together," Lit. *tānkus*, "thick." This root Ullench (Etym. Wb. 107) sees in Av. *taxma*, "strong," the same word, of course, which appears in the first element of Anc. Pers. name *taxma-spada*, "possessing army of heroes"; cf. Middle Pers. *tak*, Turfan Mss., *tahmīkā*, New Pers. *tahm*. If such etymology be correct, *taka* might refer to a close defensive array of the Greek phalanx, which the Bab. version paraphrases as "shields borne on the head." For the impression which such defence employed by Psammetichus made on the light-armed Egyptians, cf. Mallet, *Les Premiers Établissements des Grecs en Égypte*, 38 ff. To the oriental the compact defensive armor of the Ionian troops would be a marked feature, and it would not be surprising if the epithet *takabarā* had reference to this rather than to any mode of dress. In that case the word would signify "shelter-bearing."

PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION  
OF THE PACIFIC COAST

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APRIL MEETING

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I. PROGRAMME

SATURDAY, APRIL 12

FIRST SESSION, 9.20 O'CLOCK A.M.

ALFRED SOLOMON

Chateaubriand and the Bible, with Special Reference to *Atala* (read  
by title)

EVAN T. SAGE

Notes on the History of Certain Mss. of Petronius (p. lxvi)

R. SCHEVILL

A Word on the Romances of Chivalry (p. lxviii)

BRUCE McCULLY

Chivalry in Chaucer (p. lxv)

A. L. GUÉRARD

The Religious Attitudes of Barbey d'Aurevilly

ALLEN R. BENHAM

Some Social Implications of the *Vision of . . . Piers the Plowman*  
(p. lix)

H. R. FAIRCLOUGH

Note on *quod . . . contuderit*, Horace, *Carm.* iv, 3, 8 (p. lxiii)

F. S. GRAVES

The Political Use of the Stage during the Reign of James I (p. lxv)

JOINT SESSION WITH THE SAN FRANCISCO SOCIETY OF  
THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA

2.15 O'CLOCK P.M.

J. T. CLARK

Some Features of Lexicographical Vitality in French

A. L. KROEBER

Linguistic Evidence on the Pre-history of California

HENRY DAVID GRAY

The Allegory in Lyly's *Endimion*

CHARLES HILL-TOUT

Have We Found the Source of the Phoenician Alphabet?

SAMUEL A. CHAMBERS

The Terror-Novel in England and France ; an Episode of the Pre-Romantic Epoch (p. lix)

RABBI MARTIN A. MEYER

The Royal Succession in Israel

CAROLINE BATES SINGLETON

Influence of Ossian on Chateaubriand

GEORGE HEMPL

The Hittites and their Kin<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> To be published elsewhere.

## II. MINUTES

At the last annual meeting of the Association it was decided to hold two meetings in 1913, the regular one in November, and the other some time during the spring in conjunction with the Pacific Association of Scientific Societies. The spring meeting was held at the University of California, April 12, the President, Professor Colbert Searles, of Leland Stanford Jr. University, presiding.

## FIRST SESSION

Saturday morning, April 12.

The meeting was called to order at 9.20 A.M. by the President, in California Hall (room 109). This session was devoted to the reading of papers. The number of persons present was thirty-one.

JOINT SESSION WITH THE SAN FRANCISCO SOCIETY OF  
THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA

Saturday afternoon, April 12.

The Societies met at 2.15 P.M. in California Hall (room 101), Professor Searles, President of the Philological Association, presiding.

A vote of thanks was extended to the Regents of the University of California for the use of the rooms where the meetings of the Association were held.

The programme being much longer than usual, there was no opportunity for a meeting of the Executive Committee. Through correspondence, however, the following persons were subsequently elected to membership by the Committee:—

- Professor Bruce McCully, Washington State College, Pullman, Washington.
- Mr. Francesco Ventresca, Washington State College, Pullman, Washington.
- Mr. Alfred Solomon, University of California, Berkeley, California.
- Dr. Evan T. Sage, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington.
- Professor Allen R. Benham, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington.



## III. ABSTRACTS

1. Some Social Implications of the *Vision of . . . Piers the Plowman*, by Professor Allen R. Benham, of the University of Washington.

*The Vision of William Concerning Piers the Plowman* is one of the most interesting products of an age of protest against the medieval system in Church and State. Its author, whether one or many, has vivid powers of observation, and gives us strikingly realistic pictures of the life of his time. The attitude of the poem or poems is critical of many of the practices in contemporary society, but its writer is not a reformer in the true sense. He is rightly called a prophet, in that he wishes to restore the medieval system, which he believes to be essentially sound, to its early purity.

2. The Terror-Novel in England and France (1764-1825): an Episode of the Pre-Romantic Epoch, by Professor Samuel A. Chambers, formerly of the University of California.

The paper is a contribution to the study of French romanticism, a movement that is so little understood that even such critics as Brunetière, Faguet, and Lanson have been unable to give a definition of it. A people in its contact with a foreign nation is influenced only by the ideas and sentiments that it can assimilate. Now, great writers and great movements are national in character, and by that very token not easily assimilated by a foreign people. The French are not romantic, and could not understand the English or German romantic movement. Shakespeare and Schiller were their gods, it is true, but unknown gods; they were really led by the Ossians and Gessners, and by minor movements, such as the one indicated here.

Popular fiction in France is the outgrowth of the democratic spirit of the latter part of the eighteenth century, aided by the sentimentality (*sensibilité, sensiblerie*) which characterized that epoch. The bloody scenes of the Revolution contributed also, no doubt, to the creation of an atmosphere in which terror-literature might thrive, but the influence was indirect; the type would have arisen just the same.

This fiction was a product of Rousseauism through the medium of Restif de la Bretonne, "le Rousseau du ruisseau." The type was definitively established during the Revolution (1793-1800) by Pigault-Lebrun (*Mon Oncle Thomas*, 1799) and Ducray-Duminil (*Coelina, ou*

*l'Enfant du Mystère*, 1798). The former is given to burlesque, and the latter to moralizing, but both agree in presenting some mysterious child of the people in an atmosphere of ruined castles, where vice is punished and oppressed virtue receives its reward.

The same conditions which produced this *roman populaire* produced the melodrama, which is *drame populaire*, an outgrowth of the dramatic theories of Diderot and Mercier: this, also, was definitely founded before 1800. This popular literature in its two forms was exciting, full of thrills, and had a dash of mystery, but it lacked many elements necessary to bring the type to its fruition; these elements were furnished by the introduction of the English terror-novel (translation of Anne Radcliffe, 1797), whose effect on the French can be judged by the names they applied to it. It was to them *roman noir*, *roman frénétique*, *roman surnaturel*, and even *roman du cauchemar*.

The forerunner of the English type was Horace Walpole's *Castle of Otranto* (1764), a book full of mysterious happenings, but, after all, chiefly *fantastic*, since it was written to feed the author's dilettante taste for the Gothic. Anne Radcliffe (*Mysteries of the Castle of Udolpho*, 1795) introduced the element of *terror*. Her plots wade in blood, the dialogue is a succession of gasps, the scenes, a series of cold shivers. Still, there is something lacking in her novels; namely, the *supernatural*. Her ghosts are not real ghosts but hallucinations, some distorted tree or broken rock, which in the moonlight is taken for a phantom. She constantly suggests supernatural influences, but as constantly explains them by natural causes.

Matthew Lewis (*The Monk*, 1795) went deeper into blood and terror than did Mrs. Radcliffe. The thesis of the author is the impossibility of clerical celibacy. Ambrosio, a monk, tempted by the devil and the flesh, is forced into a series of diabolical and frightful acts, among which wholesale murder and arson are mild recreations. In fact, Lewis represents the complete sway of the invisible world over the visible. The book is a masterpiece and had a crowd of imitators, each vying with the other in the presentation of *sombre horror*.

Into *Melmoth, the Wanderer* (1820) the Rev. Charles Maturin introduces a pact with the devil, and *Satanism*. Melmoth is a fabulous hero, born in the fifteenth century but still living in the nineteenth. It is his destiny to have immortal life, provided that he can from time to time deliver souls to the devil; thus, we find him, among the wretched and dying, everywhere tempting human weakness and pro-

posing his abominable bargain. When, finally, even his fabulous wealth can secure no victim, he himself falls into the hands of the demon. The influence of the book was very great.

These new elements were introduced and reintroduced into France between the years 1795 and 1820, and under their influence both melodrama and popular fiction had a tremendous revival. In fact, from 1800 to 1830 melodrama was the reigning type; the great actors and actresses, Frédéric Lemaître and Marie Dorval were actors of melodrama. The fiction, too, was chiefly of this kind, the vogue of the *roman personnel* being slight in comparison, and the *roman historique* being, for the most part, popular fiction. Pixérécourt, "le Corneille du mélodrame," its founder, had immense success between 1800 and 1835; he produced 120 plays, represented at least 500 times apiece. *L'Homme à trois visages* was played 1022 times, and *Le Pèlerin blanc* more than 1500 times. He went down only when melodrama passed into romantic drama, and when Hugo and Dumas stole his thunder. Caigniez and Ducange were scarcely less popular.

The popular novel had an equal vogue, and in the *Cabinets de lecture*, recently established, was catalogued even with regard to its content under such rubrics as ghostly, supernatural, diabolical, fantastic. In about 1812 there was a revival of the taste for the mysterious, which, with many, was no longer a fancy but a religious belief, as this was the period of Spiritualism. In 1817, M<sup>lle</sup>. de Chatenet, an aristocrat, translated Mrs. Radcliffe; in 1820, *Melmoth* was written, and translated at once into French; at this time, also, every one who could was producing pale imitations of *The Monk*; at this date began the esthetic utilization of this material by the romantics. In 1830, there was another revival of the penchant for mystery, and from this time on it was definitely coupled with artistic expression.

The contention of the paper is that the terror-novel was a vital influence in French literature; it took possession of two of the literary types; its effect on the great Romantic writers is beyond question, as the following sketch will indicate.

1. The melodrama passed bodily into Romantic drama, of which it became the basis.

2. The *roman populaire* was cultivated by the novelists from Eugène Suë to Balzac and Zola. Such writers as Eugène Suë, Frédéric Soulié, Paul Féval, were professional writers of the *roman noir* and serious rivals of Hugo and Dumas. Scribe produces *Robert*

*le Diable* and *La Nonne Sanglante*, both taken almost bodily from *The Monk*, Mérimée's *Vénus d'Ille* and *Âmes du Purgatoire* have the same source, and his taste for violent and sombre stories is in line with the terror-novel. Nodier is a frank admirer of melodrama and his *Jean Sbogar*, nobleman and bandit, was a hero of the popular stage everywhere. Balzac frankly admits his debt to the writers of popular fiction. He calls Maturin the most original writer of Great Britain, and *Melmoth* was with him during the whole of his career. We can never forget that Balzac began with *L'Héritière de Birague* (1821), *Argow le Pirate* (1824), and *Jane la Pâle* (1825), which are out-and-out terror-novels. Balzac is fundamentally a terror-novelist, and it is only this fact that will explain that which is excessive in his work. He has not only whole stories (*La Grande Bretèche ou les trois Vengeances*), but characters like Vautrin, and episodes like the "finger of God" in *Ursule Mirouët*, which come from this source in him. [See Lebreton (*Vie de Balzac*), who has gone rather fully into this phase.] There has been as yet no proper study of Hugo's debt to this source. He began with *Han d'Islande* and *Bug Jargal*, out-and-out terror-novels, and this influence permeates all his novels and drama. Take *Notre Dame de Paris*. The whole conception of Claude Frollo and La Esmeralda is taken from *The Monk*. His whole work is full of monstrosities, at first, physical, as Quasimodo, Gwynplaine; later, moral, as Josiane, Lucrece Borgia. His whole conception of antithesis — his monsters composed of an angel and a devil, concerning which he writes long prefaces — is a pure procedure of the terror novel. Of Hugo's dramas, some, as *Lucrece Borgia*, are pure melodramas; the rest are melodramas plus some lyrics and *couleur locale*. His whole conception of the grotesque is of the same kind. *Ruy Blas* (act IV) is not comic, as comedy should be: it is grotesque, with the peculiar unnaturalness of melodrama. Likewise, *Le Roi s'amuse* (act V) and *Lucrece Borgia* (act IV) are not tragedies; they are not terrible, but horrible after the manner of *The Monk*. That this melodrama was fundamental in Hugo is most clearly shown in *L'Homme qui rit* (1869). To my mind, the strangeness and exaggeration of this book can be explained in no other way. A thorough study of this influence on Hugo would doubtless explain much that is strange, not only in his novels and drama, but in his poetry; it would bear as rich fruit as did Lebreton's study of Balzac.

This novel represents a type which did not make good; it never got itself established as a great literary *genre*; its representative

to-day is the dime-novel. It failed because it contained in itself the elements of its own destruction; exaggeration and untruth to life were essential to the type, and an exaggerated style was a part of this fiction. Yet, it was not futile; it created a certain atmosphere, as did the *précieux* and sentimental movements before it; moreover, it filled a want; it gave what tragedy did not, the fantastic, and the horrible, and thus had a legitimate fascination for the reader. It appealed to the sense of mystery, and was really more romantic than the personal novel, which was not novel at all, but lyric, giving rise to Lamartine and Musset, not to Balzac. It was, in fact, the combination of this type with the historical novel in Balzac, that produced the modern novel.

The great literary epochs are the stylization, the *mise au point* of the preceding epoch; thus, the classic period in its relation to the Sixteenth Century; thus, the Romantic period in its relation to its melodramatic predecessor. But this giving style to the movement did not eradicate the content, and the *cauchemar* that we find in Mérimée and Nodier, and a certain "enormousness" that we find in Balzac and Hugo, can be traced to the terror-novel. Thus Anne Radcliffe, Monk Lewis, and Maturin have their importance as forerunners of the modern romantic movements.

3. Note on *quod . . . contuderit*, Horace, *Carm.* iv, 3, 8, by Professor H. Rushton Fairclough, of Leland Stanford Jr. University.

The mood of *contuderit* has proved a *crux* for commentators, though many of them overlook it. It is commonly taken as a subjunctive, and for this there may be very slight support in the Pseudo-Acro commentary (ed. Keller): *qui victos reges in triumphi pompa ad Capitolium ducat*; where the editor adds the note: *duxerit tacite inculc.* Q. schol. (Q. = ed. *Pragensis*, 1861).

But why is the subjunctive used? The common explanation is that given by L. Müller (1882): "der Conj. giebt den Grund an, weshalb das römische Volk den Feldherrn des Triumphs würdig erachtet;" amplified in 1900 thus: "der Conjunctiv bezeichnet nicht ohne Ironie, den Grund, welchen Römer den mit den römischen Sitten unbekanntem, das seltsame Triumphgepränge verwundert betrachtenden Fremden für das Treiben auf der *Sacra Via* angeben."

Similarly Nauck (1894): "der Conj. zeigt den Grund, weshalb der Eroberer gezeigt wird, in der Vorstellung."

But Rosenberg (1890) probably voices the opinion of many, when he declares that the subjunctive is used *metri causa*: "der Konj. wohl nur aus metrischen Gründen."

Bennett (1901) returns to Müller's view: "*contuderit* is subjunctive, and gives the reason supposed to be present in the minds of the Romans when celebrating the triumph."

The explanation by Page (1886) is an extraordinary one, and shows how hard it is to find a satisfactory solution: "The subj. is very difficult, and is neglected by the editors: in most cases where *quod* takes the subj. it is virtually in oblique construction, e.g. *falso queritur de natura genus humanum . . . quod regatur*, 'because, as they say, they are ruled': here however this will not apply. Perhaps the principle is the same which makes *non quod* take a subj. 'when the reason denied is conceptive, not real' (Kennedy): you deny that the man will ever go in a triumphal procession, and therefore the reason why he should go in one is purely conceptive and unreal."

For my part, I see no reason why we should seek fanciful explanations for a subjunctive, when it is more natural and logical to find in *contuderit* a future perfect indicative.

The whole passage relates to the future. The main verbs, *clarabit, ducet, ostendet, fingent*, are all future. Of the subordinate verbs, *praefluunt* is of course present (for the streams of Tibur 'go on for ever'), but *videris* is future perfect, and is expressive of an antecedent cause, even as is *contuderit*. The only difference is one of form, *videris* being the verb of a relative causal clause, and *contuderit* that of a pure causal clause. (Note that Pseudo-Acro, ed. Keller, gives *qui* for *quod* in his comment.)

The cause, antecedent to a future idea, is logically future-perfect, though the English disguises the fact. We say: "he who *calls* me mad, shall hear as much from me." The Latin is:

dixerit insanum qui me, totidem audiet.

Horace, *Serm.* II, 3, 298.

Cf. *ib.* II, 1, 44-46,

at ille

qui me commorit . . . flebit.

In the former passage, Horace might have written *dixerit insanum quod me*, had there been a subject *quidam*, and in the passage under discussion, he might have had

*qui regum tumidas contuderit minas.*

From the nature of the thought, the future perfect seems to be rare in pure causal clauses, but the simple future, with which it is so closely allied, occurs in Horace. The best example is the following :

dominum vehet improbus atque  
serviet aeternum, quia parvo nesciet uti.

*Epist.* I, 10, 41.

There is another point worth considering. The subject of *ostendet* is *res bellica*, which is not *deeds of war* (Moore), but rather *War* (personified), even as *res ludicra* is not *comic scenes*, but *Comedy*. So *res rustica* is agriculture, *res iudiciaria* is the judiciary, *res uxoria* is matrimony, etc. Now unless *quod contuderit* is a reason vouched for by the poet, it ought to be the reason given, not by the bystanders, but by War herself. Surely War knows her own business, and when she displays her votary before the Capitol, it will not be because (*as people say*) 'he has crushed the swelling threats of kings.'

#### 4. The Political Use of the Stage during the Reign of James I, by Dr. F. S. Graves, of the University of Washington.

The paper furnished additional evidence in support of the assertion frequently made that the stage during the reign of James I occupied a political as well as a literary position. And the persistence of actors and playwrights in meddling with affairs religious and political is to be accounted for largely by the fact that men high in authority — even the king himself — were in spirit at least favorable to such a practice. Whereas James was careful to prohibit those dramas directed at himself, his family, or his friends, he apparently enjoyed those directed at his enemies — the Puritans and the Catholics ; and whenever purely diplomatic rather than personal reasons prompted the royal objection to dramatic performances, there is considerable reason to believe that this objection was not so strenuous as it might have been.

#### 5. Chivalry in Chaucer, by Professor Bruce McCully, Washington State College.

The age of medieval chivalry reached its flowering time in the twelfth century. More than a century of decline followed ; then an outburst of chivalric enthusiasm swept over the England of Chaucer's boyhood, only to die away, however, as he gained maturity. Hence it appears that fortune had placed Chaucer the poet amid a world

from which the glamour of the chivalric ideal was fading. Had he been a chivalric enthusiast by temperament, must not the spacious times of his youth have called to him as the days of border feud called to Sir Walter Scott? As a matter of fact we hear no echo of such a call; the heroes of "Algezir" and Crécy and "Alisaundre" are not so much as named. In place of a record of their adventurous exploits what have we? A number of works in no way connected with chivalric interests, courtly verse after the manner of the French disciples of Machault (even this asserts a larger and saner ideal than does the literature most characteristic of chivalry), more or less of a burlesque of conventional social ideals and prejudices in the *Parlement of Foules*, a "psychological novel" in *Troilus and Criseyde*, and the Chaucerian masterpiece, *The Canterbury Tales*, a work comprehensive enough in its range of sympathies and interests to include the whole of English life. Although Chaucer undoubtedly knew and admired the chivalric ideal, it is evident from his work that with him knightly aspiration was a distinctly subordinate interest.

6. Notes on the History of Certain Mss. of Petronius, by Dr. Evan T. Sage, of the University of Washington.<sup>1</sup>

This paper dealt with three Mss.: Bernensis Lit. 357 (B); Parisinus 7989 (A); and Laurentianus 47, 31 (D). It has been said that A (containing various authors as well as the *Cena Trimalchionis* and the vulgate fragments of Petronius) was the property of Poggio. This assumption is based on statements of Poggio, who, we know, had two Mss. of Petronius, a *particula* discovered by him in Britain before June 20, 1420, and described by him in a letter of that date; and a Ms. found in Cologne some time before May 28, 1423 (*Epistt.* I, 7; II, 3, ed. Tonelli, resp.). The inference drawn is that the British *particula* is the *Cena*, and corroborative evidence has been found in the fact that John of Salisbury was acquainted with the *Cena* and other parts of Petronius as well. That this conclusion is untenable is shown by the descriptive letter of Poggio referred to above, which is not applicable to the *Cena*, but is applicable to various other parts of the *Satirae*. Quotations from Petronius in John of Salisbury indicate that he used a Ms. not of the immediate family to which A belongs, but rather one of the family represented by B.

<sup>1</sup> Now of the University of Pittsburgh.



It is therefore impossible to trace the *Cena* with any certainty from Poggio back to John, and impossible to prove that the *Cena* is the British *particula*. The evidence, though scanty, points unmistakably in the opposite direction. Another point used to support the identification of A with Poggio's Ms. is the fact that his Cologne Ms. was of Bk. xv, and that A is said in the Ms. to contain Bks. xv and xvi (rather fragments of them). No other existing Ms. retains any trace of the book division of the complete text. The subscription in A appears to belong to the vulgate, not to the *Cena*, but despite that, I believe that if A did belong to Poggio (an assumption I am inclined to accept) the whole of the *Satirae* as now existing in A was found in the Cologne Ms. We know, moreover, that in December, 1429, Poggio complained that Niccolo had had Petronius more than seven years (*Epistt.* iv, 2 T). This is often taken to mean the Cologne Ms., but is more probably the *particula*. If this is true, the *particula* did not affect A at all, inasmuch as A was written in the fall of 1423 (the Catullus portion is dated Nov. 20, 1423), while the *particula* was still in the hands of Niccolo. D is said to have belonged to Niccolo, and so conceivably is a copy of the *particula*, but I doubt it. It seems to be a cousin of A, and is not closely related to the Ms. of John of Salisbury.

I have already stated that John used a Ms. of a family closer to that of B than that of AD. B was in existence in his time, and may have been accessible to him, though it cannot have been his Ms., so far as one can judge from the small number of quotations. The external history of B suggests that it may have come from Fleury, where John was known (see p. lii). I am inclined to believe that John studied Petronius at Fleury, and did not then of necessity ever own a Ms. himself. Petronius was cited in a Fleury lexicon from a Ms. with book numbers. Pithoeus saw a Ms. which he cites as *Benedictinus vetus*. Several questions now arise which are not yet capable of settlement: What relation is there between this Fleury Ms. and the Cologne Ms. of Poggio? What relation exists between it and B? Why does B have no book numbers? It might even be that this Fleury Ms. is the archetype of the later Mss. from B down, the differences being explained by the presence of variants and marginal notes in this Ms. Further study may throw light on some of these puzzling problems.

This paper will appear in *Classical Philology*.

7. A Word on the Romances of Chivalry, Chiefly the *Amadis de Gaula*, by Professor R. Schevill, of the University of California.

The main reason for their vogue was their popularity among women, who appear to have been their chief readers. Sentimental themes are uppermost, and women eagerly read how their favor or their will was the mainspring of the World of Chivalry. Careful study of the style of the *Amadis* shows that Montalvo left very little of the original unchanged. The manner of describing sentimental themes is characteristic of the Spanish language at the close of the fifteenth century; many phrases resemble the stereotyped utterances of the *Cancioneros*. It is probable that Montalvo had only one version before him which depicted Amadis as faithful to Oriana, and therefore the Prince Alfonso who desired the change, was the one who later became Alfonso V of Portugal (1438-1481). The change and the apology are both by Montalvo, if this theory is acceptable. The position of the object pronoun is not a good test, because the ancient word-order may be found in passages undoubtedly by Montalvo. The Career of Galaor seems to be chiefly, if not wholly, the work of Montalvo. The numerous passages containing "moral examples and doctrines" he himself claims in his preface. The present division into books and chapters is purely arbitrary. The monarchic spirit of the book was dictated by the times in which Montalvo revamped his original, and is a logical tribute to the centralized power of the Catholic Kings.

PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION  
OF THE PACIFIC COAST

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NOVEMBER MEETING

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I. PROGRAMME

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 28

FIRST SESSION, 9.30 O'CLOCK A.M.

J. ELMORE

The Greek *Cautio* in Cicero, *Fam.* VII, 18, 1 (p. 127)

WILLIAM FREDERIC BADÈ

Notes on Stepmother Marriage among the Hebrews and Arabs  
(p. lxxvi)

LOUIS P. DE VRIES

Definition of Modern French Realism

GILBERT CHINARD

Alfred de Vigny's Biblical Poems

W. A. MERRILL

The Archetype of Lucretius<sup>1</sup>

SECOND SESSION, 2 O'CLOCK P.M.

WILLIAM CHISLETT, JR.

George Meredith and the Classics

R. SCHEVILL

Luis de León, *La Vida Retirada* (read by title)

<sup>1</sup> Published in the *University of California Publications in Classical Philology*, II, no. 10.

E. B. CLAPP

Notes, Critical and Exegetical, upon Certain Fragments of Pindar  
(p. lxxvii)

KARL G. RENTDORFF

The Decay of German Literature in the Thirteenth Century

GEORGE HEMPL

The Old Doric of the Tell el Amarna Texts (p. 185)

THIRD SESSION, 8 O'CLOCK P.M.

COLBERT SEARLES

The French Assimilation of Aristotle's Poetic Art:  
Annual Address of the President of the Association

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 29

FOURTH SESSION, 9 O'CLOCK A.M.

ARTHUR PATCH MCKINLAY

Achilles as a Tragic Hero (p. lxxviii)

R. E. PELLISSIER

*El Diaro de los Literatos* and the Reawakening of Literary Criticism  
in Spain during the First Half of the Seventeenth Century

E. W. MARTIN

The Folk-lore of the Swallow in the American Poets

A. M. ESPINOSA

California Spanish Folk-lore

HENRY DAVID GRAY

The Authorship of *Titus Andronicus* (p. lxxvii)

FIFTH SESSION, 2 O'CLOCK P.M.

O. M. JOHNSTON

Repetition of Words and Phrases at the Beginning of Tercets in the  
*Divine Comedy* (p. lxxviii)

IVAN M. LINFORTH

The Conception of the Lower World in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes

W. H. CARRUTH

Bryant's *A Presentiment* and Goethe's *Erlkönig*

S. S. SEWARD

A Conception of Humor (p. lxxviii)

EDWARD ARTHUR WICHER

What is a Parable? (p. lxxix)

## II. MINUTES

The Philological Association of the Pacific Coast held its Fifteenth Annual Meeting on November 28 and 29, in the San Francisco Institute of Art, the President of the Association, Professor Colbert Searles, of the Leland Stanford Junior University, presiding.

## FIRST SESSION

Friday morning, November 28.

After the minutes of the last meeting were read and approved, the following report of the Treasurer was presented:—

## RECEIPTS

Balance on hand November 29, 1912 . . . . .	\$ 34.00	
Dues and initiation fees . . . . .	286.00	
		<u>\$320.00</u>

## EXPENDITURES

Sent to Professor Moore (June 2, 1913) . . . . .	\$200.00	
Printing . . . . .	27.50	
Stationery and postage . . . . .	14.00	
Clerk hire . . . . .	11.95	
Miscellaneous . . . . .	3.35	
		<u>\$256.80</u>
Balance on hand November 28, 1913 . . . . .	63.20	<u>\$320.00</u>

The Chair appointed the following committees:—

*Nomination of Officers:* Professors Noyes, Espinosa, and Church.

*Time and Place of Next Meeting:* Professors Church, Allen (J. T.), and Foster.

*Treasurer's Report:* Professors Chinard, Badè, and Gray.

*Membership:* Professors Martin, Noyes, and Chambers.

*Arrangements:* Rev. W. A. Brewer and Professor J. T. Allen.

The number of persons present at this session was about thirty.

## SECOND SESSION

Friday afternoon, November 28.

The Association met at 2.10 P.M.

On motion of Professor J. Elmore, Section 1, Article iv, of the Constitution, was amended by striking out the word "five" and sub-

stituting the word "three" in the amount of the initiation fee for incoming members.

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, 1914. The Association decided also to hold a meeting sometime during the spring of 1914, at Seattle, in conjunction with the Pacific Association of Scientific Societies.

On motion of Professor W. A. Merrill,

*Voted*, That a member of the Association from one of the Northern institutions be put on the Executive Committee.

On recommendation of the Executive Committee,

*Voted*, That a committee be appointed to communicate with the American Philological Association with reference to the feasibility of allowing the modern language members of our Association to receive the Publications instead of the Transactions and Proceedings. The Chair subsequently appointed, as members of this committee, Professors H. D. Gray and J. T. Allen, and Dr. A. P. McKinlay.

The number of persons present at this session was forty-seven.

### THIRD SESSION

Friday evening, November 28.

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 *The French Assimilation of Aristotle's Poetic Art*.

### FOURTH SESSION

Saturday morning, November 29.

The Association met at 9.40 A.M., the President in the chair.

The entire session was given to the reading and discussion of papers.

The number of persons present was thirty-seven.

### FIFTH SESSION

Saturday afternoon, November 29.

The Committee on Nominations made its report; whereupon the following officers were elected for 1913-1914:—

*President*, J. T. Allen.

*Vice-Presidents*, J. Elmore, O. M. Johnston.

*Secretary-Treasurer*, G. Chinard.

*Executive Committee*, The above-named officers, and

H. C. Nutting,

B. O. Foster,

P. J. Frein,

A. Gaw.

The Committee on Nominations also gave notice of its intention to propose one year hence an amendment to the Constitution, Article II, Section I; so that said section shall read as follows:—  
“The officers shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer.”

The Committee on Treasurer's Report stated that the accounts had been examined and found correct. Adopted.

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 Committee appointed to communicate with the Philological Association and the Modern Language Association with reference to a plan whereby the modern language members of our Association may receive the Publications, made an oral report through its chairman, Professor H. D. Gray. The Committee was continued, and was asked to investigate the financial and other problems involved in the proposed plan and report at the next annual meeting.

On recommendation of the Committee on Nominations,

*Voted*, That the Secretary-Treasurer be allowed \$30.00 for clerical assistance.

The number of persons present at this session was twenty-six.

Two meetings of the Executive Committee were held, one on November 28, and the other November 29.

The following persons were elected to membership:—

Mr. Leonard Bacon, University of California.

Mr. F. T. Blanchard, University of California.

Prof. W. H. Carruth, Stanford University, Cal.

Prof. H. E. Cory, University of California.

Mr. Arthur G. Kennedy, Stanford University, Cal.

Mr. W. W. Lyman, University of California.

Dr. A. P. McKinlay, Lowell High School, San Francisco.

Mr. G. R. MacMinn, University of California.

Prof. Ernest W. Parsons, Pacific Theological Seminary.

Mr. Otto E. Plath, University of California.



- Mr. Charles Reining, Stanford University, Cal.  
Mr. H. L. Schwartz, University of California.  
Prof. Stanley Smith, Reed College, Portland, Oregon.  
Dr. G. A. Smithson, University of California.  
Mr. W. Steinbrunn, University of California.  
Mr. R. O. Stidston, Stanford University, Cal.  
Dr. Louis P. de Vries, Stanford University, Cal.  
Prof. H. J. Weber, University of California.  
Mr. P. E. Weithaase, University of California.  
Dr. H. A. Wyneken, Stanford University, Cal.

## III. ABSTRACTS

I. Notes on Stepmother Marriage among the Hebrews and Arabs, by Professor William Frederic Badè, of the Pacific Theological Seminary.

Two passages in Deuteronomy prohibit marriage between stepsons and stepmothers (22 : 30 and 27 : 20). The practice condemned by deuteronomic legislation probably was of great antiquity among the Semites, although the Hammurabi Code shows that two millenniums B.C. it was no longer permitted among the Babylonians. The Israelite family, throughout the entire Old Testament period, was polygamous. Among herdsmen and farmers the prevailing practice was duogamy, as may be inferred from Dt. 21 : 15-17. But the Hebrew master of the household was in the habit of appropriating as concubines, or secondary wives, also his female slaves of Hebrew descent. Ex. 21 throws an instructive sidelight upon this practice. In all the legal regulations affecting them both classes of women were treated as property.

The question arises, "Were the women of a household inheritable property?" There is enough vestigial evidence bearing upon the earlier Old Testament period to raise a strong presumption in favor of the view that a man's wives were anciently inherited by the eldest son, or by the nearest male kin of the deceased. The traditions about Reuben, Abner, Absalom, and Adonijah furnish illustrative facts. The latter's request for the hand of Abishag of Shunem was by Solomon regarded as the first step toward an assertion of *all* the claims of the firstborn.

This view is supported by the fact that Sura 4, 23 of the Koran forbids men to "inherit women against their will." Three verses farther on this prohibition is significantly connected with another which forbids men to have their stepmothers in marriage "except for what has passed." Though in the interest of a higher sex morality, the abolition of marriage between stepsons and stepmothers, both among the Hebrews and later among the Arabs, must have simultaneously deprived the widows of that maintenance which as wives by inheritance they had reason to expect from the eldest son. For in the light of comparative custom the question may properly be raised whether the Hebrew firstborn's claim to a double share of the inheritance may not originally have been founded in his duty to

maintain his father's harem and the continuity of the family cult. The deuteronomic abolition of stepmother marriage would then be an instance in which the progress of civilization removed from woman the relative advantages of a dependent condition without compensatory betterment of her legal status. The widows deprived of marital rights became dependent upon the generosity of their husbands' heirs. The Deuteronomist appears to have been aware of the fact that this was a precarious resource for widows and orphans, for he strongly recommends them as objects of charitable regard. But what was needed was changes in the laws of inheritance. Yet such was the force of age-long custom, which regarded women as incapable of holding property, that the Deuteronomist, who does not hesitate to change the cultus, did not venture to give widows a legal claim upon the property of their husbands. Here, as at Rome, the property could not be dissociated from the family cultus which women were not competent to exercise.

2. Notes, Critical and Exegetical, upon Certain Fragments of Pindar, by Professor Edward B. Clapp, of the University of California.

The author proposed printing Fragments 227 and 172 together, as one fragment, on account of their identity of rhythm and subject. He also proposed one or two minor textual emendations and gave some account of the character Geryoneus, in Frag. 81 and 169, with some of his literary connections and antecedents.

3. The Authorship of *Titus Andronicus*, by Professor Henry David Gray, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

Shakespeare's authorship of the "tragedy-of-blood," *Titus Andronicus*, is disputed by many excellent critics on account of the offensive nature of the play, and because much of it is below the level, poetically, of what we might expect of Shakespeare even in his earliest work. But the external evidence is wholly in favor of Shakespeare's authorship, and the finer passages in the play seem clearly to be his. It is commonly held, therefore, that Shakespeare merely added some masterly touches to a play by Kyd, Marlowe, Greene, or Peele. To this theory there are two objections: (1) the passages which are most clearly Shakespearean give every indication of being the work of the original author, and not of the reviser of the drama;

and (2) the percentage of trochaic endings of the main body of the play is impossible for any known author of the time except Shakespeare himself. There are, however, certain scenes which are inferior and notably un-Shakespearean, and these scenes are the very ones which might have been added or substituted in revision. A possible hypothesis which has not been hitherto proposed is that *Titus Andronicus* was Shakespeare's earliest work, and (since he was not then established) was given to others to revise. This seems to be the only theory which satisfactorily accounts for all the facts. Considering the play from this viewpoint, it becomes more possible to determine which portions of it may safely be assigned to Shakespeare.

4. Repetition of Words and Phrases at the Beginning of Tercets in the *Divine Comedy*, by Professor O. M. Johnston, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

This paper sought to show that the repetition of a word or a phrase at the beginning of several successive tercets is a survival of the Provençal *enuég*, a form of poetic composition cultivated by the troubadours in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

5. Achilles as a Tragic Hero, by Dr. A. P. McKinlay, of the Lowell High School, San Francisco.

The writer began by analyzing the epic and tragic hero. He then undertook to apply this analysis to Homer's Achilles. He found the Homeric conception very like the tragic norm. He closed with a word on the Homeric question, wherein he maintained that the ninth and twenty-fourth books are not to be given up without completely overthrowing the Achilles of the *Iliad*.

6. A Conception of Humor, by Professor S. S. Seward, Jr. of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

Disclaiming all attempt to trace humor back to its primitive origins, the paper distinguished two tendencies in modern attempts to define the force in social life of which humor is the unconscious expression, — one represented by the theory of Hobbes, the other by that of Bergson. Both theories, it was found, imply a purely intellectual play of mind, and because of the limitations of this conception the phrase "sense of the comic" was suggested as most appropriate, the term "humor" being reserved for the reaction in which the emotions

also have a part to play. In tracing the philosophical implications of this conception, the paper pointed out how a sense of humor may be regarded as the expression of an attitude toward life essentially idealistic.

7. What Is a Parable? by Professor Edward Arthur Wicher, of the San Francisco Theological Seminary.

The Greek word *παραβολή* is regularly used by the Septuagint translators to render the Hebrew word *למשל*, which has a much wider usage than the Greek word would suggest, including, as it does, both "parable" and "proverb." Inasmuch as Jesus spoke his discourses in the Aramaic tongue he doubtless used the word *למשל* in both senses, so that the wider use is sometimes to be found in the New Testament, as, for instance, in Luke 4 : 23. A proverb is thus sometimes called a parable.

There were Jewish parables before Jesus came, but his parables surpass those of his rabbinical predecessors in their fitness, power and beauty.

The parable is to be distinguished from the following related forms of literature: The proverb, the allegory, the fable, the myth, the analogy. The following definition is offered as containing the result of our study: A parable is a brief fictitious narrative, drawn from the life of man, or the life of nature, composed only of such events as are inherently natural and reasonable, both in themselves and in their sequence, and used to disclose and illustrate some principle of God's government of the world, or of his care and blessing of his people.

The essence of the parable is the parallelism it assumes as existing between earthly things and heavenly things.

The paper is a chapter from a book entitled *The Parables of Jesus*, which is in course of preparation.

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PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS

*AHR* — American Historical Review.  
*AJA* — American Journal of Archaeology.  
*AJP* — American Journal of Philology.  
*AJSL* — American Journal of Semitic Languages.  
*AYB* — American Year Book.  
*B&W* — 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.  
*H SPL* — 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.

*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.  
*PAPS* — Proceedings of the American Philological Society.  
*PUB* — Princeton University Bulletin.  
*Rom. R.* — Romanic 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.  
*W&P* — Wochenschrift f. klassische Philologie.  
*YR* — Yale Review.

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- Prof. Charles Wesley Bain, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. 1914.
- Prof. William W. Baker, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. 1902.  
 Prof. Allan P. Ball, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. 1905.  
 Dr. Francis K. Ball, 29 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. (Life member.) 1894.  
 Prof. Floyd G. Ballentine, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa. 1903.  
 Dr. Susan H. Ballou, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.  
 Cecil K. Bancroft, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. 1898.  
 Miss Margaret Bancroft, St. Mary's Hall, Burlington, N. J. 1912.  
 Prof. Grove E. Barber, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. (1230 L St.). 1902.
- Prof. Amy L. Barbour, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1902.  
 \* Prof. Mary P. Barnett, Mills College, Cal. 1912.
- Prof. LeRoy C. Barret, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1906.  
 Phillips Barry, Felton Hall, Cambridge St., Cambridge, Mass. 1901.  
 J. Edmund Barss, Hotchkiss School, Lakeville, Conn. 1897.  
 Prof. Herbert J. Barton, University of Illinois, Champaign, Ill. 1907.  
 Prof. John W. Basore, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1902.  
 Prof. Samuel E. Bassett, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt. 1903.  
 Prof. William N. Bates, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (220 St. Mark's Square). 1894.
- Prof. William J. Battle, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. 1893.  
 Prof. Paul V. C. Baur, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (166 Edgehill Road). 1902.
- John W. Beach, 1130 Washtenaw Ave., Ann Arbor, Mich. 1902.  
 Prof. Edward A. Bechtel, Tulane University of Louisiana, New Orleans, La. 1900.
- Prof. Isbon T. Beckwith, Highland Court, Hartford, Conn. 1884.  
 Prof. Charles H. Beeson, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. (1009 E. 60th St.). 1897.
- Prof. Gertrude H. Beggs, University of Denver, Denver, Colo. 1912.  
 Prof. A. J. Bell, Victoria University, Toronto, Can. (17 Avenue Road). 1887.  
 Prof. Harold H. Bender, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1912.  
 \* Prof. Allen R. Benham, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1913.  
 \* Dr. Allen R. Benner, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1912.
- Prof. Allen R. Benner, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. 1901.  
 Prof. Charles Edwin Bennett, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1882.  
 Charles Ernest Bennett, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1910.  
 Prof. John I. Bennett, Union University, Schenectady, N. Y. 1897.  
 Prof. George O. Berg, St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minn. 1909.  
 Pierre Arnold-Bernard, 662 West End Ave., New York (G.P.O. Box 45). 1913.  
 Prof. George R. Berry, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y. 1902.



- Prof. Louis Bevier, Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J. 1884.  
Prof. Clarence P. Bill, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. 1894.  
Albert Billheimer, Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, Pa. 1912.  
Prof. Charles Edward Bishop, West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va. 1890.  
Robert Pierpont Blake, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1909.  
Prof. Robert W. Blake, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa. 1894.  
\* Frederic T. Blanchard, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1913.  
Dr. Leonard Bloomfield, University of Illinois, Champaign, Ill. 1914.  
Prof. Maurice Bloomfield, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1882.  
Prof. Willis H. Bocoock, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga. 1890.  
\* Paul Boehncke, High School, Berkeley, Cal. 1911.  
\* Dr. B. Boezinger, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1910.  
Dr. George M. Bolling, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. (1309 Bolton St.). 1897.  
Prof. Alexander L. Bondurant, University of Mississippi, University, Miss. 1892.  
Prof. Campbell Bonner, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (1025 Martin Pl.). 1899.  
Prof. Robert J. Bonner, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1911.  
Prof. George Willis Botsford, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1894.  
Prof. Benjamin Parsons Bourland, Adelbert College, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio. 1900.  
Prof. Benjamin L. Bowen, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. 1895.  
Prof. Edwin W. Bowen, Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va. 1905.  
Prof. Haven D. Brackett, Clark College, Worcester, Mass. 1905.  
\* Prof. Cornelius Beach Bradley, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2639 Durant Ave.). 1900.  
Prof. J. Everett Brady, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1891.  
Prof. H. C. G. Brandt, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. 1876.  
\* Prof. Carlos Bransby, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2636 Channing Way). 1903.  
\* E. V. Brewer, College of the Pacific, College Park, Cal. 1911.  
\* Rev. William A. Brewer, Burlingame, Cal. 1900.  
Prof. James W. Bright, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1887.  
Dr. Carroll N. Brown, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. 1908.  
Prof. Demarchus C. Brown, 125 Downey Ave., Indianapolis, Ind. 1893.  
Dr. Lester Dorman Brown, Hotchkiss School, Lakeville, Conn. 1904.  
\* Prof. Ruth W. Brown, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Cal. 1912.  
Prof. Carleton L. Brownson, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. 1892.  
Prof. Carl D. Buck, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1890.  
Miss Mary H. Buckingham, 96 Chestnut St., Boston, Mass. 1897.  
Director 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.  
Prof. Harry E. Burton, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1899.

- Prof. Henry F. Burton, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y. 1878.  
 Prof. Curtis C. Bushnell, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. (807 Comstock Ave.). 1900.  
 Prof. Orma Fitch Butler, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (322 N. State St.). 1907.  
 Pres. Henry A. Buttz, Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J. 1869.  
 Dr. George M. Calhoun, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. 1911.  
 Prof. Donald Cameron, Boston University, Boston, Mass. 1905.  
 Prof. Edward Capps, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1889.  
 Rhys Carpenter, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1913.  
 Prof. Mitchell Carroll, Office of the Archaeological Institute, The Octagon, Washington, D. C. 1894.  
 \* Prof. W. H. Carruth, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1913.  
 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.  
 Dr. Earnest Cary, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1905.  
 Prof. Clarence F. Castle, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1888.  
 William Van Allen Catron, Lexington, Mo. 1896.  
 Prof. Julia H. Caverno, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1902.  
 Prof. Lewis Parke Chamberlayne, University of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C. 1908.  
 \* Prof. Samuel A. Chambers, Berkeley, Cal. 1900.  
 Miss Eva Channing, Hemenway Chambers, Boston, Mass. 1883.  
 Prof. Angie Clara Chapin, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1888.  
 Prof. Cleveland King Chase, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. 1911.  
 Prof. George Davis Chase, University of Maine, Orono, Me. 1900.  
 Prof. George H. Chase, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (11 Kirkland Rd.). 1899.  
 Prof. S. R. Cheek, Centre College of Kentucky, Danville, Ky. 1890.  
 \* Prof. Gilbert Chinard, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1912.  
 \* Prof. J. E. Church, Jr., University of Nevada, Reno, Nev. 1901.  
 William Churchill, F. R. A. I., New York *Sun*, New York, N. Y. 1910.  
 \* Prof. Edward B. Clapp, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1886.  
 Prof. Charles Upson Clark, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (473 Edgewood Ave.). 1905.  
 Miss Emma Kirkland Clark, 248 A Monroe St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1896.  
 \* Prof. John T. Clark, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2214 Russell St.). 1906.  
 \* Prof. Sereno Burton Clark, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1907.  
 Prof. Harold Loomis Cleasby, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. (415 University Place). 1905.  
 Ernest A. Coffin, High School, Hartford, Conn. 1914.  
 Dr. George H. Cohen, 25 West St., Hartford, Conn. 1914.  
 Prof. Guy Blandin Colburn, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1911.

- Prof. Charles Nelson Cole, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O. 1902.  
Prof. Hermann Collitz, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1887.  
William T. Colville, Carbondale, Pa. 1884.  
Edmund C. Cook, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. 1904.  
\* Prof. W. A. Cooper, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1901.  
\* Prof. Herbert E. Cory, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1913.  
Dr. Mario E. Cosenza, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. 1908.  
Dr. Cornelia C. Coulter, Ferguson, Mo. 1912.  
Prof. William L. Cowles, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1888.  
\* Miss Anna Shipley Cox, Stanford University, Cal. 1912.  
\* Miss Sophia Cramer, Palo Alto, Cal. 1912.  
John R. Crawford, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1912.  
Edmund D. Cressman, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan. 1914.  
Prof. W. H. Crogman, Clark University, South Atlanta, Ga. 1898.  
Prof. Henry L. Crosby, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1909.  
William L. Cushing, Westminster School, Simsbury, Conn. 1888.  
Alfred Mitchell Dame, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1911.  
Prof. Arleigh Lee Darby, West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va. 1912.  
Dr. Lindley Richard Dean, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1912.  
Prof. Sidney N. Deane, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1912.  
\* 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. H. B. Densmore, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1914.  
Prof. Samuel C. Derby, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. 1895.  
\* Monroe E. Deutsch, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1904.  
\* Louis de Vries, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1913.  
Prof. Henry B. Dewing, Robert College, Constantinople. 1909.  
Prof. Norman W. DeWitt, Victoria College, Toronto, Can. 1907.  
Prof. Sherwood Owen Dickerman, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1902.  
George E. Dimock, Jr., Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1913.  
Prof. Benjamin L. D'Ooge, State Normal College, Ypsilanti, Mich. 1895.  
Prof. Martin L. D'Ooge, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1873.  
Prof. Louis H. Dow, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1895.  
Prof. William Prentiss Drew, Knox College, Galesburg, Ill. 1907.  
Prof. Eli Dunkle, Ohio University, Athens, O. 1904.  
Prof. Frederic Stanley Dunn, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore. 1899.  
Prof. Charles L. Durham, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1906.  
Donald Blythe Durham, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1912.  
Prof. Emily Helen Dutton, Tennessee College, Murfreesboro, Tenn. 1898.  
Prof. Frederick Carlos Eastman, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. 1907.  
Prof. Herman L. Ebeling, Goucher College, Baltimore, Md. 1892.  
Prof. William S. Ebersole, Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Ia. 1893.  
Prof. W. A. Eckels, 1218 Kenyon St., Washington, D. C. 1894.  
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 St.). 1900.  
 Prof. W. A. Elliott, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa. 1897.  
 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 Gamble School, Santa Barbara, Cal. (2024 Anacapa St.). 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.  
 Edith Fahnestock, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1914.  
 Dr. Arthur Fairbanks, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1886.  
 \* Prof. H. Rushton Fairclough, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1887.  
 Prof. Edwin W. Fay, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. 1889.  
 Pres. Thomas Fell, St. John's College, Annapolis, Md. 1888.  
 Daniel Higgins Fenton, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1911.  
 James Fulton Ferguson, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1914.  
 Prof. W. S. Ferguson, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1899.  
 Prof. Mervin G. Filler, Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa. 1905.  
 Prof. George Converse Fiske, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. (625 Mendota Ct.). 1900.  
 Prof. Edward Fitch, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. 1890.  
 Everett Henry Fitch, 148 Whalley Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1906.  
 Prof. Thomas FitzHugh, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. (Life member). 1902.  
 Prof. Caroline R. Fletcher, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1906.  
 Prof. Roy C. Flickinger, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. (1930 Orrington Ave.). 1905.  
 Miss Helen C. Flint, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1897.  
 Dr. Francis H. Fobes, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (35 Weld). 1908.  
 Prof. Charles H. Forbes, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. 1907.  
 \* Prof. Benjamin O. Foster, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1899.  
 Prof. Frank H. Fowler, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah. 1893.  
 Prof. Harold N. Fowler, Western Reserve University (College for Women), Cleveland, O. (2033 Cornell Rd.). 1885.  
 Miss Susan Fowler, The Brearley School, New York, N. Y. (60 E. 61st St.). 1904.  
 Prof. William Sherwood Fox, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1911.  
 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. (46 Delaware View Ave.). 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.  
Prof. Josiah B. Game, State Normal College, Florence, Ala. 1907.  
Prof. James M. Garnett, 1316 Bolton St., Baltimore, Md. 1873.  
\* Prof. Max Garrett, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1914.  
\* 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.  
\* 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. John E. Granrud, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. 1913.  
Prof. Roscoe Allan Grant, Jamaica High School, Jamaica, L. I., N. Y. 1902.  
\* Walter H. Graves, High School, Oakland, Cal. (1428 Seventh Ave.). 1900.  
\* Prof. Henry D. Gray, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1911.  
Dr. William D. Gray, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1907.  
Prof. E. L. Green, University of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C. 1898.  
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.  
Roy Kenneth Hack, 84 Prescott St., Cambridge, Mass. 1910.  
Prof. George D. Hadzits, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1904.  
\* Prof. A. S. Haggett, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1901.  
Prof. Elizabeth Hazelton Haight, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1902.  
Prof. D. D. Hains, Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Ind. 1913.  
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.
- John Calvin Hanna, Department of Public Instruction, Springfield, Ill. 1896.
- Prof. Albert Granger Harkness, Brown University, Providence, R. I. 1896.
- Prof. Austin Morris Harmon, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1907.
- Dr. Gustave Adolphus Harrer, Jr., Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1914.
- Prof. Karl P. Harrington, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. 1892.
- Miss Mary B. Harris, Lewisburg, Pa. 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.
- Prof. Charles Baker Hedrick, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1913.
- Prof. William A. Heidel, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. 1900.
- Prof. F. B. R. Hellems, State University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo. 1900.
- Prof. Clarence Nevin Heller, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa. 1913.
- 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. George L. Hendrickson, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 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 M. 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 Hoeing, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y. 1899.

- Prof. Horace A. Hoffman, University of Indiana, Bloomington, Ind. 1893.  
Dr. D. H. Holmes, Eastern District High School, Brooklyn, N. Y. (630 W. 141st St., 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. Albert A. Howard, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (12 Walker St.). 1892.  
Prof. George Howe, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. 1914.  
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.  
Prof. 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. (Kissam Hall). 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. Horace L. Jones, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1908.  
\* Winthrop L. Keep, Mills College, Alameda Co., Cal. 1900.  
Prof. Arthur Leslie Keith, Carleton College, Northfield, Minn. 1914.  
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.  
\* Arthur G. Kennedy, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1913.

- 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, Concordia College, 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.
- Dr. George A. Land, Lawrenceville School, Lawrenceville, N. J. 1914.
- 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.
- Max Levine, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y. 1914.
- \* 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.  
Headmaster D. O. S. Lowell, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass. 1894.  
\* Dr. Elizabeth Perkins Lyders, 2429 Green St., San Francisco, Cal. 1904.  
\* W. W. Lyman, 2363 Prospect St., Berkeley, Cal. 1913.  
Miss Caroline Vinia Lynch, 217 Norfolk St., Dorchester Centre, Boston, Mass. 1914.  
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.  
\* Dr. Arthur McKinlay, 100 East 16th St., Portland, Ore. 1913.  
Miss Harriett E. McKinstry, Lake Erie College, Painesville, O. 1881.  
Miss Charlotte F. McLean, St. Genevieve College, Asheville, N. C. (22 Livingstone Ave.). 1906.  
Pres. George E. MacLean, 1511 Albemarle Road, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1891.  
Prof. James Sugars McLemore, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. 1912.  
\* G. R. MacMinn, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1913.  
Prof. John Macnaughton, McGill University, Montreal, Can. 1909.  
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. (1941 Geddes Ave.). 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. H. G. Merriam, Reed College, Portland, Ore. 1914.
- 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.
- Prof. Walter Lewis Moll, Concordia College, Ft. Wayne, Ind. 1909.
- Prof. James Raider Mood, 19 Colonial St., 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, 245 Nassau St., Princeton, N. J. 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.
- \* 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, P. I. 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.
- Dr. Charles B. Newcomer, Drake University, Des Moines, Ia. (Life member). 1900.
- Prof. Barker Newhall, Kenyon College, Gambier, O. 1891.
- Dr. Samuel Hart Newhall, Hill School, Pottstown, Pa. 1913.
- Prof. Paul Nixon, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. 1907.
- \* Prof. George R. Noyes, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (1434 Greenwood Ter.). 1901.
- \* Prof. H. C. Nutting, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (Box 272). 1900.
- Prof. Irene Nye, Washburn College, Topeka, Kan. 1911.
- \* Prof. Caroline Ober, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1914.
- Dr. Charles J. Ogden, 628 W. 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1909.

- Prof. Marbury B. Ogle, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt. 1907.  
Prof. William Abbott Oldfather, University of Illinois, Urbana, 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. Frederick M. Padelford, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1914.  
Prof. Elizabeth H. Palmer, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1902.  
Henry Spackman Pancoast, Spring Lane, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa. 1914.  
Prof. Charles P. Parker, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (1075 Massachusetts Ave.). 1884.  
\* Prof. Ernest W. Parsons, Pacific Theological Seminary, Berkeley, Cal. 1913.  
\* 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 L. 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, 420 W. 118th St., New York, N. Y. 1905.  
Prof. Arthur Stanley Pease, University of Illinois, Urbana, 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.  
Prof. Bernadotte Perrin, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (463 Whitney Ave.). 1879.  
Prof. Edward D. Perry, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1882.  
Prof. Walter Peterson, Bethany College, Lindsborg, Kan. 1913.  
Principal William Peterson, McGill University, Montreal, Can. 1910.  
\* Dr. Torsten Petersson, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1905.  
Dr. Clyde Pharr, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, O. 1912.  
\* Dr. W. R. Pinger, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (1210 Shattuck Ave.). 1908.  
Prof. Perley Oakland Place, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1906.  
\* Otto E. Plath, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2216 Bancroft Way). 1913.  
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, 43 East 27th St., New York, 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.  
 \* Charles Reining, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1913.  
 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, Tulane University of Louisiana, New Orleans, La. 1908.  
 Dr. Ernst Riess, Boys' High School, Brooklyn, N. Y. (221 W. 113th St., N. Y.).  
 1895.  
 Joaquin Palomo Rincon, 2<sup>a</sup> 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. 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.
- Thomas De Coursey Ruth, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1914.
- \* 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 Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1912.
- Benjamin H. Sanborn, Wellesley, Mass. 1890.
- Prof. Henry A. Sanders, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (1820 Hill St.). 1899.
- Prof. Myron R. Sanford, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt. 1894.
- Winthrop Sargent, Jr., Ardmore, Pa. 1909.
- Prof. Catharine Saunders, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1900.
- Prin. Joseph H. Sawyer, Williston Seminary, Easthampton, Mass. 1897.
- \* Dr. Atilio F. Sbedico, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1914.
- 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.
- \* H. L. Schwarz, 2240 Telegraph Ave., Berkeley, Cal. 1913.
- Robert Maxwell Scoon, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1914.
- 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.
- \* S. S. Seward, Jr., Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. (Box 771). 1902.
- 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. Thomas K. Sidey, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1914.  
 Prof. E. G. Sihler, New York University, University Heights, New York, N. Y. 1876.  
 Prof. Kenneth C. M. Sills, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. 1906.  
 \* 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, American School of Classical Studies, Athens, Greece. 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, American Academy, Rome, Italy (Villa Aurelia). 1897.  
 \* Prof. Stanley Smith, Reed College, Portland, Ore. 1913.  
 \* Dr. George A. Smithson, 2319 College Ave., Berkeley, Cal. 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. J. J. Stahl, Reed College, Portland, Ore. 1914.  
 Prof. Wallace N. Stearns, Fargo College, Fargo, N. D. 1907.  
 Prof. R. B. Steele, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. (101 24th Ave. S.). 1893.  
 \* W. Steinbrunn, 2219 Union St., Berkeley, Cal. 1913.  
 \* 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.  
 \* R. O. Stidston, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1913.  
 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.  
 Prof. Edgar Howard Sturtevant, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1901.  
 Prof. William F. Swahlen, De Pauw University, Greencastle, Ind. 1904.  
 Dr. Mary Hamilton Swindler, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1912.  
 Prof. Rollin Harvelle Tanner, Illinois College, Jacksonville, Ill. 1911.

† Died 15 February, 1914.

‡ Died 16 June, 1914.

- Miss Helen H. Tanzer, Hunter College, New York, N. Y. 1910.  
Prof. Frank B. Tarbell, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1882.  
Eugene Tavenner, Normal School, Murfreesboro, Tenn. 1912.  
Dr. Lily Ross Taylor, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1912.  
Prof. Glanville Terrell, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky. 1898.  
Everett E. Thompson, American Book Co., New York, N. Y. 1914.  
\* 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. Frank Butler Trotter, University of West Virginia, Morgantown, W. Va. 1913.  
Prof. J. A. Tufts, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. 1898.  
Prof. B. L. Ullman, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1910.  
\* Prof. George W. Umphrey, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1914.  
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.  
Miss Susan E. Van Wert, Hunter High School, New York, N. Y. (93d St. and Amsterdam Ave.). 1914.  
\* 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, 6 Green St., Charleston, S. C. 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, 409 South 1st St., Rockford, Ill. 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. 1885.  
\* Prof. John C. Watson, University of Nevada, Reno, Nev. 1902.

- Prof. Robert Henning Webb, University of Virginia, University, Va. 1909.  
 \* Prof. H. J. Weber, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1913.  
 Dr. Helen L. Webster, National Cathedral School, Washington, D. C. 1890.  
 Prof. Raymond Weeks, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1902.  
 \* P. E. Weithaase, 2240 Telegraph Ave., Berkeley, Cal. 1913.  
 Prof. Charles Heald Weller, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. 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, Hunter College, New York, N. Y. 1891.  
 Dr. Andrew C. White, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. (424 Dryden Road).  
 1886.  
 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.  
 E. R. B. Willis, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1914.  
 Dr. Gwendolen B. Willis, Milwaukee-Downer College, Milwaukee, Wis. 1906.  
 Prof. Thomas J. Wilson, Jr., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.  
 1914.  
 Prof. John Garrett Winter, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1906.  
 Prof. Boyd Ashby Wise, Stephens City, Va. 1909.  
 \* Thomas Withers, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1914.  
 Prof. Francis A. Wood, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1913.  
 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 David 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.  
 \* Dr. F. A. Wyneken, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.  
 1913.  
 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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Chicago, Ill. : The Newberry Library.  
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Columbus, O. : Ohio State University Library.  
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Greencastle, Ind. : Library of De Pauw University.  
Hanover, N. H. : Dartmouth College Library.  
Iowa City, Ia. : Library of the State University of Iowa.  
Ithaca, N. Y. : Cornell University Library.  
Lincoln, Neb. : Library of the State University of Nebraska.  
Marietta, O. : Marietta College Library.  
Middletown, Conn. : Wesleyan University Library.  
Milwaukee, Wis. : Public Library.  
Minneapolis, Minn. : Athenæum Library.  
Minneapolis, Minn. : Library of the University of Minnesota.  
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Société Asiatique, Paris.  
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Curatorium of the University, Leyden, Holland.  
Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia, Java.  
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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).

[21]

[Total (696 + 60 + 46 + 21) = 823]

CONSTITUTION  
OF THE  
AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION<sup>1</sup>

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ARTICLE I.—NAME AND OBJECT

1. This Society shall be known as "The American Philological Association."
2. Its object shall be the advancement and diffusion of philological knowledge.

ARTICLE II.—OFFICERS

1. The officers shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and Curator, and a Treasurer.
2. There shall be an Executive Committee of ten, composed of the above officers and five other members of the Association.
3. All the above officers shall be elected at the last session of each annual meeting.
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.

<sup>1</sup> 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

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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 Charles Edwin Bennett.

Professor Charles Forster Smith.

Professor Paul Shorey.

Professor Edward D. Perry.

Professor John Caréw Rolfe.

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 (XXXII, lxxii).

6. VETERAN MEMBERS. On December 29, 1911, the Executive Committee voted that it be the practice of the Committee to relieve from the payment of further dues members of thirty-five years standing, who have reached the age of sixty-five.

## PUBLICATIONS OF THE ASSOCIATION

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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 ten 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 *Çāntikalpa* of the Atharva-Veda.

Rand, E. K.: Notes on Ovid.

Goebel, J.: The etymology of Mephistopheles.

Proceedings of the thirty-sixth annual meeting, St. Louis, 1904.

Proceedings of the fifth and sixth annual meetings of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, San Francisco, 1903, 1904.

### 1905. — Volume XXXVI

Sanders, H. A.: The Oxyrhynchus epitome of Livy and Reinhold's lost chronicon.

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  $\tau\delta\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  = 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 ὄγκοι* of Heraclides and Asclepiades.  
 Michelson, T.: The etymology of Sanskrit *ῥῆγνα-*.  
 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.  
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 Flickinger, R. C.: *Scaenica*.  
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 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.  
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 McWhorter, A. W.: The so-called deliberative type of question (*τί 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.  
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 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.  
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 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 copulative 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.

## 1913. — Volume XLIV

- Steele, R. B.: The passive periphrastic in Latin.  
 Kent, R. G.: The etymological meaning of *pomerium*.  
 Pease, A. S.: The conclusion of Cicero's *de Natura Deorum*.  
 Van Hoesen, H. B.: Abbreviations in Latin papyri.  
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Proceedings of the forty-fifth annual meeting, Cambridge, Mass., 1913.

Proceedings of the April meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, Berkeley, Cal., and of the fifteenth annual meeting, San Francisco, 1913.

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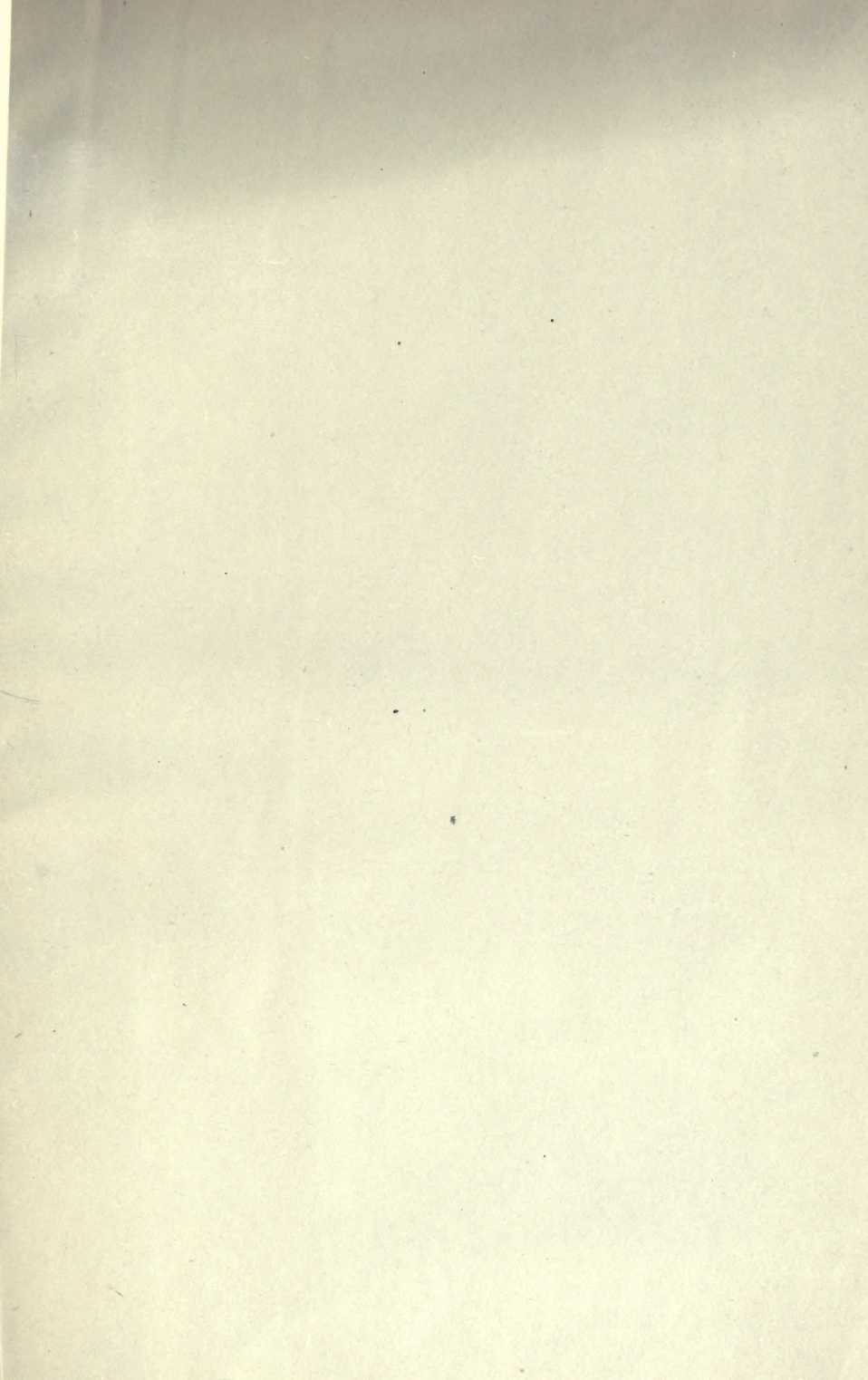
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