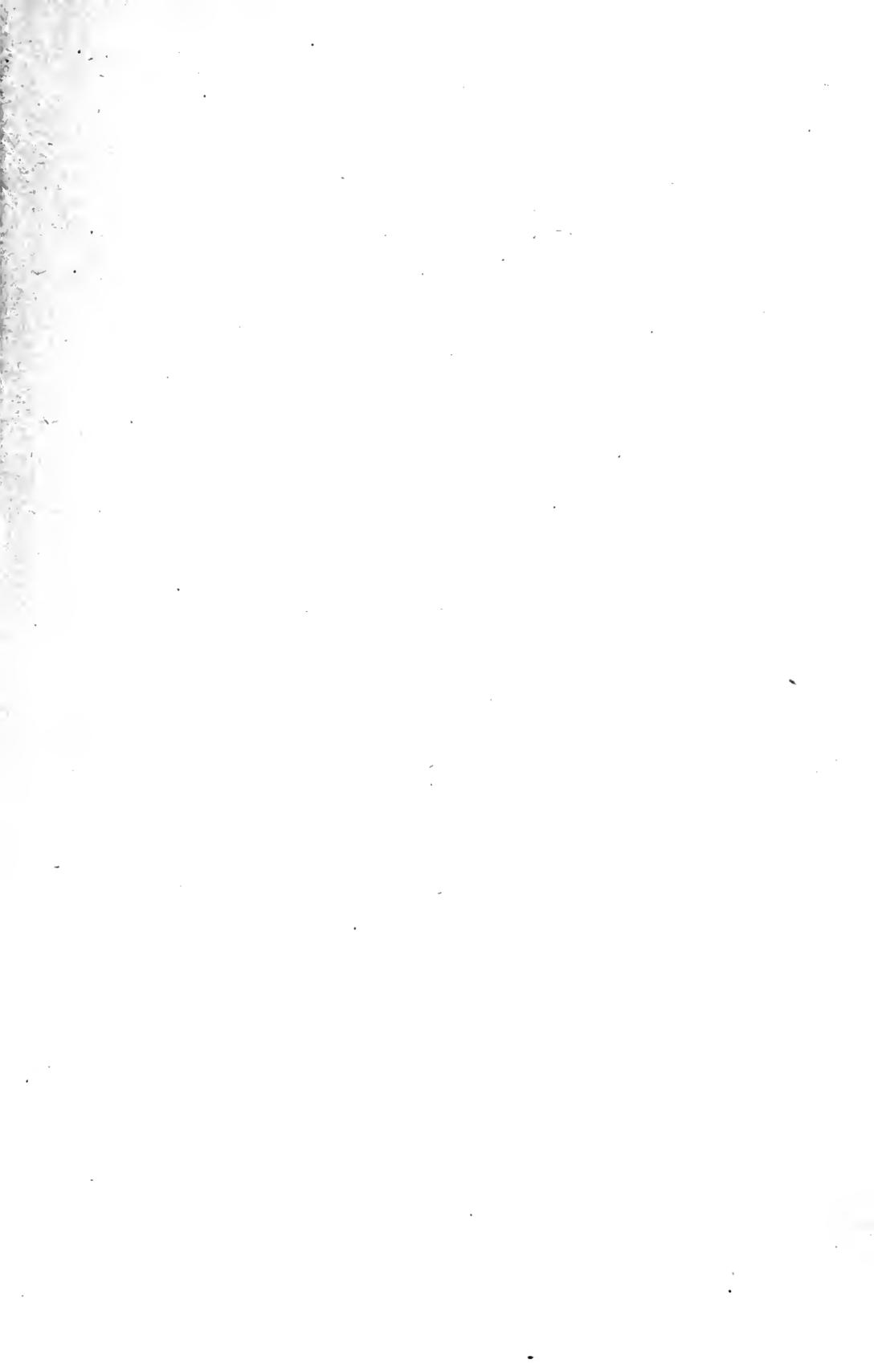


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TRANSACTIONS
AND
PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN
PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

1916

VOLUME XLVII

143732
2/10/17

PUBLISHED FOR THE ASSOCIATION BY
GINN & COMPANY,
15 ASHBURTON PLACE, BOSTON, MASS.

EUROPEAN AGENTS:

ENGLAND: GINN & COMPANY, 9 ST. MARTIN'S ST., LEICESTER SQ., LONDON, W.C. 2
GERMANY: OTTO HARRASSOWITZ, LEIPZIG
FRANCE: H. WELTER, 59 RUE BONAPARTE, PARIS

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TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
1916

I.—*Notes on the Rhesus*

BY PROFESSOR WILLIAM N. BATES
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

RECENT discussions of the story of Rhesus¹ and the publication of Professor Murray's metrical translation of the drama of that name which has come down to modern times among the plays of Euripides, have revived interest in the old controversy as to its authenticity. Most of the older writers rejected it on grounds which seemed to them adequate,² while those who have examined the question more recently³ are, as a rule, in favor of its acceptance as a tragedy of Euripides. I do not propose to discuss the problem in detail, but I have long believed that the *Rhesus* was a genuine work of Euripides, and it has seemed worth while to set forth briefly those of my reasons for thinking so which have not already been anticipated and fully discussed by others.

¹ E.g. by Leaf, *J.H.S.* xxxv (1915), 1-11; by Perdrizet, *Cultes et mythes du Pangée* (1910), 13 ff.

² The best account of their work is to be found in the discussion of the Rhesus problem by my friend and colleague Professor J. C. Rolfe, in *Harv. Stud.* iv (1893), 61-97. He tells me that he has changed his opinion somewhat since the article was written.

³ E.g. Murray, Introduction to *The Rhesus of Euripides*; also his *Euripides and his Age*, 69 ff.; Porter, *Hermathena*, xvii (1913), 348-380; Richards, *Class. Quart.* x (1916), 192-197; Manning, *A Study of Archaism in Euripides* (1916), 22. I have not been able to see Walda, *Zur Rhesosfrage*, i. Teil, Progr. Prachatitz, 1908. A. C. Pearson in his review of W. H. Porter's edition of the *Rhesus* (*Class. Rev.* xxxi [1917], 25-27) inclines towards the older view.

The presumptive evidence in favor of the genuineness of the play is well stated by Murray in the introduction to his translation.⁴ It is this: (1) Euripides is known to have written a play of this name. (2) The extant *Rhesus* is found only in the manuscripts of Euripides. (3) The extant play is quoted by late writers as the work of Euripides. Against this is the diction, which is acknowledged to be peculiar; and it is largely upon the diction that those who reject the play as a work of Euripides base their argument. The question of the language has been subjected to a very thorough examination by several scholars, and Eysert,⁵ Porter,⁶ and Richards⁷ have shown that the peculiarities are neither so numerous nor so startling as might appear at first sight. It has always seemed to me that they were largely superficial; that they were for the most part surface differences, so to speak, for which various explanations might be suggested, and that the real test must be made with the underlying thought. Now if one reads the extant plays of Euripides repeatedly, until he feels thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the poet, and then turns to the *Rhesus*, I think he will find many places in the latter play so thoroughly Euripidean in feeling as to convince him that they could have been written by no other than the poet himself. I do not mean such resemblances in expression as were pointed out by Hermann⁸ and others, but resemblances in spirit and in feeling. Examine, for example, the soliloquy of Hector (52-75); the argument of Aeneas (105-130); the dialogue between Hector and Dolon (154-194); the dochmiac passage (195-200); the speech of the Messenger (284-316); the ode (342-387) in which the Chorus tells of the birth of Rhesus and his coming to Troy, wonders whether the city will recover its former prosperity, predicts the death of Achilles, and concludes with an address to Rhesus. The wonder as to who the spy is (697 ff.) is thoroughly Euripidean (cf. *e.g.* *I.T.* 399 ff.). So, too, the narrative of the Charioteer (762 ff.). These passages, to my mind, stamp the play as the work of Euripides. An

⁴ Page v.⁵ *Rhesus im Lichte d. Eurip. Sprachgebrauches.*⁶ *Op. cit.* 373.⁷ *Op. cit.* 194 ff.⁸ *Opusc.* III, 292 ff.

imitator might, if he wished, follow the linguistic peculiarities of his model without great difficulty, but he would almost certainly have failed to reproduce the characteristics of Euripides as they appear in these passages.

There is another point which may be urged in support of the Euripidean authorship of the tragedy, and that is a possible allusion to a passage in the *Rhesus* by Aristophanes. This seems to have been generally overlooked, although it was noticed by Hartung⁹ as far back as 1843. At line 674 of the *Rhesus* there is a lively scene. The Chorus enter in pursuit of the spies Diomed and Odysseus who have slain Rhesus. They see Odysseus and rush towards him, shouting :

ἔα ἔα ·
 βάλε βάλε βάλε βάλε
 θένε θένε.
 τίς ἀνὴρ; λείσσετε· τοῦτον αὐδῶ.
 κλῶπες οἴτινες κατ' ὄρφνην
 τόνδε κινῶσι στρατόν.
 δεῦρο δεῦρο πᾶς.
 τοῖσδ' ἔχω, τοῖσδ' ἔμαρψα.
 τίς ὁ λόχος; πόθεν ἔβας; ποδαπὸς εἶ;

Turn now to the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes, 280 ff. Dicaeopolis has just made peace with the Spartans; and the Chorus, who have been pursuing Amphitheus who brought the peace, come upon him in the midst of his celebration. They rush from their hiding-places with the words :

οὗτος αὐτός ἐστιν, οὗτος.
 βάλλε βάλλε βάλλε βάλλε,
 παῖε πᾶς τὸν μαρόν.
 οὐ βαλεῖς; οὐ βαλεῖς;

Then, when Dicaeopolis in astonishment says,

Ἡράκλεις τουτὶ τί ἐστι; τὴν χύτραν συντρίψετε,

they march up to him threateningly with the words,

σὲ μὲν οὖν καταλεύσομεν ὦ μαρὰ κεφαλή.

⁹ *Euripides restitutus*, I, 37.

The points of resemblance between these two passages are certainly striking, and they are not confined to the language. The situations on the stage are similar, and what is more both poets employed a change of meter to produce much the same effect. Compare, for example, the five anapaests in *Acharnians*, 285, with the three resolved cretics in *Rhesus*, 682. Is there any possible connection between these two passages, or are the resemblances purely accidental? At first sight we should answer that the second interpretation was the correct one, because in each play the situation is brought about in a thoroughly natural manner; but when we remember that in the *Acharnians* Euripides is unmercifully ridiculed and some of his finest lines parodied we have good grounds for suspecting that Aristophanes is hitting at him here also. The imitation by Aristophanes of a passage in the *Rhesus* would very nearly settle the question of authorship.

But if the *Rhesus* is the work of Euripides why does it have the peculiarities which all readers have noticed, and why was its genuineness doubted in antiquity? The first of these questions is probably, at least in part, the answer to the second. The very careful analysis of the language made by Rolfe and others has brought out the fact that it bears a considerable resemblance to the language of Aeschylus. This seems to me to tell the story, and I should agree with those who think that the play was written by Euripides when he was to a certain extent under the influence of the older dramatist.

Modern critics have, I think, also been influenced in their rejection of the play by the statement in the Hypothesis that some people believed it spurious. The whole passage is important and deserves careful consideration. Let me quote it: τούτο τὸ δράμα ἔμοι νόθον ὑπενόησαν ὡς οὐκ ὄν Εὐριπίδου· τὸν γὰρ Σοφόκλειον μᾶλλον ὑποφαίνει χαρακτήρα. ἐν μέντοι ταῖς διδασκαλίαις ὡς γνήσιον ἀναγέγραπται, καὶ ἡ περὶ τὰ μετάρσια ἐν αὐτῷ πολυπραγμοσύνη τὸν Εὐριπίδην ὁμολογεῖ. πρόλογοι δὲ διττοὶ φέρονται. ὁ γοῦν Δικαιάρχος ἐκτιθεὶς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ Ῥήσου γράφει κατὰ λέξιν οὕτως·

νῦν εὐσέληνον φέγγος ἡ διφρήλατος

καὶ τ. έ. ἐν ἐνίοις δὲ τῶν ἀντιγράφων ἕτερός τις φέρεται πρόλογος, πεζὸς πάνυ καὶ οὐ πρέπων Εὐριπίδῃ· καὶ τάχα ἄν τινες τῶν ὑποκριτῶν διεσκευακότες εἶεν αὐτόν. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως. Then follow eleven poor iambic trimeter lines.

The important points in this notice are these: (1) Some people believed the play spurious. (2) The Didascalie declared it genuine. (3) The writer himself found proof of its genuineness in what he calls the *πολυπραγμοσύνη περὶ τὰ μετάρσια*, which I take to mean the attention devoted to lofty expressions. (4) It showed the stamp of Sophocles — evidently the opinion of those who did not accept it as a work of Euripides. (5) Two prologues to the play were extant. (6) One of these was too poor to be the work of Euripides, but was probably written by actors.

The first three points have already been largely covered by our discussion and do not need further consideration here. The fourth is more important. What does the writer mean when he says that the play had the stamp of Sophocles upon it? The many scholars who have examined it critically, almost without exception,¹⁰ find very little to connect the *Rhesus* with Sophocles. Where, then, did the ancient critic find a resemblance? The answer will, I think, be clear when we have considered the fifth and sixth points. There we have it stated that there were two prologues to the play extant, one of which was manifestly spurious. There is no reason for doubting this statement. If the play was by Euripides it probably had a prologue in the usual Euripidean style; although, of course, the reverse would not necessarily be true, that the presence of a prologue proved Euripides to be the author. The existence of the second and inferior prologue must, as others have observed, point to a later revival of the play, when for some reason the original prologue was no longer deemed appropriate. The substitution of this later prologue led eventually to the loss of both prologues. When that had come about what happened may well have been this: that certain readers, missing the usual Euripidean prologue in their copies of the play, doubted its genuineness;

¹⁰ Rolfe, *op. cit.* 62; quotes Gruppe as attributing it to Sophocles.

and then, casting about for some one to whom to assign it and remembering that some of the plays of Sophocles began directly as the extant *Rhesus* does, attributed the play to him on that ground. Thus the loss of the original prologue would explain the attribution to Sophocles.

If, then, the *Rhesus* is the work of Euripides, what can be said of its date? This point has been thoroughly worked out by others and the general opinion is that it must be early. With that I heartily agree. Leaf's argument¹¹ that it was written about the year 437, when the bones of Rhesus were transferred to Amphipolis, seems plausible; although it must be remembered that the myth was well known at Athens as early as the beginning of the fifth century, as is proved by *Rhesus* scenes on many early red-figured vases. Tempting, too, is Murray's suggestion that the *Rhesus* was the fourth play of a tetralogy, that is, that like the *Alcestis* it took the place of a satyr drama. But these are conjectures which do not yet admit of proof.

There is one passage in the play where the stage action calls for a few words of comment. At line 595 Athena, Odysseus, and Diomed are on the stage at the same time. At 627 Athena sees Paris approaching and at 637 Odysseus and Diomed leave the stage at her command. They were probably standing near one of the exits. It is likely, too, that Athena steps out at 641 for a moment to disguise herself as Aphrodite, that is, by dropping her spear and helmet and throwing a cloak about her. At 642 Paris enters. He does not see Athena, but goes to the tent of Hector. It would be easy for the actor playing the part of Diomed, after leaving the stage, to put on a leather helmet, throw a cloak about him, and thus changed enter as Paris. The scene does not call for a fourth actor. I should assign the parts thus: protagonist, Hector, Odysseus; deuteragonist, Aeneas, Rhesus, Athena, Muse; tritagonist, Dolon, Shepherd, Diomed, Paris, Charioteer.¹²

¹¹ *J.H.S.* xxxv (1916), 8 ff.

¹² For other recent suggestions, see Croiset, *Hist. lit. gr.* III, 387, n.; and Porter, *op. cit.* 379.

The *Rhesus* in my opinion has suffered much unjust abuse. No one would claim it for a masterpiece, but it is not a bad play by any means. It is full of action and, like many other dramas of Euripides, would be much more effective when acted than it is when read. In fact, if put on the stage to-day I think it could hold its own with several of the extant plays of Euripides.

For the reasons, then, which I have set forth, I think the present tendency to accept the extant *Rhesus* as the play which Euripides is known to have written thoroughly justified.

II. — *Subject and Predicate*

BY PROFESSOR LEONARD BLOOMFIELD

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It is remarkable and perhaps characteristic of the progress of investigation into the more habitual and socialized of our mental processes, that linguistic theory is by no means clear as to the nature of subject and predicate in language, in spite of the fact that our speech-feeling seems to distinguish quite clearly between predicating and non-predicating utterances. The prevalent view, expressed in our practical handbooks (e.g. Goodwin's *Greek Grammar*, 1897, p. 196 f.) and many of our scientific manuals (such as Paul's *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte*¹, chap. 6), is that "every sentence contains two parts, a subject and a predicate."¹ With this view the speech-feeling often enough comes into conflict, and we then resort to auxiliary hypotheses and forced interpretations of various kinds, saying, for instance, that one or the other of two parts is left unexpressed in exclamations such as *ouch!* or *fire!*, or that the two are contained in one word in such Latin sentences as *cantat*² or *pluit*,³ or, worst of all, we deny the name of sentence to such utterances as *yes* or to answers such as *yesterday*.⁴

There is a psychologic principle coming to be more clearly recognized by students of language, which shows the way to a better interpretation of the process of utterance and of the

¹ This notion arose in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; it appears in the Port-Royal *Grammaire générale et raisonnée* (1676), in Wolf, *Philosophia rationalis* (1732), in Hermann, *De emendanda ratione Graecae grammaticae* (1801), all quoted by Delbrück in the introduction to his *Syntax* (Brugmann and Delbrück, *Grundriss*, 111), and in Bernhardt, *Anfangsgründe d. Sprachwissenschaft* (1805), quoted by Delbrück, *Einf. in d. Studium d. indogerm. Sprachen*⁵, p. 34 ff.

² So even Delbrück, *Grundriss*, v, 10: "Bei der ersten und zweiten Person des Verbums steckt das Subjekt in der Verbalform."

³ So even Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie*, 11³, 227 ("indefinite subject").

⁴ Wundt, *op. cit.* 241. The standard view is presented in my *Introduction to the Study of Language*.

speech-feeling. This principle is to the effect that the mental phenomena must be viewed as they actually occur and not as their products or a record of their occurrence may be interpreted by an observer after the fact.⁵ It is this principle which has led to Kretschmer's definition of the sentence as the linguistic expression of an affect — of a single rise and fall of the emotion prompting to speech.⁶ It is this principle which makes it clear that a single word can express only one separately apperceived element: that it is wrong, for instance, to interpret a form like *cantat* as containing two such elements. A leisurely student may reinterpret such a form into a logical judgment predicating the act of singing of a certain person, but the logical judgment is not present in the speaker's mind when the sentence-word *cantat* is spoken; for what we mean by saying that *cantat* is felt as a single word (and not as two words) is exactly this, that it contains no opportunity for an apperceptive (and hence for a logical) act of division. The speaker's experience is simply that of a known and definite person's singing; his expressive reaction is a habitual unit, *cantat*, and such morphologic structure as we find in this word is merely associative; it exists only by virtue of the parallelism and contrast of other forms and is not explicit in the utterance itself. Finally, pursuing the same principle, I have suggested (*T.A.P.A.* XLV, 65 ff.) that even where there is a word-boundary, there is in most instances of utterance no apperceptive division; that, for instance, the English sentence, *she is singing*, is usually spoken in much the same way as the Latin, Italian, or Slavic one-word equivalent, and differs from the latter primarily only in being occasionally used for an attentively discriminating statement, *shé is singing*, which corresponds to Italian *ella canta*, not to Italian *canta*, Latin *cantat*.

If we keep this principle in view, it is not difficult, I believe,

⁵ See James, *Psychology*, 1890, I, 166 f., 274 f. (the "psychologist's fallacy") and Wundt, *Grundriss d. Psychologie*¹, 13 (the fallacy is "die eigenen Reflexionen des Psychologen über die Tatsachen in diese selbst zu verlegen"), *Logik*², III, 150 f., and, generally, the works of the latter author.

⁶ In Gercke and Norden, *Einl. in d. Altertumswissenschaft*², I, 516.

to reach a clearer understanding of the nature of predication in language.⁷

I. We may consider first a type of sentence about which there can be little question. If, in the course of a philosophical discussion, there occurs the statement, *homo mortalis est*, it is obvious that this sentence may well be the linguistic expression of a logical judgment. To the logical subject, that talked about and underlying the predication (τὸ ὑποκείμενον), corresponds the word *homo*, and to the logical predicate, that said about the subject (τὸ κατηγορούμενον), corresponds the phrase *mortalis est*. It is a natural transference of terms — but we must not forget that it is a transference of terms — to call the linguistic element corresponding to the logical subject a grammatical or linguistic ‘subject’ and to speak similarly of a grammatical or linguistic ‘predicate.’

Another type of sentence differs from this by the absence of the verb: *beatus ille homo*; the division into subject and predicate is, however, no less clear. This type, entirely lacking in English, is in Russian, for instance, the only form for non-narrative statements of a certain kind: *mužik bēden* ‘peasant poor’, *i.e.* ‘the peasant is poor.’

Such examples as these have played an unduly important part in the development of syntactic theory. A student confronted by the task of analyzing his speech enters into a state of abnormally careful attention; this attention he exercises not only in the analysis, but also, inappropriately, in forming his examples, which, in consequence, are logically constructed statements of the type we have described, rather than casual phrases.

We may, however, take an utterance of this very type, such as *he is a lucky fellow*, and, with a different distribution of pause, duration, pitch, and stress, utter it not as the expression of a deliberate judgment, but as an enthusiastic exclamation.

⁷ In accordance with this principle the process of sentence-utterance has been most vividly and exactly described by James in his *Psychology*, 1, 260–263; the consequences for linguistic theory were not in this connection (nor, so far as I know, in any other place) drawn by this great philosopher. See also Morris, *T.A.P.A.* XLVI, 103 ff., esp. 110.

tion, *he's a lucky fellow!*, or we may half plaintively, half enviously mutter, *he's a lucky fellow!* In these instances the speaker's frame of mind is far removed from that of logical predication. He is expressing primarily an emotion, and his speech comes forth without any apperceptive jointings. Though it is easy enough, once the words are spoken and remembered, to interpret the sentence, in cold blood, into a judgment, yet our task is not to interpret what the speaker may or should have meant to say, but to analyze the expression itself. It is an expression of emotion at a certain state of affairs, and lacks logical structure.

Yet there is a reservation. Although our ejaculation of wonder or envy differs in accentual features from the calm judgment, *he is a lucky fellow*, the two utterances are the same so far as distinctive word-form is concerned; and, what is more, the casual ejaculation is accompanied by a peculiar feeling-tone, a subtle and indescribable sense of completeness or roundedness, whose presence we are wont to signal by calling the statement a 'complete predication' or a 'complete sentence.' This appears clearly when we contrast *he's a lucky fellow!* with the otherwise equivalent *lucky fellow!* which lacks this tone of completeness.

This circumstance bears its explanation on the face of it: *the language from which our example is taken uses for many non-logical utterances the same distinctive word-forms as for the expression of a logical judgment.* If we ignore — as perhaps we have the right to ignore temporarily — certain features of duration, pitch, and stress, then we may say that the expression of a logical judgment (predicating, *e.g.*, a state of happiness of a known person) is often the same, in English, or Latin, and probably in most languages, as a rather explicit exclamation (*e.g.* of envy or surprise at the circumstance of his happiness). If we wish to keep the terms 'linguistic subject' and 'linguistic predicate,' we must therefore define them not straightway as the linguistic expressions of a logical subject and predicate, but rather as *linguistic elements which can be used in this function, but are used also in other utterances, as components of a habitual sentence-type.*

II. The type of sentence we have so far examined is in Latin and in Russian confined to non-narrative statements and therefore relatively often used as the expression of a logical thought-content. Of other types this is less true. When we say, *then Mary bought a hat*, we are usually in a narrative frame of mind; a concrete and colorful picture floats past the 'inner eye,' and from logical judgment we are far removed. To make a sentence of this type express a logical judgment we must postulate some rather strained situation, in which moreover the accentual features of the utterance will be entirely different. Outside of such unusual situations our sentence is by no means the utterance of a logical predicating-experience; yet it presents the characteristic structure which allows us to analyze it into a linguistic subject and predicate.

These linguistic predications of the narrative type differ in Latin and in Russian from those of equational type (*homo mortalis est, beatus ille*) because these latter in Russian always and in Latin optionally lack the finite verb. In English, German, and French the two types are merged.

Now, it is a fundamental principle of linguistic study that we have no right to inject into our analysis of a language distinctions not expressed in the language. If, therefore, we borrow the technical terms 'subject' and 'predicate' from logic for such a sentence as *man is mortal*, we are bound to keep them also for the structurally similar *Mary bought a hat*, and consequently to distinguish between the use of these terms in logic and their use in linguistics.

No doubt the extensive use in our languages of linguistic subject and predicate in non-logical utterances has contributed to the induration of the traditional rationalizing view, which tries to see in every sentence of language the expression of a logical judgment. We are now in a position to clear up some of the difficulties to which this view has led. For instance, Wundt, who strictly identifies linguistic subject and predicate with those of logic, is forced to make the following inconsistent statement (*Völkerps.* 11³, 270): "If the speaker ever for the nonce grammatically chooses a subject different from that

which logically he might intend to make his subject, then he has given his thought an inadequate form; in which case, to be sure, other than purely logical motives, such as euphony and the rhythm of speech, may at times excuse the deviation." Now, it is not for us to make excuses for a speaker or to heap humiliation and reproach upon him if he fails to accord with our theories of syntax. The situation Wundt describes is merely this, — and it is in our languages a very frequent one — that the linguistic subject and predicate would not, under a logical reinterpretation of the sentence, produce a correct logical judgment. Or, more exactly: if we write down the sentence and then read it with logical intonation, we may find the subject and predicate poorly chosen for the logical purposes of the situation. If I say, *The hat was priced at five dollars. A woman went in and bought it,* my second sentence, under logical interpretation, would present a poorly chosen subject, for it is the hat and not the unknown woman that ought, logically, to be the subject of the new statement; I should say: *The hat was priced at five dollars. It was bought by a woman who had entered the store in order to buy it.* This deviation of linguistic subject and predicate from a logical norm is, however, not, as Wundt's words suggest, a rare or occasional feature, but will be found extremely common in our languages.

III. While in modern English, German, or French the great majority of narrative sentences exhibits the structure of linguistic predication, this is not true of the older stages of these languages, of Latin, Italian, Greek and Slavic, or, in general, of the older type of Indo-European speech. These latter languages possess a kind of narrative sentence in which a linguistic subject and predicate cannot be found: the simplest instances are sentences of one word, such as *cantat*. Of whatever parts such an utterance may consist, they are not separated from each other by any apperceptive analysis, such as that of logical predication; if they were, we should speak of several words, not of one word. In English, for instance, a word such as *stones* contains two associatively

joined elements ; if we attentively separate these, we no longer use a single word, but speak of *several stones* or *some stones*, expressing the plurality by a separate word. So a Latin speaker, if he apperceptively analyzed the experience into an actor and an action, would no longer say *cantat*, but *illa cantat* (Italian *ella canta*, Russian *oná pojót*). The analysis into object and number in *stones*, into actor and action in *cantat* is never explicit ; the word as a whole corresponds to the experience as a whole ; this experience is associated with other partially unlike experiences, which are expressed by similar words, such as *stone*, *stony* (same material element) or *trees*, *rivers* (same element of number), *cantās*, *cantābat* (same element of action) or *saltat*, *dormit* (same element of actor) ; but the analysis involved in the existence and association of these parallel words is merely implicit and associative. We have therefore no right to speak of a linguistic subject and predicate in a sentence like *cantat*.

Two factors have led to the forced interpretation which sees in *cantat* a subject and a predicate. One is the obvious similarity between such a one-word sentence and an English *she is singing*. The two might be used by a bilingual speaker of English and Italian of one and the same experience. To those who see in the English sentence the expression of a logical judgment, the obvious similarity of the English and the Latin-Italian sentences is a motive for seeking in the latter also a logical predication. For us, however, the similarity between the two types confirms the conclusion that normally the linguistic subject-and-predicate structure of the English sentence does not express any apperceptive analysis of the experience, but is merely a habitual formality.

The second factor is this : the duality of elements in *cantat* does correspond in a striking way to the duality in *she is singing* or *elle chante*. This correspondence has, however, in principle nothing to do with subject and predicate, and consists only in this, that Latin, like the modern languages, analyzes the situation into actor and action — though, to be sure, by a merely implicit analysis, whereas the English, French, or German sentence is at least capable of attentive

separation. When an author is persuaded that the Latin word "contains a subject," he is mistaking an actor for a subject, a fallacy induced by the circumstance that in English, German, and French the subject is always viewed as an actor. To use the term 'subject' for 'acting person or object' would be an unwarrantable extension of the term which could only create confusion. Both the Latin *cantat* and the English *she is singing* are expressions of actor and action, but only the latter contains a (linguistic) subject and predicate.

One class of sentences of the ancient one-word type has received special attention from linguistic students, that of utterances about the weather, such as *pluit*. Both Paul (*op. cit.* 130 f.) and Wundt (*Völkerps.* 11³, 227 f.) see in these a subject and predicate.⁸ From our standpoint there are two reasons why this cannot be true. Psychologically it is not correct to attribute an act of logical judgment to a speaker who merely says *pluit* or *piove* or *it's raining*. His act of apperception is by no means an analytic one: he takes the experience as a whole without breaking it up into an underlying element and a predication about it. Linguistically, we mean, when we call *pluit* or *piove* a single word, that it is not capable of expressing more than one apperceptively grasped element of experience.

The ancients were able to make a logical extension of such a sentence as *pluit*; when they did so, they said *Zeὺς ὕει* or *Iuppiter tonat*. Strepsiades asks, *ἀλλὰ τίς ὕει*; and his answer is, in burlesque form, the ancient view. As our analysis, today, when we devote attentive thought to meteorological phenomena, is rather akin to that of Socrates in the *Clouds*, we are forced, at such times, to diverge far from the usual utterance, *it's raining*.⁹ The linguistic subject and predicate in the English *it's raining* thus give us an example of a linguistic predication which never represents a logical judgment.

⁸ Delbrück at first rejected this view, but later hesitates; cf. *Grundriss*, v, 37.

⁹ This way of talking about the weather has come to us from of old, when the *it* still represented a concrete actor. Traces of the old state of affairs in Germanic in Grimm, *Deutsche Grammatik*, IV, 228.

If these examples have made clear to us the general nature of linguistic predication, especially in its divergence from logical predication or judgment, we may, in conclusion, briefly note a few of the features of linguistic subject and predicate that appear in our languages.

We have already had occasion to see that in English, German, and French the linguistic subject is looked upon as an actor and the linguistic predicate as an action performed by this actor: *Mary bought a hat, she is singing*, and even *it is raining*. This, indeed, is universal, no matter how inappropriate the identification may seem when we reflect upon it: *I hear a noise, Mont Blanc is high, the house was built, the house is being built*, and so on.

This is not true in Slavic or in Latin. Both of these forms of speech add a second type of linguistic predication, in which subject and predicate are viewed as equated terms: *beatus ille*.

Latin has a third type, in which the linguistic subject is not an actor, but an object fully affected or produced by the action-predicate: *domus struitur*. As this construction is known as the 'passive,' we may define this term in accordance with the conditions in Latin: in a language which employs a construction (morphologic or syntactic) of actor and action, a parallel construction in which some other feature is coupled with action, is a passive.

This somewhat obvious definition is worth formulating because there has been some uncertainty as to the application of the term. Most writers find in the Philippine languages three 'passives' (so the Spanish writers and with them H. C. von der Gabelentz, *Abh. Sächs. Gesell.* VIII, 481), but Wilhelm von Humboldt (*Kawi-Sprache* II = *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1832, 3. Teil, 150) refused to apply this term to the Philippine constructions; he is followed in this by the best of our Philippine grammars, the late Dr. Seidenadel's description of the Bontoc Igorot language. Under our definition the Philippine constructions will receive the name of passives, as may be seen from a few examples taken from Tagalog. There is an actor-and-action construction, *e.g. sya*

y sumúlat nay liham, 'he wrote a letter.' Beside this there is a sentence-type in which the (linguistic) subject is the object fully affected or produced, somewhat as in the Latin passive: *sinúlat nya ay liham*, 'was-written by-him the letter,' *i.e.* 'he wrote the letter'; this we may call the 'direct passive.' Secondly, there is a 'local passive,' in which the subject is the person, thing, or locality less fully affected by the action-predicate, as though an Indo-European dative or locative should become the subject of a passive construction: *sinulátan nya akó*, 'was-written-to by-him I,' *i.e.* 'he wrote to me.' Finally, there is a construction which we may call the 'instrumental passive,' in which the subject is the means or instrument or that given forth—in part somewhat as though an Indo-European instrumental could become the subject in a passive construction: *isinúlat nya ay kwénto*, 'was-written-down by-him the story,' *i.e.* 'he wrote down the story.' It may be worth mentioning that these languages have also the type of sentence in which the experience is not viewed as an action: *mabúti sya* or *sya y mabúte*, 'bonus ille.'

For the sake of completeness we may refer to another feature which has been confounded with subject and predicate. G. von der Gabelentz (*Die Sprachwissenschaft*², 369 ff.) invented the expression "psychological subject," which he used to name what we should call (with Wundt) the emotionally dominant element of the sentence: *e.g.*, in *today is my birthday* the "psychological subject" is *my*. Wundt (*Völkerps.* 11⁸, 268 ff.) shows conclusively that the terms 'subject' and 'predicate' are here entirely inappropriate. Whatever the exact relation may be between an emotionally dominant element and the apperceptive processes, such as underlie logical judgment, a confusion of terms can have only bad results. It is interesting to see that in certain languages, namely Celtic and French, there is a tendency to identify the emotionally dominant element with a linguistic predicate: compare the Irish-English fondness for such constructions as *it's he that did it*.

III.—*Suetonius and Caesar's German Campaigns*

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THE account that Suetonius has given in his life of Caesar of that commander's military achievements during his Gallic proconsulate is exceedingly brief (*Iul.* 25). In it, however, appears one passage that is well worth more attention than it has received; it reads as follows: Germanos, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, primus Romanorum ponte fabricato adgressus maximis adfecit cladibus. The meaning of these lines is perfectly clear, and they may be translated: "With reference to the Germans who live across the Rhine, he was the first of the Romans to attack them, building a bridge for that purpose, and he inflicted mighty defeats upon them."

Now the facts are quite otherwise. Caesar twice built bridges across the Rhine, but on neither occasion does he claim to have defeated the Germans there or even to have met them in battle. Both his visits to Germany were short; the first, as we know, was of but eighteen days' duration. On this visit, as he himself tells us (*B.G.* iv, 19, 1), he burned all the villages and buildings of the Sugambri and cut down their grain, but the enemy were not met in battle. Indeed, all that Caesar claims is that by crossing the Rhine he inspired terror in the barbarians—this is very far from *maximis cladibus*.¹

¹ It may occur to the reader that perhaps *clades* refers merely to the devastation that Caesar caused in the territory of the Sugambri and that it need not refer to defeats in battle. But *Germanos . . . adgressus* at once suggests an attack by battle; and this impression is of course heightened when we read *adgressus est et Britannos*. Accordingly, as one reads on in the first of these sentences and meets the word *cladibus*, the common signification of "defeats in battle" at once comes to one's mind. (Cf. e.g. Suet. *Iul.* 35: Omnibus civilibus bellis nullam cladem nisi per legatos suos passus est.) Indeed, when other meanings are found in Suetonius (*Tib.* 40; *Nero*, 38; and *Plin.*), the context makes it perfectly clear to what the word refers (so, too, in Tac. *Hist.* 1, 2, *clades* is defined by what follows); moreover, these disasters are all great ones, and in each instance the lives of human beings are involved. Accordingly, were the word in our passage to have the meaning "disaster" and not refer to defeats in battle, one would expect

It is, however, not Caesar alone who refers to no battles, no victories in Germany. The other Greek and Latin writers who touch upon the matter tell the same story, as far as their works are extant.²

The only account with reference to which the statement just made might be questioned is that in Livy, *Per. cv*, where Caesar's first expedition is described in these words: Caesar Rhenum transcendit et proximam partem Germaniae domuit. Precisely what is meant by "conquering the nearest part of Germany" is not clear; it need not, however, imply battles, surely not great battles. To be sure, *domare* is often used of battles; that it need not be, however, is shown both by the frequency with which it is accompanied by *proelio*, *bello*, or a similar word, as well as by such passages as Cic. *de Prov. Cons.* 13, 33, wherein *domare* is set off against *proeliis decertare*: Itaque cum acerrimis nationibus et maximis Germanorum et Helvetiorum proeliis felicissime decertavit, ceteras conterruit, compulit, domuit, imperio populi Romani parere adsuefecit.³

Of course, in Livy (*l.c.*) we may have merely a reference to Caesar's devastation among the lands of the Sugambri, though *domare* seems too strong a term to apply to that. Indeed, the expression reminds one rather of Caes. *B.G.* vii, 65, 4: Trans Rhenum in Germaniam mittit ad eas civitates, quas superioribus annis pacaverat; this statement of Caesar's that he had pacified certain states of Germany is believed by T. Rice Holmes⁴ (and correctly, it seems to me) to be

it, in accord with Suetonius' usage elsewhere, to deal with a great disaster, even if it were not further strengthened by *maximis*. But surely the devastation, as Caesar describes it, would hardly merit the term *clades* (as Suetonius uses it), far less the accompanying adjective. Moreover, the plural would not seem entirely appropriate; it suggests at least two disasters, as in *Aug.* 23. Finally, Eutropius (vi, 17, 3) had no doubt that the word referred to military defeats, for he describes the event thus: Germanos . . . adgressus inmanissimis proeliis vicit; here there is no possible ambiguity.

² Eutr. vi, 17, 3 is discussed later in the paper.

³ Cf. also Tac. *Agr.* 10: Ac simul incognitas ad id tempus insulas, quas Orcades vocant, invenit domuitque. Furneaux's note on this passage reads: "The fleet must have received some formal submission."

⁴ *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*², p. 249.

merely an allusion to the voluntary submission of many German tribes on Caesar's first expedition. Of this he himself says (*B.G.* iv, 18, 3): *Interim a compluribus civitatibus ad eum legati veniunt; quibus pacem atque amicitiam petentibus liberaliter respondit obsidesque ad se adduci iubet.*⁵

Unless, accordingly, there is evidence adduced to the contrary, one is inclined to believe that the epitomizer of Livy refers to the same "pacification" of a strip of Germany as Caesar himself does; at any rate, there is nothing in his words to suggest great battles or, indeed, any battles.

Of the second expedition to Germany, however, *Periocha* cvii tells us: *Iterum in Germaniam transit, nulloque ibi hoste invento reversus in Galliam. . . .*

Florus (I, 45, 14-15) describes in rhetorical language Caesar's crossing into Germany, but expressly denies that he met the enemy: *Quod acerbissimum Caesari fuit, non fuere qui vincerentur.*⁶

Plutarch, after describing the bridge over the Rhine, says of Caesar's accomplishments in Germany (*Caes.* 23): *Περαιώσας δὲ τὴν δύναμιν, οὐδενὸς ὑπαντήσαι τολμήσαντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἡγεμονικωτάτων τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Σουήβων εἰς βαθεῖς καὶ ἰλόδεις ἀὐλώνας ἀνασκευασαμένων, πυρπολήσας μὲν τὴν τῶν πολεμίων, θαρρύνας δὲ τοὺς ἀεὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀσπαζομένους ἀνεχώρησεν αὐθις εἰς τὴν Γαλατίαν, εἴκοσι δυνεῖν δεούσας ἡμέρας ἐν τῇ Γερμανικῇ διατετριφώς.*

Dio's statement (xxxix, 48, 4-5) is in harmony with the others: *διέβη μὲν τὸν ποταμὸν γεφυρώσας, εὐρῶν δὲ τοὺς τε Συγάμβρους ἐς τὰ ἐρυμνὰ ἀνακεκομισμένους καὶ τοὺς Σουήβους συστρεφομένους ὡς καὶ βοηθήσουτάς σφισιν ἀνεχώρησεν ἐντὸς ἡμερῶν εἴκοσιν.* And of the second expedition Dio says (xl,

⁵ Obviously Caesar himself in his speech to his soldiers at the outbreak of the Civil War (*B.C.* i, 7, 7) was magnifying their achievements in order to strengthen their self-confidence, when he said: *omnem Galliam Germaniamque pacaverint.* So, too, Labienus (*B.C.* iii, 87, 1) was quite ready to exaggerate the exploits of Caesar's Gallic army, in every battle of which he claimed to have taken part, especially as he insisted that but an exceedingly small portion of that army was serving in Caesar's forces in the Civil War: 'Noli,' inquit, 'existimare, Pompei, hunc esse exercitum, qui Galliam Germaniamque devicerit.'

⁶ Cf. also Flor. II, 30, 22.

32, 2): καὶ ἔπραξε μὲν οὐδὲ τότε οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ ταχέων φόβῳ τῶν Σουήβων ἐπανεχώρησεν.

Nor does Orosius (vi, 9, 1) hint that there was fighting, but merely states: Totamque Germaniam adventu suo terret.

Jerome in his *Chronicle* (Olymp. 181, 1) declares: Caesar Rhenum transiens, Germanos vastat; and Zonaras (x, 6) compresses his account into the words: τὸν Ῥῆνον γεφυρώσας στρατῷ διέβη. ἐκεῖθεν ἐπαναζεύξας κ. τ. λ.

It is, accordingly, perfectly clear that no ancient author⁷ supports the words of Suetonius, while opposed to his account are the statements in the *Periochae* of Livy (at least for the second expedition), Florus, Plutarch, Dio, Orosius, Jerome, Zonaras, and Caesar himself.

We can, if we choose, dismiss the matter at this point, as does Baumgarten-Crusius and those who follow him, as well as others who by their silence give the same impression,⁸ and treat it as an error — indeed a glaring error — on Suetonius' part. For it is, as we have seen, an error made by no other writer who touches upon the matter.

Accordingly, the question of Suetonius' general accuracy forces itself upon our attention. One statement on this point will, perhaps, suffice. C. L. Roth (in the Preface to his edition of Suetonius, xiv-xv), after commenting on our author's failings, says: "Sunt tamen his ipsis vitiis laudes coniunctae, quas prudens historicarum rerum iudex maximi faciet: in colligendis rebus eximia ac plane singularis fides et diligentia, in conscribendis prudentia et verborum elegantia rara . . . sed inter omnes convenit, ubique idoneos secutum auctores, numquam consilio, rarissime errore falsa tradidisse."⁹

⁷ Save Eutropius; see n. 2.

⁸ Ernesti, to be sure, was suspicious of the words *qui trans Rhenum incolunt*, but even their alteration or excision would leave the question which is discussed in this paper unsolved. Moreover, on page 31 an attempt is made to show the appropriateness of this clause.

⁹ So, too, Teuffel-Schwabe, *Gesch. d. röm. Lit.*,⁵ II, 878: "Gewiss hat er niemals wissentlich die Wahrheit verletzt oder vorenthalten"; and on page 873 the *de Vita Caesarum* is declared to be a work which "ist aus guten Quellen mit treuem Fleisse und verständigem Urteil geschöpft." Cf. also Macé, *Essai sur Suétone*, p. 238; A. E. Egger, *Examen crit. des hist. anc. de la vie et du regne*

If, therefore, it is true that Suetonius never consciously distorted the truth, that his sources were good, his industry great, and his judgment intelligent, how could he have made this gross error with regard to the Germans?

That Caesar's *Commentaries* must have been one of his sources seems certain. G. Dederding (*De Suetoni vita Caesaris pars prior*), though arguing (p. 19) that Suetonius did not use the *Commentaries* as extensively as some have thought, yet declares (p. 13): "Atque Suetonium quidem facere non potuisse, quin Caesaris commentarios interdum consuleret, qui de Suetoni fontibus egerunt ad unum omnes consentiunt."

Is a writer who made use of Caesar's *Commentaries*, and who was, moreover, painstaking in his efforts to attain accuracy, likely to have made an error that Plutarch and even Florus avoided?

It seems difficult to believe that; and, accordingly, one is impelled to consider whether the text as we have it is really that written by Suetonius.

Let us at this point note the words of Roth (Pref. xvii): "Quarti saeculi scriptores Eutropius, S. Aurelius Victor, Hieronymus et Paulus Orosius tantam copiam verborum Suetonianorum descripserunt, ut vel ad emendationem illorum adhibendi sint." Now from this particular chapter of Suetonius dealing with Caesar's proconsulate Eutropius has borrowed with an eager hand. The correspondences in phraseology are numerous, and though Eutropius has added bits here and there, no reader of Suetonius could fail to be struck by the extraordinary resemblance. No one denies Eutropius' borrowings from Suetonius, be they direct or indirect; and, indeed, the exact amount of the tribute annually imposed upon Gaul, which is not found in M and G, is made certain for us by the agreement of V and Eutropius.

The particular passage which we are discussing has been thus transcribed by Eutropius (VI, 17, 3): Germanosque trans Rhenum adgressus inmanissimis proeliis vicit. Our attention is at once caught by the absence of any mention of

d'Auguste, p. 270; and Hermann Peter, *Geschichtl. Lit. über d. röm. Kaiserzeit bis Theodosius I. u. ihre Quellen*, I, 247; II, 72, 73, 332, 335.

the bridge built across the Rhine. The building of the bridge is precisely the sort of thing that one would have expected to strike Eutropius, and not only to be cited in his work but even to be elaborated. So Suetonius' words *Britannos ignotos antea* are altered and expanded by Eutropius until they appear thus: *Britannis . . . quibus ante eum ne nomen quidem Romanorum cognitum erat.*

One begins, accordingly, to suspect that perhaps *ponte fabricato* did not stand in Suetonius' original account, as no equivalent stands in Eutropius' version, and that these words may be but a gloss. The latter was clearly not led by a desire for brevity, for his account is of almost the same length as that of Suetonius.¹⁰

Let us see whither this theory would lead us. After the excision of *ponte fabricato* the passage might be translated thus: "He was the first of the Romans to attack the Germans who dwell across the Rhine, and he inflicted mighty defeats upon them."

At once Caesar's great wars against the Germans come to our minds, the first against Ariovistus in 58 B.C., and the other against the Usipetes and Tencteri in 55 B.C. They are coupled twice in Caesar's own commentaries as mighty defeats inflicted upon the Germans. Thus, the Ubii (*B.G.* iv, 16, 7) informed Caesar after his defeat of the Usipetes and Tencteri: *Tantum esse nomen atque opinionem eius exercitus Ariovisto pulso et hoc novissimo proelio facto etiam ad ultimas Germanorum nationes, uti opinione et amicitia populi Romani tuti esse possint.* They are again spoken of together in *B.G.* v, 55, 2: *Neque tamen ulli civitati Germanorum persuaderi potuit, ut Rhenum transiret, cum se bis*

¹⁰ This would, of course, not be the only example of an addition to the text of Suetonius. While, to be sure, editors have not been at one in their belief as to the existence of interpolations in a large number of passages, yet all recent editors agree that such additions are to be found in *Iul.* 30, 5, *Calig.* 8, 5, and *Calig.* 11. Roth (Pref. xxxv), in fact, names six instances of interpolation (in addition to *Calig.* 8, 5) of which he feels certain, and in all of these save one Preud'homme agrees with him. Many other passages are believed to be interpolated by other scholars: Rolfe, for example, feels with Becker and Polak that in *Claud.* 46, *quam cometen vocant* is "probably a gloss."

expertos dicerent, Ariovisti bello et Tencterorum transitu, non esse amplius fortunam temptaturos.

The greatness of these two victories and, in particular, the slaughter that accompanied them are well known. If, therefore, defeats inflicted upon the Germans during the years 58–50 B.C. are alluded to, these two mighty disasters at once leap to our minds.

Did they make the same impression upon the Romans?

When Tacitus (*Germ.* 37) speaks of the defeats administered to the Germans by various generals, he refers to those inflicted by *divus Iulius in Gallia*.

The victory over Ariovistus is referred to, and always as a great victory, in Cic. *de Prov. Cons.* 13, 33; Liv. *Per.* civ; Tac. *Hist.* iv, 73; Plut. *Caës.* 19; Flor. i, 45, 10–13; App. *Celt.* i, 3; Polyæn. *Strat.* viii, 23, 4; Dio, xxxviii, 34–50; Oros. vi, 7, 6–10, and Zonar. x, 6.

Plutarch concludes his account with these words: Γενομένης δὲ λαμπρᾶς τροπῆς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ σταδίου τετρακοσίου ἄχρι τοῦ Ῥήνου διώξας κατέπλησε τοῦτο πᾶν νεκρῶν τὸ πεδίου καὶ λάφύρων. Ἀριόβιστος δὲ φθάσας μετ' ὀλίγων διεπέρασε τὸν Ῥήνον· ἀριθμὸν δὲ νεκρῶν μυριάδας ὀκτῶ γενέσθαι λέγουσι.

Orosius' narrative ends thus: (Germani) exinde in fugam versi per quinquaginta milia passuum insatiabiliter caesi sunt neque conici numerus potuit Germanorum vel quantus pugnae adfuerit vel quantus fuerit occisorum.

Caesar himself terms the wars against the Helvetians and against Ariovistus *maxima bella* (*B.G.* i, 54, 2), and paints the slaughter in clear, though unimpassioned, words (*B.G.* i, 53, 1–3): Omnes hostes terga verterunt nec prius fugere destiterunt, quam ad flumen Rhenum milia passuum ex eo loco circiter quinque pervenerunt. ibi perpauci aut viribus confisi tranare contenderunt aut lintribus inventis sibi salutem reppererunt . . . reliquos omnes consecuti equites nostri interfecerunt.

“The massacre of the Usipetes and Tencteri” (as T. Rice Holmes terms it¹¹) is not referred to by so many authors, but is dealt with by Caes. *B.G.* iv, 1–15; Liv. *Per.* cv; Plut.

¹¹ *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*², chap. v.

Caes. 22, *Cato Min.* 51, *Comp. Nic. c. Crass.* 4; *Flor.* I, 45, 14; *App. Celt.* I, 4, 18; *Dio*, xxxix, 47-48; and *Oros.* vi, 8, 23.

Plutarch describes the victory thus: Τῶν δὲ διαβάντων αἱ μὲν κατακοπέισαι τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδες ἦσαν, ὀλίγους δὲ τοὺς ἀποπεράσαντας ἀθῆις ὑπεδέξαντο Σούγαμβροί, Γερμανικὸν ἔθνος.

Caesar's own account of the slaughter of the enemy runs as follows (*B.G.* iv, 15, 2-3): *Reliqua fuga desperata, magno numero interfecto reliqui se in flumen praecipitaverunt atque ibi timore, lassitudine, vi fluminis oppressi perierunt. nostri ad unum omnes incolumes, perpauca vulneratis, ex tanti belli timore, cum hostium numerus capitum ccccxxx milium fuisset, se in castra receperunt.*

It is evident, then, that these two wars stand out as Caesar's great victories over the Germans, and were the words *ponte fabricato* eliminated the reference to them would be quite clear.

Is it, however, likely that the building of the bridge would be passed over in silence by Suetonius? Actually, aside from Caesar's own accounts (*B.G.* iv, 17 and vi, 9), the only references to it are in *Plut. Caes.* 22; *Flor.* I, 45, 14-15 and II, 30, 22; *Dio*, xxxix, 48 and xl, 32, 2; *Oros.* vi, 9, 1; and *Zonar.* x, 6. Moreover, the only author aside from Caesar himself who makes much of the building of the bridge is Plutarch. It is not mentioned in the *Periochae* of Livy (cv and cvii), nor in Velleius Paterculus, nor in Appian (*Celt.* I, 5) nor in Polyaeus, nor in the *de Viris Illustribus*, nor (as we have seen) in Eutropius, nor in any other author as far as known to me. That, therefore, Suetonius in his fourteen-line account of Caesar's proconsulate should not have referred to the bridge is not surprising.

It may be felt that the absence of any mention by Suetonius of the invasion of Germany, especially when a reference is made to that of Britain, would be strange. Yet the failure to mention Germany is even more striking in Velleius Paterculus, who says in his narrative of Caesar's exploits (II, 46, 1): *etiam in Britanniam traiecisset exercitum, alterum paene imperio nostro ac suo quaerens orbem*, and again in II, 47:

bis penetrata Britannia. So, too, in the *de Viris Illustribus* the two visits to Britain are mentioned, but not a word is said of Caesar's expeditions into Germany.

Before we proceed farther, it may not be amiss to point out that if the theory that has been proposed is correct, Eutropius either misinterpreted this passage in Suetonius and thought that when Suetonius spoke of victories over the Germans who dwell across the Rhine, he meant victories across the Rhine, or Eutropius intended *trans Rhenum* to be taken as depending on *Germanos*, as it is taken by Paeanius, who renders the words thus: ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ Ῥῆνον Γερμανοὺς.

The precise import of Suetonius' words *qui trans Rhenum incolunt* now demands our attention. Why were they added? Why did not Suetonius say merely *Germanos*? The answer is simple: there were Germans on both sides of the Rhine, though those dreaded were the Germans on the east bank of the river. The Germans on the west bank are mentioned by Caesar (*B.G.* vi, 2, 3): Nervios, Aduatucos, Menapios adiunctis Cisrhenanis omnibus Germanis esse in armis. These Cisrhenane Germans are also referred to in *B.G.* ii, 3, 4: Reliquos omnes Belgas in armis esse, Germanosque, qui cis Rhenum incolant, sese cum his coniunxisse. Mention is made of them also in *B.G.* ii, 4, 10 and vi, 32, 1, as well as in Tac. *Ann.* i, 56.

The Germans across the Rhine are often referred to, as, for example, in *B.G.* v, 2, 4: Germanosque Transrhenanos sollicitare dicebantur.¹²

In fact, Suetonius' very words occur not only in *B.G.* i, 1, 3, proximique sunt Germanis, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, but also in i, 28, 4, and in a modified form in ii, 35, 1.

The distinction between the Cisrhenane Germans and the Transrhenane is, accordingly, perfectly clear in Latin writers.

That not only Ariovistus and his followers¹³ but also the

¹² Cf. also Caes. *B.G.* vi, 5, 5, and iv, 16, 5.

¹³ Caes. *B.G.* i, 31, 5; i, 33, 3; i, 44, 6; Liv. *Per.* civ; Dio, xxxviii, 34. App. (*Celt.* 15) says: Ἀριοῖστος, Γερμανῶν βασιλεὺς τῶν ὑπὲρ Ῥῆνον, ἐπιβαίνων τῆς πέραν. . . .

Usipetes and Tencteri¹⁴ had come from across the Rhine is, of course, certain.

The reason for the addition of the clause *qui trans Rhenum incolunt* is, therefore, evident. Suetonius wished to make it clear that he referred to the warlike tribes from the east bank of the river as opposed to those within the boundaries of Gaul.

The words *Germanos, qui trans Rhenum incolunt* really form a unit and equal *Germanos Transrhenanos*.¹⁵ Whether the particular bands that Caesar attacked were at that time on the other side of the Rhine is immaterial. They were by birth Transrhenane Germans, had not been a very long time across the river, and were indeed constantly regarded as invaders in Gaul.

Finally, the words *primus Romanorum adgressus* deserve at least a moment's attention. Cicero in his *de Provinciis Consularibus* (13, 33), delivered in 56 B.C., mentions Caesar's victories over the Helvetians and the Germans: *Itaque cum acerrimis nationibus et maximis Germanorum et Helvetiorum proeliis felicissime decertavit*. And the essential difference, as Cicero points out, between the present warfare and previous wars against the tribes from the north is that the former were entirely *defensive*, while this is *offensive*.¹⁶ Says Cicero (*de Prov. Cons.* 13, 32): *Bellum Gallicum, patres conscripti, C. Caesare imperatore gestum est, antea tantum modo repulsum. semper illas nationes nostri imperatores refutandas potius bello quam lacesendas putaverunt. ipse ille C. Marius . . . influentis in Italiam Gallorum maximas copias repressit, non ipse ad eorum urbes sedesque penetravit*. Indeed, says Cicero, the previous policy of the Romans may be described in these words (13, 33): *Restitimus semper lacesiti*.

¹⁴ *Caes. B.G.* IV, 1, 1; IV, 4, 7; IV, 14, 5; Dio, xxxix, 47, and *Plut. Caes.* 22.

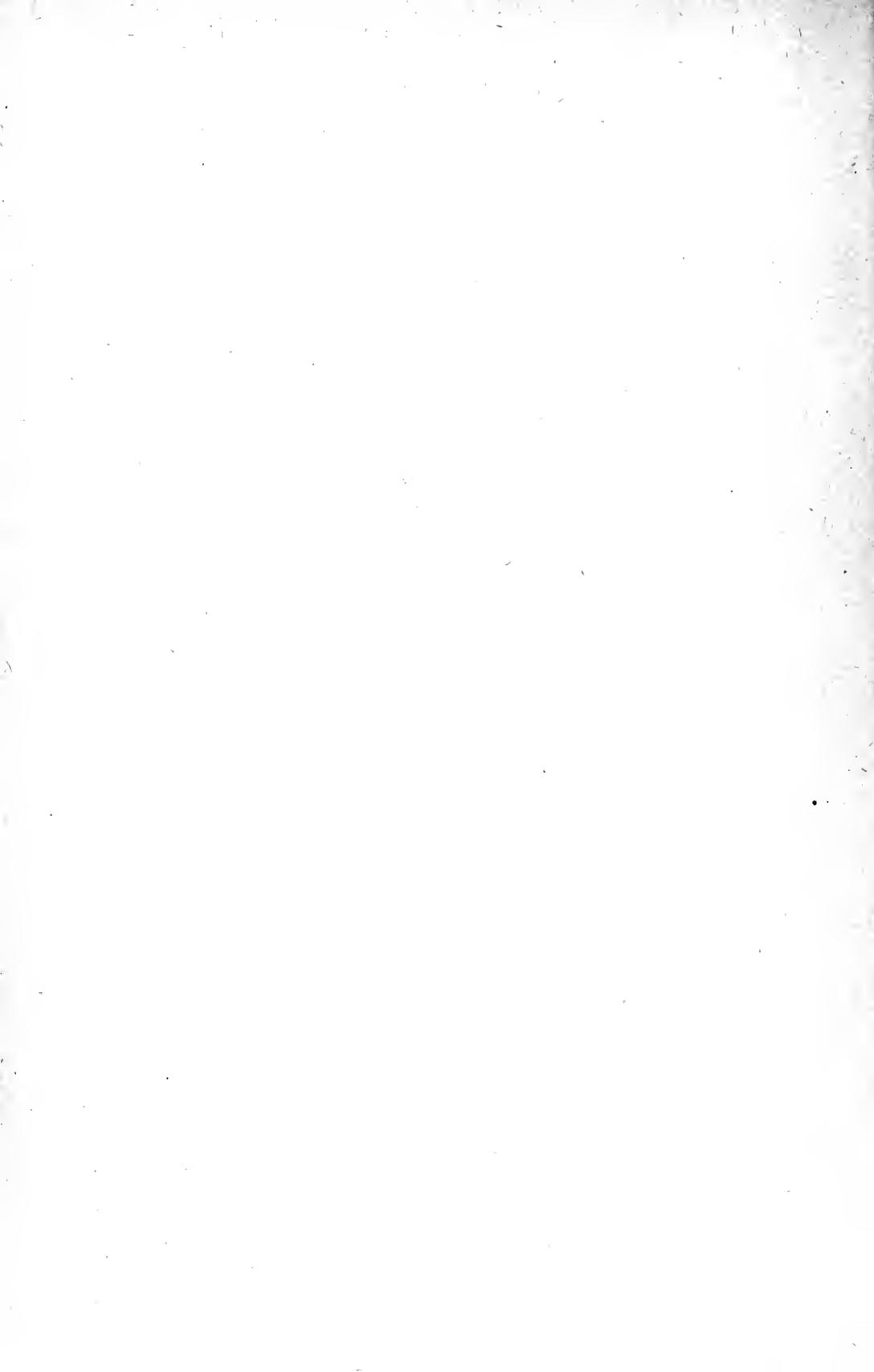
¹⁵ The present tense and, in fact, the identical words are similarly used in *B.G.* I, 28, 4.

¹⁶ To be sure, Plutarch (*Caes.* 19) says that Caesar's war against Ariovistus was *ὑπὲρ Κελτῶν*; nevertheless, it was of course not a defensive war on the Romans' part.

And it is this point that Suetonius is stressing in the passage under discussion. Caesar did not wage a *defensive* war, like Marius, but was the first to wage an *offensive* war against the Germans.

It seems to me, therefore, not improbable that Suetonius wrote the passage without the words *ponte fabricato*; some careless student, seeing a mention of *Germanos* and *trans Rhenum*, thought of the bridge over the Rhine, and jotted down *ponte fabricato*. Very likely a recollection of Caesar's famous bridge chapter crossed his mind; at any rate, if the theory here presented be true, the addition thus made caused Suetonius to say something that is palpably false.

There are, I believe, only two reasonable courses for us to pursue with reference to the passage — either to excise *ponte fabricato*, or to retain it and say that Suetonius was wrong in his statement of the facts. And it seems hard to believe that Suetonius, a conscientious, painstaking author, who, moreover, employed Caesar's *Commentaries* as one of his sources, made such an egregious error in a matter in which no other authority went astray.



IV. — *Municipia Fundana*

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THE charge against Cornelius Balbus of illegally assuming Roman citizenship was based on the fact that his native city Gades, though a federated state, was not a *municipium fundanum*.¹ Cicero, in his defense, is therefore concerned to make clear to the court what constituted a municipality of this character. When any measure was passed by the Roman people it might become operative in certain other communities (or in any one of them) through being ratified by them. These were the *municipia fundana*, and their special status consisted in the privilege they possessed of adopting Roman legislation and making it valid within their own jurisdiction.² The technical expressions *fundus fieri* and *populus fundus* seemed to Cicero to imply that the community was conceived of as a basis on which the laws that were taken over might settle down and find support — in populo aliquo tamquam in fundo resedisset. Though the idea of a municipality as a depository of borrowed legislation is not incongruous, it may be doubted whether this early connotation of *fundus* is felt in the later legal phrase. It is certainly lacking in the definition of Festus where *fundus = auctor*: Fundus dicitur populus esse rei quam alienat, hoc est, auctor.³ Whatever be the implication of the term, the point remains that the *populus fundus* was in a position to become a party to all legislation at Rome whether of the past or of the future, which it thought to be in its own interest.

As to the way in which this significant position was obtained Cicero makes the statement that a people became *fun-*

¹ Cic. *pro Balb.* 8, 19: Negat ex foederato populo quemquam potuisse, nisi is populus fundus factus esset, in hanc civitatem venire.

² *Ib.* 8, 20: Totum hoc in ea fuit positum semper ratione atque sententia ut, cum iussisset populus Romanus aliquid, si id ascivissent socii populi ac Latini . . . tum lege eadem is populus teneretur . . . ut . . . aut iure eo quod a nobis esset constitutum aut aliquo commodo aut beneficio uterentur.

³ P. 79 Lindsay.

fundus "not of its own right, but through our favor."⁴ When once established, however, the status was regarded as a legal right (*haec vis est istius . . . iuris*), and this could only have been created by the action of the Roman people. The bestowal thus took the form of a statute or charter provision, which was passed in a given case with the idea of conferring a benefit. Regarding the preliminary procedure, a state desiring to become *fundus* probably presented its petition in the usual way through a magistrate and the senate, but on this point precise information is lacking.

To whom, then, was this privilege granted? Speaking of Roman laws available for use elsewhere, Cicero mentions the statute of Furius regarding wills and that of Voconius on legacies to women, and "innumerable other enactments of the civil code"—*innumerabiles aliae leges de civili iure*. Respecting these he adds the significant comment: *quas Latini voluerunt, asciverunt*.⁵ I take it to be a clear inference from this that, whether before the Social War or after, all Latin colonies were *populi fundi*. This is confirmed by the case of T. Matrinius of Spoletium,⁶ who was tried under the Licinian Mucian law⁷ for illegally exercising the franchise. The accuser did not allege that Spoletium was not a *populus fundus*, but based his prosecution on other grounds. The reason is plain: Spoletium being a Latin colony its status went without saying. It was different with the federated states and the free cities, which received the privilege or not, according to individual circumstances. To places like Gades, remote from Rome and with altogether different conditions, it would hardly be useful. It may also be inferred that it was also wanting to certain Gallic communities (*e.g.*: the Cenomani, the Insubres, the Helvetii, the Iapydes) whose members were forbidden by treaties ever to become Roman citizens.⁸ Cicero implies that neither Ravenna⁹ nor Velia¹⁰ was *fundus*, but on the other hand Halaesa in Sicily

⁴ *Ib.* 8, 21: *Haec vis est istius et iuris et verbi ut fundi populi beneficio nostro non suo iure fiant.*

⁵ *Ib.* 8, 21.

⁶ *Ib.* 21, 48.

⁷ Passed in 95 B.C.

⁸ *Ib.* 14, 32.

⁹ *Ib.* 22, 50.

¹⁰ *Ib.* 24, 55.

may have been, along with certain provincial federated states that stood in the closer connection with Rome. It would be of great interest to know the alignment in this respect in Italy before the Social War. It may well be that Rome's withholding of this privilege was one cause of the uprising against her.

This state of things would also seem to be at the basis of Gellius' strange (and unexplained) statement that a *municipium* had its own constitution and laws and, though its members were Roman citizens, was bound by legislation at Rome only in so far as it became *fundus* of it, whereas a *colonia*, without any choice of its own, was subject to all Roman laws and institutions.¹¹ This refers to a much earlier period, but even so, it is altogether erroneous. The error probably arose from confusing the *municipium* of Roman citizens with that of the federated state, and in the case of the Latin colonies, from transforming their being *fundus* of all Roman laws into their being actually bound by them. Such a blunder would not be entirely out of keeping with Gellius' knowledge of Roman institutions.

There remains the question whether a citizen of a state that was not *fundus* could be brought within the provisions of a Roman statute. This is the issue in the case of Balbus, who had received the citizenship from Pompey for services rendered in Spain. The grant was later confirmed by the *lex Cornelia Gellia*.¹² The prosecutor, however, maintained that as Gades was not *fundus*, the law was invalid with respect to its citizens. Cicero argued that such could not be the case. Otherwise, Rome would be deprived of the power to reward those who had assisted her in time of danger¹³—a non-legal argument to which he returns again and again. Moreover, though not tolerating a double citizenship, she permitted her citizens to enroll themselves in whatever state

¹¹ XVI, 13, 6: *Municipes ergo sunt cives Romani ex municipiis, legibus suis et suo iure utentes . . . neque ulla populi Romani lege adstricti nisi in quam populus eorum fundus factus est. . . . sed coloniarum alia necessitudo est, . . . et iura institutaque omnia populi Romani non sui arbitrii habent.*

¹² Carried by the consuls in 72 B.C.

¹³ *Ib.* 10, 25.

they desired, and it was reasonable to suppose there was a reciprocal right.¹⁴ Coming to specific precedents Cicero mentions that two cohorts of Camertes had been presented with citizenship by C. Marius;¹⁵ individuals had received the same honor from other commanders;¹⁶ and finally there was the case of the priestesses from the federated city of Velia, who were made citizens to meet the requirements of their office.¹⁷ It is apparent, however, that the mere grant by a military commander was not legally sufficient, since Pompey's own action was confirmed by law. The other precedents on which he relies may be cases of individual admission to citizenship by special enactment. Balbus, on the other hand, sought to come within the purview of a general formula such as *qui civitate a Gnaeo Pompeio donatus erit, is civis Romanus erit*, and his case is therefore vitally different from those which Cicero brings forward to support his argument. A precedent of real significance is contained in the incidental reference to the Julian law giving citizenship to the Italians, which provided that no state should benefit by it which did not become *fundus*.¹⁸ Here we have an instance of citizenship being conferred by a general law, which required to be ratified before it became effective. That this accorded with the usual practice is confirmed by Cicero's weighty statement that whenever it was proposed to grant an allied state the benefit of a Roman measure, the first point to be settled was whether or not it was *fundus*, the purpose being to allow the community to decide about its own affairs — *ut statuant ipsi non de nostris sed de suis rebus, quo iure uti velint*.¹⁹ This had not always been done, Rome in rare cases imposing her own will, but it was the constitutional method, itself the outgrowth of historical tradition and development. Cicero's point, therefore (it must be concluded), is not well taken.

We are now able to understand somewhat the significance of the fundane relation. It was in reality a federal principle supplementing treaties and charters. On the negative side it was an understanding that (apart from matters dealt with

¹⁴ *Ib.* 12, 29.¹⁵ *Ib.* 20, 46.¹⁶ *Ib.* 22, 50-51.¹⁷ *Ib.* 24, 55.¹⁸ *Ib.* 8, 21.¹⁹ *Ib.* 8, 22.

in its treaty or charter) an allied state could not be affected by the provisions of a Roman statute which it had not ratified. In the non-fundane states — the more backward and distant communities — the result was an isolation from Roman influence that must have affected them deeply. The *populi fundi* on the other hand, being bound only by what they ratified, were protected against legislation unsuited to their needs and secured in the enjoyment of their own laws.

On the positive side the fundane principle made it certain that in the most important non-Roman communities the laws on many subjects would be the same as those at Rome. If the records were extant, this would be best illustrated in Latin colonies,²⁰ and it is significant that in the Latin town of Salpensa in Spain we find the *patria postestas*, the Roman law of mancipation, that of guardianship, and other provisions which doubtless in the course of time had been taken over and become characteristic of Latin communities.²¹ The effect of widespread appropriation of the civil law (no longer the exclusive possession of Roman citizens), in addition to facilitating business and general intercourse, could only have been to create a feeling of unity with Rome, and in this respect was a federal influence of undoubted import. The fundane relation also gave to Rome a means of exercising her leadership in matters not dealt with in formal compacts. Having placed her accumulated experience at the disposal of others, she could lead the way in new legislation for their benefit, which required only their coöperation in order to become effective. It was by this method, for example, that she conferred the franchise on the Italians.²² In short she possessed a constitutional device which gave to her federal relations a flexibility and a potential complexity which would be expected in actual administration, but of which the scanty and meager provisions of treaties and charters give no hint.

²⁰ *Ib.* 8, 21.

²¹ Mommsen, *Jurist. Schriften*, 1, 350; Hardy, *Spanish Charters*, p. 84.

²² This was doubtless also the procedure in enfranchising the Transpadanes under the *lex Pompeia* of 89 B.C. and the *lex Roscia* of 49 B.C. The current (and erroneous) conception is represented by Botsford (*Roman Assemblies*, 402).

The working out of this interrelation has been mainly exemplified in matters of citizenship. A further illustration is contained in the section of the *Lex Iulia municipalis* relating to the amendment of municipal charters. The text²³ is as follows: *Quei lege pl(ebeive) sc(ito) permissus est fuit utei leges in municipio fundano municipibusve eius municipi daret, sei quid is post h. l. rogatam in eo anno proximo quo h. l. populus iuserit ad eas leges [addiderit commutaverit conrexit] municipi(ei)s fundanos item teneto, utei oporteret, sei eae res ab eo tum quom primum leges eis municipibus lege pl(ebeive) sc(ito) dedit ad eas leges additae commutatae conrectae essent; neve quis intercidito neve quid facito quo minus ea rata sint gove minus municipis fundanos tenea(n)t eisque optemperetur.* "If any one is or has been empowered by statute or plebiscite to enact laws in a fundane municipality or for the citizens thereof, and if within the year following the passage of this act, he shall make any addition, alteration, or correction, in these laws, it shall be as binding on the citizens of the fundane municipality as would be required by law if such addition, alteration or correction had been made by the said person at the time when he first enacted laws for the citizens of the aforesaid municipality as he was empowered to do by statute or plebiscite; and it shall not be lawful for any one by veto or otherwise to render such revision invalid, or inoperative or unobserved."

To be noted in these provisions are the explicit references to the original framing or recasting of charters which the commissioners had already completed, and which is seen to have been the result of a coöperative arrangement. An enabling act was passed at Rome with the names of the persons to whom the work was to be entrusted, and this measure, if not already approved in principle, was then ratified by the community concerned, which in this way decided for itself whether it desired changes in its organic law. If so, they were enacted by the supposedly expert and disinterested person or persons named in the enabling act. In a sense (more apparent than real) the specific changes were imposed on

²³ P. 110, ll. 159-163 Bruns.⁷

the community from without, but otherwise the whole transaction had the reciprocal character of the true fundane relation.

On the other hand in its special aim of securing the amendment of charters the law runs counter to the constitutional method in that it revives and extends the power of the commissioners to make alterations without consulting those who might be vitally affected. It would thus seem to represent a breaking down of the fundane principle under the reactionary tendencies of Caesar.

But we cannot go further here until we know the subject-matter of the proposed amendment for which an extra year was permitted. The point has been much discussed. I will refer only to the widely current view of Mommsen and Hardy,²⁴ which holds that the communities enfranchised by the Social War were not full-fledged *municipia civium Romanorum* until their charters had been recast, and that this being unfinished required additional time. There is no evidence that this recasting was necessary; it is unlikely that the business would have hung fire for more than half a century, and moreover the law plainly relates to the revision of work that had already been accomplished. It seems clear that there was some special provision which Caesar wished to have incorporated in existing fundane charters, and it is reasonable to suppose that it related to something which he had taken the pains to enact for Roman citizens in the present law. Such a matter was the qualifications for membership in the municipal senates. We know from two sources that this was a burning question in municipal politics. It divided the people of Halaesa in Sicily so that Claudius Pulcher was sent to revise their laws.²⁵ In his legislation he specified what business should render a man ineligible to the decurionate. We have also Cicero's letter to Lepta²⁶ in answer to the latter's inquiry if Caesar's law excluded auctioneers. The letter is written with great feeling, and it is evident that Cicero and Lepta were greatly concerned. The

²⁴ Hardy, *Six Roman Laws*, 162-2. *Journ. Rom. Stud.* IV, p. 87.

²⁵ Cic. in *Verr.* II, 47, 122.

²⁶ *Ad Fam.* VI, 18, 1.

controversy must have given rise to two parties: those (including Cicero) who favored restricting the list of ineligible, and others who would extend it. There can be no uncertainty as to the party to which Caesar belonged, inasmuch as the section reciting the disqualifications for seats in the local senates is one of the longest in the Municipal Law. It was a matter in which obviously he was deeply interested and it is not surprising that he should wish his views written into the laws of non-Roman communities. He could accomplish this by furnishing the commissioners past and present with an opportunity to make the change, being sure they would take their cue from his own legislation. If this, then, is the purpose of the section, it fits in well with the reactionary method used to bring it about. It may be objected that Caesar would have attained his object by direct provisions of the law. This would have abolished the whole fundane system, and the fact that Caesar was not yet ready for so drastic a procedure shows how deeply rooted it was in the Roman constitution.

There remains the question as to the particular *municipia* which were contemplated by this section of the law. If the view here maintained is correct, they must have been outside of the enfranchised part of Italy. Reid²⁷ would relate this legislation to cities in the Transpadane district and to others in Gaul, Spain, and Africa. The reference to the Transpadanes, who had already received the franchise, seems to me more than questionable, but with the rest of the suggestion I am in substantial agreement. It does not, however, take us far, and the whole matter awaits still further elucidation.

²⁷ *Journ. Rom. Stud.* v, 243.

V. — On the Virgilian Catalepton II

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Corinthiorum amator iste verborum,
 Iste iste rhetor, namque quatenus totus
 Thucydides, tyrannus Atticae febris:
 Tau Gallicum, min et sphin ut male illisit,
 Ita omnia ista verba miscuit fratri.

2 om. *codices Quintiliani* (VIII, 3, 27 *sqq.*) 3 bri(t)tan(n)us attice febres *codd. Quint.* 4 min(mi) et psin et (prosmet, prominet) *codd.* | enim et spin(e) et *codd. Quint.* | ut *Wagner et Schenkl* | illisit *vel* illi sit *codd.* illisit *codd. Quint.* elisit *Wagner.* 5 ita *vel* ista *codd.* ita *codd. Quint.*

THIS epigram in choliambic trimeters, which survives in the *Appendix Vergiliana* as the second poem of the *Catalepton*, still bristles with unsolved difficulties. Most of the recent editors, such as Ellis, Vollmer, and Birt, follow Bücheler (*Rh. Mus.* xxxviii [1883], 507 ff.) in regard to the main purpose of the writer, though they still disagree both as to readings to be accepted, and as to details of interpretation.¹ They believe, however, that the archaisms mentioned in the text are Greek, not Latin, and Bücheler's citation of the epigram of Herodicus, as given in Athenaeus, v, 222 a, would to most scholars seem conclusive on this point:

οἴσι μέμηλε
 τὸ σφῖν καὶ σφῶιν καὶ τὸ μὴν ἦδὲ τὸ νίν.

Somewhat more recently, however, Professor H. W. Garrod, (*Class. Quart.*, iv [1910], 123-125), advocates a different view. Quintilian, he says, "quotes this poem . . .

¹ Curcio, however, in his *Poeti Latini Minori*, II (Catania, 1905), p. 70, reads, tau Gallicum, myn' et psin' ut male illisit,

taking *tau Gallicum* as coördinate with the preceding expressions, *tyrannus*, *Thucydides*, and *amator*, while *myn'* and *psin'* are strange combinations with *-ne*, and imply that Cimber, following the example of Lucilius and Accius, had treated in verse questions relating to the letters μ and ψ . I have not considered it necessary to introduce into the discussion the curious variations found in the *Grammaticomastix* of Ausonius, in whose time the epigram was evidently unintelligible.

in order to illustrate the 'odiosa cura' with which certain Latin writers employ obsolete expressions." Quintilian (VIII, 3, 24 ff.) commends Virgil, a writer *acerrimi iudicii*, for his use of graceful and appropriate language, but finds fault with those who employ such archaic words as *oppido*, *antegerio*, *autumo*, *aerumnae*, and others. Some old-fashioned words, like *nuncupare* and *fari*, are "sometimes used of necessity, and many others may be introduced boldly, but only if there is no obvious affectation in their use. Such affectation Virgil ridicules in striking fashion," and in illustration Quintilian cites this epigram, adding the statement that the person assailed was Cimber, who had killed his brother, according to Cicero's ambiguous phrase *Germanum Cimber occidit* (*Phil.* XI, 6, 14). It is in reference to this fact that in another passage Cicero calls Cimber *Philadelphus* (*Phil.* XIII, 12, 26). "From the passage as a whole," says Garrod, "it ought to be clear that Quintilian is speaking throughout of Latin writers or speakers, and that the obsolete words of which he complains are throughout Latin words." Garrod therefore finds in the text the Latin words *min*, *ipsun*, *em*, and reads verse 4 thus:

'tau Gallicum' 'min' 'ipsun' 'em' male elisit,

explaining *min* = *mihine*, *ipsun* = *ipsusne*, *em* (for the *e* or *et* of the Mss.) = *eum*. These are the strange words that Cimber mixed for his brother. But he also *elisit* "crushed them up," and "elided" them, metrically, in a horrid manner, producing — aside from the syllable *taug-*, for which "we may perhaps postulate some unknown herb *tauga*[-um] — the potent mixture *allec*, *cumminum*, *ἰψόν*, *ἀλμ*, *ἄλ[α]*."

This extraordinary conclusion, which, though the strange words ridiculed are supposed to be Latin, must yet rest upon three Greek words and another quite unknown word, is, of course, absolutely unconvincing, and in regard to this aspect of the epigram we must still, I think, follow the clue given by Athenaeus. As a matter of fact, there is no reason why, in driving his argument home, Quintilian should not have cited an illustration from Greek sources. Later, in the same

chapter (59-60), when speaking of a fault to which Latin writers were prone, that of combining incongruities, mixing, for example, the old and the new, the grand and the mean, the poetical and the commonplace, he compares this practice with a possible hodge-podge of dialects in a Greek writer, Doric, Ionic, Aeolic and Attic; and again, in 84, as examples of ἔμφασις, where a word implies more than it actually states, he gives two illustrations, one from Virgil, and the other from Homer.

In the epigram before us, then, it is probable that the writer is satirizing certain Greek usages rather than Latin. The Cimber assailed, T. Annius Cimber, was, as Cicero tells us (*Phil.* xi, 6, 14), a son of Lysidicus, himself a Lysidicus (with a pun upon the word), *quoniam omnia iura dissolvit*. Cimber, therefore, was the son of a Greek, and was doubtless a freedman. In his upward career he became a Roman praetor (*Phil.* xiii, 12, 26), but he was also a rhetorician. We may suppose that he wrote in Greek, and was a representative of Greek rhetoric in Rome at a time when this was much in vogue. As such he affected an archaic tone. He delighted in Corinthian words, that is (though I think Garrod is right in supposing that Corinth is intended to suggest Medea's poisons), words smacking of antiquity, like the old Corinthian bronzes, so dear to connoisseurs of art, and his admirers spoke of him as a *totus Thucydides*, a perfect Thucydides.

As is well known, the great Greek historian wrote in the old Attic dialect, ἡ ἀρχαία Ἀτθίς, or the Attic of the fifth century B.C., and his vocabulary includes many old and poetic forms. "In the choice of words," says Dionysius (*de Thuc.* 24; *ad Ammaccum*, 2), "Thucydides often adopts figurative, obscure, archaic, and strange diction, in place of that which was common and familiar to the men of his day" (Roberts, *The Three Literary Letters*, 133). After enumerating some of the historian's characteristics, Dionysius continues: "The most obvious of these is the attempt to indicate as many things as possible in as few words as possible, to combine many ideas in one, and to leave the listener expecting

to hear something more. The consequence is that brevity becomes obscurity." In another chapter Dionysius gives some examples of Thucydidean "expressions which are obscure, archaic, and puzzling to ordinary people" (*ib.* 137). Elsewhere he remarks that "only a select few can comprehend the whole of Thucydides, and not even they without occasional help in the way of grammatical explanations" (*ib.* 47).

A writer so famous as Thucydides was sure to have his imitators. And yet, being difficult himself, he proved a very difficult model. Thus Dionysius says: οἱ δὲ Θεουκιδίδην ζηλοῦν λέγοντες καὶ τὸ μὲν εὖτονον καὶ στερεὸν καὶ δεινὸν καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια χαλεπῶς ἐκλαμβάνοντες, τοὺς δὲ σολοικοφανεῖς σχηματισμοὺς καὶ τὸ ἀσαφὲς προχειριζόμενοι, πάνυ εὐχερῶς ἀνάλισκoiντο ἐκ τούτου τοῦ παραγγέλματος (*de Dinarcho*, 8). In a similar vein Cicero writes: Ecce autem aliqui se Thucydidos esse profitentur, novum quoddam imperitorum et inauditum genus (*Or.* 9, 30); and again: Huius tamen nemo neque verborum neque sententiarum gravitatem imitatur; sed cum mutila quaedam et hiantia locuti sunt, quae vel sine magistro facere potuerunt, germanos se putant esse Thucydidas (*ib.* 32).

As Cimber's work has not survived, we cannot estimate his success or failure in imitating Thucydides. The epigrammatist, however, ridicules his use of the letter τ, and of the pronouns μὲν and σφί. The former is, of course, an Ionic form, while σφί belongs to tragedy. What was Cimber's peculiarity in the use of τ we can only conjecture. His pronunciation was probably faulty or provincial, and the epithet *Gallicum* may well refer to the name *Cimber* (cf. *Cimbri lingua Gallica latrones dicuntur*, Festus) and imply that not only was the man himself really a barbarian, but his speech betrayed his origin. So De Witt, in *A. J. P.* xxxiii (1912), 318. For Kaibel's explanation, see *Rh. Mus.* xliv (1889), 316.

It is, however, the third verse upon which especially I hope to throw some light. Here the man who is a perfect Thucydides is on that account (*quatenus* is causal) a *tyrannus Atticae febris*. The word *febris* is commonly supposed

to mean an unhealthy passion, a mania, and, as qualified by *Attica*, a mania for an Attic style.

Now it is obvious that, whatever meaning we may attach to the epigram as a whole, we must suppose that the expression *Atticae febris* involves an allusion to the well-known controversy once waged in rhetorical circles in Rome over true and false Atticism. The epigrammatist doubtless accepts the opinion of Cicero, to whom the Atticism of Calvus and his followers was extravagant and unwholesome, a poor style to cultivate, especially when it took for its model such a difficult and obscure writer as Thucydides. I need not do more than remind my readers of such passages as the following :

a) . . . unde erat exortum genus Atticorum iis ipsis, qui id sequi se profitebantur, ignotum. — Cic. *Tusc.* 11, 1, 3.

b) Atticum se, inquit, Calvus noster dici oratorem volebat ; inde erat ista exilitas quam ille de industria consequeretur. dicebat, inquam, ita ; sed et ipse errabat et alios etiam errare cogebat. — Id. *Brut.* 82, 284.

c) Thucydidem, inquit, imitamur. optime, si historiam scribere, non si causas dicere cogitatis. Thucydides enim rerum gestarum pronuntiator sincerus et grandis etiam fuit ; hoc forense concertatorium iudiciale non tractavit genus. — *Ib.* 83, 287.

As to the term *tyrannus*, that is less easily explained in this connection. According to Bücheler, "scuticas caedemque tyrannus sapit, severam scholae disciplinam unde inter Epicuri successores Apollodoro cognomen inditum putamus κηποτύραννος." Birt very properly objects to this view that κηποτύραννος, as applied to the Epicurean Apollodorus, may denote a *scholae tyrannus*, but not a *febris tyrannus*. Birt therefore reconstructs the verse, displacing *tyrannus* in somewhat arbitrary fashion with *renatus*, and making *Attice febris* an appositional nominative — *Thucydides renatus, Attice febris*. Ribbeck, Baehrens, and others fall back upon the *Britannus* of Quintilian's text, but as this would identify the *Britanni* with the *Cimbri*, and nothing is known of such an association, recent editors reject the reading. Garrod substitutes *pyraunus* (πύραυνος), "fire-lighter," which appears as the title of plays by Alexis and other writers of comedy, and if con-

tures are in order, this one is as good as any other. We may, however, suppose that Cimber was a very dogmatic rhetorician, one of those arrogant, self-satisfied teachers of whom Cicero often speaks, and whose pupils had to repeat their rules in slavish fashion, as exemplified especially in the *de Partitione Oratoria*.²

But the words *tyrannus Atticae febris* admit of another interpretation, which ought to have been suggested long before this. We must remember that while the person assailed in the epigram is a rhetorician, and while his rhetorical principles are a subject of ridicule, yet the writer has a more important end in view. Cimber is attacked primarily, not so much because of his profession, as because of the foul crime of which he was accused. Has the reference to Thucydides any bearing upon this, the main purpose of the iambic satirist?

One of the most famous passages in Thucydides is his description of the plague which ravaged Attica in the early years of the Peloponnesian war (II, 47-54). This description was greatly admired in antiquity, and has often been eulogized by modern writers. It was largely reproduced by Lucretius (VI, 1138 ff.):

Haec ratio quondam morborum et mortifer aestus
Finibus in Cecropis funestos reddidit agros
Vastavitque vias, exhausit civibus urbem,

and Lucretius in turn inspired Virgil's account in *Georg.* III, 478 ff. and Ovid's in *Met.* VII, 520 ff. Procopius, in his *Persica*, II, 22, is largely indebted to Thucydides, when describing the plague in Constantinople in the time of Justinian. In the *περὶ Ἐρμηνείας* Demetrius cites the opening words of Thucydides' chapter 48 (the real beginning of the description), as an example of the elevated (*μεγαλοπρεπής*) style, and Lucian, in his essay *On the Writing of History*, tells us of one Crepereius Calpurnianus of Pompeiopolis, who wrote a history of the war between Parthia and Rome, in the course of which he inflicted a plague on Nisibis, "lifting the whole

² For this suggestion, which could easily be amplified and strengthened with evidence, I am indebted to Dr. Torsten Pettersson, of the University of California.

thing bodily from Thucydides — except the Pelasgicum and the Long Walls, where the victims of the earlier plague found shelter; there the difference ends; like the other, 'it began in Ethiopia, whence it descended to Egypt,' and to most of the Parthian empire, where it very discreetly remained" (chap. 15). He adds: "I left him engaged in burying the poor Athenians in Nisibis, and knew quite well how he would continue after my exit. Indeed, it is a pretty common belief at present that you are writing like Thucydides, if you just use his actual words *mutatis mutandis*." (Translation by Fowler.)

This famous Attic plague, the *mortifer aestus* of Lucretius, is in the epigram very properly termed a *febris*. Grote speaks of it as "an eruptive typhoid fever, distinct from, yet analogous to, the smallpox." Niebuhr thinks it was something like yellow fever; others regard it as a camp fever. Certainly the fever symptoms are the most conspicuous in Thucydides' account. The first of these were the violent heats in the head, τῆς κεφαλῆς θέρμαι ἰσχυραί, and the redness and inflammation of the eyes, τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐρυθρήματα καὶ φλόγῳσις. There was the blood-red hue of the throat and tongue, and while the body was not very hot to the touch, yet the internal parts were so badly burned that sufferers could not bear the lightest covering, and would gladly throw themselves, if possible, into cold water. They were consumed with an unquenchable thirst, and usually died on the seventh or ninth day through the internal burning, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐντὸς καύματος.

The whole account is a descriptive masterpiece, and the man who composed it may well be called the *tyrannus*, the lord or sovereign in this field, for in such a narrative he has no peer, but stands alone. But, it may be objected, is not *tyrannus* a term of disparagement or contempt, rather than of praise and cordial approval? I have examined Virgil's use of the word, and find that, while it is commonly employed of an arbitrary, cruel, or hostile king, yet it may be used in a neutral and even friendly sense. It is applied to Pluto, Pygmalion, and Mezentius, but it is also used of Latinus merely as "king" (*Aen.* VII, 342), and of Aeneas himself

by the friendly Latinus (*ib.* 266). Ovid, too, calls Tereus a *clarus tyrannus*, simply a "famous prince" (*Met.* vi, 436), and in a somewhat similar way Horace makes Capricorn the *tyrannus Hesperiae undae* (*Carm.* ii, 17, 19), because to Capricorn was assigned the lordship of the western world, *tyrannus* being perfectly synonymous with *arbiter* in Horace's well-known *arbiter Hadriae* (*Carm.* i, 3, 15).³

But why should the epigrammatist have set Thucydides' account of the Attic plague in such high relief? Clearly there should be some connection in thought between the phrase *tyrannus Atticae febris* and the rest of the epigram. This, fortunately, is easy to find. Cimber had planned the murder of his brother. Where could he with more certainty learn of an unfailing *via mortis*, and where would he be more likely to procure the necessary ingredients for a deadly concoction of spells (*verba*)—compare

miscueruntque herbas et non innoxia verba

(*Georg.* iii, 283)

— than in the dispensary of that great contemporary of Hippocrates, the historian who made so careful a diagnosis of an extraordinarily fatal malady? If Cimber became a perfect Thucydides, he also became well versed in a fever that ruthlessly and almost inevitably swept away its victims.

The whole epigram, then, is an elaborate *double entendre*. Cimber loved archaic words and ancient spells. Being a perfect Thucydides, he not only lorded it over the disciples enslaved to his false and baneful Atticism, but, like his own great master, he understood better than all others a sure, though mysterious, *modus moriendi*; and as in his speeches he mangled and butchered for his pupils his uncouth sounds and old-fangled words, so for his brother he made a mess of all these outlandish elements, concocting such poisonous spells that his victim succumbed to their deadly effect.

³ Professor H. C. Nutting has called my attention to the following passage in Nepos, *Milt.* 8: Omnes illos . . . annos . . . tyrannus . . . fuerat appellatus sed iustus; non erat enim vi consecutus, sed suorum voluntate; eamque potestatem bonitate retinebat. omnes autem et dicuntur et habentur tyranni, qui potestate sunt perpetua in ea civitate quae libertate usa est.

VI. — *Plot and Character in Greek Tragedy*

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THE question of the relative importance of plot and character-portrayal in tragedy has exercised critics from Aristotle's day to our own, nor is there even now complete agreement. To some, it is true, Aristotle has seemed the ultimate and final authority, an unerring guide whom even to-day we may safely follow, and whose utterances may claim from us unhesitating acceptance; others, on the contrary, hold that his analysis of the art of poetry is, to be sure, suggestive, and many of his observations keen and penetrating, but at the same time they hold that his view of tragedy was strangely formal and limited, and that he erred in applying the processes of a purely logical analysis to that which, as an aesthetic manifestation, lies quite outside of the domain in which these processes are valid and productive of results. They hold furthermore that the great master's deductions, based as they were upon tragedies of the antique type, break down in the face of the wider and richer Shakespearian type. In particular the act of dramatic characterization is advanced as a matter regarding which Aristotle can teach us little or nothing, not merely because in modern tragedy the characters are far more elaborately portrayed, but because, as some would have us believe, there neither was nor could be on the ancient stage any real characterization at all.

Now we need not share Lessing's opinion of Aristotle's infallibility, nor should we content ourselves with a study of merely theoretical criticism, ancient or modern. The true method of approach in the investigation of the subject before us is a frank and unbiased study of the plays themselves, undertaken with a view to ascertaining precisely what the facts are. This has been the method pursued in the present study. I touch upon theories of dramatic art and the differences between Greek and modern, or, let me say, Shakespearian tragedy merely to clear the ground, as it were. It

is a wholly mistaken method to seek to establish conclusions in advance, and then in the study of the characters to look for illustrations of the principles involved in these conclusions.

Into the controversy which has raged about the interpretation of Aristotle's famous utterances in the sixth chapter of the *Poetics*,

“Without action there cannot be a tragedy; without characters there can;” and

“The plot, then, is the first principle, and, as it were, the soul of a tragedy; the characters are secondary,”

it is needless for us now to enter. We shall find it well, however, to emphasize certain plain facts:

1) Aristotle cannot have meant that the highest interest in tragedy centers about an intricate plot. One cannot read the Greek tragedies upon which his judgments were based without being struck by the fact that the plot is, as a rule, almost negligible as an element of tragic interest. (This is well emphasized in Newman's essay on *Poetry, with Reference to Aristotle's Poetics*.) In this connection it is interesting to note that to French critics, accustomed to the strict logical development of the action in French tragedy, many scenes in the Greek tragedians have seemed quite pointless. It is in commenting on such criticisms of Voltaire and La Harpe that Faguet, in his book, *Drame ancien, drame moderne*, uses these words: “‘Peinture de caractère,’ dit Patin. Il a raison. Mais cela prouve que les Grecs attachent beaucoup plus d'importance à la peinture complète du caractère qu'à la continuité de l'action.”

2) It is equally certain that, taken as a statement of aesthetic values, Aristotle's words are not likely to be accepted by students of today as final and authoritative. For, just as it is true that plot is but a slight element in the aesthetic effect of a Greek play, so it is also true that, if one passes in review the works of tragic writers, ancient or modern, the element that remains most firmly fixed in the mind is the characters. Clytemnestra, Antigone, Oedipus, Medea, Lady Macbeth, Lear, Cordelia, Hamlet — these figures

live on in our minds with a vitality that is imperishable. They would live on were we to forget the details of the plays in question.

3) We must, however, note what is often overlooked, that even after these admissions have been made, Aristotle's words contain a statement of a fundamental fact. There can be no portrayal of character that is in any real sense dramatic without at least a skeleton outline of plot. The matter is pointedly put by Walkley in his book on *Dramatic Criticism*. "I venture," he says, "to submit to you a very different interpretation of this passage, a sense in which Aristotle's words are absolutely valid for all drama in all time. It is that Aristotle here was not attempting an artistic appreciation at all, but making a scientific classification. He was marking off the special province of drama in the general region of art. The *differentia* of drama, what makes it itself and not something else, he shows, is action." Again: "Characters are isolated forces, forces *in vacuo*. To make drama these forces must come into collision." "Even to-day," he says later on, with reference to Maeterlinck, "the drama of motionless life has beguiled some men to heresy."

In approaching the subject of characterization in Greek tragedy, it is necessary to take time for certain preliminary statements, in order to mark out the lines upon which such a study should be conducted. One must, in doing this, travel a well-trodden road, but though the facts may be familiar and the statements trite, yet upon these facts most unwarrantable conclusions have been based, and a consideration of them may not be omitted.

Certain elements, then, entailed by the conditions under which a Greek tragedy was presented, necessarily limited the freedom of the artist in the portrayal of character. The large, open-air theatre, the normally unchanged scene, the publicity of the action made necessary by the use of a chorus, the few characters, allowing but little interplay, the conventional tragic costume, designed, if we can trust our tradition, to increase the stature and size of the actor, the mask — though here, too, I must add, "if we can trust our tradition"

— the mask, which would necessarily stand in the way of anything like individuality in character-drawing — all these things made both for stateliness and for simplicity. They were one and all conventional limitations with which the creative artist had to reckon. But it is in the face of limitations that art achieves its greatest triumphs; and we should remember also that an art-form marked by the most rigid conventions may be the mould in which is cast a creation of entire sincerity and naturalness.

If we ask ourselves what sort of drama is to be looked for under these conditions, we shall certainly answer that it would be marked by a broad simplicity both as regards plot and characters, and that it would inevitably possess a certain formal statuesqueness. "A la puissance de la poésie," writes Patin (*Études sur les tragiques grecs*, I, 13 ff.), "vint s'unir celle de tous les autres arts: l'architecture construisit ces immenses édifices où se pressait une innombrable multitude; la statuaire et la peinture décorèrent la scène tragique; la musique régla les mouvements cadencés, les évolutions régulières du chœur, et prêta son harmonie à la mélodie des vers. . . . Sans doute ces personnages héroïques qui se montraient sur la scène n'offraient point un contraste trop choquant avec les belles représentations de la nature que produisait dans le même temps le ciseau des artistes. . . . Si on lit avec attention les ouvrages des tragiques grecs, on ne pourra manquer de s'apercevoir que tout y était calculé pour le plaisir des yeux: chaque scène était un groupe, un tableau, qui, en attachant les regards, s'expliquait presque de lui-même à l'esprit, sans le secours des paroles."

Apart from the purely external conventions already mentioned, we must take account of two others, which have an important bearing on the matter before us. The Greek tragedian almost invariably took his subjects from the mythical past. We say "almost invariably," for the few exceptions of which we have knowledge serve only to prove the rule. Now the import of this fact had been strangely misinterpreted. To DeQuincey, obsessed as he was with the idea that there *must* be neither action nor character-drawing

in a Greek tragedy, it meant that the poet chose such themes, and made the figures of heroic legend the characters of his play, for the very reason that only by so doing could he get away from the necessity of portraying characters which would require individualization. Surely it would seem more natural to assume that in thus turning to earlier and less conventional ages for his themes and characters, the tragic artist was guided rather by the fact that in such ages the elemental passions are more freely and frankly expressed, and the tragic consequences arising therefrom more strikingly shown. In this the spirit of Greek tragedy is germane to that of Shakespeare. A Lady Macbeth, a Richard III, a Cleopatra was quite as alien to the London of Shakespeare as an Electra, a Clytemnestra, a Medea was to the Athens of Aeschylus or Euripides.

This point should be borne in mind, but at the same time it is plain that this fixed convention of choosing characters and themes from the field of heroic legend imposed very real limitations on the Greek tragic artist alike in the matter of plot and in the matter of character-portrayal. The field was limited, and the range within which the characters asserted themselves was also limited by the traditional story, and limited in a way which tended to make unnecessary, or even to a certain extent to preclude the portrayal of individual traits. The characters were, so to speak, consecrated by tradition, and only in minor points was the poet at liberty to alter them or to alter the legend upon which his plot was based. How it was that, in the face of these limitations, the artist succeeded in making his characters "real," and in imbuing them with life, forms a most interesting study.

Again, we must remember how short a Greek play ordinarily was, and how restricted its scope. The longest plays we have scarcely exceed 1700 lines in length (1400 to 1500 would be a fair average), and from these the choral odes must be deducted. In the *Agamemnon*, to take an extreme case, these amount to upwards of 500 lines. Patently then, having, let us say, some 1100 or 1200 lines at his disposal (considerably less, that is, than the first two acts of *Hamlet*) for

the exposition, the development of the action, and the portrayal of the characters, the artist was greatly restricted in his freedom; and we see at once that there were certain things which he simply could not attempt to include in his treatment. The importance of this fact is manifest; and the resulting difference between Greek and Shakespearian tragedy is well put by Brander Matthews (*Development of the Drama*, 214) in these words: "Shakespeare achieved almost his highest triumph in the revelation of character as it slowly disintegrated under stress of repeated temptation. We can behold the virus of ambition working in Macbeth, and we are made witnesses of the persistent solicitations of his wife. We are shown how the poison of jealousy slowly destroyed the nobility of Othello's nature. The conditions of the Greek stage made it impossible for Sophocles to attempt this."

Now while this brevity of the play did not preclude the successful portrayal of character or the adequate representation of an action, it did unquestionably lead to one of the features most characteristic of a Greek tragedy, its intense concentration. In the greatest tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides — those, I mean, which stand out in conspicuous grandeur, as *Othello*, *Lear*, *Macbeth*, and *Hamlet* do among the tragedies of Shakespeare — we have a single action which moves to its inevitable end, often with amazing swiftness — an action comparable in the minds of French critics to the fifth act merely of a French tragedy. The characters involved in the story are, as a rule, from the very opening of the play conceived as being under the sway of one dominant emotion, which illustrates some chief characteristic of their natures, and leads them to a course of action governed by one fixed resolve — a resolve carried out unflinching and unwaveringly. The concentration is indeed intense; but who that knows Clytemnestra, Antigone, Medea, Iphigenia, fails to see that they are none the less drawn from life? The soul is not laid bare to our view in its entirety, not all sides of the character are portrayed; in general there is no wavering between resolve and inaction; searching psy-

chological analysis we do not have; multitudinous scenes having for their dramatic end the illustration of some particular phase of character — for these there is, as a rule, no place; but within the limits set for him by the conventions of his art the Greek poet in a very true sense held the mirror up to nature.

After this survey of some of the limiting conventions with which the Greek tragic artist was confronted — a survey meant to be suggestive only, not exhaustive — we are in a position to consider certain general views which have been held by writers on the art of tragedy with reference to characterization on the Greek stage. In all of these views there is naturally somewhat of truth; they all, however, break down for the simple reason that the subject is too complex to admit of such simple formulations.

We turn first to the view, so often met, that, properly speaking, the characters of Greek tragedy are not individuals at all, that they are not animated by personal motives, but that the real agents are the great, elemental moral forces which animate them; that the characters have, in short, at most a typical value — that they are not living, breathing human beings. In illustration of this view I quote from Paul Stapfer, whose book, *Shakespeare et les tragiques grecs*, is in the main a thoroughly sympathetic interpretation of Greek tragic art. He puts the matter thus: “Un trait distingué par excellence la tragédie de Sophocle comme aussi celle d’Eschyle: c’est la sévère beauté plastique des personnages et la valeur hautement générale des motifs qui les font agir. L’intérêt de la représentation s’attache moins aux personnalités qui sont en scène qu’aux saintes et augustes puissances du monde moral dont ces personnalités sont la vivante incarnation. L’État, la famille, et surtout la religion, voilà les grands acteurs du drame antique; l’individu, comme tel, disparaît plus ou moins sous la majesté de son rôle.” Again, a little further on, he writes: “Telle est la tragédie classique; ses personnages sont solides, tout d’une pièce; une seule passion les remplit et les anime, et cette passion n’a rien de personnel, elle s’identifie toujours avec quelque devoir

ou quelque intérêt sacré" (pp. 6 and 7; cf. 77). Butcher, too (*Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, 351 f.), has an excellent paragraph on this subject.

The truth underlying this theory is patent, but the application of it to the interpretation of the characters of Greek tragedy has often led to conclusions the falsity of which is equally patent. Let us take the most extreme case offered by our extant plays, the treatment of the Orestes story by Aeschylus. In the second play of the trilogy we have the baldest possible treatment of the dramatic elements, coupled with one single scene of such tremendous power that we hardly know where to turn in order to find its equal. The plot is of the flimsiest character, the poet makes virtually no really dramatic use of the person of Electra, so fraught with dramatic possibilities; all the elements which would have tended to enhance the human interest of the play are not so much slighted as rigorously suppressed. On the other hand, the underlying moral problem, so deeply, so immeasurably significant, engrosses all our attention; and it was plainly the poet's purpose that it should do so. Here we have indeed an illustration of a unique form of tragedy; but to take the Aeschylean Orestes as an illustration of the type of characterization which prevailed on the Greek stage is most unwarrantable. On the contrary the Orestes of Aeschylus is emphatically a character of an isolated type, understandable only when one takes into consideration the peculiar genius of the poet, the special theme of which he was treating, and the massive complex of the trilogy. If it be objected that in Sophocles, too, Orestes is only slightly individualized, the answer is that in the Sophoclean play it is Electra, not Orestes, who is made the centre of interest. It is in the portrayal of *her* character that the poet enlists our deepest sympathy, and to this portrayal all else in the play is subordinated.

Another point should be emphasized. It is true that the Aeschylean, and to a certain extent the Sophoclean, characters are largely "solid" — *tout d'une pièce*. They move, as a rule, with unflinching step to the inevitable end, whether that end be their own doom, or the performance of some

awful act demanded of them by the situation in which they are placed. But to say that this unchangeableness is a *law* of Greek characterization is absurd. To disprove this assertion it is necessary merely to note a few of the many instances in which the solidarity of the character is given up — sacrificed, if you will — to the higher law of naturalness. Antigone, strong and defiant before Creon, wholly sure of the justice of her cause, breaks down when the tension is relaxed, and when she is being led away to the terrible doom which is to be hers, doubts whether after all the gods themselves would say that she has acted aright. The iron has entered into her strong and beautiful soul. Creon, again, in the same play, so wholly sure that he is right and that everybody who opposes him is wrong, so sure, too, that he is acting in the interest of Thebes, loses all this confidence when arraigned by the seer, Tiresias, and with a complete reversal of attitude seeks to undo all that he has done. Iphigenia, who so pathetically pleads with her unnatural father to spare her, is later on animated by a heroic resolve to give her life to save Greece — a change of attitude which Aristotle so little understood that he cites her as an example of inconsistency. And what shall we say of the young Neoptolemus, whose nobility of soul makes him at the last, when their end has been attained, refuse to be a party to the deceit practised by Odysseus on the helpless Philoctetes, and thus brings about a crisis which calls for the only appearance in Sophocles' plays of a *deus ex machina*? Cases like these — and the list might be made much longer — surely outweigh the fact that Clytemnestra, the Lady Macbeth of Greek tragedy, has no "compunctious visitings." Even the Orestes of Aeschylus falters as sword in hand he drives his mother within to meet her doom — "un moment d'hésitation," remarks Stapfer, "court, mais très remarquable." It would have been far more remarkable, if Aeschylus, who so clearly stamps Orestes' deed, despite the fact that it was commanded by a god, as a hideous crime, had represented Orestes as feeling no compunctions. That human cry, "Pylades, what am I to do?" is more significant than the theories of all the critics.

Before leaving this phase of the subject, it will be well for us to note that the dramatic characters which affect us most powerfully — those of the master dramatist of all time included — owe their power in no small measure to the fact that, however individualized, they remain in the truest sense typical. Mere personal idiosyncrasies cannot be elaborated into a character that is truly tragic. We must in the nature of things fail to be touched by the fate of one whose nature we do not feel to be germane to our own — a fact in which lies the justification of Aristotle's statement that poetry is more philosophical and of more serious import than history; "for poetry," he says, "tends to express the universal, history the particular."

Finally, it is interesting to note that in Richard III we have a Shakespearian character that is little analysed, one as direct and unwavering, as completely under the sway of one dominant passion, as are the characters of Aeschylus and Sophocles.

We come now to the view, which one so often meets, that we can in no true sense speak of characterization in Greek tragedy, because the persons in a Greek play are not free agents: they are so many puppets in the hands of fate. This view, now in a modified, now in an extreme form, is constantly reasserted; but while the element of truth contained in it is evident to all, the criticism, as ordinarily put, is superficial in the extreme, and scarcely touches the surface of the problem. For it is a simple fact that should be clear to every reader that "Fate" is *not* the mainspring of the action in most Greek tragedies.

As in discussing the type theory I began with a quotation from Stapfer, who may be called one of its chiefest exponents, so in this case I take DeQuincey. In his essay on Shakespéare he writes: "The purpose and the intention of the Grecian stage was not primarily to develop human *character*, whether in men or women: human *fates* were its object; great tragic situations under the mighty control of a vast cloudy destiny, dimly descried at intervals, and brooding over human life by mysterious agencies, and for mysterious ends.

Man, no longer the representative of an august *will*, man the passion-puppet of fate, could not with any effect display what we call character, which is a distinction between man and man, emanating originally from the will, and expressing its determinations, moving under the large variety of human impulses. The will is the central point of character; and this was obliterated, thwarted, cancelled by the dark fatalism which brooded over the Grecian stage. That explanation will sufficiently clear up the reason why marked or complex variety of character was slighted by the great principles of Greek tragedy." Again in the essay on *The Theory of Greek Tragedy*, after protesting that fate was not an element inherently necessary, he continues: "A prophetic colouring, a colouring of ancient destiny, connected with a character or an event, has the effect of exalting or ennobling. But whatever tends toward this result inevitably translates the persons and their situation from the condition of ordinary breathing life which it was the constant effort of the Greek tragedy to escape; and therefore it was that the Greek poet preferred the gloomy idea of Fate, . . . not because it was necessary, but because it was elevating."

Now there is not among our extant Greek tragedies a single one which may rightly be called a *Schicksalstragödie*, and in many of them fate plays no part. To this statement the *Oedipus* itself is no exception. Even in that play nothing that happens comes to pass merely because it was ordained that it should. Put another than the Sophoclean Oedipus in his place, and the terrible events in the story, humanly speaking, simply would not have happened. Here, as everywhere, the saying of the great thinker holds good, ἦθος ἀνθρώπου δαίμων, *character is destiny*. No poet, no religious thinker is more insistent than Aeschylus in asserting the moral responsibility of man; and moral responsibility is meaningless, unless man is free. Aeschylus has more to say about fate than have his successors, and his Eteocles, when the climax of the tragedy comes, rushes from the stage with words upon his lips which are like nothing so much as the cry of a lost soul; and yet, though he speaks the language

of his day, and uses Fate as a dark, shadowy background against which are seen gods and men alike, Aeschylus was himself no fatalist, and his Nemesis, *the Apportioner*, is not Fate. His meditations on human life and on the great events in which he had himself taken so conspicuous a part, had given him a sense of the inevitableness of things. This, and with it a sense of the self-perpetuating power of evil, stood out before his mind as among the cardinal facts of human experience. Man lives his life, works his work, expresses his personality, in conflict with inexorable circumstance, whether within or without himself. Now, if in asserting these facts and illustrating these lessons, Aeschylus speaks of Fate, or imagines a Curse brooding over a house, and, as it were, entailing a heritage of sin upon each generation, this should not lessen our realization of the fact that the individual after all achieves his own doom. It is his own *ἔβρις* that brings *νέμεσις* down upon his head.

And how is it with us today? Are we without a sense of the inexorableness of circumstance, of the inevitableness of things? Do we not hold that environment may warp and stunt the development of the higher sides of a nature as surely as though the individual in question were "ordained" to doom? And does not the common view of heredity make of it an external and compelling force in men's lives? Nay more: it may safely be asserted that there can be no real tragedy, expressed in terms of drama, that does not take account of external as well as internal compulsion. Othello, Lear, Macbeth, aye, and Hamlet, too, fall as truly through striving in vain against the laws that govern the world, as do Agamemnon, Oedipus, Antigone.

Another view may be noticed which, though it is not so significant or so prevalent as those already mentioned, has of recent years come to play its part, and to my mind a pernicious part, in the interpretation of Greek tragedy. I have reference to the attempt to apply the results of anthropological studies to the analysis of tragic characters. This may be seen in von Wilamowitz; it may be seen for English readers in Gilbert Murray's monograph on *Hamlet and Ores-*

tes; and yet we ask ourselves how from this source light is to be thrown upon the interpretation of characters which are, after all, creations of the poet. We obtain from these studies a mass of crude elements, drawn from the most diverse sources and combined by methods in which, at times, cleverness seems to triumph over sane judgment; and then from these crude elements conclusions of the most far-reaching importance are drawn, in the light of which we are to shape our apprehension of the poet's meaning and our conception of his methods as a creative artist. Without seeking in the least to detract from the value of the facts brought to light by these investigations, or denying that we may by this means learn something of the rise and first crude beginnings of the art-form which was later on to afford a vehicle of expression for the tragic poet, we may rightly insist upon the importance of remembering that the true significance of an art is not to be seen in the period of its first crude beginnings, but in the period when it has attained its full power of expression.

Finally, a word regarding the view that in Greek tragedy there is absolutely no progressive development of character. To discuss this view at length would require the analytical study of certain concrete characters, Medea, for example, or Iphigenia, which space will not permit. It is plain that some of the matters already mentioned, the brevity of the play, the simplicity of the action, the intense concentration, would here, too, act as limiting conditions; but it is to speak without recognition of the facts to say of the antique artist, as Brander Matthews does (*Development of the Drama*, 70): "All his characters are and must be unchanging. Prometheus and Medea are the same at the end of the play as they were at the beginning." The former of the two plays here alluded to may well seem a tragedy in which there is a minimum alike of action and of characterization; but to see no change, no progression, from the Prometheus who longs for death as a release from his torments to the Prometheus who glories in his immortality, since it assures him that he will live to see the downfall of his foe, is to fail to understand

the play. And if one studies *Medea* at all closely, one sees that she has at the opening of the play no clear thought of the exquisite vengeance which she ultimately inflicts upon the faithless Jason. Her plan is evolved in the course of the play, and it is not until after the much-misunderstood *Aegeus* scene that her resolve is finally taken.

These may perhaps be said to be but slight touches, but they should serve at least to warn us against the danger of hasty and sweeping generalizations, and to lead us, as was suggested at the opening of this paper, to study first of all the facts actually offered by the plays themselves. We shall find simplicity everywhere, everywhere limiting conditions or conventions; we shall find speech often, where today we should look for action; in the portrayal of character we shall find but little introspection, little psychology; but we shall find that the stress is everywhere laid upon traits that are fundamental and true and normal, that the petty, the mean, the morbid had for the artist no charms; and we shall find, too, that the psychology that is offered us is, as Gilbert Murray has well said, "not the psychology of melodrama, specially contrived so as to lead to 'situations.' It is that of real human nature imaginatively observed or profoundly felt" (*English Literature and the Classics*, 20).

In thus seeking rightly to apprehend the art of characterization as seen in Greek tragedy, one is fully conscious of the wealth of new and unimagined beauty that was to be disclosed in the drama of a later day. In this study we have been dealing with the early age of a rich and subtle art. But it was an age in which the imagination was quick to respond to the demands which the artist made upon it; and to this generosity the artist on his part made a rich return. Beauty he gave, and truth; and he gave them with a bountifulness out of all proportion to the simple elements upon which his art was based.

VII. — *Comparative Philology and the Classics*¹

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WHEN the American Philological Association was first organized, nearly half a century ago, it was, with the exception of the Oriental Society, the only national association of American scholars in any branch of philology. It was the thought of the founders that the Association should embrace within its scope the whole field of philological investigation, including, for example — ultimately perhaps in separate sections — (1) Science of language and history of philology; (2) Oriental languages and literatures; (3) Classical languages and literatures; (4) Modern European languages and literatures; (5) English language and literature; (6) American aboriginal languages; (7) Linguistic pedagogy.

The early volumes of the *Transactions* bear witness that this breadth of scope was not merely nominal. Professor Whitney, the first president of the Association, presented before it many of his notable contributions to the science of language and to Sanskrit grammar, and, indeed, continued his active participation in the work of the Association almost to the time of his death. There were papers dealing with the Semitic languages, with Chinese and Japanese, with African languages, with American Indian languages, with Celtic, with Germanic philology, with English and dialects of English; also papers on classical subjects, but these not in any marked preponderance during the early years.

After the first ten years the range of subjects noticeably decreases, and in the course of the eighties the dominance of the classical element becomes more and more pronounced. The Modern Language Association, founded in 1883, drew off the large and increasingly active body of scholars in that field. The Oriental Society came more and more to absorb the interest of our Orientalists. Still other associations were

¹ Presidential Address.

founded, and at the Congress of American Philologists held in Philadelphia in 1894 our Association was only one of seven there represented. In recent years but few Orientalists or modern language scholars have taken part in our meetings. The classical scholars have remained in the parent association, and—have been left in almost exclusive possession of it. They retain the name, and still welcome, I am sure, the scholar in any branch of philology. But to all intents and purposes, this has become an American Classical Association, an association of scholars in the field of classical philology. With the increased specialization and the overwhelming number of detailed problems enlisting the attention of scholars in every branch of philology, this evolution was almost inevitable; and probably no one, either within or without the Association, seriously objects to it.

Yet I raise the question whether this in *all* respects a matter of congratulation. Classical scholars are sometimes charged by their colleagues with a certain aloofness, with indifference to other scholastic and educational interests than their own, even with unwillingness to cooperate. So far as there is a kernel of truth in this charge, the causes vary with local conditions, and it is a subject for individual meditation rather than discussion here. But is the situation in our Association symptomatic of a decline of that interest in the more general problems of language and literature which held the old Association together? Is it true that classical scholars are, as a rule and with notable exceptions, of all philologists the least sympathetic and least familiar with current discussions of the general principles governing the life of language? Are works like those of Paul, Wundt, Jespersen, or Oertel outside their interest or ken?

One of our former presidents in his annual address told of the complaint made by one of his natural science colleagues to the effect that, with all the years devoted to the study of languages, no attention was given to the fundamental facts of language as an institution. I have heard a similar charge from others concerned with problems of education, and we may also recall, in passing, Professor Lounsbury's casual

remark on the "broad and deep level of linguistic ignorance" in England and America. But our speaker recounted his colleague's complaint only to deny emphatically any responsibility on the part of classical teachers. Now I think I understand and appreciate the point of view which was being urged in that address, that it is the business of classical scholars to concern themselves and their pupils with the literature and civilization of the Greek and Roman world. But if we take the position that this is the sole object of the years devoted to the acquisition of the Greek and Latin languages, we invite the argument which runs: "No doubt the first-hand acquaintance with classical literature and life is worth more than that which can be gained through the medium of translations. But the difference is by no means proportionate to the difference of time involved. The price is too high, by any fair estimate of relative values in a scheme of liberal education." Against such an argument, against such a formulation of the balance between effort and result, we must insist that there be thrown on the scales the intrinsic value of the language study itself. And we must see to it that this is an item of decisive weight on the credit side. Our belief in the peculiar disciplinary value of language study we have no occasion to surrender at the dictum of those whose psychology is repudiated by real psychologists. But, more than this, the language study must be made fruitful in all possible directions. Under the fire of the popular outcry against grammar, teachers have become timid; they feel that grammatical instruction must be reduced to the minimum. In connection with a similar situation in European schools, it has been remarked that what is needed is not a reduction of grammatical instruction, but its reform.

The classical teacher has an exceptional opportunity, which he should not neglect or wholly surrender to others, of acquainting the student with some of the leading principles of language as an institution, with the notion of historical development in language, and with the fact that in some of its phases this exhibits a continuity and regularity equal to that of any form of evolution in the biological field, and unmatched

in any other branch of humanistic studies. And more particularly the classical teacher has at hand the most suitable material from which to illustrate in simple fashion the development in the form and meaning of words, in syntax, and in the general structure. We do not fail to urge, in our arguments for the study of Latin, its importance to the understanding and use of English, partly from the training of grammatical sense, but more particularly with reference to the rôle of Latin in the English vocabulary.

But do we make any serious effort to point out and explain the relationship? Or do we merely permit the student to pick up such crumbs as he may, to note a few of the most transparent resemblances? I was interested in a remark made to me recently by an old college classmate, one who is distinctly not of the scholastic world, but who had passed through the required classical training of our day without serious mishap. He said he was strong for the study of Greek; it seemed to him there was so much more Greek than Latin in English. Pleased with any tribute to the value of Greek from such an unexpected source, I had no disposition to cavil at its peculiar cause, or to dispel the illusion, which is readily explained. The Greek element in English is almost wholly transparent, and is particularly conspicuous in the names of modern inventions. Only a few of the words of Greek origin, like *priest* or *anthem*, have passed through a long historical development, disguising their source. In the case of the Latin element, while there is here also a large class of direct and transparent borrowings, the great mass of words, in the centuries of their historical development, have undergone such changes in form and meaning that their relationship is not noticed by the student of Latin, unless his attention is directed to it. Now I would not imply that the Latin student should be involved in the intricacies of Old French phonetics, or follow out the complicated semantic history which belongs to many a word. But in hundreds of cases the situation is such that a brief hint is sufficient and, at the same time, not superfluous. Because such hints are given too rarely, the average student of Latin

remains, to a great degree, unconscious of the relationship between equally familiar Latin and English words. Any one who thinks I am exaggerating the student's unconsciousness of almost self-evident relationships, is invited to make some experiments in high-school or college classes. The query to the student should be not merely whether he can give the English derivative of a certain Latin word, but also whether, even in cases where he can produce it upon request, the relationship has ever occurred to him before.

And what of the value of Latin to the understanding of English grammar? It does not lie merely in the sharpening of the sense for the few distinctions of formal grammar, similar to those of Latin, which have survived in English. In fact, the teaching of English grammar has suffered notoriously in the past from the attempt to force it into a Latin mold. More important is the keener appreciation of values which may result from contrasting two such radically different mechanisms of expression. But is the student assisted to gain some perspective of the relation between the inflectional and analytic types, some notion of the evolution of the latter? Or is he left to infer, perhaps, from the instructor's enthusiastic admiration of the nice discrimination observed in the use of Latin inflectional forms, that English structure is merely an inferior type, the sad result of "degradation"? It was, it is true, a current linguistic doctrine in the middle of the last century that the highly inflected type of structure, built up by well-marked stages in the past millenniums, was the acme of progressive development, and that language, after reaching this summit of attainment, proceeded in the historical period on a swift downward course of decay and degeneration, not deserving the name of growth. Against such a doctrine a work like Jespersen's *Progress in Language* is an antidote, perhaps over-strong for full consumption, but one of which a prophylactic dose might be administered with safety and profit.

Now I am not forgetting that some teachers of Latin are striving to vitalize the linguistic side of the work, especially in the study of vocabulary, by means of etymological group-

ing. It is their testimony that such efforts find as ready response as any of the ingenious devices to excite interest in Roman antiquities. And can there be any question that a study of the vocabulary with its common bearing on Latin and English is of more educational value than the details of Roman bridge-construction? At the same time these teachers sometimes discover that their preparation for guiding such study is in inverse ratio to their enthusiasm. In looking back over their college and university training they may find little or nothing which has any bearing upon it. Often they do not know the best books to consult. And that is my excuse for speaking of this matter here. You have perhaps been wondering if I have not mistaken the audience and the occasion. No, I am not under the delusion that this is a conference on secondary education. Nor am I either competent or inclined to discuss pedagogical problems at length.

But it all comes back to a question of the attitude of classical scholars relative to their proper fields of interest. And the occasion does seem fitting to consider the relation of classical studies to comparative philology and general linguistics. When we noted the dispersal of former constituents of this Association, we did not observe the comparative philologists marching off to establish a new society. Indeed, they are so few in number in this country that such action on their part would be nothing short of suicide, and the picture is too painful to contemplate. Some, whose center of interest is in Sanskrit, have given their chief allegiance to the Oriental Society. But most of us have no home unless here; and there are reasons why, even though this has become essentially a classical association, it is still our most fitting refuge.

It is no secret that comparative philology in its infancy was not welcomed with open arms by classical philology. After Sanskrit had been brought to the notice of the Western world by Sir William Jones, after Friedrich Schlegel had inspired Europe with his glowing picture of the *Language and Wisdom of the Hindus*, after Bopp had laid the solid foundations of the science of comparative philology, after Grimm had established the historical method in Germanic

philology, the far-reaching importance of these new fields of research was cordially recognized by scholars in nearly every branch of learning. To one of such encyclopaedic range as Alexander von Humboldt their opening up seemed one of the greatest achievements of his age. Germanic philology was in close touch with the young comparative philology almost from the outset, and Romance philology and Slavic philology were founded on the same historical principles.

But the proud exclusiveness of the Greeks and Romans had descended to the leaders of classical scholarship. To seek wisdom from the banks of the Ganges, to resort to the Brahmans, or to the Gothic Ulfilas, was abhorrent. "Did the Romans speak Greek or Sanskrit?" was asked in derision. Bopp's misuse of a Latin preposition caused a shudder.

It is only fair to say that the classical scholars of that day were not wholly without excuse for their critical attitude. The new science in the exuberance of youth was doubtless lacking in modesty, it had not learned its proper limitations. The Sanskrit language was believed to reflect in all respects the Indo-European parent speech, the Veda to furnish the most faithful picture of primitive religion, the Upanishads to be the last word in philosophy. Comparative philology was vastly more speculative than at present.

Furthermore, occasional lapses on the part of the comparative philologists in their citations of Greek and Latin were bound to excite excessive prejudice among followers of an older science, long practiced in verbal accuracy. And it is to be remembered that the linguistic side of classical scholarship was then dominated by the grammatical-critical school of G. Hermann, which pursued the study of language, so far as it was not purely descriptive, under the influence of metaphysical speculation, and was blind to the growth of the historical method in all fields of research.

But the historical and comparative method (for they are one and the same in principle) had come to stay, in the study of language as of all human institutions. Not the facts of language only, but their relations and development, and the general principles of linguistic growth, were seen to be im-

portant. And from this point of view the classical languages could not remain divorced from their sister tongues, however inferior these might be in literary prestige — any more than in biology the development of a particular form of animal life can be understood by shutting one's eyes to the history of related types.

The recognition came, as might be expected, not from the grammatical-critical school, but from that one which, as represented by Boeckh, followed up the Wolfian conception of classical philology, leavened it with a stronger infusion of the historical method, and extended it by the recognition that language was itself one of the primary institutions to be studied, and not merely a means of access to the history of other institutions. Thus comparative philology was admitted to association with the classics by the same door which opened to archaeology.

But this association was at first purely formal. In practice comparative philology and classical philology still pursued their ways independently, each virtually ignoring the existence of the other. The gap was bridged for a time by the mediating influence of Georg Curtius. It was mainly owing to his remarkable popularity as a teacher, and to the lucidity of his writings, that Greek grammar and Greek etymology based on the comparative philology of the time became generally familiar to classical scholars, in Germany and elsewhere. Several of our American scholars of a past generation stood in personal relations to Curtius, as pupils or friends. His teachings became so firmly established in textbooks that they served as the gospel for decades after they had ceased to be representative.

In 1876 and the following years certain advances in method and a succession of important discoveries substantially revolutionized comparative philology. Classical scholars who had previously made its acquaintance were unable to recognize it. They were left stranded, and were indisposed to make the effort necessary to readjust themselves. There was reason too in this, during the transitional and somewhat chaotic and contentious period of comparative philology, before the newer

views were sufficiently coördinated and systematized. But that is past history, and there is probably no one here present who has been encumbered with a burden of obsolete knowledge inherited from that earlier period.

What now is the present relation between comparative philology and the classics—in practice? There can be no controversy as to their theoretic relation. The historical study of the Greek and Latin languages is their common denominator, the meeting point of two cross sections of science, of that which embraces the history of all the Indo-European languages, and likewise of that which covers all the manifestations of the Greek and Roman intellect. And it is not a case where the same subject is to be approached by different methods. First-hand acquaintance with the sources of the material, adherence to the historical point of view, some knowledge of the results of comparative philology and of the general principles of linguistic development are all requisite—it matters not whether the investigator is nominally a comparative philologist or a classical scholar. It is eminently a situation demanding mutual understanding and coöperation. Is this achieved? Some classical scholars, as we know, do keep in close touch with the progress of comparative philology and general linguistics. But I fear that the majority regard the work of comparative philologists with suspicion or, if you like, with respectful awe, at any rate as something detached and esoteric.

Now the fact that the university instruction in Greek and Latin historical grammar is commonly intrusted to the comparative philologists is not one of which we who enjoy that privilege should complain. On the contrary, if this work were taken out of our hands, we should have little excuse for further existence, so far as teaching is concerned. No, we want the Greek and Latin grammar. Yet this situation has one unfortunate aspect. It cannot but foster in the classical student's mind the notion that the subject is a thing apart, outside his normal routine; and the classical instructor too, relieved of responsibility, may also lose interest.

What now are the obstacles, real or alleged, in the way

of closer contact and better mutual understanding? Are they greater or less than in former times? Can they be further minimized?

Certain changes in the aims and tendencies of comparative philology are assuredly of a character to obliterate some of the earlier prejudices to which I have previously alluded. In the first place the science has grown much less speculative. Its founder thought he was penetrating the mysteries of primitive speech, and what he himself was wont to regard as his own most significant achievement has proved to be the least permanent, in fact is no longer recognized as a subject of profitable discussion. I refer, of course, to Bopp's attempt to explain in detail the ultimate origin of the Indo-European formative elements (case-endings, tense-signs, etc.). There is still no lack of interest in theories as to the origin of inflection, especially since the principle of adaptation has come to fuller recognition as a serious rival to that of agglutination. The validity of both these principles can be demonstrated from unquestionable examples in the historical period (*e.g.* agglutination by the old stock examples of English adverbial *-ly* or French *-ment*; adaptation by English plural *oxen*, etc.) The formative elements of the parent speech probably originated in both these ways, but the processes were in the main completed long before the period open to reconstruction by historical methods, and their history lies outside the scope of Indo-European comparative philology in any strict sense, and as now pursued by most of its representatives. There are, indeed, a few who have a predilection for these and certain other remoter problems, and deal intimately with what we may term Proto-Indo-European. It is well that there are some scholars who find satisfaction in such so-called glottogonic speculations (for I don't wish to depreciate their value), but these discussions should certainly be put in a separate compartment and distinctly labelled as dangerous to the uninitiated. The availability of a certain comparative Greek grammar is seriously injured by the author's desire to make it a sort of training school for his personal system of Proto-Indo-European vowel-gradation.

The great majority of comparative philologists of the present day prefer to devote their attention to concrete problems belonging to the historical or at least the nearly historical period. It is an age of realism.

Another significant change is the dethronement of Sanskrit from its once dominating rôle in comparative philology, and the relative elevation of Greek. Now I wish not to be misunderstood on this point. Sanskrit will always remain a corner stone of the structure, and some acquaintance with it is not merely essential, as a matter of course, to the professed comparative philologist, but desirable for all whose bent is toward any form of linguistic work. I deplore the fact that so few of our graduate students in the classics now take any Sanskrit, even enough to make the ordinary grammatical forms and constructions seem like familiar realities. For the analysis of Sanskrit forms is so much more transparent than that of the Greek or Latin as to be in itself enlightening. However, it is a delusion to suppose that one necessarily imbibes comparative philology even with an extensive draught of Sanskrit, or that Sanskrit reflects the parent speech so closely as was once thought. In many important respects, Greek is more representative, and there has been a growing tendency to make it the pivot of investigation.

Again, it used to be felt that the comparative philologists were weak in philology in the wider sense of the term, that they lacked the exact and critical knowledge of the sources which was so highly developed in classical philology. Here too there has been a great change. It will always be true that one who attempts to know something of so many languages must content himself with only a superficial acquaintance with some, and no complete mastery of any. He will always be in danger of pitfalls; sometime he will perpetrate a sad blunder, to the uncanny delight of his colleague, the Hellenist or Latinist or Sanskritist, as the case may be. But all the comparative philologists now have certain centers of interest, certain garden spots in their domain, chosen, to suit their individual tastes, for more intensive cultivation. While maintaining the comparative point of view, they also feel the

call of the other philology, they demand the satisfaction of intimate acquaintance with some portion of the material, the zest of collecting facts for themselves and of taking part in the interpretation of linguistic records, the old or the newly discovered. They are constantly carrying on investigations of a detailed character in some one of the special fields, Classical, Germanic, Celtic, Slavic, Iranian, Indic, or, to mention the latest claimant to attention, the "Tocharian" of Eastern Turkestan. Works like Bartholomae's great lexicon of Old Iranian, and others that might be mentioned, written by comparative philologists, are impressive monuments of philological erudition in the widest sense. And what I wish to emphasize further is this: of such special activities on the part of comparative philologists the lion's share now falls, beyond any doubt, to the languages and dialects of Greece and Italy. It may be of interest to recall that of the authors of the three great Indo-European comparative grammars, Bopp was an Orientalist, Schleicher a specialist in the Balto-Slavic languages, while Brugmann was trained in classical philology, began his career as a teacher of classics and as author of a monograph on a problem of Homeric text-criticism, and has always made Greek his chief center of interest. The Nestor of Slavic philology in Germany, Leskien, began his university career with lectures on Homer. The present generation of comparative philologists is very largely made up of men whose favorite special field is Greek or Latin or both, and I need not remind you how much detailed investigation in classical dialectology, epigraphy, syntax, system of proper names, Homeric and Plautine criticism, etc., has come from their hands. So conspicuously is this true that I have heard one of my European colleagues express some uneasiness at the situation, a certain fear that comparative philology was becoming too exclusively devoted to Greek and Latin linguistic history, and was perhaps in danger of losing its identity.

All these recent tendencies in comparative philology which I have mentioned — preference for the more concrete historical problems in contrast to the speculative, more intimate dealing

with the sources, and a marked fondness for the classical field—all these make for closer relations with classical philology. There are some still outstanding obstacles to complete understanding and coöperation, the removal of which depends more upon a corresponding change in the attitude of the classical scholars themselves. I refer to matters of method and technique.

As to the latter, there is no question that the technique of comparative philology has grown steadily more complicated. Besides new technical terms, we use all sorts of curious symbols and formulae which cause the classical scholar to ask whether we are dealing with problems of language or of algebra, and perhaps to suspect that we are perversely intent upon making the science purely esoteric. Now it is quite possible that the young initiate may unduly parade his newly acquired familiarity with these symbols, like a child with a new toy; and it is undoubtedly true that in certain phases of the subject, mainly in what I have called Proto-Indo-European reconstructions, there have been evolved formulae of unprecedented length and complexity, such as to excite the ridicule of comparative philologists themselves. But the fact remains that the symbols in general use present no difficulty that is not purely superficial, and they are employed for good and sufficient reasons of clearness and conciseness. The situation is analogous to the use of technical terms in any science, terms which serve to indicate supposedly familiar doctrines or groups of facts, and avoid the necessity of repeated description. If our symbols seem more offensive, it is simply owing to the prejudice against their algebraic appearance. It is surely the only fair thing in this case, not for us to forego their use, but for classical scholars to familiarize themselves with their significance. For this is no formidable task. In a few hours at most I would undertake to explain to one wholly unfamiliar with the symbols, not only their immediate values, but also the reasons for their use; and what are a few hours in comparison to the ultimate saving in author's time and printer's ink, not to speak of the intrinsic gain in clearness? If the real significance of the symbols and the

reasons for their use were fully appreciated, there would disappear that prejudice against them which I am sure I am not wholly imagining.

Much more important is the matter of principles and method. It is not a question of the historical method in the broadest sense, for that is firmly established in all branches of classical research. But it is felt by comparative philologists that classical scholars are not generally familiar with the principles of linguistic science, that few of them pay any attention to even the most important modern works on this subject. Much of the progress that has been made has come from the study of living speech, and is more familiar to modern language scholars. For I think there is no disputing the fact that, generally speaking, there is a much wider interest in, and more intelligent comprehension of, general linguistic principles among modern language scholars than among classical scholars. I do not, of course, refer to those remoter problems like the origin of language, which the Greek philosophers boldly attacked before they had even a rudimentary knowledge of the nearer problems, but to the principles deduced from a wide observation of what actually happens in language, and from a study of the physical and psychological factors involved.

The physiological mechanism of speech is a subject of which the average educated person is wholly innocent. He never thinks of how he produces the various sounds. The simplest statement of what he does with his tongue or lips, even one that he may instantly recognize as true, is likely to strike him as a novelty. He can tell you the number of letters in the alphabet, but not even approximately the number of sounds in English speech. To quote a remark of Professor Lounsbury's (*English Spelling and Spelling Reform*, p. 78): "The English race, as a race, has no acquaintance whatever with sounds. It has largely lost the phonetic sense. One whole important domain of knowledge . . . has entirely disappeared from recognition." Is it an exaggeration to say that the average classical scholar is equally unobservant in these matters, and is usually content to use the

familiar inherited terms like vowel, nasal, mute, etc., merely as labels convenient for reference? On the other hand, the subject is virtually forced upon the attention of the modern language scholar, and a fair knowledge of it is a part of his normal equipment.

Modern linguistic science demands a greater respect for phonetic regularity: it will not tolerate the notion of *casual* exception, which was once so freely indulged in. I do not wish to discuss here the dogma of the "invariability of the phonetic laws," of which Professor Wheeler, in a paper read before the Pacific branch of our Association in 1900, remarked: "Few herald it in the abstract, few disregard it in the concrete." It is true that few now herald it with a blare of trumpets as the one true gospel of progress, as they did in the eighties. But, admitting the difference of opinion as to the absolute truth of the dogma, or, better, as to its proper formulation, we shall never go back to the laxness of view against which it was a flaming protest. Yet some of the most eminent classical scholars ignore not only the whole discussion, but all that has resulted from it in practice, and retain the old naïve attitude toward phonetic change. One might illustrate this at any length from Blass's edition of Kühner's *Greek Grammar*, or from occasional linguistic remarks of many others.

The conviction that exceptions to the normal phonetic development must have some cause, led, among other things, to an increased recognition of the principle of analogy, although this had long been known under the name of "false analogy," and although Whitney especially had strongly emphasized its vital importance in language. Now classical scholars are familiar with the application of this principle in syntax, as well as in the study of word-meaning or of forms. But I wonder if many have not a lurking suspicion that it is after all an artificial hypothesis, something with which we are inordinately fond of juggling, an easy refuge in time of trouble. They may be aware that psychology makes much of the principle of "associative interference," of which one phase is just this mutual attraction exerted by

speech-forms that are associated in the mind for any reason — likeness of form, function, or content. But the *reality* of the principle is most forcibly impressed upon those who observe its transparent working in modern speech. We need not be told why children and the illiterate say “blowed” and “knowed” for “blew” and “knew,” or that if we all say “snowed” where our ancestors said “snew,” it is from the same impulse. Every modern language is full of such obvious examples, and the mind of man was certainly no less susceptible to this influence in past ages. I need not remind you of President Wheeler’s well-known monograph on *Analogy and the Scope of its Application in Language*, with its convenient juxtaposition of classical and English illustrative material. It would be especially appropriate for classical scholars to observe the striking and instructive illustrations of the principle in the evolution of Modern Greek.

But how few of them pay any attention to the later history of the Greek language! New Testament scholars may recognize the importance of Modern Greek, but the classical student must not confuse his mind or vitiate his taste by contact with a mongrel and degraded form of the language. It simply isn’t done. Now the language spoken by the Greeks to-day is not, of course, ancient Greek, nor anything like so near to it as those who know only the prevailing literary form would conclude. It is, however, nothing more or less than the modern form of Greek, the result of internal development, of the same general character as that which other European languages have undergone in their modern phases. It can be called mongrel and degraded only from that perverse and obsolete standpoint which would regard in that light languages like English, French, or Italian. There are borrowed words, many from late Latin, a few from Slavic or Turkish, but the non-Greek element is not materially greater than the non-Latin element in French or Italian. The changes in the form and meaning of words, the reduction of inflection and adoption of a more analytic structure, is just what we find elsewhere. To the student of ancient Greek with any spark of linguistic interest the observation of

this organic development, the recognition of old friends in a new guise, is as interesting — exciting, I would say — as it is instructive. To be sure, those who view the study of Greek solely as a means to the appreciation of Greek literature of the best period fear that an acquaintance with the modern meanings of Greek words will confuse the student's sense of the old. I have heard this stated as the ground for a positive and authoritative objection to the study of Modern Greek. One might likewise object to calling the student's attention to English derivatives of Latin words as tending to corrupt his feeling for their use in Ciceronian Latin. For my part, I have great faith in the value of contrast, even as a stimulant to memory. And certainly the vitalizing effect of knowing something of Greek as a living tongue cannot be gainsaid.

In the matter of semantics classical scholars have led the way with special studies which are models of minute and discriminating investigation of the history of word meanings. And they have contributed more to the general theory of this subject than to that of any other branch of linguistic history, with the possible exception of syntax. Yet here too it is dangerous to ignore what is going on in the modern language field. For it may happen, and has happened, that some type of semantic development which has been noticed as frequent in Greek is heralded as characteristic of Greek ways of thinking, when, as a matter of fact, it is one that is common to all languages, and may have been most fully discussed in connection with one of the modern languages.

To the relation of the comparative method to syntactical studies I need only allude. For that is a topic which has been pretty thoroughly aired in classical circles, and the very dispute as to the extent to which the comparative method should be emphasized in the study of Greek and Latin syntax shows that this is the phase of comparative grammar which has enlisted the greatest interest among classical scholars, especially in this country. It would be impossible to discuss, in passing, the well-known criticisms of Professor Morris. But I feel sure that he exaggerated his own skepticism of the value of comparative syntax, for the purpose of

emphasizing how much can be gained by an intensive study of the facts from the standpoint of a single language, and that he fully recognizes that some acquaintance with comparative syntax is essential, if only as a reserve force to be held in the background.

Again, the problems relating to dialect and language units, the conflicting tendencies toward differentiation and centralization, the geographical, historical, and social factors underlying the establishment of dialect units and ultimately of a standard national language — all these have been worked out most minutely in the modern field, where observation is not restricted to written records. The result of such observations upon living dialects must not be ignored when we attempt to picture the general linguistic conditions of the Greek and Roman worlds; although conversely the written records, of the Greek dialects especially, contribute more than is perhaps realized by the modern language scholar to the elucidation of general problems of dialect relations. For example, the intimate connection between linguistic and political tendencies is nowhere more conspicuously illustrated than by the contrast between Greece and Rome — Roman centralization *versus* Greek particularism — in language as in politics.

Now, to the charge that classical scholars, as a rule, do not concern themselves with the general problems of linguistic science, you may reply in one of two ways, either "It is not true," or "It is true enough, but what of it?" If I have erred in thinking there is some truth in the charge, I shall gladly accept the humiliation of having tilted at a man of straw. But if the truth of the charge is recognized, and excused on the ground that classical scholars, with their multifold other interests, are leaving to the comparative philologists all the problems of the historical development of the Greek and Latin languages, then I wish to say most emphatically that this is not so, and should not be so. There are countless problems of internal development, which demand first of all an elaborate study of the facts, based upon a critical knowledge of the sources. Some consideration of prehistoric relations, in the light of comparative grammar,

may be required by way of introduction. But such problems, in which the emphasis is mainly or wholly on the internal development, are obviously within the proper sphere of classical philology, and no one thinks for a moment that it is going to resign its concern with them. In spite of the drift toward other lines, there are, and always will be, some classical scholars who are attracted to matters of linguistic history, without being comparative philologists. It is surely a pity if they vitiate their results, or even incidentally mar their exposition, by disregard of the results of comparative philology or the principles of modern linguistic science. It is to insure against the risk of this that mutual understanding and coöperation between classical philology and comparative philology is needed. And where shall one look for support of this coöperation, if not in this Association, with its name and early traditions?

VIII. — 'Η Ὀλολυγών — *What was It?*

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A SURVEY of the wide diversity of views that sundry men at divers times have held as to the identification of that elusive creature known as the Ὀλολυγών reveals that we have in it one of those minor microbial cruces which are often of scarcely less interest than some of the greater ones that have for centuries baffled the wits of men.

In the monumental work of Dean Liddell we find the term defined as "*the croaking of the male frog*," and "an unknown animal, evidently named from its note; some take it for a small owl, others for the thrush, others again for the tree-frog." Still others have, as will appear later, defined it as "the nightingale," "a creature like an earth-worm," "a small bird," "the proper name of a nymph," "urtica," "strix," "a foolish person," "a marsh creature," "a bird like the turtle-dove," etc. All these cannot be right unless the word is far more Protean than its limited occurrence warrants us in assuming.

The object of this paper is to trace the semantic history of the word and to show the essential unity underlying it in all instances. The writer can hardly hope that he has found every instance of the word in the extant literature. He has tried to do this so far as limited facilities allow, and having reduced chaos to order thus far, he is confident that no outlying instance of the word will be found which will not be readily adaptable to the results herein attained.

Ὀλολυγών is in its origin an onomatopoeic name for the call of the male frog in the mating-season. This is shown by Aristotle (*H.A.* IV, 9, 5, p. 536 a 11): καὶ τὴν Ὀλολυγώνα δὲ τὴν γιγνομένην ἐν τῷ ὕδατι οἱ βάτραχοι οἱ ἄρρενες ποιοῦσιν, ὅταν ἀνακαλῶνται τὰς θηλείας πρὸς τὴν ὀχέϊαν. . . . ποιεῖ δὲ τὴν Ὀλολυγώνα, ὅταν ἰσοχειλῆ τὴν κάτω σιαγώνα ποιήσας ἐπὶ τῷ ὕδατι περιτείνῃ τὴν ἄνω. by Plutarch (*de Sol. Anim.* 982 E): οἱ δὲ βάτραχοι περὶ τὰς ὀχέϊας ἀνακλήσεσι χρῶνται, τὴν λεγομένην ποιοῦντες Ὀλολυγώνα φωνήν, ἐρωτικὴν καὶ γαμήλιον

οὔσαν· and by Aelian (*N.A.* ix, 13): ἕγγας ἐρωτικὰς ἀνθρωποὶ φασι εἶναι τινας, μίξεως δὲ ἀφροδισίου σύνθημα ὁ βάτραχος ἀφήσι πρὸς τὴν θήλειαν βοήν τινα, ὡς ἐραστῆς ᾠδὴν τινα κωμαστικὴν, καὶ κέκληται ἤδε ἡ βοή ὀλολυγῶν, ὡς φασι.

Pliny (*N.H.* xi, 172-173) describes how this call is made: *Ranis prima (sc. lingua) cohaeret, intima absoluta a gutture, qua vocem emittunt mares, cum vocantur ololygones. stato id tempore evenit, cientibus ad coitum feminas. tum siquidem inferiore labro demisso ad libramentum aquae modice receptae in fauces palpitante ibi lingua ululatus eliditur.*

Now it is to be noticed that Pliny expressly states that the male frogs are themselves called *ololygones* at this season. Here we have the natural semantic development of the second meaning of the word: the creature gets a name from its call or the sound made by it. Popular speech in such cases soon ignores limitations of season, sex, etc., and applies the name without discrimination to any and all members of the species. Compare *cuckoo*, *bobolink*, *rhoebe*, *katydid*, etc., τέττιξ, ἔποψ, τρυγῶν, κτλ.

It may be in the restricted sense given by Pliny, rather than as the general designation, that we should understand the ὀλολυγῶν of Aelian (*N.A.* vi, 19): τῶν δὲ ἐνύδρων ὀλολυγῶν οὐ σιωπᾶ· and also in Strabo (xvii, 2, 4): ὀστρακίων δὲ κοχλίας μεγάλοι φωνὴν ὀλολυγόσιν ὁμοίαν φθεγγόμενοι. In the latter, ὀλολυγόσιν is an obvious *comparatio compendiaris* for ὀλολυγῶνων φωνῆ.

The frog of Plutarch (*l.c.*) is a prophet of rain: ἄλλως δὲ λαμπρύνουσι τὴν φωνήν, ὑετὸν προσδεχόμενοι. καὶ τοῦτο σημείου ἐν τοῖς βεβαιοτάτοις ἐστίν. Aelian (*N.A.* ix, 13) refers to this: ὅταν δὲ βάτραχοι γεγωνότερον φθέγγονται καὶ τῆς συνηθείας λαμπρότερον, ἐπιδημίαν δηλοῦσιν ὑετοῦ.

So the ὀλολυγῶν sings a song of storm in Theophrastus (*de Sig. Pluv.* iii, 5): καὶ ὀλολυγῶν ἄδουσα μόνῃ ἀκρωρίας χειμέριον. Aratus, too (*Phaen.* 946 ff.), includes among the signs of approaching storm:

ἢ μᾶλλον (δειλαὶ γενεαί, ὕδροισιν ὄνειρα)
αὐτόθεν ἐξ ὕδατος πατέρες βοῶσι γυρίνων,
ἢ τρύζει ὄρθρινὸν ἐρημαίῃ ὀλολυγῶν.

We find the statement of Aratus reflected in Cassianus Bassus (*Geop.* I, 3, 11): καὶ ὀλολυγὼν τρύζουσα ἑωθινὸν καὶ τὰ ὄρνεα εἰς τὰ πρὸς πέλαγος μέρη φεύγοντα χειμῶνα προδηλοῦσι.

With Theophrastus we entered upon debated ground. Thus Salmasius (*Plin. exerc. in Solini Polyhist.* I, p. 942, ed. 1689) says: ὀλολυγὼν autem in prognosticis Arati avis est, non rana. nam apud Theophrastum, ex quo sumpsit Aratus, non aliter potest quam de ave accipi. (Quotes the passage cited above, but reads ἀκρωρείας.) ranae quippe in summis montibus non canunt. With the reading now accepted — ἀκρωρείας — the argument of Salmasius falls. Perhaps it never had its supposed validity, as Gadow (*Camb. Nat. Hist.* VIII, 257) has found the *Rana temporaria* east of the Dovrefjeld at an elevation of 4000 feet, well-nigh the snow-line, and says that it ascends the Italian Alps up to 10,000 feet.

The question of the identity of the ὀλολυγών of Aratus is, however, far older. The ancient translators and scholiasts differ widely here. Cicero (*Progn.* frag. 6) renders verse 948 of Aratus:

Et matutinis exercet acredula cantus;

and in *de Div.* I, 8, 14, he paraphrases it thus:

Saepe etiam pertriste canit de pectore carmen
Et matutinis acredula vocibus instat,
Vocibus instat et adsiduas iacit ore querelas,
Cum primum gelidos rores aurora remittit.

This portion of the text of Aratus is not found in the extant fragments of the version made by Germanicus. Festus Avienus renders the verse:

Si matutinas ululae dant carmine voces. — 377.

Cicero's *acredula* occurs again, in the Auctor *de Philomela* (*Anth. Lat.* 762, 15 f. Riese.):

Vere calente novos componit acredula cantus
Matutinali tempore rurirulans.

Here the *acredula* is mentioned in a long list of *aves*, but so also are the *cicada* (35) and the *apis* (36), not to mention the

mythical *strix* and the *vespertilio* (39), which every one of that day would have denominated a "bird."¹ In accordance with this, Lewis and Short define the word as "the name of an unknown bird; acc. to some, the *thrush* or the *owl*." Isidorus (XII, 7, 37) says of the *luscinia*: Eadem et acrédula, de qua Cicero in Prognosticis. In XII, 6, 59, he has: Agredulae ranae parvae in sicco uel agris morantes; unde et nuncupatae. This is repeated by Placidus (*C.G.L.* v, 7, 21; 46, 1).

DuCange (*Gloss. Med. et Inf. Lat.*) has: "Accredula. Gale-rita, seu Alauda, Gall. *Aloüette*. Adhelemus Episc. Sagiensis in *Mirac. S. Opportunae*, cap. 14: *Vidit aviculam nomine Accredulam quam vulgus vocavit Alaudam*." (He quotes *Gloss. Bitur.*: Aggredula, Rana parva in agro; also Placidus; and adds: "Haec forsán eadem est ac illa *Accredula* de qua Cicero ex his Arati v. 948, etc.," quoting Aratus, Cicero, Pliny, and Auctor *de Phil.*) "Alii pro Monedula, Gall. *Chouette*, Festus Avienus pro Ulula, Constantinus in Supplem. pro Ave quadam, quam Galli vocant *Prêtre de montagne*, nemo praeter Adhelemum pro Alauda."² [*Gloss. cod. reg. 4778: Accredula, luscinia, avis modica de qua Cicero, etc.*]"

Thus the *acredula* as a bird is owl, thrush, daw, nightingale, lark, titmouse,³ pelican, spoonbill, or what-not! Such diversity of opinion may have contributed to the fact that the editors of the *Thesaurus* ignored the bird and defined the word as "genus ranarum, ut videtur." As will appear from the sequel, all the data given by Cicero and the Auctor *de Philomela* fit the frog. Even if this or that bird was some-

¹ See the present writer in *T.A.P.A.* XLIV, 134, n. 4.

² Under *Accredula*, however, he cites the *Acta Sanctorum Ord. S. Benedicti*, saec. 3, tom. 2, p. 237, for the meaning "Alauda, Galerita."

DuCange has another rubric: "**Accredula*, [1° *Avis*, pelicanus, platea; 2° parve rane in agro vel *fico* manentes; 3° piscis dictus *calamita*, Dief.]"

³ I take the *Prêtre de montagne* to be the long-tailed titmouse (*Accredula caudata*). This bird is the *αἰγίθαλλος*, called by Aristotle (*H.A.* VIII, 3, 4, p. 592 b 19) *ἄρηνός*, διὰ τὸ διατρίβειν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι. It is found in the mountains of Switzerland as high as 5000 feet above the sea. As this bird sits, she curls her long tail back over her head which protrudes from a hole in the side of her oval nest. The resemblance of this to the cowl of a monk doubtless suggested the popular name. So the blue titmouse is called "the nun" from her banded head. See Rogers' *Birds of Aristophanes*, p. xxxv, and Newton's *Dict. of Birds*.

times called *acredula* in late or mediaeval times, this proves nothing for the meaning in Cicero.

Of the Aratean scholia, the oldest seems to be that of Theon. This is: *καὶ ἡ ὀλολυγὼν δὲ ὁμοίως (τοῖς βατράχοις) ἐπὶ τούτοις (τοῖς χειμῶσι). χαίρει καὶ κράζει ἡμέρῃα. ἔστι δὲ ζῶον λιμναῖον φιλόψυχ(ρ)ον.* The others, as given by Buhle, are: *ἡ ὀλολυγὼν ὄρνεόν ἐστι, κατὰ τὴν τρυγόνα, τῇ ἐρήμῳ φιληδοῦν. ἐν ἐρήμοις τοίνυν οὔσα, καὶ ὑπὸ ψυχροῖς τόποις, ἀντιλαμβάνεται τοῦ κρύους, καὶ τρύζει τὰ προσόθρῃα. οἱ δὲ φασιν, ὅτι καὶ ὀλολυγὼν ὁμοίως ἐπὶ τοῖς ὕδασι χαίρουσα κράζει ἡμέρῃα, ζῶον οὔσα λιμναῖον καὶ φιλόψυχρον. ἔστιν οὖν ὑπόμηκες, ἀδιάρθρωτον, ὅμοιον γῆς ἐντέρω, πολὺ μέντοι ἰσχυρότερον. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ταῦτα οὐκ οἶδεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ ἄρβενος βατράχου φωνὴν σημεῖον εἶναι φησι πρὸς συνουσίας ὀργῶντος ἐπὶ τὴν θήλειαν.*

Scholiolatory is no longer a fashionable cult. The scholion is too often a mere expression of the more or less obvious, or of the really or supposedly inferrible. So here the bird *κατὰ τὴν τρυγόνα* is only an inference from the fact that Aratus used the verb *τρύζει* which is especially predicable of "the voice of the turtle." Moreover, the scholion of Theon, if it is really his, adds little lustre to his accredited learning. He seems to feel that the *ὀλολυγών* must be distinguished from the *πατέρες γυρίνων* of the preceding verse, and his indeterminate definition is probably an expression of as much of the truth as he knew. At any rate, he puts the *ὀλολυγών* in the particular realm of the frogs; and so, as we shall see, do the other scholia here when rightly understood.

From Vedic times, when the frogs pealed forth their *akkkhala*-chorus⁴ to greet the approach of the monsoon, to the present day,⁵ this creature has been an eminent fore-

⁴ *Rig Veda*, vii, 103.

⁵ Cf. Gibson in *Ency. Brit.* (ix, 797): "Frogs have from remote times been regarded as weather-prophets, and at the present day, in some parts of Germany, the European Tree-frog (*Hyla arborea*) is used as a barometer."

R. Chandler (*Travels in Asia Minor and in Greece*, II, 324): "The chirping or silence of the *Sporadaka*, or Tree-frog, is prognostic of change in the weather." This was in Elis.

Buffon (*Hist. nat. des quad. ovip. et des serp.* [Paris, 1783], I, 510) suggests

caster of storm. As such we find it mentioned by Cicero (*de Div.* 1, 9, 15): Quis est qui ranunculos hoc videre suspicari possit? sed inest in bestiis et ranunculis natura quaedam significans aliquid, per se ipsa satis certa, cognitioni autem hominum obscurior. Again, in a letter to Atticus (xv, 16 b), he writes: Equidem etiam pluvias metuo, si Prognostica nostra vera sunt, ranae enim *ῥητορεύουσιν*. Pliny (*N.H.* xviii, 361) remarks: Praesagiunt et animalia . . . tempestatis signa sunt. ranae quoque ultra solitum vocales. So the Pseudo-Plato (*Erigi.* 5) styles the frog τὸν Νυμφῶν θεράποντα φιλόμβριον. Theon (Schol. ad Arat. 946-947) suggests a reason: σημείον δὲ χειμῶνος αἱ φωναὶ τῶν βατράχων, ἐπειδὴ προαισθάνονται μὲν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὕδατος μεταλλασσομένου εἰς ψυχρότητα.

We have seen that this attribute of the frog was remarked both by Plutarch and Aelian in the closest contextual relation to the *ὄλολυγών*. This is the special attribute of the *ὄλολυγών* in each of the three passages now under consideration. If it can be shown that all the other attributes and predicates of the *ὄλολυγών* in these passages apply to the frog, the identity of the *ὄλολυγών* of Theophrastus, Aratus, and Bassus can no longer be a subject of doubt.

The first of these is the *ἄδουσα* of Theophrastus. It "sings." This is confirmed by Theophrastus himself (*op. cit.* 1, 15): καὶ βάτραχοι μᾶλλον ἄδοντες σημαίνουσιν ὕδωρ . . . ἐπι δὲ καὶ χλωρὸς βάτραχος ἐπὶ δένδρου ἄδων ὕδωρ σημαίνει. Also by Aristotle (*de Mirab. Ausc.* 70): φασὶ δὲ καὶ

that there is some connection, either of pain or pleasure, between frogs and humidity, and that this is why they croak louder before rain and thereby foretell the approach of damp or rainy weather.

Gadow (*op. cit.* 193) refers to the reputation of *Hyla arborea* as a good weather-prophet and states that "the little creature, provided it is a male, often sounds its voice on the approach of a shower or when there is a thunderstorm in the air." He quotes the German rhyme:

"Wenn die Laubfrösche knarren
Magst du auf Regen harren."

A writer in *Farm and Fireside*, a few years ago, suggested that "variations in barometric pressure and the changes in the electrical conditions of the atmosphere" cause an uneasiness in the frogs.

ἐν Σερίφῳ τοὺς βατράχους οὐκ ἄδειν· ἐὰν δὲ εἰς ἄλλον τόπον μετενεχθῶσιν, ἄδουσιν. Compare also Aristophanes (*Ran.*):

εὐγῆρυν ἐμὰν αἰοιδάν . . . — 213

ὦ φιλωδὸν γένος, παύσασθε. — 240-241

χαίροντες ψῆς . . . — 244.

In Vergil, too (*Georg.* 1, 378), the frog sings:

Et veterem in limo ranae cecinere querelam.⁶

Symphosius (*Anth. Lat.* 286, 74 Riese) makes him say:

Cumque canam semper, nullus mea carmina laudat.

Gadow (*op. cit.* 268) says of the *Rana esculenta*: "The males are great musicians, singing for sheer enjoyment not only during the pairing time, but throughout the months of June and July."

The ὀλολυγών of Theophrastus is a solitary songster (ἄδουσα μόνη). Aratus calls it ἐρημαία. As adult frogs in general, whether water, land, or tree frogs, after the annual matrimonial season, live a monastic life, these adjectives are not inapposite. The frog soloist is not a *rara avis*.

Again, the ὀλολυγών of Theophrastus sings ἀκρωρίας, at the very tip of the day. Aratus represents this by ὀρθρινόν, and Bassus by ἑωθινόν. This reminds us of Athena's complaint against the frogs in the *Batrachomyomachia* (190 ff.):

ὔπνου δενομένην οὐκ εἶσαν θορυβοῦντες
οὐδ' ὀλίγον καταμῦσαι· ἐγὼ δ' αὔπνος κατεκείμην
τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀλγούσα, ἕως ἐβόησεν ἀλέκτωρ.

As the day of the Plutonian realms is our night, we may quote also from the frog chorus of Aristophanes:

ἀλλὰ μὴν κεκραξόμεσθ' ἄ γ'
ἢ φάρυξ ὅποσον ἂν ἡμῶν
χανδάνη δι' ἡμέρας. — 258 ff.

Gadow (*l.c.*) speaks of the concert "beginning at sunset and continuing until the early dawn." Of the many other passages that might be quoted, the most picturesque is that in Thoreau's *Walden* (chapter on Sounds), concluding thus:

⁶ Note that we have here both the *canit* and the *querela* of Cicero's *acredula*.

"And the bowl goes round again and again until the sun disperses the morning mist, and only the patriarch is not under the pond, but vainly bellowing *troonk* from time to time and pausing for a reply."

In ancient Egypt, too, we find that Hiquit, the frog-goddess, was one of the midwives who was present at the birth of the Sun every morning.⁷

In Aratus and in the *Geoponica* we find the verb *τρύζω* is predicated of the *όλολυγών*. Pollux (v, 89), under the rubric *'Ορνέων φωναί*, says: *εἴποις δ' ἂν . . . τρυγόνας τρύζειν.*" So far as the lexica show, this verb is used, except in metaphor, only of the *τρυγών* and the *όλολυγών*. Whether there is any degree of similarity in nature to warrant this or not, there is in the literature, at least, ample justification for the usage. Thus we find (*Iliad*, ix, 311) that at the time that the embassy was sent by Agamemnon to win Achilles back to the battle, after Odysseus has used his power of persuasion in a long speech of 82 verses, Achilles, in deprecating the like efforts that he naturally expects to follow from other members of the embassy, says,

ὡς μή μοι τρύζητε παρήμενοι ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος.

Homer, consummate master of simile and metaphor drawn from the world of nature, has here a most striking metaphor to depict the effort made in these long coaxing speeches, a sort of billing and cooing, as it were, of the recalcitrant hero.

The length of this speech and that of the longer one (172 verses) of Phoenix that follows amply warrant the explanation of Eustathius (*ἔστι δὲ τρύζειν τὸ πολυλογεῖν ἢ πολυφωνεῖν*) and his reference to the proverbial *τρυγόνος λαλίστερος*.⁸ This ceaselessness appears also in the metaphor applied to those chatterboxes, Gorgo and Praxinoë, in Theocritus (15, 88 f.):

*πάνσασθ' ὦ δύστανοι, ἀνάνυτα κωτίλλοισαι
τρυγόνες.*

⁷ Maspero, *Hist. of Egypt*, Grolier Society, II, 213, n. 3.

⁸ Cf. Aelian (*N.A.* XII, 10): *τρυγόνος λαλίστερον ἔλεγον· ἡ γὰρ τοι τρυγόνων καὶ διὰ τοῦ στόματος μὲν ἀπαύστως φθέγγεται, ἥδη δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν κατόπιον μερῶν ὡς φασιν πᾶμπλειστα.*

The ceaseless, coaxing call of the *τρυγών* which has given us these metaphors by Homer and Theocritus (one of his "not infrequent reminiscences of Homeric phrase"?) eminently fits it for a third metaphor, the incessant coaxation of the *ὄλολυγών*. This is, I believe, the true explanation of another passage in Theocritus (7, 138 ff.):

τοὶ δὲ ποτὶ σκιαραῖς ὀροδαμνίσιν αἰθαλίωνες
τέττιγες λαλαγεῖντες ἔχον πόνον· ἅ δ' ὄλολυγών
τηλόθεν ἐν πυκιναῖσι βάτων τρύζεσκεν ἀκάνθαις.

Homer, then, uses the verb *τρύζω* of the endless talk of men; Theocritus, the noun *τρυγόνες* of the ceaselessly chattering women, and the inceptive form of the verb of the incessant clamor of the frog. In the last we may have another "trace of connection between Theocritus and Aratus." We know that Bassus drew from Aratus here. It is, then, unnecessary to seek any actual physical resemblance of the notes of the *ὄλολυγών* and of the *τρυγών*.⁹ The connotation of ceaseless coaxing in its *ἐρωτικὴν καὶ γαμήλιον ᾠδὴν* is as appropriate to the one as to the other.

Thus every attribute and every predicate of the *ὄλολυγών* of Theophrastus, Aratus, and Bassus holds good for the frog. A careful study shows that this is not true of any other interpretation ever given to either this word or to the *acredula* of Cicero.

We may arrive at another convincing demonstration of this identity in an entirely different way, by the "parallel column." Thus we have these signs of storm:

Theophrastus (*op. cit.* I, 15 f.)

ὄρνιθες λουόμενοι,
φρήνη λοιομένη,
βάτραχοι μᾶλλον ἄδοντες,
σαλαμάνδρα φαινομένη,

Aratus (*l. c.*)

ὄρνιθες κλύζονται,

μᾶλλον πατέρες βοόωσι γυρίνων,

⁹ It would seem that a fair argument lies for this, if one wants such. A comparison of the natural notes indicated by the two verbs *τρίζω* and *τρύζω* and their respective compounds, so far as shown by Liddell and Scott and by Stephanus, warrants the distinction in Liddell and Scott that the two differ only in that the latter refers to *duller* sounds, the former to *sharper, shriller* sounds, and the consequent appositeness of *τρύζω* to the notes of the *τρυγών* and the *ὄλολυγών*. To this extent, at least, there is resemblance.

<p>χλωρός βάτραχος ἐπὶ δένδρου ἄδων, χελιδόνες τῇ γαστρὶ τύπτουσαι τὰς λίμνας, βοῦς . . . ὄπλῃν λείξας, κορώνη ἐπὶ πέτρας . . . ἦν κῦ- μα κατακλύζει . . . καὶ κολυμ- βῶσα πολλάκις περιπετομένη.</p>	<p>τρύζει ὄρθρινὸν ἐρημαίῃ ὄλολυ- γῶν, χελιδόνες . . . λίμνῃ πέρι γαστέρα τύπτουσαι, <hr/>κορώνη . . . παρ' ἡϊόνι προ- χούσῃ . . . πᾶσα κολυμβῆ ἧ πολλῇ στρέφεται.</p>
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So closely does Aratus adhere to the thought, if not to the very words, of Theophrastus, in every instance except that of the *χλωρός βάτραχος*. For it he has taken the *ὄλολυγῶν* of III, 5, and has turned the language of Theophrastus into a synonymous hexameter. Thus Aratus identifies the *ὄλολυγῶν* with the *χλωρός βάτραχος ἐπὶ δένδρου ἄδων*. Bassus follows Aratus. We may, then, safely conclude that the *ὄλολυγῶν* of these writers is the frog.

So also in the case of Theocritus the frog satisfies every condition. It is midday in midsummer (7, 3; 21 f.; 31 ff.; 143 ff.) and the *ὄλολυγῶν* is heard *τηλόθεν ἐν βάτοις*. Gadwo (192 f.) says: "The European tree-frog spends most of its time in the summer, after the pairing is over, in trees. . . . The voice is a sharp and rapidly repeated note. . . . It is uttered at any time of the day, more frequently at dusk, and of course chiefly during the pairing season." The writer of the article "Rana" in Rees's *Cyclopaedia* says that the tree-frog inhabits woods during the summer months and that its note may be heard a vast distance, and that during its residence among the trees it is especially noisy on the approach of rain. Buffon (*op. cit.* 555) says: Leurs clameurs sont si bruyantes qu'on les prendroit de loin pour une meute de chiens qui aboient, & que, dans des nuits tranquilles, leurs coassemens réunis sont quelquefois parvenus jusqu'à plus d'une lieue, surtout lorsque la pluie étoit prête à tomber. Pliny (*N. H.* xxxii, 122) says of it: Quidam ex ea rana, quam Graeci calamiten vocant, quoniam inter harundines fruticesque vivat, minima omnium et viridissima . . . These are sufficient to show that the tree-frog meets all the conditions of the text of Theocritus.

Confirmation is found in the scholia on Theocritus. One of the oldest and best runs: ὀλολυγών· ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀλολύζειν· ὁ γὰρ Ἀριστοφάνης¹⁰ φησὶν ὅτι πάνυ ὀλολύζει τὸ ζῷον μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς ἐλώδεσι τόποις καὶ κατὰ νύκτα.¹¹ Other *scholia vetera* have: εἶδος ὄρνέου· οἱ δὲ ζῷον τι βορβοράδεσι τόποις μάλιστα διάγον, ἢ ἀηδών. The ζῷον of both is evidently the frog.¹² The *scholia recentiora* have: ἢ ἀηδών ἢ τὸν Ἴτυν ὀλοφυρομένη.

Let us pause here to lay the ghost of this persistent "bird." In Theocritus, Aelian, Aratus, and Bassus, the ὀλολυγών is mentioned in close contextual relation with various birds, hence the easy inference that it, too, was a bird. The next step would be to attempt to identify the bird. As we have seen, the verb τρύζω would suggest the Aratean scholion, ὄρνεον κατὰ τὴν τρυγώνα. The very name ὀλολυγών would suggest the cognate ὀλολυγή, defined by Hesychius as ποιά φωνὴ λυπηρά, ὀδύνην καρδίας ἀσήμω τινὶ φθόγγω παριστώσα and by Zonaras as φωνὴ γυναικῶν, ἣν ποιοῦνται ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς εὐχόμεναι. ἢ ἀπλῶς ὁ μετὰ ἤχου κλαυθμὸς καὶ θρήνος. Hence the inference of the mourning bird, which to a Hellene might easily suggest the ἀηδών mourning the lost Itys, and to a Latin, as Avienus, the lugubrious owl. Then, also, as well as now, there may have been misapprehension on the part of some as to the real nature of the creature that sang from the trees.¹³ Honest errors may thus have been made. Again, some jest, some ancient euphuistic pleasantry, akin to that by which the *Rana esculenta* has been dubbed "the Whadon organ," "the Dutch nightingale," "the Cambridge nightingale," etc., may have contributed to the error.

This inference as to its avian nature was not, however, as

¹⁰ Other *scholl. vet.* read Ἀριστοτέλης.

¹¹ See Ziegler, *Schol. in Theocr.* The other scholia are quoted from the edition of Ahrens.

¹² Cf. *Batrach.* 12, λιμνοχαρῆς· 17, εἰμι δ' ἐγὼ βασιλεὺς Φυσίγναθος ὅς κατὰ λιμνὴν τιμῶμαι and 277, ἔκτεινεν ἀμύμονα βορβοροκόλτην.

¹³ Since beginning this study I have found a goodly number of intelligent persons that supposed that the notes made by a tree-frog were made by some kind of bird. Several have stated that it was the "rain-crow," and some that knew it was the frog stated that the frog was called "rain-crow" in their communities, while others give this name to the cuckoo. One on hearing the croaking of a bullfrog was eager to see "what kind of bird was making such a peculiar noise."

well warranted as it might seem at first. A more careful examination of the passages might have caused *πολλὰς φροντίδων ἐπιστάσεις*. Thus in Theocritus we find in immediate context *τέττιγες, ὄλολυγών, κόρυδοι, ἀκανθίδες, τρυγών,* and *μέλισσαι*. In Aelian we have likewise *χελιδόνες, κόσσυφοι, τέττιγες, κίττα, ἀκρίς, πάρνοψ, τρωξάλλίς, ἀλκύνες, ψιττακοί,* and *ὄλολυγών*. In Aratus we have *χελιδόνες, πατέρες γυρίνων, ὄλολυγών,* and *κορώνη*. In Bassus *λύκος* and *κύνες* precede *ὄλολυγών* and *ὄρνεα* follows. Thus no list is confined to birds, and so far as the lists are concerned there is no more reason to infer that the *ὄλολυγών* is a bird than there is to infer that the *τέττιξ*, or the *ἀκρίς*, or the *μέλισσα* is a bird. The *πατέρες γυρίνων* are naturally frogs. There is no good reason to doubt that the *ὄλολυγών* is in all these writers a frog. The Greeks were not wont to distinguish by name one kind of frog from another. Nor are we in all instances. We are not compelled to assume that the *ὄλολυγών* is the same kind of frog in each of the authors quoted, nor are we compelled to assign any particular kind of frog to any one of the passages. Even in Theocritus water is close at hand (136 f.) and a water-frog might be possible. Of particular frogs, however, the *Hyla arborea* seems best to meet the details in each instance.

We find an echo of Theocritus in an erotic epigram of Agathias (*Anth. Pal.* v, 291, 3 ff.):

ἐνθάδε δὲ κλάζουσιν ὑπὸ σκιερᾶς κνιπαρίσσοις
 ὄρνιθες δροσερῶν μητέρες ὄρταλίχων,
 καὶ λιγυρὸν βομβεῦσιν ἀκανθίδες· ἢ δ' ὄλολυγών
 τρύζει, τρηχαλέαις ἐνδιάουσα βάτοις.

There is nothing new here relative to the *ὄλολυγών*.

One of the scholia of Aratus still awaits examination. It is that which reads thus: *ἔστιν οὖν ὑπόμηκες, ἀδιάρθρωτον, ὅμοιον γῆς ἐντέρῳ, πολὺ μέντοι ἰσχνότερον*. The definition of Hesychius is similar and briefer: *ὄλολυγών· ζώφιον γινόμενον ἐν ὕδασι ὅμοιον ἐντέρῳ*. Here we have a roughly accurate description of the young *γύρινος* or tadpole with its "elongated

and laterally compressed tail." Gadow (193) says that the tadpole of the *Hyla arborea* reaches a length of two inches owing to its long tail, which is nearly three times as long as its body. Similar proportions are shown to hold for the *Rana esculenta*, *Rana agilis*, and *Rana Graeca*, the common water and grass frogs of Greece. They are longish, without signs of articulation at first any more than the earthworm, than which the young tadpoles are thinner and like which their thin little tails wriggle. The tadpoles of all kinds of frogs live in the water. The description is not strikingly vivid, but such as it is, every detail holds true.

Thus far, then, the term Ὀλολυγών has been generalized to apply to various kinds and to every age.

Eubulus, in his *Στεφανοπόλιδες* (fr. 104, Kock, II, 199 f.), makes mention of the Ὀλολυγών:

ὦ μάκαρ ἦτις ἔχουσ' ἐν δωματίῳ
 . . . στρούθιον ἀεροφόρητον
 λεπτότατον περὶ σῶμα συνίλλεται τε
 ἠδυνότατον περὶ νυμφίων εὐτριχα
 κισσὸς ὅπως καλάμῳ περιφέεται
 αὐξόμενος ἕαρος Ὀλολυγόνος
 ἔρωτι κατατετηκώς.

Here Kock takes Ὀλολυγών to signify *luscinia*: "Hedera arborem amplectitur, ut lusciniā in eius ramis canentem audiat." He quotes Meineke: "Ad incognitam nobis fabulam spectare videntur de Cisso (Nonn. XII, 97, 188; Paus. I, 31) Ololygonis nymphae amore tabescente." He cites also Lobeck (*Rhemat.* 324), who has: "Ὀλολυγών, quod modo ululatum (Ὀλολυγήν), modo ululam significat."

"Nightingale," unknown "nymph," and "owl," are mere indefensible guesses. It is far better to take Ὀλολυγόνος as a subjective genitive and understand an allusion to the amatory habits of the frog in the springtime, which makes it the type *κατ' ἐξοχήν* of the Aphrodisian.¹⁴ The simile is due to facts

¹⁴ See the present writer in *T.A.P.A.* XLV, 54 f. To n. 20 there (*Rana esculenta*), add Buffon (*op. cit.* 515 f.): Qu'il faut employer un peu de force pour les séparer, & qu'on n'y parvient pas en arrachant les pieds de derrière du mâle. M. l'Abbé Spallanzani a même écrit qu'ayant coupé la tête à un mâle qui étoit

of everyday observation in the vineyards and *καλαμοκόπια* of the viniculturist: as the ivy in its growth twines and clings to the reed (the smooth surface of which its claspers cannot penetrate) and languishes (because it both lacks the nutriment which it was supposed to derive in large measure from the tree embraced and must "spread its branches horizontally in full daylight" before it can bear flowers and fruit, its natural function) with the ardor of the *όλολυγών* which in the spring-time clings to its mate (for days without food, striving also to discharge its function of nature).¹⁵ A commentary on *έρωτι κατατετηκώς* may then be found in the words of Buffon (556): "Mais alors il arrive souvent que le mâle (*Hyla arborea*) lassé, & peut-être épuisé de fatigue, perdant son amour avec ses desirs, abandonne sa femelle, qui ne pond plus que des œufs stériles."

There is mention of the *όλολυγών* also in a fragment of the *Λύρκος* of Nicaenetus, preserved by Parthenius (*Έρωτικά παθήματα*, xi, 2):

αὐτὴ δὲ γνωτὴ, ὄλολυγόνος οἶκτον ἔχουσα
 Βυβλὶς ἀποπρὸ Πυλῶν Καίνου ὠδύρατο νόστον.

Here, too, we are in the domain of Aphrodite. We may consider that the *όλολυγόνος οἶκτος* consists in the long-continued emission of his "multitudinous croakings" prompted by the mating instinct, and see a comparison therewith of the cries of the lovelorn Byblis wailing for her brother's return; or better, we may take *όλολυγών* here as a metaphor

accouplé, cet animal ne cessa pas de féconder pendant quelque tems les œufs de sa femelle, & ne mourut qu'au bout de quatre heures. Quelque mouvement que fasse la femelle, le mâle la retient avec ses pattes, & ne la laisse pas échapper, même quand elle sort de l'eau; ils nagent ainsi accouplés pendant un nombre de jours d'autant plus grand, que la chaleur de l'atmosphère est moindre, & ils ne se quittent point avant que la femelle ait pondu ses œufs.

¹⁵ The detailed exposition, based upon a study of *κισσός* and *κάλαμος*, is too long for a note. Among its sources are: Arist. *H. A.* v, 30; Theophr. *H. P.* III, 18, 8; Id. *C. P.* I, 4, 3; Pliny, *N. H.* xvi, 144. 151. 152; Schol. ad Ar. *Vesp.* 1291; Nonnus, XII, 97 ff., 188 ff.; *Geop.* II, 6, 31. III, 6, 6. v, 22, 2. v, 27. v, 29, 6. v, 53. XI, 29. XIII, 16, 4; Varro, *R. R.* I, 8; Eudocia, *Violarium*, 272, 121; S. Hibberd, *The Ivy, passim*; *Ency. Brit.*⁹. XIII, 527; H. Repton, *Trans. Linn. Soc.* xi, 27 ff.; Johnson's *Dict.*, ed. 1775, s. v. *Ivy*; Shakespeare, *Temp.* I, 2, 102 ff., *Com. Err.* II, 2, 176 ff.

for one distraught with the hot passion of love, a metaphor easily derived from the amatory nature and habits of the frog. With this we may compare Ovid (*Met.* IX, 641 ff.):

Utque tuo motae, proles Semeleia, thyrsos
 Ismariae celebrant repetita triennia bacchae,
 Byblida non aliter latos ululasse per agros
 Busasides videre nurus.

As one crazed by Bacchus in the simile, distraught by Aphrodite in the metaphor, Byblis is the main sufferer even in those versions that assign the guilt to Kaunos.¹⁶

We find the same metaphor, now grown strongly pejorative, used to stigmatize the Aphrodisian *strix*, the bird-woman of the licentious orgies of the Sabat with its *concupitus daemounum*, in a Pseudo-Philoxenian gloss, *strix ὀλολυγών* (*C.G.L.* II, 189, 29).

If the gloss, *ololygon urtica*, in the *Hermeneumata Amponiana* (*C.G.L.* III, 89, 60), is correct, it would seem to be used as a metaphor for the prurient passion of lust (cf. Juv. II, 168).¹⁷ The very name, erotic in connotation from its origin, is especially appropriate to erotic metaphors, just as the Egyptians in their ideographs made the tadpole a symbol for "hundreds of thousands."

Another characteristic of the frog gave extension to the meaning of ὀλολυγών in another direction. This is its crass stupidity. Hesychius added to his definition of ὀλολυγών, quoted in the foregoing, these words: *καὶ τοὺς εὐήθεις δὲ οὕτως ἔλεγον*. So we find Plato (*Theaet.* 161 D) saying of Protagoras: *ὁ δ' ἄρα ἐτύγχανεν ὧν εἰς φρόνησιν οὐδὲν βελτίων*

¹⁶ The unholy passion of brother and sister was, perhaps, mutual in the original story. Such an inference seems warranted from the account in Nicaenetus, Konon, 2 (*Myth. Gr.* p. 125 Westermann) and the Schol. ad Theocr. 7, 115, in which the guilt, as suggested also by the paroemiatic *Καύνιος ἔρω*, is expressly attributed to Kaunos, but the context shows that the passion was reciprocated by her.

¹⁷ Hesychius (*s.v.* ὀλολυγή) has a second meaning for this word: *καὶ ἄνθος τι παρὰ λίμναις γινόμενον*. I have found nothing more of this plant. If it was one of the *Urticaceae*, the *ololygon* of this gloss may be an error for the cognate name. Or, if the gloss is correct, such names as frog-cheese, frog-flower, frog-foot, frog-lily, frog-plant, frog-stool, frog-wort, etc., might suggest a reason for the name.

βατράχου γυρίνου, μὴ ὅτι ἄλλου του ἀνθρώπου. Εὐήθεια is an attribute especially ascribed to the frog in *Fable* 76 of Aesop, entitled Βάτραχοι αἰτούντες βασιλέα, and well illustrated in *Fables* 74, 75, 77, 78, and 298.¹⁸ It was the possession of this quality in a marked degree that led to the metamorphosis by Leto of the rude, unfeeling Lycian rustics into frogs, as told by Menecrates and Nicander (see Antoninus Liberalis, 35; and Ovid, *Met.* VI, 331-381).

Not only in fable and myth is there ample warrant for such apophthegmatic use of the term, but also in the characteristics of the real frog. Thus Gadow (193) says: "Tree-frogs are not very intelligent." Again (253) he says of the *Rana temporaria*, or grass-frog, that "when caught they are at first very impetuous, committing acts of astonishing stupidity without any apparent sense or appreciation of distance or height. The captive will not only jump off the table, whilst a toad stops at the edge and looks carefully down, but without hesitation he jumps out of the window, regardless of height above the ground. This is due to sheer fright; he loses his head." Then (270) we find that "recently caught water-frogs are wild beyond description, much more so than grass-frogs." It was probably the observation of such characteristics that led to this metaphoric usage rather than an ethical comment upon the amatory habits of the frog.

An equation of the words of Hesychius (see pp. 96 and 99) and of Plato will establish our interpretation of the definition given by the former. Comparison with fable and myth suggests that the comment of Plato expresses the acme of disparagement. If the frog is εὐήθης, much more so should we expect the γυρίνος to be.

A few glosses remain. Of these the Pseudo-Cyrrilan, ολολυγων *ulula* (*C.G.L.* II, 382, 30), and that of the *Herm. Montepessulana*, ολλυγων (*sic*) *ululat* (*C.G.L.* III, 305, 33), have been shown by the present writer (*T.A.P.A.* XLV, 53 f., n. 18) to be for an original *ululatus*. Here, then, we have the original meaning of the word. In the *Herm. cod. Vat.*

¹⁸ So also in *Pañcatantra* (IV, 1) and *Hitopadeśa* (IV, 12) we have stories illustrative of this.

reg. *Christinae* (C.G.L. III, 571, 29) we have *olilicon oluccus*. The collection in which this gloss is found belongs to the *Herm. medicobotanica vetustiora*, and its subject is the ten species of medicaments, of which the first two are *animalia terrena et marina*. There are not a half dozen birds in the glossary and none of these few are birds with which the ὀλολυγών has ever been conjecturally identified. The frog, however, had its place in the ancient *materia medica*. Pliny (*N.H.* xxxii, 70, 122, and 139) gives three remedial uses of the tree-frog, of which one is an aphrodisiac. Nicander (*Alex.* 563 ff.) esteems the frog very highly:

καί τε σύ γ' ἦ γερύνων λαιδροῦς δαμάσαιο τοκῆς,
 ἄμμιγα δὲ ρίζας ἡρυγγίδας, ἦ καὶ ἐπαρκές
 θάλπε βαλῶν χύτρω σκαμμώνιον· οἷσι κορέσκοις
 ἀνέρα, καὶ θανάτοιου πέλας βεβαῶτα σαώσεις

Compare also his *Θηριακά*, 620 ff. In the light of this evidence we can hardly doubt the identity of the *olilicon* of our gloss.

The *Herm. Leidensia* (C.G.L. III, 17, 55) have *ολολυγων (sic) uluccus*; the *Herm. Amploniana* (C.G.L. III, 89, 60), *ολολυγων (sic) uluccus*; the *Herm. Vaticana* (C.G.L. III, 435, 66), *ολολυγος (sic) ululugus*. As these three are under the rubric *περιορνεων*; and as Servius, *ad Ecl.* viii, 55, says: *ululae aves ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀλολύζειν*, id est, a fletu nominatae, quas vulgus *alucos* (var. lect. *ulucos*) vocant; and as Festus,¹⁹ in a scholion to Isidorus, xii, 7, 38, preserved in a Ms. numbered A 18 of the Vallicelli Library, Rome, has: *ulula nos olocum uocamus*; and as the cognate Skt. *úlukas*, Lat. *ulula*, O.H.G. *ūwila*, O.N. *ugla*, A.S. *ūle* all mean "owl"; and as such evidence seems to have been sufficient to cause Walde (*Lat. etym. Wörterb.*) to define *ulucus* as "Kauz, Eule" — it might seem that we must here accept the bird and identify it with the owl.

The mere fact, however, that in all other instances we have found that the ὀλολυγών is either a denizen of the frog world or a metaphor from it and that opposing statements are rather palpably false when carefully scrutinized, will lead us to examine this last evidence for the bird with some care.

¹⁹ See *Class. Quart.* x, III.

Even a casual scrutiny of the glossaria containing this evidence will suggest their fallibility and untrustworthiness, and a more careful inspection will reveal that they are fairly bristling with errors of various kinds, errors of orthography and form, errors of identification, errors of classification, etc.

Thus in the *Leidensia*, in the same list as our gloss, we find :

- 17, 40, *περδιξ* = accipter (accipiter)
 42, *κωλνος* (*κολοιός*) = graulus (graculus)
 44, *βασιλισκος* = gregnariolus (regaliolus)
 45, *κανθαρος* = zimzario (?)
 59, *αηδων* = querquedula
 18, 3, *κοριδαλλος* = parrumla (parrula)
 18, 5-16, *μνια, μελισσα, σφηξ, ψυχη, ακρις, οιστρος, κωνοψ, κανθαρος, σιλφη, κορις, φερειρ, ψυλλος.*

To pass by the errors of form, what are we to think of the trustworthiness of a list that identifies the partridge with a hawk, the nightingale with a duck, the lark with a titmouse, and that includes among its birds a dozen insects, and that too such wingless and songless ones as the bedbug, flea, and louse? The insects come here at the end of the list but under the rubric *περὶ ὀρνέων*. In the *Amploniana* and *Vaticana*, however, the same insects are incorporated into the very midst of the list of "birds."

Then in the *Amploniana* we find such typical errors of identification as these :

- 89, 56, *cycnos* (swan) = ciconos (stork)
 70, *basiliscus* (wren) = passer (sparrow)
 71, *spinnus* (chaffinch) = regaliolus (wren)
 90, 9, *coridallus* (lark) = bubo (owl).

The *Vaticana* are so replete with corrupted and late forms that identification is difficult and must in many instances be made largely by the Latin equivalents given. A few specimens will suffice :

- 435, 44, *απαγη* (*ἀτταγήν*) = attagena
 46, *κατανικτινος* (? + *ικτίνος*) = miluus
 60, *εγυγαλλος* (*αιγιθαλλος*) = parra.

Here, too, we have such demonstrable errors of identification as these:

- 435, 55, *κουκουβλος* (κούκουφος) hoopoe = cuculus (cuckoo)
 57, *κραταλλος* (όνοκράταλος) pelican = ardea (heron).

Such errors, of which there are many in each of these glossaria, show that we can safely follow them only when they state a known or demonstrable identity.

Then as to the *ulucus* found as a variant in Servius. I have found this elsewhere only as a variant for *uluccus* in two codices of the *Leidensia*: Sangallensis 902 and Harleianus 5642. Vossius (*Observationes ad Catullum* [London, 1684], p. 90) argues that *alucos* is the correct reading in Servius and that the term is derived from *a* and *luceo*, as these nocturnal birds shun the light. One of the Pseudo-Cyrrillan glosses, as given by Stephanus, has *νυκτικόραξ*, *alicus*, *bubo*; and the Pseudo-Philoxenus has the reverse, *alicus*, *νυκτικόραξ*. DuCange knows only the forms *aluco* and *alucus*. *Oluccus* and *oloccus* are found only in the places already cited. More evidence is needed to establish the form, but the initial *a* seems the best attested.

Again, the cognates given do not identify the Ὀλολυγών with either the *ulula* or the *ulucus*. The Skt. *ulas* "jackal" (?), *ulūta* "boa," *ulūli* and *ulūlu* "noisy," *ululis* "a cry of exultation"; the Greek *ύλάω* and *ύλακτέω*, used chiefly of dogs and wolves, sometimes of man; *ύλαγμα*, *ύλακή*, the bark, howl, or yelp of dogs; *όλολυγή*, *όλόλυγμα*, *όλολυγμός*, and *όλολύζω*, used of cries either of sorrow or joy, mainly of women; the Lat. *ululo*, of dogs, wolves, or man; the Lith. *ulūti*, which is not merely "rufen," as Uhlenbeck has it, but also "howl," of wolves²⁰ — these forms, not to go farther afield, show that almost any howl, shriek, or piercing cry will suffice. We are in no wise limited to the owl or even to a bird.

²⁰ See Donalitiūs, *Žemės rūpesczei* (94):

Kėrdžaus ir pėmenė, kàd jūs *ulūdami* baudo,

of which the subject is the vilkai in 72.

Then Walde shows his human fallibility when he tells us that the cognate *ὄλολυγαία* is a "Beiwort der Nachteule," as the one quotable instance of the word is in the metrical sepulchral inscription of the Roman Patron (*I.G.* xiv, 1934), beginning thus:

Οὐ βάτοι, οὐ τρίβολοι τὸν ἐμὸν τάφον ἀμφὶς ἔχουσιν
οὐδ' ὄλολυγαία νυκτερίς ἀμπέταται.²¹

Thus *ὄλολυγαία* is an epithet, not of the owl, but of the bat; and not a single premise assumed to support the identification of the *uluccus* with the owl is flawless.

Should we then, divesting ourselves of any preconceptions, attempt to find a solution in the glossaria themselves, I imagine that we might proceed somewhat as follows. Remembering that we have already found *ὄλολυγών* equated with *ulula* and *ululat* in glosses in which we have the best of reasons for supposing these to represent an original *ululatus*, an onomatopoeic equivalent of *ὄλολυγών*, and noticing that in the *Vaticana* we have *ολολογος* in the same relative position as *ολολιγων* in the *Leidensia* and *Amploniana*, and inferring from this, along with the erroneous forms so general in this glossary, that *ολολογος* was intended to be the same as the *ολολιγων* of the other two, and observing that *ολολογος* is equated with *ululugus*, which is only a transliteration with slightly changed vocalism and obviously as onomatopoeic as the other, we would then equate the *ululugus* of this glossary with the *uluccus* of the other two, inasmuch as *ululugus* and *uluccus* are practically phonetic equivalents when the former is shorn of its reduplication. We might thus conclude that *uluccus*, too, was an echoic term for the call of the frog, or for the frog himself.²² The writer offers this only as a sug-

²¹ Verses 6-8 show something of the current conceptions of natural history:

καὶ τέττιξ γλυκεροῖς χεῖλεσι λειρὰ χέων
καὶ σοφὰ τραυλίζουσα χελειδονὶς ἢ τε λιγύπνου
ἀκρίς ἀπὸ στήθους ἠδὲ χέουσα μέλος.

These may have been nothing more than traditional poetic figures, of course.

²² In support of such a conclusion we might point to the large part taken in Indo-European words for "frog" by the combination of the liquid *l* or *r* plus a vowel and a palatal or guttural, e.g. Skt. *maṇḍuka* (*mand-ruk-a, a form found in Prakrit),

gestion and not as a definitive solution. It seems to be the only way to defend the glosses in question.

It is not at all unlikely, however, that the glossographers are in error. In the face of their demonstrable errors we cannot assume that they were less impeccable than such an eminent scholar as Walde, for instance. We have seen in the epitaph of Patron that the τέττιξ and the ἀκρίς were spoken of in words that suggest birds rather than insects, in language that could not in fact have any real application to the latter. We have found the Ὀλολυγών mentioned in close contextual connection with birds in the literature in which the frog is the only explanation that satisfies the requirements. We have found the scholiasts vainly trying to identify the supposed bird. The glossarists may have shared in the error²³ or may have been misled by figure of speech or by faulty exegesis. Nowhere else have we found any valid reason for identifying the Ὀλολυγών with any bird. We are, then, not warranted by the nature of these three glossaria and the many probabilities of error in them, in concluding that here we have any creditable evidence for the "bird." The Ὀλολυγών is still the cry of the frog or the frog himself either in fact or figure.

To summarize the results of this study, the word Ὀλολυγών was used as follows:

Gk. bat-rach-os, Lat. *rana* (*rac-na), Goth. *frusqa (*f-ruh-sqa), O.N. f-rauk-r, A.S. f-rogg-a, and f-rocc-a, etc.; and to the attempts made to represent graphically the call of the frog, as the Skt. akkhkhala, the Gk. brekekkekex, koax, koax, the Lat. *coaxit* (Auct. de Phil. 64) and *sub aqua* (Ovid, *Met.* vi, 376), Thoreau's *tr-r-roonk*, the Australian *Duguluk* (Tucker, n. ad Ar. *Ran.* 209), the *creck, creck, creck* of the *Hyla arborea* (Gadow, 193), the *l-l-l-l-luk* of the *Hyla versicolor* (*ib.* 194), the *wollunnkukkk* of the *Phyllomedusa hypochondrialis* (*ib.* 204), etc. The writer does not claim for these anything more than an interesting parallel to more than one philological argument.

²³ We may cite a somewhat parallel instance. The writer has found many college and university men and some clergymen with a seminary training that have supposed that the "turtle" of Canticles, II, 12, was the chelonian instead of the avian turtle. To be sure, they had never heard the voice of the former, yet some of them supposed that some species, at least, under some circumstances, did emit some sort of noise. They had never thought of the dove in this connection. To be sure, they had never thought much about it. Had they been writing scholia or glosses this "turtle" would not have been a bird.

A. As an onomatopoeic term for the *call of the male frog* at the mating season: Arist. *H.A.* iv, 9, 5; Plut. *Mor.* 982 E; Ael. *N.A.* ix, 13; *C.G.L.* ii, 382, 30; iii, 305, 33.

B. 1. As a name given to the *male frog* at this season from its call: Plin. *N.H.* xi, 173.

2. As a general designation for the *frog*, without limitation as to season or age: Theophr. *de Sig. Pluv.* 3, 5; Arat. 948; *Geop.* i, 3, 11; Theocr. 7, 139; Agath. *Anth. Pal.* v, 291, 5; Eubul. Στεφ. 104, 6, Kock, 11, 200; Hesych. *s.v.* (tadpole). Usually the *tree-frog*.

C. By metaphorical extension, to denote:

1. From the amatory nature and habits of the frog —

a) *A person distraught with the hot passion of love*: Nicaenetus (*ap. Parth.* xi, 2).

b) *A confirmed Aphrodisian*: *C.G.L.* ii, 189, 29.

c) *The hot, stinging, erotic passion, pruriency*: *C.G.L.* iii, 89, 60. (Cf. Juv. 11, 168.)

2. From the characteristic ἐνῆθηα of the frog —

The simple-minded, stupid, or foolish person: Hesych. *s.v.* (Cf. Plat. *Theaet.* 161 D.)²⁴

²⁴ Ael. *N.A.* vi, 19; Strab. xvii, 2, 4; and *C.G.L.* iii, 17, 55; 89, 60; 435, 66; 571, 29 may belong to either B, 1 or B, 2.

IX. — *The Monophthongization of Latin ae*

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MOST English-speaking scholars have for some time past been accustomed to pronounce Latin *ae* as they do *ai* in English *aisle*, while scholars of other nationalities have employed the corresponding diphthongs of their own languages. There has been an undercurrent of dissent from this practice which has occasionally come to the surface: Stolz and Schmalz, *Lat. Gram.*² p. 271, King and Cookson, *Sound and Inflection*, p. 85, and Sihler, *P.A.P.A.* xxix, xl-xliv, maintained that *ae* was pronounced as a monophthong, while Lindsay, *Short Historical Latin Grammar*¹, p. 13, held that the first member of the diphthong was a sound similar to the *a* of English *man* and the second was like the *e* of English *men*. In the second (1915) edition of this book Lindsay modifies his earlier teaching by assuming (p. 13 f.) that "in the age of Cicero *ae*" — without quite losing its diphthongal character — "must have sounded more like a long open *e* (something like our interjection *eh* protracted, or rather doubled)." In these circumstances a reëxamination of the evidence may not be untimely. We shall consider the various items in chronological order, and attempt thus to build up a history of *ae* in Latin.

The diphthong in question was originally written *ai*, but the spelling *ae* began to appear about 200 B.C. and became usual by about 150 B.C. (see Sihler, *l.c.*, for citations). No one doubts that the earlier orthography represented the pronunciation; and we can scarcely escape the conclusion that the change in spelling reflected a change in pronunciation, since no other motive for it has been suggested. Neither can there be doubt about the general nature of the change of sound. If the diphthong had become a monophthong by 200 B.C. (as Sihler maintains), the new spelling would have been *e*. The orthography *ae* must reflect merely a more open pronunciation of the second member of the diphthong; the earlier *ai*

denoted a diphthong ending in a close *i*, as in Italian *mai*, while the later *ae* denoted a diphthong ending in a more open sound approaching a close *e*. Since this, rather than a true *ai*, is the diphthong heard in English *aisle*, *my*, etc., the current pronunciation of *ae* in England and America is correct; the usual description of it, on the other hand, as *a + i* is incorrect.¹ This newer pronunciation must have become established before the beginning of the second century B.C.; for the change in orthography could not begin until the new pronunciation had gained standing. Spelling reform may lag far behind a change in pronunciation, but under ordinary circumstances it cannot anticipate such a change.

In case diphthongal *ai* was followed by consonantal *i*, as in *aio* and *maior* (pronounced *ai-ïo*, *mai-ïor*), the second element of the diphthong remained unchanged, as the orthography proves. English furnishes a parallel in such phrases as *my use* (pronounced *mai yus*), as contrasted with *my* (pronounced *mae*) in most other phrases. Latin *ais* and *ain* (from *aisne*) retained the original diphthong under the influence of *aio*, etc., supported perhaps by uncontracted *aïs*.

The diphthong *ai* had a very similar history in Oscan. The Oscan national alphabet contained a symbol † (transcribed *î*) to represent the open *i*-sound which resulted from original *ē* or *ĭ*, and also from *ĕ* before another vowel (e.g. *líkitud* = *licēto*, *íú·k* = *ea*), and a symbol | (transcribed *i*) to denote the close *i*-sound which resulted from original *ī* (e.g. *aídilis* = *acdilēs*, *imaden* : *īmus*). The latter character was also employed for consonantal *i*. Hence the orthography of such words as *aídilis*, *kvaístur*, *víaí*, *svaí*, etc., indicates that the second member of the diphthong was an *i*-sound verging toward an *e*-sound; Oscan *aí* must have been similar to Latin *ae*. In case, however, the diphthong was followed by

¹ Oertel, *ap. Lane, Latin Grammar*², p. 7, describes the sound of Latin *ae* correctly, but fails to identify it with the English diphthong. That the English diphthong really is *ae* rather than *ai* is readily seen if one pronounces the disyllabic combination *a-e* (*ah-eh*) and then repeats it more and more rapidly until the two sounds coalesce; a similar experiment with *a-i* (*ah-ee*) produces Italian *ai*.

consonantal *i*, its second member is shown by the orthography to have been a close *i* (e.g. **Púmpaiianaí**, **Maraiieis**, **Mefitaiiaís**), precisely as Latin *ai* retained its close *i* in similar circumstances.

Even more important for our investigation is the representation of the Oscan diphthong **ai** by *ae* in documents written in the Latin alphabet (e.g. *suae*, *aeteis*, *Bansae*). When the Oscans began to use the Latin alphabet, certainly well after 200 B.C., Latin *ae* must have represented a true diphthong; for if it had represented a monophthong or a diphthong scarcely distinguishable from a monophthong, the Oscans would have transcribed their diphthong **ai** by *ai*, as they actually transcribed **uí** by *oi* (**feihúís** "muris": *eizois* "eis"), although the digraph *oi* was foreign to Latin orthography.

That *ae* was still a diphthong in the time of Lucilius is shown by his jest (1130 Marx):

Cecilius pretor ne rusticus fiat.

For if the monophthongization of *ae* was a mark of rusticity, *ae* must have been a diphthong in urban Latin.

Our knowledge of this rustic *e* for *ae* is derived largely from the passage in Varro's *de Lingua Latina* (VII, 96), in which is preserved the Lucilian fragment just cited:

Apud Matium: 'obsceni interpres funestique ominis auctor.' *obscenum* dictum ab *scena*; eam ut Graeci aut Accius scribit *scena*. (in pluribus verbis *a* ante *e* alii ponunt, alii non, ut quod partim dicunt (*scaeptrum*, partim) *sceptrum* Plauti *Faeneratricem*, alii *Feneratricem*; sic *faenisicia* ac *f[o]enisicia*, ac rustici pappum *m[a]esium*, non *maesium*; a quo Lucilius scribit, 'Cecilius (pretor) ne rusticus fiat'). quare turpe ideo *obscaenum* quod nisi in *scaena[m]* palam dici non debet.

Since these words have often been misunderstood, it may be well to supply a translation: "In Matius (we read) 'Obsceni interpres funestique ominis auctor.' *Obscenum* is derived from *scena*; he writes it *scena* (with a monophthong instead of a diphthong) as the Greeks and Accius do. (In a considerable number of words some persons put *a* before *e*, and others do not; as, for example, some say *scaeptrum*, others

sceptrum, some the *Faeneratrix* of Plautus, others the *Feneratrix*; just so (we hear) *faenisicia* and *fenisicia*, and the country people call an old fellow *mesius*, not *maesius*; wherefore Lucilius writes 'Let's not make the boor Cecilius pretor!' ²) Hence what is foul is *obscaenus* for the reason that it should not be mentioned in public except on the *scaena*."

In v, 97 of the same treatise Varro refers briefly to the rustic monophthong instead of *ae*: *Ircus*, quod Sabini *fircus*; quod illic *fedus*, in Latio rure [*h*]*edus*, qui in urbe (ut in multis) a addito (*h*)*aedus*.

In the time of Varro, then, as well as in the time of Lucilius, *e* was a familiar rustic variant for the urban diphthong *ae*. As we see from the passage last quoted, the Sabine dialect was here in harmony with rustic Latin; epigraphical evidence shows that Faliscan, Volscian, and Umbrian also had simplified *ai* to *e*, and that the same group of dialects had simplified other diphthongs as well in a way foreign to urban Latin. In this respect several of the old dialects of Latium agreed with the four Italic idioms just mentioned as against Roman usage, e.g. Praenestine *losna* (*C.I.L.* I, 55) = *luna* from **louksnā*; *Plotina* (*C.I.L.* XIV, 3369) = *Plautina*; *Ces(ulā)* (*C.I.L.* XIV, 3193) = *Caesula*. It is therefore a dialectic peculiarity which antedates the establishment of the Roman dialect as the standard language of Latium.

The passages just cited from Lucilius and Varro prove that even after the urban dialect had become the norm, country people continued to use *ē* where they should have used *ae*. In fact, a few country (*i.e.* dialectic) words with *ē* for *ae* penetrated the city and gained a foothold in standard Latin. One of the clearest cases is *lēvir* = Skt. *devā*, Gk. *δᾶήρ* (from **δαιρήρ*), whose second vowel is due to the analogical influence of *vir*, "husband," and whose initial *l* for *d* shows that the word is of Sabine origin. The tradition in favor of *ē* is not quite so clear in *sēpes*, *praesēpes*, *praesēpia*, but, as we shall see, the monophthong is supported by the Romance languages. Walde (*Lat. etym. Wörterb. s.v.*) thinks that *fēnum* contains an original monophthong, but Varro's evi-

² Or perhaps ironical, "I hope the pretor Cecilius isn't a countryman!"

dence in favor of *faenisicia* is supported by Italian *feno*, whose vowel must represent Latin *ae* or *ĕ*. Several other rustic words with *ē* for *ae* are evidenced by the Romance languages; see Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. lang. rom.*, I, 255.

Varro's preference of *scaena* to *scena* is supported by the superior manuscript authority (see Sommer, *Handb. d. lat. Laut- und Formenlehre*², p. 72 and references) and by *scaenam* (*C.I.L.* I, 206, 77), *scaena* (*ib.* I, 1009, 13), *scaenarium* (*ib.* I, 1341), *scaenicis* (*ib.* II, 1663), and *proscænium* (*ib.* II, 183). That it contained a real diphthong is shown by *scaina* (*ib.* I, 1280). This word and also *scaeptrum* (Varro, *l.c.*) for Greek *σκήπτρον* owe their diphthong to an "over-correction"; persons who took pains to say *praetor* instead of *prētor* "corrected" *scēna* into *scaena* (so Walde, *I.F.* xxx, 139; Sommer, *Handb.*² p. 72). Solmsen's suggestion (*Unters. zur griech. Laut- und Verslehre*, 279) that, in view of the related forms *σκιᾶ* and Skt. *chāyā*, there may have been a dialectic Greek **σκαίνα*, cannot be accepted until a similar explanation is available for *scaeptrum*.

It is impossible to suppose (with Lindsay, *Latin Language*, p. 42; Claussen, *Rom. Forsch.* xv, 854; Carnoy, *Latin d'Espagne*, p. 79, and others) that the *ae* of *scaena* and *scaeptrum* was a peculiarly exact method of transcribing Greek *η*. Even if we could grant that both Latin *ae* and Greek *η* represented a long open *e* in the Ciceronian period, there seems to be no reason why these two words should be transliterated more scrupulously than the hosts of other Greek loan-words containing *η*. On the contrary, the Romans of Cicero's day and later, although careful about the form they gave to new borrowings (*e.g.* *Ilithyia*), did not insist upon the correct form of Greek words which had long been in the language (*e.g.* *comisor*, *Hercules*, *tus*, *ancora*, *choragium*). To the latter class *scaena* clearly belongs; it occurs in Plautine prologues and *scaenica* is found in Terence, *Hec.* 16; *scaena* was a technical theatrical term which must early have established itself at least as firmly as (Doric) *choragium*. There is no proof that *scaeptrum* is early, but the very fact that it was treated in the same way as *scaena* makes an early

date probable. That the spelling *ae* in these words was not regarded as an approximation to the Greek form is made perfectly clear by Varro's citation of the spelling with *e*, not only from Accius, who undertook to follow Greek usage accurately (see Varro, *L.L.* x, 70), but from the Greeks themselves.³

The rustic \bar{e} from *ai* was no doubt at first an open \bar{e} , as in Umbrian (see Buck, *Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian*, p. 44), but the "over-correction" of *scēna* and *scēptrum* to *scaena* and *scaeptrum* indicates that it had become as close as ordinary \bar{e} by the first century B.C. For the open \bar{e} of Greek $\sigma\kappa\eta\nu\eta$ had undoubtedly been assimilated to the Latin close \bar{e} during the century and more in which it had served as a technical term of the motley crew who made up the theatrical profession at Rome. There is no doubt at all that the rustic \bar{e} of *sēpes* and *fēnum* did ultimately become identical with ordinary \bar{e} in most of the Roman world; for the two yield the same result in most of the Romance languages. Only in Italian do these words show forms which indicate Latin open *e*. The following table presents the facts:

	Open <i>e</i>	Rustic <i>e</i> for <i>ae</i>		Close <i>e</i>
Latin	mēl	sēpes	fēnum	vērūm
Italian	miele	siepe	fieno	vero
French	miel	soif	foin	voire (vērē)
Spanish	miel	seto (sēptum)	heno	vero
Rumanian	miere		fin	plin (plēnum).

A similarly inconsistent development has been observed in three or four other words (see Meyer-Lübke, *l.c.*), and we

³ Other Greek loan-words also occasionally show *ae* for η in Imperial times (see Carnoy, *op. cit.* p. 81; Hammer, *Die lokale Verbreitung frühesten romanischen Lautwandlungen in alten Italien*, p. 9-14; and the indexes to the *C.I.L.* under the caption *Grammatica quaedam*); but these cases are much fewer than the cases of *ae* for Greek *e*, and a majority of them occur in final syllables, in which position *ae* is often substituted for original Latin \bar{e} . There is no reason to doubt, therefore, that these words are for the most part instances of the later monophthongization of Latin *ae*, which is presently to be discussed. The vulgar Latin genitives such as *Aquilliaes* (*C.I.L.* 1, 1025), *Laudicaes* (*ib.* 1, 1212) may represent a contamination of the Latin ending *-ae* and the Greek *-ης*. To regard such forms as meticulously accurate transcriptions of Greek *-ης* (Sihler, *l.c.*) is quite absurd, in view of the carelessness of the inscriptions in which they occur and of the fact that many of the words concerned are Latin.

must assume that they too spread over the Roman world in a form which originally belonged to the country districts of central and northern Italy. The inconsistency between Italian and the other Romance languages indicates that the open *e*-sound was permanently retained in the region where it originated, whereas open \bar{e} became close \bar{e} in the city of Rome and in the provinces.

In support of his theory of virtually monophthongal pronunciation in the time of Cicero, Lindsay (*Short Historical Latin Grammar*², p. 14) adduces a new argument: "When the preposition *prae* was shortened before a following vowel it came to be written *pre* in *prehendo*, a clear proof that *ae* was the long (more correctly, the diphthongal) form of \bar{e} (the short open *e*-sound)." But *prehendo* has a short initial syllable as early as Plautus: e.g. *Epid.* 1 (the crucial word is preserved in the Ambrosian Palimpsest):

Heús aduléscens. quís properántem mé reprehéndit pállio?

It is possible, of course, to read *reprendit* here, as we must read *prendit* in *Bacch.* 696; but the contraction seen in this and similar forms presupposes a monophthongal *e* in the prefix. If *prehendo* proves anything about the pronunciation of *ae*, such proof holds for Plautine or pre-Plautine rather than for Ciceronian Latin. Now, since we have seen that the spelling *ae*, which began to be used during Plautus' lifetime, clearly indicated a diphthongal pronunciation at the time of its adoption, we must look for a different explanation of *prehendo*, and two satisfactory suggestions have in fact been made. Sommer (*Handb.*² p. 112) is inclined to the opinion that the *a* of *prae* was assimilated to the vowel of the following syllable (**prai-hendo* > **praiendo* > **preiendo* > *pre(h)endo*). No difficulty is caused by *praeda* and *praemium*, because they show contraction of **prai-ida* and **prai-imium*. Such words as *praeest* and *praeo* are re-compositions, although of somewhat earlier date than *praemino*, etc. Schwyzer, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* xxiii, 439, suggests that the form *prehendo* originated in the compounds *comprehendo* and *reprehendo*, where *ai* stood in an originally unaccented syllable.

ble and was weakened to \bar{e} . That \bar{e} before a vowel became \check{e} is shown by *dēus* from **dēus* and *olēum* from **olēum*. At any rate, we may be sure that *prē-* in *prehendo* is not a mere shortening of the familiar *prae* of Ciceronian Latin; it is far too ancient for that.

When *ae* became a monophthong elsewhere than in the old Praenestine-Sabine-Umbrian district, it promptly showed affinities with open \check{e} rather than with close \bar{e} . Pompeian *graffiti* of the first century A.D. show an extensive confusion of \check{e} and *ae*, e.g. *etati*, *maeae*, *haberae* (*C.I.L.* IV, 1684; for other instances see Hammer, *op. cit.* p. 11-14, and the Index to *C.I.L.* IV, Suppl.). A few plebeian inscriptions of the city of Rome show that a similar confusion was beginning there also in the first century A.D., e.g. *Clarie* (dat., *C.I.L.* VI, 5180), *saenatus* (*ib.* VI, 2066; for other citations see Hammer, *l.c.*). In the second century the confusion became much more extensive in Rome and appeared in the provinces (see Carnoy, *op. cit.* 71-74, and the indexes to *C.I.L.*). Since open \check{e} and close \bar{e} were customarily written in the same way, the phonetic confusion between \check{e} and *ae* led to an occasional graphic confusion between \bar{e} and *ae*, e.g. *aegisse* (*C.I.L.* IV, 2413 f.), *caeteri* (*ib.* VI, 1585 b).⁴

That mistakes in orthography of this latter sort did not reflect a confusion between close \bar{e} and *ae* is proved by the fact that the Romance languages keep the two sounds distinct. Latin open \check{e} , however, everywhere yields the same result as *ae*. The following forms are typical:

	Open <i>e</i>	<i>ae</i>	Close <i>e</i>
Latin	mēl	caelum	vērūm
Italian	miele	cielo	vero
French	miel	ciel	voire (vērē)
Spanish	miel	cielo	vero
Rumanian	miere	cier	plin (plēnum).

⁴ As the final of a polysyllable *ae* for \bar{e} is relatively common, e.g. *sanctae*, *optimae* (adverbs, *C.I.L.* II, 6278, 4405). We may infer that final \bar{e} tended to become an open *e*; and this inference is supported by the fact that, while the grammarians are chiefly concerned to distinguish *ae* from \check{e} (*quaeritur* : *queritur*, *vae* : *ve*, *praemium* : *pretium*), Servius, *ad Aen.* I, 344, thinks it necessary to distinguish between *miserae* and *miserē*.

The confusion of *ae* with open *ɛ* first appears, as we have seen, in Rome and in Pompeii (whose original language was Oscan), both of them in regions which did not share the earlier monophthongization of *ai*. It now appears that while the earlier monophthongization led to a confusion between *ae* and close *ɛ̄*, the later monophthongization led to a confusion between *ae* and open *ɛ*. It is therefore most unlikely that the two processes had any connection with each other.

It remains to fix the date when the monophthongal pronunciation of *ae* made its way into standard Latin.⁵ Terentius Scaurus, a leading grammarian of Hadrian's reign, is unusually explicit in his remarks on *ae* (vii, 16 Keil): *A* igitur littera praeposita est *u* et *e* litteris. . . . et apud antiquos *i* littera pro ea scribebatur, ut testantur μεταπλασμοί, in quibus est eius modi syllabarum diductio, ut *pictai vestis* et *aulai medio* pro *pictae* et *aulae*. sed magis in illis *e* novissima sonat. If his ear told Terentius that the second member of the diphthong is *e* rather than *i*, we may be assured that he heard a diphthong. In the early part of the second century, then, *ae* was still a diphthong in standard Latin.

Terentianus Maurus, who probably wrote not far from 200 A.D., includes *ae* in his list of diphthongs (vi, 338 Keil); but since he includes also *ei* (which he illustrates with *eitur*, *oveis*, and *omneis*) he is evidently giving merely the traditional teaching of the schools. That *ae* was really a monophthong in his day may be inferred from Terentianus' account of *ui* in the dative singular of *qui*. He devotes more than a hundred lines (vi, 345 ff. Keil, ll. 671–777) to an involved discussion of the questions whether *cui* is a dissyllable or a monosyllable, whether it contains a diphthong or not, and whether its *u* or its *i* is to be regarded as a consonant. A careful examination of the argument shows pretty clearly that *cui* really contained a diphthong, and the question arises: "Why did Terentianus hesitate to call it a diphthong?" We can scarcely find but

⁵ I attach little importance to the evidence of loan words such as Welsh *praidd* and Gothic *kaisar*, partly because of the notorious laxity of foreign pronunciation and partly because we know little of the phonetic character of Celtic and Germanic in the first century.

one answer: In Terentianus' time *ae* and *oe*, as well as *ei*, were really monophthongs, but they were traditionally called diphthongs. Terentianus saw that the old definition of a diphthong fitted the *ui* of *cui*, but the sound was so different in character from *ae*, etc., that he hesitated to call it by the same name. It is, then, probable that *ae* was a monophthong in standard Latin as early as the end of the second century A.D. This conclusion is supported by the fact, already noted, that the confusion between *ae* and *ē* became common during the second century.

Various passages in grammarians of the fourth century show clearly that *ae* was a monophthong at that time. We need cite only the following from Marius Victorinus (VI, 66 f. Keil): *Consimili ratione quaeritur Orpheus in metro, ut*

Non me carminibus vincat nec Thracius Orpheus,

utrum trisyllabum an disyllabum sit, an idem nomen duplici enuntiatione promatur, aut sine a littera, ut Peleus, Pentheus, aut cum a, ut ita declinetur Orphlaeus ut Aristaeus. visum est tamen hoc posse discerni, ut illa sine a littera Graeca sit enuntiatio, haec Latina quae per diphthongon effertur.

The history of Latin *ae* may be sketched as follows: The orthographical change of *ai* to *ae* in the first half of the second century B.C. reflected a change of the second member of the diphthong from a close *i* (as in Italian *mai*) to a more open sound approaching an *e* (as in English *aisle*). In many parts of Latium *ai* became *ē* in prehistoric times, and this rustic *ē* made its way into urban Latin in a few country words such as *sepēs* and *fenum*. The attempt of dwellers in the city — particularly, no doubt, those who had come from the country — to avoid rustic *ē* led to an "over-correction" in the case of *scaena* and *scaeptrum*. This rustic *ē* became in the city a close *ē*, like original Latin *ē*.

The monophthongization of genuine Latin *ae*, on the other hand, led to a confusion between *ae* and open *ē*. It began in southern Italy and Rome in the first century A.D., and made its way into the standard speech probably in the latter part of the second century, certainly before the fourth century.

X. — *Three as a Magic Number in Latin Literature*

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To one who is investigating the subject of magic among the Romans few references to magical details seem so persistently repeated as those concerning the number three. It is my desire, therefore, to present in this paper all the passages referring to three as a magic number that I have been able to find in the literature of Rome up to the beginning of the fourth century of our era, with some additional illustrative material drawn from a later date.¹

Since, however, magic is so easily confused with superstition, astrology, and religion, it will be useful, for the purpose of differentiation, to define magic as the art, or pretended art, of controlling natural phenomena by preternatural means. We are, then, to inquire to what extent the Romans believed it possible to control various natural phenomena by the use of preternatural means involving the number three; directing our attention to their farm practice, the control of noxious animals, the averting of the evil eye, love magic, and the prevention and cure of disease.

I. FARM PRACTICES

How closely Roman farm practices were joined to magic may be judged from the following directions of Columella for ridding one's trees of caterpillars:²

¹ This material, drawn mainly from Marcellus Empiricus, *Codex Sangallensis* 751, and the *Anecdotum Latinum Piechottae*, is a valuable index to later Roman beliefs, which I should be glad to incorporate in this paper, if space permitted. For lack of space it has also been found impossible to draw upon the very interesting material found in the fields of archaeology and religion. The latter field has, indeed, been very thoroughly investigated by H. Usener, *Rh. Mus.* LVIII (1903), 1-47; 161-208; 322-362. Concerning seven and other odd numbers I shall also be compelled to omit all discussion; though I shall, of course, consider the multiples of three itself.

² *R.R.* x, 357-366:

At si nulla valet medicina repellere pestem,
Dardaniae veniant artes, nudataque plantas

But if science hath failed to drive the pest from thy acres,
 Bring Dardanian arts to thine aid: a barefooted woman
 Who, at nature's command, her monthly season endureth,
 Lead thou with looséd garments, her hair, too, sadly disheveled,
 Three times around thy fields, and thrice round the fence of
 thy garden.³

When her encircling path hath traversed the bounds of the
 farmstead,

Quickly as when a tree is shaken by wind and by rainstorm —
 Be it of smooth, round apple or of nut covered over with rough
 bark —

Down to the earth fall the pests, their bodies fearfully twisted.

But the Roman farmer had to combat orchard troubles other than those arising from insect pests. Sometimes his pomegranates burst their skins while still on the tree — a misfortune which might be avoided, says Columella,⁴ if the farmer, when planting his trees, would only remember to place three stones at the root of each. It is also reported by Pliny,⁵ as a common belief, that fruit might be protected from the effects of frost (*carbunculus*) by burning three live crabs in the orchard.

Magic offered also a cheap substitute for expensive drain-

Femina, quae iustis tum demum operata iuventae
 Legibus, obscoeno manat pudibunda cruore,
 Sed resoluta sinus, resoluto maesta capillo,
 Ter circum areolas, et sepem ducitur horti.
 Quae cum lustravit gradiens (mirabile visu),
 Non aliter quam decussa pluit arbore nimbus
 Vel teretis mali, vel tectae cortice glandis,
 Volvitur ad terram distorto corpore campe.

For the source of this bit of magic cf. Col. xi, 3, 64: Sed Democritus in eo libro qui Graece inscribitur *περὶ ἀντιπαιθῶν* affirmat has ipsas bestiolas enecari, si mulier, quae in menstruis est, solutis crinibus et nudo pede, unamquamque aream ter circumeat: post hoc enim decidere omnes vermiculos, et ita emori.

³ Cf. with this the threefold circumambulation and the threefold sacrifice of the *lustratio* (Cambridge *Companion to Latin Studies*, p. 158).

⁴ *De Arboribus*, 23, 2: Mala Punica ne rumpantur in arbore, remedio sunt lapides tres, si, cum seres arborem ad radicem ipsum collocaveris.

⁵ *N.H.* xviii, 293: Quidam tres caneros vivos cremari iubent in arbustis ut carbunculus ne noceat.

age operations. For Columella writes⁶ that ill-drained land could be reclaimed by the simple expedient of covering a three-peck measure from which the farmer sowed his seed with the skin of a hyena.

But the greater part of Roman farm magic concerned itself with the prevention and cure of disease. So far as this relates to man it is impossible to differentiate rural practices from the medical magic of the cities, which we shall discuss later. It seems proper, however, to treat under the head of farm practices certain measures for the prevention or cure of diseases of farm animals which involve the number three.

Here we may cite from Cato a remarkable preventive for cattle diseases (*bubus medicamentum*), which runs:⁷ "If you fear^c disease, give your cattle while they are well three grains of salt, three laurel leaves, three leek fibres, three heads of leek, three heads of garlic, three grains of frankincense, three savin plants, three leaves of rue, three stalks of *vitis alba*, three white beans, three glowing coals, three pints of wine. All these ingredients should be picked, ground, and administered by a person standing, who is at the same time fasting. Give this medicine daily for three days to each of the cattle, dividing the mass in such a way that when you have given three doses to each animal, there will be nothing left. Let both the cattle and the one who administers the medicine be standing upright at the time; and be sure to give the medicine from a wooden vessel." There were also magic cures for specific diseases of cattle. Pliny tells us,⁸ for instance, that a draft animal could be freed from worms by passing a ringdove three times around its middle parts; after which

⁶ *R.R.* II, 9, 9: Nonnulli pelle hyaenae satoriam trimodiam vestiunt atque ita ex ea . . . iaciunt, non dubitantes proventura, quae sic sata sint.

⁷ *R.R.* 70: Bubus medicamentum. si morbum metues, sanis dato salis micas III, folia laurea III, porri fibras III, ulpici spicas III, alii spicas III, turis grana III, herbae sabinæ plantas III, rutae folia III, vitis albae caules III, fabulos albos III, carbones vivos III, vini s. III. haec omnia sublimiter legi, teri, darique oportet. ieiunus siet qui dabit. per triduum de ea potione uni cuique bovi dato. ita dividito, cum ter uni cuique dederis omnem absumas; bosque ipse et qui dabit facito ut uterque sublimiter stent. vaso ligneo dato.

⁸ *N.H.* 30, 144: Verminatio (*sc. finitur*) ter circumlato mediis palumbe. mirum dictum, palumbis emissus moritur iumentumque liberatur confestim.

the dove, upon being released, died, whereas the draft animal immediately became well. Many similar passages are to be found in the Codex Sangallensis 751, having been inserted therein as later interpolations in the manuscript of the *Medicina Plinii*;⁹ but as these later instances fall beyond the chronological limit set to this paper, I shall content myself with presenting a typical case. We are told¹⁰ that if a horse or a bullock or an ass is choking, one may relieve the beast by repeating three times the charm: "Hercules and Queen Juno, come to the aid of this horse," substituting the word *bullock* or *ass*, in case these animals are to be relieved. Among these late writers none is so important for our investigation as Marcellus Empiricus, who wrote in the first half of the fifth century of our era. For the cure of a wasting disease among cattle called *rosus* he gives four remedies, all of them employing triple incantations. Of these I shall give only the most striking:¹¹ "Press the thumb of your left hand," he directs, "over the belly of the beast and say: '*adam bedam alam betur alam botum.*' When you have said this nine times, touch the earth with the same thumb and spit; and again, and also a third time, say the charm nine times, and with each one of the nine repetitions touch the earth and spit."

II. NOXIOUS ANIMALS

We have already seen¹² how caterpillars were thought to be controlled by magic. Higher forms of animal life, too, were believed to be subject to the power of the number three. Why did the Romans believe, as Pliny tells us,¹³ that

⁹ Cf. Valentin Rose in *Herm.* VIII, 48 ff.; R. Heim, "Incantamenta magica Graeca Latina," in *Jahrb. f. Phil. u. Päd.* Suppl. XIX (1893), 555 ff.

¹⁰ Cod. Sang. 751, p. 202, l. 21: *Travoratum equis bobus asinis: 'Hercules et Iuno regina, adveniat is huic caballo, bovi vel asino qui est travoratus.'* The author has previously directed that the *incantamentum* be repeated three times.

¹¹ 28, 72: *Manus sinistrae pollicem supra ventrem premes et dices: 'adam bedam alam betur alam botum.'* hoc cum novies dixeris, terram eodem pollice tanges et spues rursumque novies et iterum tertium novies dices, et per novenas vices terram continges et expues. Similar passages are 28, 16. 73. 74.

¹² *Supra*, pp. 117-118.

¹³ *N.H.* XX, 171: *Foliis tribus (sc. cunilae) ex oleo peruncto homine fugari serpentes.*

serpents fled from a man who was anointed with oil containing three leaves of *cunila*, or why did some people add just three drops of viper's fat to their anointing oil, in order to put all wild beasts to flight,¹⁴ unless some magic power was thought to reside in the number three itself? We are also informed by Pliny¹⁵ that any animal which the hyena has walked around three times, sticks in its tracks. Nay, even the dragon which guarded the golden fleece yielded to the potent thrice-repeated charm of Medea:¹⁶

Thrice-spoken words she uttered, of peaceful slumbers productive,
Words that have power to stay the sea or the turbulent rivers :
Sleep now came to the eyes that long had never endured it,
And the Aesonian prince of the golden fleece became master.

III. THE EVIL EYE

No less dangerous than noxious animals, from the Roman point of view, were persons who possessed the evil eye. But of the fairly numerous passages dealing with the means of combating this malign power, only one involves the number three. Pliny, in the midst of an elaborate recital of the virtues of human saliva, asks:¹⁷ "Why should we not think it a proper custom, that, if a stranger comes into the presence of an infant, or looks at it while it is asleep, the nurse shall spit three times in its face?"

¹⁴ Pliny, *N.H.* XXIX, 70: Quidam purgatae (*sc.* viperæ) . . . adipem cum olei sextario decocunt ad dimidias; ex eo, cum opus sit, ternis stillis additis in oleum perunguntur, ut omnes bestiae fugiant eos.

¹⁵ *N.H.* VIII, 106: Quibusdam magicis artibus omne animal quod ter lustraverit (*sc.* hyæna) in vestigio haerere.

¹⁶ Ovid, *Met.* VII, 153-156:

Verbaque ter dixit placidos facientia somnos,
Quae mare turbatum, quae concita flumina sistunt :
Somnus in ignotos oculos sibi venit, et auro
Heros Aesonius potitur.

¹⁷ *N.H.* XXVIII, 39: Cur non et haec credamus rite fieri, extranei interventu aut, si dormiens spectetur infans, a nutrice terna adspui in os? Cf. Theocr. 6, 39; 20, 11-13.

IV. LOVE

Roman love magic, too, recognized the value of the number three. In this connection we may cite two well-known passages from Vergil. In the eighth *Eclogue* the poet says: ¹⁸

Triple these threads that I bind of triple color about thee ;
 Thrice too around the altar this image of thee do I carry —
 Thrice, for the god, you must know, rejoices in numbers eleven.
 Draw from the city, my charms, draw Daphnis home to his lover.
 Twine, Amaryllis, for me three knots of thrice-varied colors ;
 Twine, Amaryllis, and say, " It is Venus' chains I am twining."
 Draw from the city, my charms, draw Daphnis home to his lover.

Very similar to this is a passage in the *Ciris*.¹⁹ Here Carme, the nurse of Scylla, is seeking to compel Nisus by magic to do her bidding :

Meanwhile in broad earthen pot the nurse her sulphur was mixing,
 Sweet-smelling herbs she burns of cinnamon and of narcissus ;
 Binding upon her wheel the threads of magic tricolored
 Seven and twenty in number, and spake these words to the maiden :
 " Thrice on thy breast with me," she said, " my child, do thou
 spit now ;
 Thrice do thou spit, my child, for the god delights in odd numbers."

So Tibullus instructs his mistress : ²⁰

Thrice do thou sing it and thrice spit when the charm thou hast
 sung.

¹⁸ 73-79: Terna tibi haec primum triplici diversa colore
 Licia circumdo, terque hanc altaria circum
 Effigiem duco; numero deus impare gaudet.
 Ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnim.
 Necte tribus nodis ternos, Amarylli, colores,
 Necte, Amarylli, modo et 'Veneris' dic 'vincula necto.'
 Ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnim.

¹⁹ 369-373:

At nutrix patula componens sulphura testa,
 Narcissum cassiamque herbae incendit olentes,
 Terque novena ligans triplici diversa colore
 Fila 'ter in gremium mecum,' inquit, 'despue virgo;
 Despue ter, virgo: numero deus impare gaudet.'

²⁰ I, 2, 54: Ter cane, ter dictis despue carminibus.

Of Circe we read²¹ that when she was about to transform Scylla into a monster,

Thrice nine times doth she murmur her charm with a mouth
trained to magic,

and, as she turned Picus into a woodpecker,²²

Thrice with her wand did she touch the youth, three charms then
she uttered.

V. MEDICAL MAGIC

It was, however, in the prevention and cure of disease by magic that the number three proved especially useful to the Romans.²³ We know of nearly forty afflictions which they thought could be either prevented or cured in this way. These bits of medical magic are found in authors ranging in time from Cato to the latest period of Latin literature.

Concerning magic prophylaxis we read in Pliny²⁴ that, according to common belief, all afflictions of the eyes, especially *lippitudo*, could be prevented by touching the eyes three times with water left from bathing the feet. Or one might avoid pain in the eyes for a whole year, if we may believe Marcellus,²⁵ by wearing around one's neck as an amulet three bored cherry seeds strung upon a linen thread. Turning again to Pliny, we find that the teeth could be insured against disease by the following magic acts:²⁶ Dig up the

²¹ Ovid, *Met.* xiv, 58: Ter noviens carmen magico demurmurat ore.

²² *Ib.* 387: Ter iuvenem baculo tetigit, tria carmina dixit.

²³ For magic prophylaxis among the Romans see the author's *Studies in Magic from Latin Literature* (New York, 1916), 61-123.

²⁴ *N.H.* xxviii, 44: Oculorum vitia fieri negant nec lippire eos qui, cum pedes lavent, aqua inde ter oculos tangant. These directions are repeated with more elaborate detail by Marc. (8, 31): Expertum remedium ad lippitudinem, ne unquam temptetur, si quis observet sine intermissione aut oblivione, ut quotiens laverit, deducta utrisque manibus ad pedes infimos aqua statim manus ambas ad oculos referat atque ad angulos eorum utraque manu perfricet, et hoc ter facere debebis.

²⁵ 8, 27: Dolorem oculorum ut anno integro non patiaris . . . de tribus cerasiis lapillos pertundes et Gaditano lino inserto prophylacterio uteris.

²⁶ *N.H.* xxv, 167: Hanc (*sc.* erigeronta) si ferro circumscriptam effodiat aliquis tangatque ea dentem et alternis ter despuat ac reponat in eundem locum ita ut vivat herba, aiunt dentem eum postea non doliturum.

plant *erigeron* with an iron implement; touch your tooth with it; spit alternately to your right and left three times; finally, replace the plant in such a way that it grows. "They say," reports Pliny, "that after that your tooth will never ache." Even quartan fever need never be feared by any one who took the precaution of eating a hyena's liver three separate times;²⁷ and you may prevent hydrophobia, according to the same authority,²⁸ by carrying a little worm which may be found on a dog's tongue three times around a fire before giving it to the person who has been bitten.

In the field of curative medicine the number three was much more prominent as a magic element. Pliny even goes so far as to say²⁹ that to spit and to utter certain charms three times was a customary adjunct to all medicine. In fact, the Roman populace, and perhaps many of the more cultivated, never ceased to believe that practically every disease of the human body could be cured by such magic.

Taking these up in detail we find that diseases of the head, throat, and respiratory tract were quite generally believed to be cured by magic. Marcellus³⁰ gives a headache salve composed of twenty-one (*i.e.* three times seven) grains of pepper, twenty-one pellets of mouse dung, and as much mustard as one could hold in three fingers. Magic remedies for dandruff,³¹

²⁷ *N.H.* XXVIII, 96: *Febribus quartanis iocur (sc. hyaenae) degustatum ter ante accessiones . . . prodesse.*

²⁸ *N.H.* XXIX, 100: *Idem (i.e. vermiculus qui in lingua canis reperitur) ter igni circumlatus datur morsus a rabioso, ne rabidi fiant.* For a similar method of prevention employing a triple incantation cf. *Cod. Sang.* 751, p. 278, 27: *Item (sc. ad canis morsum) praecantatio. priusquam tangas dicis: 'canis mordet et stupet, non dolet.' ter dicito et ter expuito et ter terram mingito.*

²⁹ *N.H.* XXVIII, 36: *Et iam eadem ratione terna despuere preccatione in omni medicina mos est.*

³⁰ 2, 8: *Piperis grana XXI, murini fimi pilulas XXI, sinapis quantum tribus digitis possis tollere.* Other cures for headache consisted of the urine of a young girl applied to the forehead with three fingers (*Cod. Sang.* 751, p. 186, 1); or of nine leaves of ivy worked into a salve. In all these cures the proportion of ingredients seems to have had nothing to do with the choice of the numbers twenty-one and nine.

³¹ *Marc.* 4, 27: *Porriginem potentissime hac potione purgabis: rosmarinum teres succumque eius vino vel aqua scripulis tribus dabis potui, sed qui sumit supra limen adsistat idque triduo faciat.*

blear-eye,^{31a} and sties³² are found in considerable number, but as they all occur in late Latin authors, we shall content ourselves with a typical cure for sties drawn from Marcellus.³³ "Remove your rings from your fingers," he writes, "and hold them with three fingers of the left hand around the afflicted eye, spit three times, and say three times the charm: '*rica rica soro.*'" One might remove foreign bodies from the eye, according to the same author,³⁴ by moving the eyeball around

^{31a} Marc. 8, 24: Gramen quod in summo. trisulcum habebit decrescente luna radicitus sublatum quam plurimum reponē; deinde ex multis unum, auspicante lippitudine, ad collum subliga: celeriter incumbentem epiphoram discuties. Cf. *Id.* 8, 64: Cui crebro lippitudinis vitio laborabit milefolium herbam radicitus vellat, et ex ea circulum faciat, ut per illum adspiciat et dicat ter: 'excicum acrisos,' et totiens ad os sibi circulum illum admoveat et per medium exspuat et herbam rursus plantet. quae si revixerit, numquam is qui remedium fecerit vexabitur oculorum dolore. Of a different kind is the remedy suggested in the *Cod. Sang.* 751, p. 190, 23: Erat quidam qui hoc remedio ad certissimam sanitatem perfruebatur. salis tribus micis sumptis cum ad puteum aquae venisset et singulas in puteum deieccisset, ita precabatur ut, 'quemadmodum hic sal seritur et ad nihilum reducitur, sic mea lippitudo coalescat.'

³² Marc. 8, 191: Si in dextro oculo varulus erit natus, manu dextra digitis tribus sub divo orientem spectans varulum tenebis et dices: 'nec mula parit nec lapis lanam fert nec huic morbo caput crescat aut si creverit, tabescat.' cum haec dixeris, isdem tribus digitis terram tanges et despues idque ter facies. This passage is found, somewhat altered, in the *Anecd. Piech.* no. 170. Cf. also Marc. 8, 193: Hoc remedium efficax: grana novem hordei sumes et de eorum acumine varulum pungen, et per punctorum singulas vices carmen hoc dices: 'φῆγγε, φῆγγε, κρέλων σε διώκει.' (The charm, according to Heim, "Incan. mag. Gr. Lat." 480, should probably be read: 'φῆγγε, φῆγγε κριθή, κρέλων σε διώκει.') In the same paragraph Marcellus continues: Item digito medicinali varum contingens dices ter: 'vigaria gasaria.' The magic intent of Pliny, *N.H.* xxix, 131, seems to be very doubtful, at least so far as concerns the number three.

³³ 8, 190: Varulis, id est hordioli oculorum, remedium tale facies: anulos digitis eximes et sinistrae manus digitis tribus oculum circum tenebis et ter despues terque dices: 'rica rica soro.'

³⁴ 8, 170 f.: Digitis quinque manus eiusdem, cuius partis oculum sordicula aliqua fuerit ingressa, percurrans et pertractans oculum ter dices: 'tetunc resonco bregan gresso.' ter deinde spues terque facies. item ipso oculo clauso, qui carminatus erit, patentem perfricabis et ter carmen hoc dices et totiens spues: 'in mon dercomarcos axatison.' Cf. *Id.* 8, 172: Si arista vel quaelibet sordicula oculum fuerit ingressa . . . ter per singula despuens dices: 'os Gorgonis basio.' Hoc idem carmen si ter novies dicatur, etiam de faucibus hominis vel iumentis os aut si quid aliud haeserit, potenter eximuit. Of similar nature is a passage in the *Anecd. Piech.* 170: Si quod vulnus in oculos nascitur. pollice

with the fingers and saying three times, '*tetunc resonco bregan gresso*,' or else, '*in mon dercomarcos axatison*,' spitting after each repetition of the charm.

Charms for removing obstructions from the throat often employed the number three; but since all mention of these magic cures is in authors decidedly post-classical,³⁵ we shall not dwell upon them here. Of other diseases of the throat and neck only quinsy and foul breath seem to have owed their cure in part at least to the magic effect of the number three. The former, so Pliny informs us,³⁶ could be cured by tying a shoestring made of dog's hide three times around the neck; while the latter could be remedied by moving the dried palate of a hyena which had been heated with Egyptian alum from one side of the mouth to the other three times. At least, so the Magi taught.³⁷ Marcellus is a more generous source of information. From him we learn that the Romans of the fifth century of our era sought to cure uvular complaints,³⁸

cum digito medicinali ter noviaes circumducis et sic dicis: 'quod mula non parit (et exspues), nec cantarus aqua vibet (et exspues), nec palumba dentes habet (et exspues); sic mihi dentes non doleant (et exspues).'

³⁵ Marc. 15, 103: Si os aut arista haeserit gulae, vel ipse cui acciderit, vel alius confestim ad focum adcurrat et titionem verset, ita ut pars eius, quae ardebat, forinsecus emineat, illa vero, quae igni carebat, flammae inseratur; convertens vero titionem ter dices remedii gratia te facere, ut illud quod haeserit in faucibus tuis vel illius, quem peperit illa, sine mora et molestia eximatur. Cf. *Id.* 15, 105: Omnia quae haeserint faucibus hoc carmen expellet: 'heilen prosaggeri vomē si polla nabuliet odonieni iden eliton.' hoc ter dices et ad singulas exspues. The *Anecd. Piech.* 172 has: Ad devoratum. digitis duobus, pollice et medicinali digito gurgulionem deducens dicis: 'πορκα cucnaon.' ter dices et ter exspues. Similar charms are to be found in the Cod. Sang. 751, p. 202, 21, the text of which is found in Heim, *op. cit.* 557.

³⁶ *N.H.* xxx, 35: Et corrigiam caninam ter collo circumdatam (*sc.* esse remedio anginae tradunt). The passage is repeated by Marc. (15, 71): Caninae cutis corrigium ter collo circumdatum mire anginam relevat.

³⁷ Pliny, *N.H.* xxviii, 100: Palato eiusdem (*sc.* hyaenae) arefacto et cum alumine Aegypto calefacto ac ter in ore permutato faetores et ulcera oris emendari.

³⁸ 14, 26: De uva passa eliges granum, quod unum intrinsecus nucleum habeat, eumque in phoenicio alligabis, et faucibus, id est in regione uvae, inseres et tenebis et dices: 'uva uvam emendat'; mox ipsum phoenicium supra verticem eius tenebis et idem dices cumque ter ipsum feceris et carminaveris, collo dolentis subligabis. Cf. *Id.* 14, 68.

parotitis,³⁹ tonsillitis,⁴⁰ and pains in the neck⁴¹ by means of the magic number three. For the relief of asthma Pliny suggests⁴² that we mix thrice seven multipeds in Attic honey; while a later age believed that to cure a cough one had only to use a thrice-repeated charm.⁴³

Even a Roman dyspeptic⁴⁴ might hope to find relief through the magic power of three. The Magi, says Pliny,⁴⁵ believe that if the person so afflicted could bring himself to take three swallows of water that had been left from bathing his feet, he would find relief. Later cures for digestive disorders consisted of the ivy blossom plucked with three fingers,⁴⁶ three laurel berries mixed with three spoonfuls of periwinkle in three measures of wine,⁴⁷ an incantation with a triple refrain,⁴⁸ and the familiar thrice-repeated charm.⁴⁹

³⁹ 15, 47: Hunc (*i.e.* murem araneum) . . . argilla aut linteo aut phoenicio involve, et ex eo ter circumscribe parotidas . . . ; mira celeritate sanabis.

⁴⁰ 15, 101: Carmen mirum ad glandulas sic: 'albula glandula, nec doleas, nec noceas, nec paniculas facias, sed liquescas tamquam salis in aqua.' hoc ter noviens dicens spues ad terram et glandulas ipsas pollice et digito medicinali perduces, dum carmen dicis.

⁴¹ 18, 4: Ieiunus dextram manum saliva tange et dextrum poplitem perfrica, deinde sinistra manu sinistrum, et hoc ter per singulos poplites facito; statim remediabis.

⁴² *N.H.* xxx, 47: Suspiriosis multipeda (*sc.* medetur), ut ter septenae in Attico melle diluantur et per harundinem bibantur.

⁴³ *Cod. Sang.* 751, p. 202, *sub textu* (quoted by Heim, *op. cit.* 557): Ad tusellas praecantas: 'Neptunus tusellas habebat, supra petram hic stabat, neminem habuit, qui curaret; ipse se curavit falce sua triplice'; hoc ter dicis.

⁴⁴ For digestive disorders among cattle see *supra*, pp. 119-120.

⁴⁵ *N.H.* xxx, 64: Si quis aquam ter pedes eluens haurire sustineat (*sc.* ventris morbo medetur).

⁴⁶ *Marc.* 27, 74: Flos hederæ tribus digitis sumptus . . . medetur.

⁴⁷ *Marc.* 28, 38: Bacas lauri tres cum herbae vincae coclearibus tribus pariter contundes et adicies vini calidi cyathis tribus.

⁴⁸ Pelagonius, 7: Ad dolorem ventris praecantatio: manu uncta oleo ventrem perfricato cum hac praecantatione: 'tres scrofae de caelo ceciderunt, invenit eas pastor, occidit eas sine ferro, coxit eas . . . sine dentibus. bene coxisti, bene coxisti.'

⁴⁹ *Marc.* 20, 78: Ventrem tuum perfricans dices ter: 'lupus ibat per viam, per semitam; cruda vorabat, liquida bibebat.' Sometimes a magic word or group of letters was written three times on a gold plate with a gold stilius, and the plate was worn as an amulet, as in *Marc.* 29, 26-27: Ad coli dolorem scribere debes in lamina aurea de grafeo aureo infra scriptos characteres luna prima vigesima et

Pliny is our authority⁵⁰ for the statement that the Magi employed the following remedy for disease of the spleen: "Take the fresh spleen of a sheep and lay it over the spleen of the patient, at the same time uttering as a charm the statement that you are performing this act in order to cure a spleen disease. Then embed the sheep spleen in the ceiling of the patient's bedroom, sealing it thrice nine times with your ring, each time repeating the above-mentioned charm."

The Romans also possessed various magic cures for ailments appearing on the surface of the body, such as blisters,

laminam ipsam mittere intra tubulum aureum et desuper operire vel involvere tubulum ipsum pelle caprina et caprina corrigia ligare in pede dextro, si dextra pars corporis colo laborabit, aut in sinistra, si ibi causa fuerit, habere debebit. . . . hi sunt characteres scribendi in aurea lamina: ΛΨΜΘΚΙΑ

ΛΨΜΘΚΙΑ
ΛΨΜΘΚΙΑ

Cf. also Marc. 29, 45: Lacertum viridem . . . capies, perque eius oculos acum cupream cum liceo . . . traicies, perforatisque oculis eum ibidem loci, ubi ceperas, dimittes; ac tum filum praecantabis dicens: 'trebio potnia telapho.' hoc ter dicens filum munditer recondes cumque dolor colici alicuius urgebit, praecinges eum totum supra umbilicum et ter dices carmen supra scriptum. Cf. Cod. Sang. 751, p. 232, 14; 236, 8. The only instance of the use of the number three in the magic cure of kidney disease seems to be from Cod. Sang. 751, p. 226, 30: In balneo cum te despoliaris, antequam aquam tangas, accipies oleum in manu sinistra, dicis nomen hoc: *φαρμακός*. hoc ter dicis et manu fricas cum oleo; novies sic lavas.

⁵⁰ *N.H.* xxx, 51: Pecudis lien recens magicis praeceptis super dolentem lienem extenditur, dicente eo qui medeatur lieni se remedium facere. post hoc iubent in pariete dormitorii eius tectorio includi et obsignari anulo ter novies eademque dici. Marcellus tells us (23, 70) that the actual words uttered by the operator were 'lieni remedium facio,' and adds that if the whole magic act is repeated three times the patient will not only be cured of his present trouble, but will be rendered immune for the future. The passage, in full, runs: Si quis agnum recens natum confestim manibus divellat lienemque eius, ubi extraxerit, calidum super lienem dolentis inponat ac fascia liget et dicat adsidue: 'remedio lienis facio'; postera die sublatum de corpore eius parieti cubiculi, in quo lienosus dormire solitus est, luto prius inlito, ut haerere possit, inponat atque ipsum lutum viginti septem signaculis signet ad singula dicens: 'lieni remedium facio'; hoc tale remedium si ter fecerit, in omne tempus lienosum quamvis infirmum et periclitantem sanabit. For the more conservative, Marcellus offers the following remedy (23, 35): Ebuli radicem, quam sine ferro evellas, aridam contusam et pollinis modo cribratam repones, inde coeliaria tria ex vini cyathis tribus in limine stans contra orientem per triduum bibito ieiunus; sed omnino observa, ne ebulum ferro contingatur, aut ne ipse, dum remedium accipis, ferrum tecum habeas.

boils, burns, itch, fistula, varicose veins, and warts. Many of these employ the number three. In order to introduce a belief very similar to one of our own, I shall overstep my chronological limit to quote again from Marcellus. "When blisters suddenly come on your tongue," he writes,⁵¹ . . . "touch the blister with the outer edge of the tunic you are wearing and repeat three times: 'So far away may he be who is slandering me.' Spit on the ground after each repetition of the charm; straightway you will be healed." From this it is apparent that the Romans believed such blisters to be caused by the fact that some one was slandering you.

Pliny, for some unknown reason, seems to have been especially interested in remedies for boils. Three of these remedies make use of the number three. "They say," he records,⁵² "that if you take nine grains of barley and move each one of them around a boil three times with your left hand, and then throw them all into the fire, you will be relieved forthwith." "It is helpful also," he says in another passage,⁵³ "when boils begin to appear, to mark the spot in advance three times with fasting saliva." Or, if you prefer,⁵⁴ "place a spider on the boil, and remove it after three days; or kill a shrewmouse in mid-air in such a way that it does not touch the ground, and move it around the boil three times, while both the healer and the patient spit three times." Similar cures for burns, itch, fistula, and warts are also found, but only in late authors.⁵⁵ I am tempted to give a remedy

⁵¹ *I*, 25: Pusulae cum subito in lingua nascuntur, priusquam idem loquaris, extremae tunicae qua vestiris ora pusulam tanges et ter dices: 'tam extremus sit qui me male nominat.' et totiens spues ad terram; statim sanabere.

⁵² *N.H.* *XXII*, 135: Novem granis (*sc.* hordei) furunculum si quis circumducatur, singulis ter manu sinistra, et omnia in ignem abiciat, confestim sanari aiunt.

⁵³ *N.H.* *XXVIII*, 36: Incipientes furunculos ter praesignare ieiuna saliva.

⁵⁴ *N.H.* *XXX*, 108: Furunculis mederi dicitur araneus, priusquam nominetur, inpositus et tertio die solutus; mus araneus pendens enecatus sic, ut terram ne postea attingat, ter circumlatus furunculo, totiens exspuentibus medente et cui is medebitur.

⁵⁵ To cure felons we read (*Marc.* 18, 30): De paronychia parietem continges et rursum digitum ducens dices ter: 'pu, pu, pu, numquam ego te videam per parietem repere.' Similarly, to cure burns (*Cod. Sang.* 751, p. 268): Praecantatio ad combustum; dicitur haec: 'rangaruagaverbat.' ter dicito, et lingito ter,

for warts, however, because it will, I dare say, remind all of us of our childhood beliefs. "Touch the wart," advises Marcellus,⁵⁶ "with three beans, and then bury the beans in a dung pit. . . . The more quickly the beans decay, the more quickly will your warts disappear."

The number three was also effectively used in curing diseases of the nervous system. Among these we may include sciatica, paralysis, and epilepsy. For the first-mentioned disease our only remedy is found in the *Anecdotum Latinum Piechottae*,⁵⁷ a work of too late a date to be considered here. Concerning paralysis and rheumatism it is difficult to understand why the flesh of precisely three mud-turtles should be used as the basis of a cure, as Pliny writes,⁵⁸ unless some magic power was thought to reside in the number three. Pliny also repeats⁵⁹ a bit of folk medicine to the effect that the powdered liver of a vulture, taken in the blood of a vulture for thrice seven days, would cure epilepsy. "Some," he adds, "give twenty-one red flies in a liquid, especially flies that have been on a corpse." For the cure of the same disease Pliny's contemporary, Scribonius Largus, suggests⁶⁰ a

et exspuito; and for the cure of the itch (*ib.* p. 265, 26): Ad scabiem. item vel tribus digitis cum comprehendas, haec ter dicis, et despuito: 'furem ferrum furca premet cum dolore fero, fur surgit foras.' haec gratis docere non oportebit. Finally, fistula may be cured as follows (*ib.* p. 249, 14): <Ad> syringium curandum haec verba infra scripta dicis, ascendis in montem mundus purus ex omni re, ter dicis sic extensa manu palmam habens: 'Sol invicte . . . (then follows a prayer to the sun).' For the cure of varicose veins we find (Marc. 34, 83): Hederae bacas tres, quae per parietem repit, pedi, in quo sunt varices alligato.

⁵⁶ 34, 54: Tribus fabae granis clavum tangito, eaque in sterculinio defodito, ne renasci possint; quanto maturius conputeruerint, tanto celerius clavos sponte decidere miraberis.

⁵⁷ 57: Haec est herba argimonia quam Minerva tradidit potionem Apollini. Apollo tradidit inter humanos, si cui sciaticus morbus est, hanc herbam. si hoc cum ter incantaveris. . . . Cf. Cod. Sang. 751, p. 252, 29.

⁵⁸ *N.H.* xxxii, 39: Ita decoctarum (*sc.* trium testudinum in paludibus viventium) ad tertias partes succus paralysem et articularios morbos sentientibus bibitur.

⁵⁹ *N.H.* xxx, 92: Praedicatur . . . iocur vulturis tritum cum suo sanguine ter septenis diebus potum (*sc.* morbo comitiali mederi). . . . fuere et qui muscas XXI rufas, et quidem a mortuo, in potu darent.

⁶⁰ 16: Hoc medicamentum ligneo vase servatum reponitur. cum opus fuerit, dantur ex eo, luna decrescente, per continuos dies triginta primum coclearia tria, deinde quinque, deinde septem, deinde novem, summum undecim, et rursus no-

medicine compounded with much attention to magic detail, which was to be administered, beginning when the moon was waning, for thirty continuous days in doses increasing daily from three to five, seven, nine, and eleven teaspoonfuls, and then in the same manner decreasing to three, repeating the process until the whole thirty days were completed. After that the remainder of the medicine was to be taken, three teaspoonfuls a day, for sixty days, in three *cyathi* of water. "Some," it is added, "even drink blood directly from their own veins, or out of a human skull, three teaspoonfuls a day for thirty days." One cannot read of all these three's and thirty's without suspecting the existence of some magic power in the numbers themselves. How intimately Scribonius associated the multiples of three with magic cures may be shown by an additional citation,⁶¹ recommending as a cure for epilepsy a little piece of the liver of a gladiator, whose throat had been cut, given to the patient in nine doses.

Diseases peculiar to women yielded to the same magic force. It is commonly believed, writes Pliny,⁶² that flabby breasts may be made firm by passing a partridge egg around them three times; and⁶³ that difficult childbirth may be immediately relieved, if any one hurls over the house where the patient is lying a stone or other missile which, with three different strokes, has killed three animals: a man, a boar, and a bear. Sexual debility in women might also be cured by the use of three roots of a plant called *unicaulis*.⁶⁴

vem, deinde septem, deinde quinque, postea tria; et iterum augetur minuiturque numerus cocleariorum donec dies triginta ante dicti consumantur. postea oportebit scobis eboreae heminam per duos menses consumere vitio correptum, accipientem ex ea terna coclearia in die ex aquae cyathis tribus . . . sunt et qui sanguinem ex vena sua missum bibant aut de calvaria defuncti terna coclearia sumant per dies triginta.

⁶¹ 17: Item ex iecinore gladiatoris iugulati particulam aliquam novies datam consumant (*sc. comitiales*).

⁶² *N.H.* xxx, 131: Putant et ter (*sc. mammas*) circumductas ovo perdicis . . . non inclinari.

⁶³ *N.H.* xxviii, 33: Ferunt difficiles partus statim solvi, cum quis tectum, in quo sit grvida, transmiserit lapide vel missile ex iis, qui III animalia singulis ictibus interfecerint, hominem, aprum, ursum.

⁶⁴ *N.H.* xx, 227: Tres radices (*sc. unicaulis*) iuxta adalligatas (*sc. Xenocritus tradit feminarum aviditates augere*).

For rheumatic and other pains we discover an interesting folk remedy repeated by Varro. In the *de Re Rustica*⁶⁵ a certain Tarquenna is given as the authority for a magic remedy for pains in the feet. It consists of an incantation which is to be repeated thrice nine times, each repetition to be accompanied by spitting and touching the earth. It is further enjoined that the afflicted person be fasting when he utters the charm. The latter swings so metrically in its natural prose accents that I wish to give it in Latin: '*Ego tui memini, medere meis pedibus, terra pestem teneto, salus hic maneto [in meis pedibus].*' "I remember thee; cure my feet; may earth take the pain, may health here remain in my feet."

For diseases of the tendons and hips, and for pains in all the limbs we possess remedies involving the magic number three from late authors only;⁶⁶ but when we come to consider the magic cure of ulcers and tumors, we find Pliny our sole and important authority. He tells us⁶⁷ that to cure ulcers of the groin one has only to tie three horse hairs into three knots and bind the whole within the ulcer. All inflammations⁶⁸ may likewise be scattered by the use of a plant

⁶⁵ I, 2, 27: Cum homini pedes dolere coepissent, qui tui meminisset, ei mederi posse. 'ego tui memini, medere meis pedibus; terra pestem teneto, salus hic maneto [in meis pedibus].' hoc ter noviens cantare iubet, terram tangere, despuere, ieiunum cantare. For the cure of gout cf. also Marc. 25, 13: Sed hanc herbam ter, dum tenes, antequam colligas, praecantare debes sic: 'terram teneo, herbam lego, in nomine Christi prosit ad quod te colligo.' Cf. also *Id.* 25, 11 and *supra*, p. 130, n. 57.

⁶⁶ For the first cf. Marc. 35, 18: De tribus cumulis terrae, quos talpae faciunt, ter sinistra manu quod adprehenderit tolles, hoc est novem pugnos plenos et aceto addito temperabis et subiges atque eo malagmate cum opus fuerit efficaciter uteris. For diseases of the hips cf. *Id.* 25, 30: Muscerdae novem tritae ex vini quartario super scabillum vel sellam laboranti potui dantur, ita ut pede uno quem dolet stans ad orientem versus potionem bibat et cum biberit, saltu desiliat et ter uno pede saliat atque hoc per triduum faciat. For the relief of pains in all the limbs cf. Cod. Sang. 751, p. 254, 20: Ad membrorum omnium dolorem praecantatio: homini haec dicis ter novies de manu sinistra digito medicinali et pollice, dices: 'vertigontes audierunt, Iovem patrem sibi ad optionem dedisse, ut si quid doleret, eadem die, qua te nominasset, tu illi sanum faceres quod doleret. . . .' omnia nominabis.

⁶⁷ *N.H.* xxviii, 218: Remedio sunt (*sc.* ulceri) equi saetae III totidem nodis alligatae intra ulcus.

⁶⁸ *N.H.* xxvii, 131: Discutit (*sc.* reseda) collectiones inflammationesque

called *reseda*, together with the charm: '*Reseda, morbos reseda; scisne, scisne quis hic pullus egerit radices? nec caput nec pedes habeat.*' "*Reseda*, cure the diseases; knowest thou, knowest thou what parasitic shoot hath driven its roots in here? May it have neither head nor feet." This you must say three times, spitting each time. In the cure of tumors Pliny seems to have thought highly of the magic power of the number three. Five passages refer to it. Tumors may be cured, we are told,⁶⁹ by anointing them with the herb called *rodarum*; but the patient must spit to the right three times while being anointed. "They say the remedy is more effective," he adds, "if three men of three different nationalities apply it from the right side." "There are some persons," he says a little further on,⁷⁰ "who tell us to wrap nine joints of grass in fresh black wool as a cure for the same affliction. Both the one who collects this grass and the patient must fast, and the former shall say three times to the latter: 'A fasting person gives medicine to a fasting person;' and then bind the curative substance upon the patient. This action must be repeated three days in succession." "Furthermore," says Pliny,⁷¹ "the experts say that it makes a great difference if a naked, fasting virgin apply the remedy to the patient while the latter is fasting also; touching him at the same time with the back of her hand and saying: 'Apollo forbids any disease to grow which a nude virgin counteracts.' These words she is to repeat three times, and both the maiden and the patient must spit

omnes. qui curant ea, addunt haec verba: '*reseda, morbos reseda; scisne, scisne, quis hic pullus egerit radices? nec caput nec pedes habeat.*' haec ter dicunt totienseque despuunt.

⁶⁹ *N.H.* xxiv, 172: Qui perunctus est despuat ad suam dextram terna. efficacius remedium esse aiunt, si tres trium nationum homines perungant dextrorsus.

⁷⁰ *N.H.* xxiv, 180-181: Sunt qui genicula VIII . . . involvi lana sucida nigra iubeant ad remedia strumae panorumve. ieiunum esse debere qui colligat (atque) . . . ter dicere ieiuno ieiunum medicamentum dare, atque ita adalligare triduoque id facere.

⁷¹ *N.H.* xxvi, 93: Experti adfirmavere plurimum referre, si virgo inponat nuda ieiuna ieiuno et manu supina tangens dicat: '*negat Apollo pestem posse crescere cui nuda virgo restinguat.*' atque ita retrorsa manu ter dicat totienseque despuant ambo.

three times." Others cured tumors by giving the patient for thrice seven days as much of a viper's ashes as could be held in three fingers.⁷²

For the cure of hemorrhages by the use of the number three we can quote no author earlier than Marcellus, from whose rather simple store one example will suffice. To cure a hemorrhage, our author directs,⁷³ let the patient touch the source of the hemorrhage with the *digitus medicinalis* and repeat twenty-seven times, or until the flow of blood ceases, the formula: '*soconon, soconon.*' With enough of patience such a remedy doubtless proved efficacious in minor cases.

Quartan fever was beyond the skill of Roman physicians. Accordingly, there were many attempts to cure by magic what could not be cured by science. Three such remedies employ the number three. Pliny is our authority for the first one. The Magi, he writes,⁷⁴ cure quartan fever by putting a caterpillar in a piece of linen cloth, and then winding a linen thread three times around the cloth, tying the thread with three knots, and at the tying of each knot declaring the purpose of the act.

This completes our list of the diseases which the Roman

⁷² *N.H.* xxx, 40: Cinerem eum (*sc. viperae*) dant bibendum ter septenis diebus, quantum prenditur ternis digitis.

⁷³ 10, 55: Locum ex quo defluit digito medicinali tanges et vicies septies dices et quotiens volueris repetes, donec fluorem pervincas: '*soconon, soconon.*' mire prodest. Or (*Marc.* 10, 70) one might write the Greek syllables ψαψεψηψηψηψη on virgin parchment, and suspend the amulet thus made from the neck of the patient with a rough string tied in three knots. For bleeding of the nose cf. *Marc.* 10, 56: Pollicem et medicinalem digitum a fronte usque ad cerebrum et inde usque ad cervicem duces et nonagies novies dices: '*sirmio, sirmio,*' quod ad aurem eius partis dici oportet de qua nare sanguis propensus fluit. The same result could be obtained by saying '*σοκοκαμ σικκυμα*' thrice nine times, according to *Marc.* 10, 69.

⁷⁴ *N.H.* xxx, 101: Urucam in linteolo ter lino circumdant (*sc. Magi*) totidem nodis ad singulos dicente quare faciat, qui medebitur. In the *Medicina Plin.* p. 89 Rose, we read: Ad quartanas . . . item panem et salem in linteo de linteo alliget et circa arborem licio alliget et adiuret ter per panem et salem: '*crastino hospites mihi venturi sunt, suscipite illos.*' hoc ter dicat. Cf. *Cod. Sang.* 751, p. 272, 4: Ad quartanas . . . eum curabis oleo, in quo ranæ rubetae trivio decoctæ sunt.

populace attempted to cure by the magic power of the number three. But there were other kindred uses for this occult force. We read in Pseudo-Apuleius⁷⁵ that snake-bite might be prevented or cured by reciting three times the charm: '*omnia mala bestiae canto.*' The words of this charm suggest Pliny's statement⁷⁶ that to have a circle drawn about one, especially a triple circle made with a sword point, is a means of protection, both for adults and infants, against *noxia medicamenta*. And if these last words mean "harmful charms," as seems likely,⁷⁷ rather than mere poisons, we have here an instance of the number three used in counter-magic as well as in magic. Of a similar nature are the two passages in Pliny⁷⁸ which direct that before one digs up either the iris or the mandrake, both of which were thought to possess magic power, one should make three circles around the plant with the point of a sword.

Closely akin to disease was the dread felt by the Romans for the sixty-third year of a man's life, which they called the climacteric;⁷⁹ a dread which probably arose from the thought that sixty-three is the product of $3 \times 3 \times 7$.

Even metaphorical diseases, such as love of praise, yield

⁷⁵ *de Virtut. Herb.* 91, 2: Ad collubri morsum. herbam ebulum tene et antequam succidas eam, ter novies dices: '*omnia mala bestiae canto,*' atque eam . . . secundum terram trifariam praecidito.

⁷⁶ *N.H.* xxxiv, 151: Namque et circumscribi circulo terve circumlato mucrone et adultibus et infantibus prodest contra noxia medicamenta.

⁷⁷ For Pliny's use of *medicamentum* in the sense of a magic charm see *N.H.* xxviii, 142; xxx, 82.

⁷⁸ *N.H.* xxi, 42: Effosuri (*sc.* irim) tribus ante mensibus mulsa aqua circumfusa hoc veluti placamento terrae blandiuntur, circumscriptam mucrone gladii orbe triplici cum legerunt; and *ib.* xxv, 148: Effosuri (*sc.* mandragoram) . . . III circulis ante gladio circumscribunt.

⁷⁹ Gellius tells us how happy Augustus was when he had passed the ominous sixty-third year: Observatum in multa hominum memoria expertumque est senioribus plerisque omnibus sexagesimum tertium vitae annum cum periculo et clade aliqua venire aut corporis morbique gravioris aut vitae interitus aut animi aegritudinis. propterea, qui rerum verborumque istiusmodi studio tenentur, eum aetatis annum appellant *κλιμακτηρικόν* (xv, 7, 1). In xv, 7, 3 Augustus is represented as writing to Gaius: Spero laetum et bene valentem celebrasse quartum et sexagesimum natalem meum. nam, ut vides, *κλιμακτήρα* communem seniorum omnium tertium et sexagesimum annum evasimus.

to the potent spell of the number three. For does Horace not say :⁸⁰

Swell'st thou with love of praise? Thou canst make availing
atonement :
Read thou but thrice clean through a book which can make
thee all over.

And death itself had no terrors for him who possessed this occult power over nature. At least the gods of Ovid employed the magic number three quite freely in restoring mortals to life. Of Ceres we read :⁸¹

Midnight was come o'er the earth, and the silence of undisturbed
slumber ;
Now she Triptolemus raised, lifting him up to her breast ;
Thrice with her hand she stroked him, and uttered a charm that
was triple.

Carna, too, when about to restore a child to life, shows a similar high regard for the magic power of the number three :⁸²

Thrice then with arbutus twig she touches in order the doorposts,
Thrice, too, the sills of the door marks with the arbutus twig ;

⁸⁰ *Ep.* I, 1, 35-36: *Laudis amore tumes: sunt certa piacula quae te
Ter pure lecto poterunt recreare libello.*

In *Sat.* II, 1, 8-9, we have: Ter uncti
Transnanto Tiberim somno quibus est opus alto,

which many editors interpret as an injunction to swim across the Tiber three times (*i.e.*, the magic number). So *e.g.* Palmer and Wickman in their editions of the *Satires*. Palmer says of this passage (*Satires of Horace* [London, 1899], p. 243): "the objection that if a man swam thrice across a river he would find himself on the far side from his clothes did not occur to Trebatius" — or to Horace. Of this I am not at all sure. It seems to me better to avoid the absurdity of leaving our swimmer without his clothes by taking *ter* strictly with *uncti*, translating simply, "thrice anointed," *i.e.*, "well anointed." In other words, the magic quality of this passage seems to me quite doubtful.

⁸¹ *Fasti*, IV, 549-551: *Noctis erat medium placidique silentia somni
Triptolemum gremio sustulit illa suo,
Terque manu permulsit eum, tria carmina dixit.*

⁸² *Fasti*, VI, 155-156: *Protinus arbutea postes ter in ordine tangit
Fronde, ter arbutea limina fronde notat.*

and Diana restores Hippolytus to life by similar means :⁸³

Thrice now his breast she touched and thrice uttered charms that
are healthful.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS

But not all the magic of the number three was concerned with the farm practice, the love, and the medicine of the Romans. There is an important class of passages in which the number three accompanies other acts of sympathetic magic. Ovid,⁸⁴ for instance, tells of an old woman who put a stop to all hostile tongues by magic rites :

And with her fingers three three grains of incense she buried
Under the sill where a mouse burrowed his small hidden path.

We feel the magic touch, too, when we read of Medea :⁸⁵

Thrice did she purify the father of Jason with water,
Thrice did she purify with fire, and three times with sulphur.

We have a similar feeling when we read⁸⁶ that if one wished to use a bat as an amulet, the animal must be carried alive around the dwelling three times; and we cannot suppress a smile of sympathy when we are told how Julius Caesar set the fashion of repeating a certain charm three times in order to guarantee a safe carriage ride.⁸⁷

Sometimes the number three seems to have been merely auspicious, or lucky, as when Lentulus reminded the Gallic ambassadors that he was that third Cornelius to whom the supreme power was destined to fall ;⁸⁸ or when the liar in

⁸³ *Fasti*, VI, 753: *Pectora ter tetigit, ter verba salubria dixit.*

⁸⁴ *Fasti*, II, 573-574: *Et digitis tria tura tribus sub limine ponit,
Qua brevis occultum mus sibi fecit iter.*

⁸⁵ Ovid, *Met.* VII, 261: *Terque senem flamma, ter aqua, ter sulphure lustrat.*

⁸⁶ Pliny, *N.H.* XXIX, 83: *Si ter circumlatus domui vivus super fenestram in-
verso capite adfigatur, amuletum esse.*

⁸⁷ Pliny, *N.H.* XXVIII, 21: *Caesarem dictatorem post unum ancipitem vehiculi
casum ferunt semper, ut primum consedisset, id quod plerosque nunc facere
scimus, carmine ter repetito securitatem itinerum aucupari solitum.*

⁸⁸ Cic. *in Cat.* 3, 9: *Se esse tertium illum Cornelium, ad quem regnum huius urbis
atque imperium pervenire esset necesse.* Cf. *Sall. Cat.* 47, 2 and *Flor.* II, 12, 8.

Plautus' *Pseudolus* exclaims:⁸⁹ "Thee, thee, my master, . . . do I seek, that I may give thee triple joys, thrice triple, three-fold, triple-mannered joys, delights by triple arts thrice deserved, born of triple fraud."

At other times it is difficult to decide whether the choice of the number three is due to magic or religious influences. Thus, Livy represents the Romans⁹⁰ as expiating certain *prodigia* with processions of twenty-seven maidens. But since twenty-seven, the cube of three, is so often found as a magic detail, and is here combined with the notion of virgin purity and other well-known magic ideas, one is tempted to include such passages in the category of magic.

Last of all, it is important to notice that it is the *deae tri-formes* who are addressed as the all-powerful aids to magic. Medea promises Jason the aid of her magic art,⁹¹

if only the three forméd goddess

Help me in person and give consent to my great deeds of daring.

A few lines further on we read:⁹²

Reft of the moon gleamed the stars. To which her arms then
extending

Thrice she turned, and thrice with water dipped from the river
Sprinkled her hair, and three times opened her mouth with the
witch cry,

⁸⁹ 703-706: Io, te, te, turanne, te rogo, qui imperitas Pseudolo:
Quaero, quoi ter trina triplicia, tribus modis tria gaudia,
Artibus tribus tris demeritas dem laetitias, de tribus
Fraude partas, per malitiam, per dolum et fallaciam.

⁹⁰ xxvii, 37 and xxxi, 12, 5-9. Cf. with these passages Horace's *Carmen Saeculare*, which, according to an inscription set up by Augustus, was sung by a chorus of twenty-seven maidens and twenty-seven boys.

⁹¹ Ovid, *Met.* vii, 177-178: modo diva triformis
Adiuvet et praesens ingentibus annuat ausis.

⁹² *Met.* vii, 188-194.

Sidera sola micant. ad quae sua bracchia tendens
Ter se convertit, ter sumptis flumine crinem
Inroravit aquis, ternisque ululatus ora
Solvit, et in dura summisso poplite terra
'Nox,' ait, 'arcanis fidissima quaeque diurnis
Aurea cum luna succeditis ignibus, astra,
Tuque triceps Hecate. . . .'

Bending her knee the while in suppliant pose on the hard ground.
"Night," she cries, "that art to secrets of mortals most faithful,
And to daily fires succeedest with gold of the moonlight,
Stars, and Hecate, thou of the three heads. . . ."

Similar invocations of triformed Hecate may be found in Seneca, Vergil, and Tibullus. In the *Medea* of Seneca, at the end of an elaborate invocation, we find the words: ⁹³

Ah! Heard are my charms, for triple bark
Fierce Hecate gave.

and again, in the same author we read: ⁹⁴

The troop of Hecate barked, and thrice the hollow vales
Gave back the doleful sound; the whole earth shook with its soil
Upheavéd from below; "I am heard," exclaimed the seer.

So, Vergil ⁹⁵ makes his Massylian priestess-magician address her incantation to

Triforméd Hecate, visages three of the maiden Diana,
and Tibullus declares to his mistress: ⁹⁶

I too binding my cap with fillet and loosing my tunic
Uttered in silent night nine times Trivia's charms.

This concludes the evidence for three as a magic number. We shall now summarize briefly the results of our investigation. In the first place let me say that, in my opinion, the greatest value of such collections is in the mere massing of the facts in such a way that what was before a dim suspicion of the probable becomes a definite certainty. It is quite

⁹³ 840-842:

Vota tenentur: ter latratus
Audax Hecate dedit.

⁹⁴ *Oed.* 569-571:

Latravit Hecates turba; ter valles cavae
Sonuere maestum; tota succusso solo
Pulsata tellus. 'audior,' vates ait.

⁹⁵ *Aen.* IV, 511:

Tergeminam Hecaten, tria virginis ora Dianae.

⁹⁶ I, 5, 15-16:

Ipse ego velatus filo tunicisque solutis
Vota novem Triviae nocte silente dedi.

worth while, I think, to know that every age of Latin literature has contributed to form a sum total of over one hundred and forty references to this peculiar phase of magic. Of very few facts in classical antiquity, I dare say, can we speak, therefore, with more definiteness.

Of course, in the nature of things, the number three must derive its power from its occurrence along with other ideas: one must say a formula thrice,⁹⁷ make a triple circle,⁹⁸ or spit three times;⁹⁹ one must touch the earth three times,¹⁰⁰ or touch the patient thrice with a magic wand;¹⁰¹ there must be three threads in the witch's *rhombus*.¹⁰² Three was important also in the making of amulets.¹⁰³ Magic medicine must have three ingredients,¹⁰⁴ or be applied to the patient three times.¹⁰⁵ Many other magic details were intimately connected with the number three: the East must be faced;¹⁰⁶ looking backward is forbidden;¹⁰⁷ various acts must be performed with the *digitus medicinalis*,¹⁰⁸ the left hand,¹⁰⁹ or the

⁹⁷ Varro (n. 65 *supra*), Verg. (n. 18), Tib. (nn. 20, 96), Ovid (nn. 16, 21, 22, 81, 83, 84, 92), Pliny (nn. 29, 50, 68, 70, 71, 74, 87), Pseudo-Apuleius (n. 75), Pelagonius (n. 48), Marc. (nn. 11, 32, 33, 34, 35, 38, 40, 49, 50, 51, 55, 65, 73), *Medicina Plin.* (n. 74), *Anecd. Piech.* (nn. 32, 57), Cod. Sang. (nn. 28, 43, 49, 55, 66).

⁹⁸ Pliny (nn. 8, 36, 54, 62, 74, 76, 78). Cf. Col. (n. 2), Pliny (nn. 15, 28, 86), Verg. (n. 18).

⁹⁹ Varro (n. 65), Verg. (n. 19), Tib. (n. 20), Pliny (nn. 17, 26, 29, 53, 54, 68, 69, 71), Marc. (nn. 11, 32, 34, 35, 40, 41, 51), *Anecd. Piech.* (n. 34), Cod. Sang. (nn. 28, 40, 55).

¹⁰⁰ Varro (n. 65), Marc. (nn. 11, 32).

¹⁰¹ Ovid (nn. 22, 81, 82).

¹⁰² Verg. (nn. 18, 19).

¹⁰³ Pliny (nn. 67, 70, 74, 86), *Medicina Plin.* (n. 74), Marc. (nn. 25, 49, 73).

¹⁰⁴ Cato (n. 7), Pliny (nn. 13, 14, 58, 63, 64, 67, 72), Marc. (nn. 30, 31, 46, 47, 50, 55, 56, 66), Cod. Sang. (n. 74).

¹⁰⁵ Hor. (n. 80), Scrib. (nn. 60, 61), Pliny (nn. 24, 27, 37, 45, 52, 53, 54, 59, 62, 69), Marc. (nn. 24, 32, 41, 50, 66), Cod. Sang. (nn. 49, 55).

¹⁰⁶ Marc. (n. 66). Cf. *Id.* 8, 27; 8, 191; 23, 35; 25, 11.

¹⁰⁷ Marc. 25, 11.

¹⁰⁸ Pliny (n. 54), Marc. (nn. 32, 73; cf. *Id.* 15, 101; 25, 13), *Anecd. Piech.* (nn. 34, 35), Cod. Sang. (n. 66).

¹⁰⁹ Pliny (n. 52), Marc. (nn. 11, 66; cf. *Id.* 8, 190; 8, 191; 23, 78), Cod. Sang. (n. 66).

right hand; ¹¹⁰ fasting, ¹¹¹ nudity, ¹¹² and purity ¹¹³ are important considerations both for the operator and for the patient; there are specific days which are more effective for magic; ¹¹⁴ and specific places, especially the threshold. ¹¹⁵ In all these occult practices, though the number three is not the visible magic act, the visible magic act is of no avail unless associated in some way or other with the number three.

Furthermore, no period of Roman life seems to have been free from this belief. Our references are exhaustive for the period extending from 191 B.C. to 300 A.D., and we have added thereto abundant evidence of the continuation and even wider spread of the belief in the later period of Latin literature. That we have not specific references for the years earlier than 191 B.C. is probably not because the Romans did not believe in the magic power of the number three before that time, but because of the scantiness of the literature. Indeed, the Laws of the Twelve Tables, published in 450 B.C., specifically forbade any one to enchant his neighbor's crop into his own field; ¹¹⁶ and if such matters were thought worthy of a place in the most revered body of Roman law, we may be sure that long before the time when these laws were promulgated, the belief in the magic power of the number three was quite prevalent.

Not only did all ages cherish this belief, but all classes of society were equally credulous. We have seen how in Cicero's day Lentulus used it to justify his own political ambitions; ¹¹⁷ and how all men of Pliny's day followed the custom, originated by Caesar, of saying a certain charm three times upon taking a seat in a vehicle, in order to avoid accidents on the journey. ¹¹⁸

¹¹⁰ Pliny (n. 69).

¹¹¹ Varro (n. 65), Pliny (nn. 53, 70, 71), Marc. (nn. 41, 50; cf. *Id.* 25, 11).

¹¹² Pliny (nn. 32, 71), Marc. 26, 94.

¹¹³ Pliny (nn. 32, 71), Marc. 15, 89; 26, 94; *Anecd. Piech.* 57.

¹¹⁴ Marc. 14, 68; 23, 78; 25, 11; 25, 13; 26, 94. For the moon's phases cf. Scrib. (n. 60), Marc. 8, 24; 25, 11.

¹¹⁵ Ovid (n. 84), Marc. (nn. 31, 50).

¹¹⁶ Cf. Bruns, *Fontes iur. Rom. ant.* 30, frag. 8, a and b.

¹¹⁷ *Supra*, p. 137.

¹¹⁸ *Supra*, p. 137.

We have found the magic number especially effective in the popular cures for diseases, which is exactly what we should expect. Was there ever a time when any remedy, no matter how absurd, did not find some one to believe in it? And so toothache, indigestion, hydrophobia—all physical ills from the treatment of sick cattle to the raising of the dead, were thought to be curable by means of the magic number three, if one only knew the proper combination of magic details.

As to the origin of the belief I have little that is positively certain to offer. Of one thing, however, I am sure. It had nothing to do with the duodecimal system or the mystic number theory of Pythagoras. In fact, the latter is mentioned only once in all the passages under consideration—quite an impossible silence, if he were really thought to be the originator of the belief. Besides, the belief is universal in modern times just as it was in antiquity, in regions where both Pythagoras and the duodecimal system are unknown.

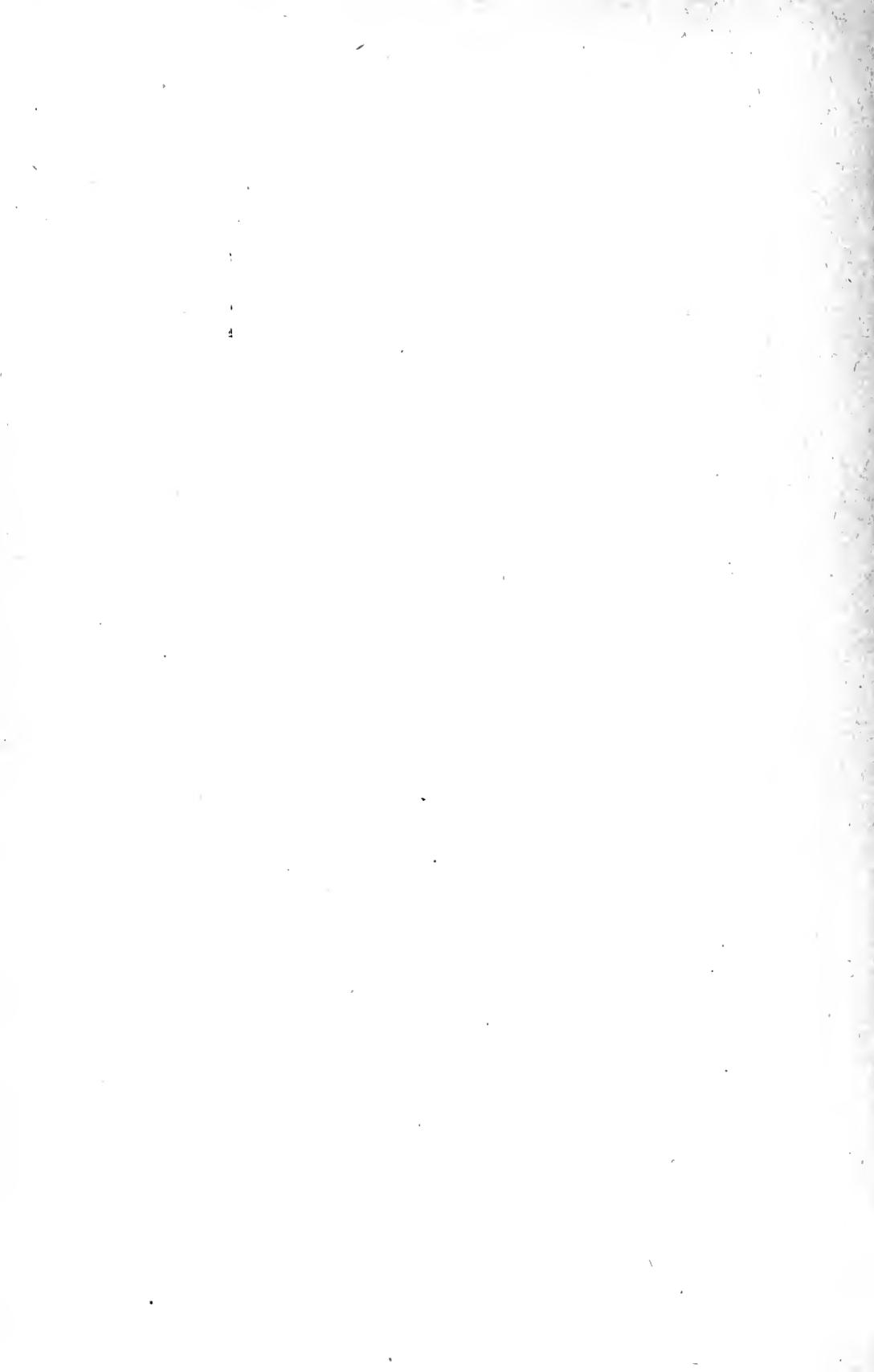
It is quite apparent, therefore, that any theory of the peculiar magic power of the number three among the Romans will have to be capable of explaining also the same phenomenon as it exists among other peoples. Such a theory has, I believe, been put forward by Usener,¹¹⁹ and is substantially as follows: It is a well known fact that certain Brazilian and other savage tribes count on the joints of one finger, bringing their system of definite numbers to a close with *two*. Under such conditions the notion *three* is indicated by the expression *two one*, *four* by the expression *two two*, etc., while the number which has the third place in such savage systems means not *three* but *many*. Thus, instead of counting *one*, *two*, *three*, such a savage counts *one*, *two*, *many*.¹²⁰ "Our Indo-Germanic ancestors," continues Usener, "must have remained for a long time at the stage where they counted on the joints of one finger in this way. The further advance to *four*, *five*, and the decimal system seems to have been both rapid and

¹¹⁹ *Rh. Mus.* LVIII (1903), 358 ff.

¹²⁰ Tylor (*Primitive Culture*, 3rd Amer. ed. I, 242 ff.) and other students of anthropology give ample evidence of the present existence among backward tribes of number systems ending in two and three.

easy." For this reason the numbers two and three made a very lasting impression in their popular speech, their religion, their folk lore, and their magic. We have only to recall our own expression that "two is a company, three is a crowd," and the German saying, "Einer ist keiner, zwei viele, drei eine Menge," to convince ourselves that there was really a time when, to our ancestors, three meant an indefinitely large number, beyond the limits of the definite number system. So also Diels has reached the conclusion that the number three derived its peculiar magic value from the fact that it was "die ursprüngliche Endzahl der primitiven Menschheit."¹²¹ This seems to be the most probable explanation of the origin of the belief in the great magic power of the number three.

¹²¹ *Archiv f. Gesch. d. Philosophie* x (1897), 232; and *Festschrift f. Th. Gomperz*, p. 8, n. 3.



XI. — *Some Obscurities in the Assibilation of ti and di before a Vowel in Vulgar Latin*

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THE resolution of *i* before a vowel into a palatal consonant appears early in Vulgar Latin, and the various assimilations, palatalizations, and assibilations to which the groups *ky*, *ty*, *dy*, etc. were subjected, have greatly contributed to the transformation of Latin into Romance phonology. These phenomena are well known in their general lines. In the details, however, various obscurities still need an elucidation and, notably, the chronology of the various changes is not yet definitely established.

The case of *ty* is the clearest. Its assibilation is the most ancient of all. The testimonies of grammarians bearing on the point are enumerated in Seelmann's *Aussprache des Lateins*, in my *Latin d'Espagne d'après les inscriptions* and in Grandgent's *Introduction to Vulgar Latin* (p. 117). The most important are those of Servius, in *Don.* (Seelman, p. 320): *Iotacismi sunt quotiens post ti vel di syllabam sequuntur vocales, et plerumque supra dictae syllabae in sibilum transeunt*; and of Papius quoted by Cassiodorus (*ib.*): *Iustitia* cum scribitur, tertia syllaba sic sonat quasi constet ex tribus litteris: *t, z, i*. Pompeius is more emphatic yet: *Si dicas Titius, pinguis sonat et perdit sonum suum et accipit sibilum.*

Ancient as those statements are, they are appreciably later than epigraphic forms such as CRESCENTSIAN [US] (140 A.D., Seelman, 323), and MARSIANESSES = Martianenses (3d cent., *C.I.L.* xv, 2612), not to mention many other forms which have no date, but undoubtedly are older than the fourth century A.D.

The interest offered by the testimony of the grammarians lies rather in their manner of presenting the facts. Thus, they do not condemn *tsy* as an inelegant vulgarism; they

accept the pronunciation as wholly admissible; they even speak as though *tsy* were to be preferred to all other pronunciations, including of course the pronunciation *ty* which they obviously consider as pedantic and clumsy. This shows that the assibilation was old enough to have invaded all classes of society, but it implies also that so late as that time there were some "lettrés" who affected to say *tio* or *tyo* instead of *tsy*.

As to *ky* for *ci* + vowel, the history is very different. JUDIGSIUM, *Insc. Hisp. Christ.* 108 (6th cent., *Lat. Esp.* pp. 144, 148), which I found in Spain, is perhaps the oldest form that can be quoted as a direct proof of the phenomenon. Μαρσιανός, mentioned by Eckinger (*Orthog. lat. Wörter in griech. Insch.* p. 103) and dating back to 225 A.D., is doubtful, since a contamination between *Martius* and *Marcus* is the most natural explanation of the form. In Southern Italy, in Sardinia and in Rumania, the anterior palatal developed from *ci* was attracted by *tsy* from *ti* and both sibilants are now alike. In Central Italy and in Gaul, on the contrary, *ky* shared in the fate of the palatal developed from *c* + *e* or *i*. All this points to a later assibilation for *ky* than for *ty*.

The difference of treatment between *ty* and *ky* makes it improbable that prior to their assibilation they ever were so near to one another that they could be easily confused in the pronunciation. I thus refuse to follow Grandgent (*op. cit.* p. 116) when he points to such a similarity in order to account for the frequent interchanges between *ti* and *ci* from the second century until the seventh. He gives a great many instances of that interchange, of which the older are: Ἄρουκτιανός = Aruntianus (131 A.D.), *terminaciones* (2d cent.), *concupiscencia* (an acrostic in Commodian), *justicia* (in an edict of Diocletian), *definiciones* (222-235 A.D.), *ocio* (389 A.D.), etc. I collected a few others in *Lat. Esp.* pp. 151, 154 (*Brucius, Viriacius, Terciae, Caucio*, etc.).

If, however, we stop to consider those forms more closely, we are struck by two facts: (1) *ci* for *ti* is infinitely more frequent than the reverse; (2) *ti* for *ci* is only found where a confusion of suffixes or words explains the change; *menda-*

tium (Bonnet, *Latin de Greg. de Tours*, p. 171), *solatium*, *Portius*, *Albutius* (*Lat. Esp.* p. 142) — instances, moreover, more or less doubtful or pretty late. These facts are not reconcilable with the hypothesis of a confusion — absolute or relative — between *ty* and *ky*. The natural development of the palatal was bringing *ky* always nearer to *ty*, and it would have been natural, therefore, to find *ti* written for *ci* rather than the reverse.

I propose thus to consider *ci* as a reaction against *tsy*. As the aforementioned statements of the grammarians seemed to imply, there were people who affected to say *ty*, while *tsy* had become the current pronunciation. It was unavoidable that for those whose articulation was *tsy*, the *ty* heard in the language of the "lettrés" should be mistaken for the *ky* of *socius*, *facies*, etc. In that manner the conviction was created that *ky* was the refined pronunciation of the sound articulated *tsy* in the vernacular. Accordingly the "demi-lettrés" were apt to pronounce actually: *terminaciones*, *concupiscencia*, *Aruncius*, etc. with a regular *ky*. It is not surprising, therefore, that *ci* was often found in the spelling. We have in this phenomenon a perfect parallel to the treatment of *au*, one or two centuries before. As is well known, in Central Italy, *ō* had replaced *au* in the language of the people, but the officials, grammarians, etc. were gradually reintroducing *au*, which had remained the standard pronunciation. In many cases this *au*, in contrast with the popular *ō*, was mistaken by the people for a long *a*, so that besides *Glōcus*, *Scōrus*, *Ōlus*, *Ōrelianus*, etc., there developed a pronunciation *Glācus*, *Scārus*, *Alus*, *Arelianus* as a would-be imitation of *Glaucus*, *Scaurus*, *Aulus*, *Aurelianus*, (cf. the epigraphic forms mentioned in *Lat. Esp.* pp. 86-95). Like *ā* for *au*, *ci* for *ti* is found largely in proper names, more subjected to the influence of fashion. That the change was not merely orthographic is shown, for example, by place-names such as *Graçay* (Cher) from *Graciacum* for *Gratiacum*, *Gresy* (Savoie) from *Gratiacum*, *Saciacum* for *Satiacum* in *Sayssac* (Taru), *Sacy* (Oise), *Varacius* for *Varatius* in *Varacieu* (Isère), etc. (Gröhler, *Franz. Ortsnamen*, 255, 285, 299).

Outside the proper names, when the articulation *ky* prevailed over *ty* and was transmitted to the Romance languages instead of the Latin *ti*, it was generally on account of a contamination of suffixes. The French *-esse* for *-itia* (*pigritia*, O.Fr. *perece*, Fr. *paresse*) about which Nyrop says that neither the origin nor the reason is known (*Gram. hist. de la langue fr.* III, p. 111), has apparently, during the period of uncertainty that we have been alluding to, undergone a crossing in Gaul with *-icia*; hence a suffix *-icia*, used both for the abstracts in *-itia* and for collectives in local denominations like *Cornesse*, *Bovesse*, *Vresse* in Belgium and France (= *cornicia*, *bovicia*, *verricia* [*sc. villa*] — though one more often finds the lengthened form *-aricia* [*Porcheresse*, *Favresse*, *Vacheresse*; see Nyrop, *op. cit.* III, p. 109]).

The other sporadic cases of *ci* for *ti* are to be explained by the late formation of the group. If, for instance, **exquartiare*, **guttiare* are rendered by It. *squarciare*, *gocciare*, it is because when these verbs were formed by way of the Vulgar Latin suffix *-iare*, *ty* had already been assibilated. The new *ty* was thus very naturally attracted by *ky*. This also applies to *ty* in the group *sty*. The *s*, probably by dissimilation, prevented the assibilation of *ty*, and it is not surprising that this isolated *ty* also was attracted by *ky*, as is shown by It. *angoscia*, *bescio*, *uscio* from *angustia*, **bestius*, *ostium*. This, no doubt, also applies to a few cases of *ty* preserved after a consonant before the accent (Meyer-Luebke, *Gram. lang. rom.* I, p. 458) as **captiare* > It. *cacciare*, Fr. *chasser*; *linteolum* > Fr. *linceul*; and perhaps **cum-initiare* > It. *cominciare*.

The other problem connected with assibilation to be solved in this article concerns *dy*.

As is well known, both the Romance languages and a great many forms in the inscriptions and the manuscripts abundantly prove that about the third century A.D., *j*, *g + e* or *i*, *gy*, and *dy* were articulated as a plain *y* (consonantal *i*). The Romance languages moreover show that in Vulgar Latin *z* joined the same series, apparently through the medium of *dy*,

and soon was reduced into *y*. This is shown by spellings such as *baptidiare*, *gargaridiare* (*Lat. Esp.* p. 156), *Iosimus* = *Zosimus* (*C.I.L.* iv, 4599), so that there is no doubt whatever that the *y* of O.Fr. *batoyer* (*baptizare*), Sp. *jujuba* (*zyzyphum*), Fr. *jaloux* (*zelosus*), etc., dates back to Vulgar Latin.

On the other hand, in my study on *Le Latin d'Espagne*, p. 156, I drew attention to the surprising frequency of *z* written for *dy* or *y* in later times, and I alluded to the possibility that besides the pronunciation *y* a school pronunciation *dz* might have existed for *z* and even for *y*, *dy*, etc. Grandgent has been led to the same opinion by the consideration of various texts of grammarians and of some Italian forms, e.g. *mezzo* (*medius*), *moszo* (*modius*), *razzo* (*radius*), *rozso* (**rudius*), *olezzo* (**olidius*), etc. The texts of the grammarians bearing on the subject are :

Servius, in *Don.* (quoted on p. 145, *supra*); Id. in *Georg.* II, 216 (Seelman, *op. cit.* 320): *Media; di sine sibilo proferenda est, graecum enim nomen est*; Isid. (Seelman, *op. cit.* 321): *Solent Itali dicere ozie pro hodie.*

The change of *y* into *dz* is very unlikely. It is thus certain that *dz* could only develop in case the *d* was preserved in the group *dy*. It was thus reasonable to think, as Grandgent and myself did, that *dz* could not have started from the people's language, because there *dy* had lost *d* at an early period. The pronunciation *dz* for *dy* implies thus that the "lettrés" had preserved the *d* of *dy* much longer than the people.

In that theory, however, one overlooks the fact that there are two serious objections against the assumption that *dz* was a learned pronunciation. First, one does not clearly see why the "lettrés" who had opposed *y* for *dy* when almost everybody used it, should themselves have introduced later, in spite of the spelling and the tradition, a pronunciation *dz* that was not heard in the vernacular. Next, it is not plain why in the case of words so common as *medius*, *hodie*, *radius*, etc., the people should have abandoned their own forms, *meyus*, *oye*, *rayus*, etc., to adopt the very remote learned equivalents, *medzyus*, *odzye*, *radzius*, etc. Moreover,

no explanation is given for the statement of Isidore that *ozie* for *hodie* is specifically Italian. The testimony of Isidore is important here, however, since it is curiously consistent with the fact that it is only in Italy that *dz* for *dy* is found after a vowel (*mozzo*, *mezzo*, *razzo*, etc.)

To account for these various difficulties, I propose the following explanation :

The use of *dzy* or *dz* for *dy* was a popular evolution, entirely parallel to *tsy* for *ty* and probably contemporaneous. Only it would have come when *dy* had already generally been reduced into *y* and, therefore, it could only have applied to exceptional cases in which *dy*, for some reason, had preserved its *d*. Now, we know from the Romance languages that such was the case for *di* + vowel after *r* and often for *di* + vowel after *n*. In some dialects even, for instance in Provençal, *di* is still preserved nowadays after *r* (Prov. *ordi* = *hordeum*). It is precisely in that case that *dz* for *dy* is found in most Romance languages, as illustrated, for example, by *hordeum* > It. *orzo*, Rum. *orz*, Sard. *ordzu*; *prandium* > It. *pranzo*, Rum. *prinz*, Sard. *pranzu*; *verecundia* > Sp. *verguenza* (besides *vergueña*).

It is evident that in these words *dz* for *dy* is due to a popular evolution. Now, beyond this case, one finds *dz* in Italian for a few *dy*'s of late origin, which are obviously posterior to the simplification of *dy* into *y*. In these cases *dy* very naturally was treated as *dy* in *prandium*. So **rudius* "raw" > It. *rozzo*, **olidius* "fragrant" > It. *olezzo* (Meyer-Luebke, *op. cit.* I, p. 460). These are formations with the suffix *-ius*, typical of late Vulgar Latin. Consequently for *mezzo*, *razzo*, *mozzo*, the most natural explanation would be the late preservation of *d* in the *dy* of these words in the pronunciation of the people of Italy. Unfortunately It. *raggio*, *oggi*, etc., and many other words in which *dy* is treated like *j* in *majus* > It. *maggio*, show that the phenomenon cannot have had the regularity of a normal phonetic law.

Now, there is another process in Italian Latin that shows the same irregularity: it is the doubling of consonants after the accented vowels. One finds it appearing capriciously in

many words mostly familiar, in competition with forms which retain the single consonant: *cĭppus, cĭpus; cĭppa, cĭpa; bĕcca, bĕca; cĕppo, cĕpo*; etc. If the consonant was followed by an *i* or a *u* before a vowel, the chances of doubling were rather increased, as is shown by It. *bascio* (**bassium*), *cascio* (**casseus*), *tenne* (**tenuit*), *volle* (*voluit*), *sappia* (*sapiat*), etc., and by Latin forms like *acqua* in the *Appendix Probi* (Grandgent, *op. cit.* p. 70; Stolz, *Hist. Gram. d. lat. Sprache*, I, p. 223). Why then should we not admit the possibility that besides *medius, modius, radius, hodie*, etc., there existed the doublets *meddius, moddius*, etc.? Like *dy* after consonants, *ddy* resisted the tendency to reduce *dy* into *y*, and they were thus assibilated together.

In this manner, moreover, one accounts for the introduction of *dzy* for all sorts of *dy*'s in the school language. The "lettrés" had resisted the reduction of *dy* into *y* and preserved *dy*, but when they capitulated before *tsy* for *ty*, they also adopted *dzy* for *dy*, which they heard in the popular pronunciation in *prandziu, hodzie*, etc.; but in contrast with the people they were pronouncing *dz* for all the *dy*'s, so that there developed among the Romans the feeling that *dz* was the elegant equivalent of popular *y*. It was thus to be expected as a further development that the equation, "popular *y* = elegant *dz*" would be sporadically extended to all kinds of *y*, even those coming from *gy, g + e* or *i*, etc.; hence forms such as *septuazinta* (*Lat. Esp.*, p. 156); *zouliae*; *zanuari* (Schuchardt, *Vokalismus d. Vulgär-lateins*, I, 69). It was no less to be expected that *z* would be found mostly in the spelling of words which belonged more or less to the school language. In fact in the lists of Schuchardt (*op. cit.* I, 67 and III, 23) nearly all the instances belong to that category: *Aziabenico, Azabenico* for *Adiabenco, Elviza* for *Helvidia, zabulius, zabullus, zabulio* for *diabolo, Zodorus* for *Diodorus, Zonysius* for *Dionysius, Zogenes* for *Diogenes*, etc. Reverse spellings are: *Ariobardianes* for *Ariobarzanes, gaiam, gaiopilacio* for *gazam, gazophylax, ieses* = $\zeta\eta\sigma\eta\varsigma$, *topagius* = *topazius*.

The profusion of *z*'s in the foreign words is a valuable confirmation of our theory. Those borrowed words, those

foreign names, obviously penetrated into Latin when *dy* had already been reduced to *y* in the vernacular. Those late *dy*'s were thus quite regularly assibilated into *dz*. Moreover, most of those nouns came through the medium of Greek. Now, the semi-educated knew that Greek words were full of *z*'s that were pronounced *y* by the people, while those who knew better articulated *dz* for these *z*'s. People who were more prudent than learned were thus inclined to write a *z* wherever there was a *y* in the pronunciation of those words. This resulted in such forms as *Zerax* (Schuchardt, *op. cit.*, I, 169), *Zo(b)*, *Zaco(b)* (*Lat. Esp.*, p. 158), for *Hierax*, *Job*, *Jacob*.

In conclusion, it may be said that this article, while it aims at bringing order into the various apparent abnormalities in the treatment of *ty* and *dy*, emphasizes the necessity of considering the phonetic changes in their mutual relations rather than as isolated processes. The doubling of consonants after accented vowels in Italy was a well-known tendency, but it does not seem to have occurred to anybody that it was likely to interfere with the reduction of *dy*. On the other hand, it was not sufficiently understood that the articulatory habits which produced *tsy* for *ty* almost necessarily introduced *dsy* for *dy*. The part played by attraction in phonetic evolution is illustrated by the absorption of late *ty* into *ky*, and of *ky* itself now by *tsy*, now by *k* (*c* + *e* or *i*). In all this I have been applying the principles laid down, notably, by Meillet in *Indogerm. Forsch.* x, p. 65, ff. Finally, it may be said that although school Latin is known to be a disturbing conservative force in the development of Folk-Latin, its importance has been rather underestimated. This paper shows that it not only preserved some articulations but that it has introduced various compromises and confusions, so that even in phonetics it may also be regarded as a creative force. In this may be seen an extension to phonetics of the influence of special languages to which I invited attention in a previous paper.¹

¹ *T.A.P.A.* XLVI (1915), 75-85.

XII. — *Compound Adjectives in Early Latin Poetry*

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IN the Golden Age of Latin we find the perfection of style, the flawless expression of the writer's thought. We find, too, certain well-recognized types of literature, separated from one another by clear and definite lines. Between the *mugae* and the longer poems of Catullus, for instance, or the letters and the formal prose of Cicero, there are differences of vocabulary and sentence structure which even an uncritical reader may observe. But this perfection and this differentiation were reached only after an evolution covering several hundred years. The first crude attempts at composition must have been very close to the ordinary speech of the day; but, as time went on, different writers consciously shaped the language to their own ends, choosing from the vocabulary of the people around them, echoing — or avoiding — the phrasing of their predecessors, and inventing words or turns of expression to suit the matter which they wished to present.

The history of the development of Latin style has never been written in full,¹ and cannot be written until much detailed work has been done in many fields. One of the fields is diction; and it is to a limited section of this field that the present study is devoted. This paper attempts an examination of the compound adjectives in Latin poetry from the earliest times to the beginning of the Ciceronian Age (81 B.C.) — their form, their meaning, and their range of use. Cicero's own poetry is excluded from the discussion, even though some of it undoubtedly falls before the year 81; and like-

¹ Norden's *Antike Kunstprosa* (Leipzig, 1898) gives an admirable discussion of the development of artistic prose in both Greek and Latin. Ribbeck's *Römische Tragödie* (Leipzig, 1875) and *Römische Dichtung* (Stuttgart², 1894) and H. de la Ville de Mirmont's *Études sur l'ancienne poésie latine* (Paris, 1903) contain valuable observations on the work of different authors, but do not attempt a historical treatment of style.

wise the work of Marcus Varro, Publilius Syrus, Decimus Laberius, Cornificius, Bibaculus, and Egnatius.

The paper deals only with compounds made from two independent roots, disregarding those formed with prepositional and inseparable prefixes.² No account is taken of numerals (e.g. *quinusvicenarius*, Plaut. *Ps.* 303), nor of adjectives like *morologus* (Plaut. *Pers.* 49, *Ps.* 1264) and *monogrammus* (Lucil. 59 Marx), which are merely transliterated from the Greek. *Benedictum* and *maledictum*, *benefactum* and *malefactum*,³ are excluded. On the other hand, the discussion includes substantive uses of recognized adjectives like *duplus* and *veneficus*, and substantives like *sonipes*, *Cortinipotens*, and *flabellifera*, which are similar in formation to a large number of adjectives.⁴

The 240 words which make up the list show great variety of form and composition.⁵ The same word may have two or three different endings, with no apparent distinction in meaning (*benevolens*, *benevolus*; *bisulcis*, *bisulcus*; *laetificans*, *laetificus*; *maledicax*, *maledicens*, *maledicus*; *malevolens*, *malevolus*; *quadrupedans*, *quadrupedus*, *quadrupes*; *unanimans*, *unianimus*; *velivolans*, *velivolus*); or the two elements

² Compounds of *semi-*, *sim-*, and *tri-* (= *ter*) are, however, included, and also compounds of the obsolete *-fendo* and *-imus*.

³ Listed as adjectives used substantively in the appendix to N. Helwich's monograph on the adjectives of Plautus (*Nabljudénija nad imjendami prilagdetelnymi u Plavta* St. Petersburg, 1893). *Perenniservus*, which Helwich includes with the same note, is also omitted from the present discussion.

⁴ An alphabetical list is given at the close of the article. Plautus is cited from the text of Goetz and Schoell (ed. min., 1892-1896), Terence from that of Dziatzko (1884), Lucilius from Marx's edition (1904), the *Annals* of Ennius from the edition of Vahlen (1903), other dramatic poetry from Ribbeck, *Scaen. Rom. poesis frag.*³ (1897-98), and other non-dramatic poetry (referred to as *Carm.*) from Baehrens, *Frag. poet. Rom.* (1886). A * indicates an apparent ἀπαξ εἰρημένον, ? a doubtful reading, [] suspected authorship. Substantive uses, masculine, feminine, or neuter, are marked s., s. m., etc. Comp. is comparative, sup. superlative.

⁵ Cf. Fr. Stolz, *Die lat. Nominalkomposition in formaler Hinsicht*, Innsbruck, 1877; *Hist. Gram. d. lat. Sprache* (Leipzig, 1894), I, pp. 366-433. I have been unable to obtain the dissertations by Deipser (*Über d. Bildung und Bedeutung d. lat. Adjective auf -fer u. -ger*, Bromberg, 1886), and Skutsch (*De nominum Lat. compositione quaest. select.*, Bonn, 1888), which are cited by Stolz in the latter work.

may be joined by different connecting vowels (*unanimans*, *unianimus*).⁶ Numeral prefixes vary between *septem-* and *septu-*, *ter-* and *tri-*. A number of the compounds have the secondary endings *-bilis*⁷ (*horrificabilis*, *lucrificabilis*, *luctificabilis*, *ludificabilis*, *monstrificabilis*, *tabificabilis*), *-ius* (*crurifragius*, *falsiurius*, *Unomammius*), *-arius* (*manifestarius*, the secondary form of *manifestus*), or *-inus* (*ferricrepinus*, *fustitudinus*). Others are diminutives, although the primitive form which they presuppose has not always come down to us, and in some cases certainly did not exist (*altipendulus*, *blandiloquentulus*, *damnigerulus*, *dentifrangibulus*, *gerulifigulus*, *munerigerulus*, *nucifrangibulum*, *plagigerulus*, *quadrimulus*, *salutigerulus*, *sandaligerula*, *scutigerulus*). Sometimes the prefix *in-* gives a negative meaning (*ingratificus*, *immisericors*), or *per-*, *ter-*, or *tri-* intensifies (*perterricrepus*, *terveneficus*, *trivenefica*). A few of the adjectives appear in the comparative (*confidentiloquus*, *maledicens*, *mendaciloquus*, *misericors*)⁸ or superlative (*magnificus*, *mirificus*, *sacrilegus*, *spissigradus*).

In most cases the component parts of the adjective are clearly recognizable; but the roots of *anceps* and *princeps*, *duplus*, *simplex*, etc., have suffered considerable change. *Manifestus* comes from an obsolete *fendo*, 'grasp'; *trimus* and *quadrimus* are made by prefixing the numerals to the root which appears in *hicms*, $\chi\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$, $\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha$. A few of the words are hybrids, made up of both Greek and Latin roots (*ferritribax*, from $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\beta\omega$;⁹ *pultiphagus*, from $\phi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega$;¹⁰ *Scytalosagittipelliger*, from $\sigma\kappa\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta$). The same elements which form some of the adjectives are similarly combined in verbs of the period;¹¹

⁶ In the Classical Period one of these forms was recognized as correct, to the exclusion of all the others. Cf. Norden, I, 191, on the variant forms of *neccesse*.

⁷ Noticed by Ribbeck, *Röm. Trag.* 645, n. 38, as a favorite of the tragic poets.

⁸ Cf. *magis manifestum*, Plaut. *Men.* 594; *magis principem*, Ter. *Adelph.* 259.

⁹ Cf. *flagritriba* (a form which Harper's *Lexicon* wrongly derives from *tero*), Plaut. *Ps.* 137; *tympanotriba*, *Truc.* 611; *ulmitriba*, *Pers.* 278 b.

¹⁰ Cf. *Pultiphagonides*, Plaut. *Poen.* 54.

¹¹ In this and the following notes citations of the more common words are not complete. For the verbs the list is as follows: *benedico*, Plaut. *Asin.* 745; *excarnifico*, Ter. *Heaut.* 813; *duplico*, Naev. *Trag.* 40; *conduplico*, Plaut. *Ps.* 1261; *sumifico*, Id. *Mil.* 412; *laetifico*, Id. *Aul.* 725; *locupletio*, Acc. *Trag.* 170; *lu-*

and the adjectives themselves give rise to nouns,¹² or to adverbs in *-e*, *-o*, or *-ter*.¹³

The adjectives fall into two main groups,¹⁴ of which the final element is in one case a noun, in the other either a verbal root or a participle in *-ns*, the second group outnumbering the first in the proportion of three to one. To the nominal root may be prefixed another noun in some case relation, an adjective, a numeral, or a verb; the verbal roots of the second class are preceded by nouns, adverbs, numerals, other verbs, and, in a single instance, a declined phrase. The prefix itself in one case consists of several coördinate words

diffico, Plaut. *Amph.* 585; *ludificor*, Id. *Amph.* 565; *deludifico*, Id. *Rud.* 147; *deludificor*, Id. *Most.* 1033; *eludificor*, Id. *Most.* 1040; *magnifico*, Id. *Men.* 371, *Stich.* 101, Ter. *Hec.* 260; *maledico*, Plaut. *Amph.* 572; *malefacio*, Id. *Truc.* 295, Ter. *Phorm.* 394; *mansuetus* (from *mansuesco*), Id. *And.* 114; *morigero*, Plaut. *Amph.* 981; *morigeror*, Id. *Capt.* 198, Ter. *Adelph.* 218, Acc. *Trag.* 469; *participo*, Plaut. *Pers.* 757, *Stich.* 33, Enn. *Trag.* 321; *quadruplico*, Plaut. *Stich.* 405; *sacrifico*, Id. *Amph.* 983, Enn. *Ann.* 221, Ter. *Phorm.* 702; *exsacrifico*, *Trag. inc.* 9.

¹² *Benevolentia*, Acc. *Trag.* 96, Afran. *Tog.* 101; *blandiloquentia*, Enn. *Trag.* 227; *grandaevitas*, Pac. *Trag.* 162, Acc. *Trag.* 68, 245; *magnificentia* (as if from a participle in *-ns*), Caecil. *Com.* 71, Ter. *Phorm.* 930; *malevolentia*, Plaut. *Merc.* 28; *misericordia*, Id. *Most.* 802, Ter. *And.* 126, Acc. *Trag.* 453; *morigeratio*, Afran. *Tog.* 380; *stultiloquentia*, Plaut. *Trin.* 222; *unanimitas*, Pac. *Trag.* 109; *vaniloquentia*, Plaut. *Rud.* 905. Cf. also: *beneficium*, Plaut. *Capt.* 358, Acc. *Trag.* 115; *ferriterium*, Plaut. *Most.* 744; *lanificium*, Id. *Merc.* 520; *maleficium*, Ter. *Phorm.* 336; *mancipium*, Plaut. *Mil.* 23; *multiloquium*, Id. *Merc.* 31, 37; *principium*, Id. *Mil.* 1219; *stultiloquium*, Id. *Mil.* 296.

¹³ *Benedice*, Plaut. *Asin.* 206 (wrongly cited in *Thesaurus* from *Trin.* 206); *dupliciter*, Id. *Mil.* 295, 296; *hostifice*, Acc. *Trag.* 82; *immisericorditer*, Ter. *Adelph.* 663; *magnifice*, Plaut. *Ps.* 911 (wrongly cited as 811 by Allardice and Junks in their *Index of the Adverbs of Plautus*, Oxford, 1913), Ter. *Heaut.* 556, Lucil. 388, Afran. *Tog.* 236; *malefice*, Plaut. *Ps.* 1211; *manifesto*, Id. *Asin.* 876; *mirifice*, Pomp. *Atell.* 96; *morigere*, Plaut. *Cist.* 84; *opipare*, Id. *Bacch.* 373, Caecil. *Com.* 100. *Regifice* (Enn. *Trag.* 85) implies the existence of a form *regificus*, although the first occurrence of the adjective in extant literature is in Verg. *Aen.* VI, 605.

¹⁴ The classification is based in part on that of Stolz, *Hist. Gram.* I, pp. 376-426. The first group corresponds to the possessive (*bahuvrihi*) type of Sanskrit, the second to the determinative (*tatpuruṣa*), including both dependent and descriptive compounds. (See Whitney's *Sanskrit Grammar* [Boston 1896], §§ 1246-1316.) Copulative (*dvandva*) compounds, which are very rare even among Latin nouns, are represented among the adjectives of this period only by the first part of *Scytalosagittipelliger*. (See Stolz, p. 429.)

(*Scyталosagittipelliger*); in another it is made up of a word and its modifier (*turpilucricupidus*). The list follows:

I. SECOND ELEMENT NOMINAL

First Element.

a) Noun: *cornifrons*, *dentefaber*?, *loripes*, *nocticolor*, *puddoricolor*, *scrupeda*, *scrupipeda*.

b) Adjective: *albicapillus*, *celeripes*, *crebrisurus*, *grandaevus*, *immisericors*, *levifidus*, *magnanimus*, *misericors*, *multigeneris*, *multigrumus*, *omnicolor*, *planipes*, *siccoculus*, *spissigradus*, *tardigeniculus*, *tardigradus*.

c) Numeral: *anceps*, *bicorpor*, *bidens*, *biiugus*, *bilibris*, *bilinguis*, *bipes*, *bisulcis*, *quadriiugus*, *quadrilibris*, *quadrinulus*, *quadrinus*, *quadrupedus*, *quadrupes*, *quinquennis*, *semianimis*, *semisomnus*, *semisonarius*, *septempedalis*, *septuennis*, *Sescentoplagus*, *sexennis*, *tricornius*, *trimus*, *unanimus*, *unoculus*, *Unomammus*.

d) Verb: ¹⁵ *Conterebromnius*, *flexanimus*, *incurvicervicus*, *repandirostrus*, *sonipes*, *versicapillus*, *versipellis*.

II. SECOND ELEMENT VERBAL

First Element.

a) Noun.

i. Direct Object: *aericepitans*, *armiger*, *arquitenens*, *bustirapus*, *carnificina*, *carnificius*, *cordipugus*, *Crurifragius*, *damnificus*, *damnigerulus*, *dentifrangibulus*, *dentilegus*, *dulcifer*, *ferricrepinus*, *ferriterus*, *ferritribax*, *flabellifera*, *flammifer*, *foedifragus*, *frondifer*, *frugifer*, *fumificus*, *furcifer*, *furtificus*, *fustitudinus*, *gerulifigulus*,¹⁶ *horrifer*, *horrificabilis*, *laetificans*, *laetificus*, *lanificus*, *laniger*, *lapicidina*, *lucifer*, *lucifugus*, *lucifer*, *lucrificabilis*, *luctificabilis*, *ludificabilis*, *mercedimerus*, *merobibus*, *monstrificabilis*, *morigerus*, *mortifer*, *munerigerulus*, *munificus*, *muricidus*, *muscipula*, *nuci*, *frangibulum*, *nugerigerulus*, *odorisequus*, *opificina*, *opiparus*, *particepspedisequus*, *pestifer*, *pinniger*, *plagiger*, *plagigerulus*, *portentificus*, *puerperus*, *pultiphagus*, *sacrificus*, *sacrilegus*, *salutigerulus*, *sandaligerula*, *saxifragus*, *scrofpascus*, *scutigerulus*, *Scyталosagittipelliger*, *signifer*, *signitenens*, *sociofraudus*, *tabificabilis*, *terrificus*, *terveneficus*, *thyrsiger*, *trifurcifer*, *trivenefica*, *turpilucricupidus*, *umbraticolus*, *urbicapus*, *veneficus*, *vestiplica*, *vestispica*, *vinibua*.

¹⁵ This type is rare in Latin. Stolz (pp. 392-393) follows Skutsch in thinking that it may have arisen through a misinterpretation of *incurvicervicus* and *repandirostrus* as equal to *qui curvicem incurvat, qui rostrum repandit*. Stolz suggests that the active sense of *flexanimus* may have developed through the influence of Greek compounds like $\pi\lambda\eta\zeta\epsilon\pi\omicron\sigma$.

¹⁶ Lane in *Harv. Stud.* IX (1898), 13 f., assumes that *gerulifigulus* is equivalent to *gerulos et figulos*, and, since a compound of this sort is without parallel in Plautus, proposes the reading *gerulos figulos*. But Stolz (p. 429), following Langen, interprets the word as *qui gerulum fingit*.

2. Genitive: *armipotens, bellipotens, caelipotens, Cortinipotens, locuples, omnipotens, salsipotens, sapientipotens, viripotens.*

3. Ablative: *bellicrepus?*, *capreaginus, caprigenus, Crucisalus?*,¹⁷ *funambulus, manceps, manifestarius, manifestus, mansues, noctiluca, noctipuga, noctuwigilus*,¹⁸ *speculoclarus?*,¹⁹ *taurigenus, velivolans, velivolus.*

b) Adverb or Adverbial Accusative: *altipendulus, altisonus, altitonans, altivolans, beneficus, benevolens, benevolus, blandidicus, blandiloquentulus, blandiloquus, confidentiloquus, doctiloquus, fallaciloquus, falsidicus, falsificus, falsiurius, falsiloquus, hostificus*,²⁰ *ingratificus, largificus, largiloquus, magnidicus, magnificus, maledicax, maledicens, maledicus, maleficus, male-suadus, malevolens, malevolus, mendaciloquus, mirificus, multibibus, multiloquus, multiplex, multipotens, obscuridicus, parcepromus, planiloquus, princeps, saevidicus, sensiloquus, spurcidicus, spurcificus, stultiloquus, stultividus, suaviloquens, suavisonus, vanidicus, vaniloquus, versutiloquus.*

c) Numeral: *bipatens, centuplex, duplex, duplus, quadrupedans, quadruplex, quadrupulus, semidoctus, simplex, simplus, trigeminus, triparcus, triplex, unanimans, univervsus.*

d) Verb: *contemnificus, contortuplicatus, crispisulcaus, delenificus, per-terricrepus.*

e) Declined Phrase: *dulciorelocus.*

One notices the recurrence of the numeral prefixes *bi-*, *ter-* (*tri-*), *semi-*, the adverbs *bene* and *male*, and the varying combinations with *multi-* and *falsi-*. The word *color* is repeated in *nocticolor, omnicolor, pudoricolor*; *pes* in *celeripes, loripes, planipes, sonipes*, and *septempedalis*. *Spissigradus* and *tardigradus* are synonyms; also *ferriterus* and *ferritribax*; *blandidicus, blandiloquus*, and *blandiloquentulus*; ²¹ and the idea 'untruthful' may be variously expressed by *confidentiloquus, fallaciloquus, falsiloquus, vanidicus, vaniloquus, versutiloquus*. Most numerous are the compounds of *-fer* (13), *-ger* (15, including several diminutives and *morigerus*), and *-ficus* (31, including the variants *-ficans, -ficabilis*, and *-ficina*).

Variations in the meaning of the component parts are fre-

¹⁷ A pun on the name Chrysalus, in which the relation of the two elements probably should not be too carefully analyzed.

¹⁸ Stolz (p. 400) lists *noctuwigilus* among the compounds formed with adverbial prefixes.

¹⁹ A form so unlike any other compound as to raise considerable doubt about the correctness of the emendation.

²⁰ Apparently formed on the analogy of words like *falsificus*.

²¹ Cf. *blandiloquens*, Decimus Laberius, *Mim.* 106.

quently carried over into the compound. The compounds of *-fer* reproduce practically all the meanings of the simple verb:

- a) 'bring': *lucifer*.
- b) 'carry': *flabellifer*, *flammifer*, *furcifer*, *signifer*.
- c) 'contain': *dulcifer*.
- d) 'produce':
 1. With concrete object: *frondifer*, *frugifer*.
 2. With abstract object: *horrififer*, *lucrififer*, *mortifer*, *pestifer*.

Bilinguis means 'two-tongued,' *i.e.* 'cloven-tongued,' in Plaut. *Pers.* 299; 'speaking two languages,' in Enn. *Ann.* 496. *Pestis* in *pestifer* has the sense of 'evil' rather than 'pestilence'; *Sescentoplagus* suggests an indefinitely large number of blows;²² and *ter-* and *tri-*, in the compounds *terveneficus*, *trifurcifer*, *triparcus*, *trivenefica*, simply add emphasis.²³ The verbal stems, which usually have the active sense, are in a few cases used with passive force (*spurcidici . . . vorsus*, Plaut. *Capt.* 56; *saevidicis dictis*, Ter. *Phorm.* 213). We notice the contrast between *cor luctificabile*, 'a heart touched with sorrow' (Pac. *Antiopa*, frag. xiv), and *leto tabificabili*, 'doom that causes wasting' (Acc. *Trag.* 421); between *velivolantibus navibus*, 'ships winged with sails' (Enn. *Trag.* 52; cf. *Trag.* 74, *Ann.* 388), and *genus altivolantum*, 'the race that wings on high' (*Ann.* 81); and between the two uses of *flexanimus* in two passages of Pacuvius: *flexanima tamquam lymphata*, 'soul-stirred as though distraught' (*Trag.* 422), and *flexanima oratio*, 'soul-stirring speech' (*Trag.* 177).

As we should expect, the separate elements of the compound at first have their literal force. But *anceps*, even in the time of Plautus, has passed from the meaning 'two-headed' to 'two-edged' (*securim*, Men. 858; *securicula*, Rud. 1158), and then to the general sense 'double' (*infortunio*, Poen. 25); and *simplex*, *duplex*, *quadruplex*, *centuplex*, and *multiplex* have lost all idea of 'folds,'²⁴ just as *locuples*

²² Compare the use of *sescenta* in Plaut. *Aul.* 320 (quoted by Lindsay on *Capt.* 726); also *Bacch.* 1034, *Ps.* 632.

²³ Cf. *trifur*, Plaut. *Aul.* 633; *triportenta*, Pac. *Trag.* 381.

²⁴ Contrast Plautus' coinage *vestiplica* (*Trin.* 252), in which the literal meaning of the verb is retained.

and *mansues*, *princeps* and *universus*, have lost their literal connection with 'place' and 'hand,' 'take' and 'turn.' *Munificus* is no longer 'gift-making,' but 'generous'; *sacrilagus*, 'shrine-robber,' and *furcifer*, 'yoke-bearer,' are general terms of abuse. Both the tragic and the comic poets give figurative turns to familiar words: *bicorporum Gigantes* (i.e. 'huge'), Naev. *Carm.* 20, 2; *bilinguis*, 'deceitful,'²⁵ Plaut. *Truc.* 781 (cf. *Pers.* 299, where both meanings are suggested); *versipellis*, 'fertile in resources,' *Bacch.* 657; *quadrupedem constringito*, 'bind him hands to feet,' Ter. *And.* 865.²⁶ The coinages of comedy, too, abound in similar twists.

In other cases, we can watch the word in process of change. *Manifestus*, literally 'struck with the hand,' has in nearly all the early instances the idea 'caught in the act, red-handed,' applied either to the criminal or to the crime:

Manifestum hunc obtorto collo teneo furem flagiti.

— Plaut. *Amph.* frag. 9.

Nec magis manifestum ego hominem umquam ullum teneri vidi:
Omnibus male factis testes tres aderant acerrumi.

— Id. *Men.* 594-595.

Ubi praensus in furto sies manifesto. — Id. *Asin.* 569.

But we also find

Perii hercle ego, manifesta res est. — Id. *Cas.* 895;

and the sense 'clear, evident' is common in later writers. Similarly, in Plautus' use of *magnificus* we can detect the idea 'making something out to be great, putting on airs':

Post cum magnifico milite, urbes verbis qui inermus capit
Confixi atque hominem reppuli. — *Bacch.* 966-967.

Ut ego tua magnifica verba neque istas tuas magnas minas
Non pluris facio quam ancillam meam quae latrinam lavat.

— *Curc.* 579-580.

In the Latin of the Ciceronian Age, however, *magnificus* has the meaning 'great, noble,' or 'splendid, rich.'

²⁵ The meaning found in Verg. *Aen.* 1, 661.

²⁶ See notes in editions of Freeman and Sloan and of Ashmore.

A number of the adjectives are used substantively: ²⁷ *Arquitencus*, 'the archer god (or goddess)'; *Cortinipotens*, 'the god of the tripod'; *sonipes*, 'the sounding-hoofed (steed)'; *planipes* (Atta, *Tog.* 1), 'ballet-dancer.' *Benevolus* (-ens) and *malevolus* (-ens) are common as substantives, especially in the plural; *pedisequus* and *pedisequa* are used of male and female attendants, *veneficus* and *venefica* as terms of abuse. Some of the nouns take on practically a technical sense: *armiger*, 'armor-bearer,' and *signifer*, 'standard-bearer'; *Lucifer*, 'the morning star'; *Noctiluca*, 'the moon.' *Bidens*, *bisulcis*, *bipes*, and *quadrupes* are used as biological terms, *simplum* and *duplum* or *dupla* (*sc. pecunia*) in law, *particeps* as 'fellow-soldier,' *puerpera* as 'a woman in labor.'

The distribution of these words is exceedingly interesting. The oldest specimens of Latin — the chants of the Salii and other priesthoods, the *sententiae* and *praecepta* of uncertain authorship — show no trace of them. The fragments of Livius Andronicus furnish only *maleficus* as an adjective and *particeps* as a noun.²⁸ Naevius has *arquitencus*, *bicorpor*, *bipes*, *frondifer*, *quadrupes*, *suavisonus*, and *thyrsiger* in his serious poems, and *morigerus* in a comedy. The *Annals* and tragedies of Ennius show a much freer use of compounds; the remains of his comedies are unfortunately too slight to warrant generalization. The numerous compounds of Plau-

²⁷ The reverse process occasionally takes place in a group of compounds ending in -a, which have the form of nouns, but are in several cases used attributively (Naev. *Carm.* 23; Plaut. *Most.* 356, *Truc.* 611; Acc. *Trag.* 642). These compounds are: *bucaeda*, Plaut. *Most.* 884; *Cadmogena*, Acc. *Trag.* 642; *caelicola*, Enn. *Ann.* 491, [*Carm.* 50]; Lucil. 28; *cibicida*, Lucil. 718; *cruricrepida*, Plaut. *Trin.* 1021; *flagritriba*, Id. *Ps.* 137; *Graiugena*, Pac. *Trag.* 364; ? *in-anilogista*, Plaut. *Ps.* 256; *legirupa*, Id. *Ps.* 364, 975, *Rud.* 652; *lucrifuga*, Id. *Ps.* 1132; *oculicrepida*, Id. *Trin.* 1021; ? *parenticida*, Id. *Epid.* 349; *parricida*, Id. *Ps.* 362; *plagipatida*, Id. *Capt.* 472, *Most.* 356; *servolicola*, Id. *Poen.* 267; *silvicola*, Naev. *Carm.* 23; Acc. *Trag.* 237; *lympanotriba*, Plaut. *Truc.* 611; *ulmitriba*, Id. *Pers.* 278 b. For the signs used above see n. 4, p. 154, *supra*.

²⁸ *Odorisequus* appears in a fragment which is quoted by Terentianus Maurus and Marius Victorinus as from "Livius ille vetus," or "Livius Andronicus," but which should almost certainly be assigned to Laevius. See Baehrens' critical note on Laev. 11 a; Ribbeck, *Röm. Trag.* 34, n. 30; Havet in *Rev. de Phil.* xv (1891), 10-11; and the excellent summary in H. de la Ville de Mirmont's *Études sur l'anc. poésie lat.* pp. 174-176; 273-279.

tus are, in general, more common in lyrical passages than in *senarii*. They are, moreover, distributed very unevenly over the twenty plays — comparatively few in the *Menaechmi*, *Mercator*, *Rudens*, and *Stichus*, a great many in the *Pseudolus* and *Trinummus*. Aside from substantive uses, Terence has only *benevolus* and *malevolus* (most often in the prologues); *simplex*, *duplex*, *princeps*, and *universus*; *magnificus*, *mirificus*, *morigerus*, and *saeviticus* — the last three only once each.

Of the entire list of adjectives, 77 (or about 30%) seem to be ἀπαξ εἰρημένα, not counting over 20 cases of doubtful text, which probably belong to the same class. *Dentifrangibulus* appears only twice, in a humorous scene in the *Bacchides*, *quadrilibris* in a single scene of the *Aulularia*, *quadrimumulus* once in the *Captivi* and once in the *Poenulus*; *furtificus*, *largiloquus*, *multigeneris*, *multiloquus*, and *multipotens* are apparently peculiar to Plautus. *Morigerus* seems to be a comic (*i.e.* colloquial?) word, since it occurs in the comedies of Naevius, Terence, and Afranius, as well as of Plautus; while *arquitenus*, *horrifex*, and *suavisonus* are common to several writers of elevated poetry.

If we examine the prose of the same period,²⁹ as represented by Volume I of the *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*, the fragments of the orators and historians, Cato's *de Agri Cultura*, and the rhetorical treatise *ad Herennium*, we find only a very small proportion of these adjectives in use.³⁰ The smallest number appears in the *Corpus*, the largest in

²⁹ Statements are made here on the basis of material collected by students of Professor A. L. Wheeler, of Bryn Mawr College. The orators are quoted from Meyer² (1842), the historians from Peter² (1914), Cato from Keil (1884).

³⁰ Very few compound adjectives of any sort occur, and only the following examples of those used in poetry: *anceps*, *ad Her.* IV, 54, 67; *beneficus*, Cato, *Orat.* frag. 60 (p. 110); *benevolus*, *ad Her.* I, 4, 6. 7. 8 (bis); *duplex*, Cato, *de Agr.* 18, 5; 20, 2; Sisenna, *Hist.* frag. 16; *ad Her.* II, 20, 31; 24, 38; 25, 39; III, 20, 33; *duplus* (s. n.), *C.I.L.* I, 198, 59 (lex repetundarum), 1254; Cato, *de Agr.* Introd. I; *locuples*, *ad Her.* II, 19, 30; *maledicus*, *ib.* II, 8, 12; *malevolus*, *ib.* II, 8, 12; *misericors*, *ib.* II, 17, 25; *multiflex*, *ib.* IV, 54, 67; *munificus*, Cato, *Orat.* frag. inc. 9 (p. 147); *pestifer*, *ad Her.* II, 26, 41; *quadrupulus* (s. n.), Cato, *de Agr.* Introd. I; *simplex*, *ad Her.* II, 2, 3; 24, 38 (bis); III, 20, 33; *simplus* (s. n.), *C.I.L.* I, 198, 59; *trimus*, Cato, *de Agr.* 45, 3; 47; *universus*, *C.I.L.* I, 196, 19 (senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus); Crassus, *Orat.* frag. 4 (p. 300); *veneficus* (s. f.), Cato, *Orat.* frag. inc. 27 (p. 149). For s. n. and s. f. see n. 4, p. 154, *supra*.

the Auctor *ad Herennium*. *Bene* and *male* are found here, as in poetry, in combination with *dico*, *facio*, and *volo*; *anceps*, *duplex*, *locuples*, and *universus* occur in the figurative sense, and *simplum* and *duplum* have the same legal connotation that they had in Plautus. The form *mansues*, which is quoted from a letter of Cato (*Fest.* 154 M), does not appear among the other fragments; but *mansuctus* is found in Sempromnius Asellio, *Hist. frag.* 3, and *ad Her.* II, 17, 25. Cato uses *vitigencus* (*de Agr.* 41, 3), connected with *caprigenus* and *taurigenus*; *bipedalis* (*de Agr.* 14, 2) and *sesquipedalis* (*de Agr.* 15; 18, 5), corresponding to *septempedalis*; and Sisenna has *semionustus* (*Hist. frag.* 139), parallel to *semidoctus*.

Practically the same results are reached from an examination of Cicero's orations and philosophical works. Merguet's *Lexicon* gives only 43 of the adjectives,³¹ and these the least vivid on the list, for example: *beneficus*, *benevolus*, *maleficus*, *malevolus*; words like *anceps*, *duplex*, *locuples*, and *universus*, which have lost their original meaning; technical terms such as *armiger*, *signifer*, *particeps*, *pedisequus*; *bipes*, *quadrupes*, *pinniger*; *duplum* and *quadruplum*.

Cicero's poetry, however, shows a very different vocabulary. Here we find *altisonus*, *altitonans*, *bicorpor*, and *semianimus*, which had been used by earlier poets, and a wealth of new formations: *anxifer*, *auctifer*, *aurifer*, *umbrifer*, corresponding to the older compounds of *-fer*; *horrisonus*, the opposite of *suavisonus*; *multiplicabilis*, with the suffix so frequently adopted by writers of tragedy.

What is true of Cicero's poetry is true also of the work of Lucretius, Catullus, and Vergil.³² All these poets echo the

³¹ *Anceps*, *armiger* (s. m.), *beneficus*, *benevolus*, *bipes* (s.), *carnificina*, *duplex*, *duplus*, *foedifragus* (twice), *frugifer*, *furcifer* (s. m.), *hostificus* (once), *lapicidina* (s. f.), *locuples*, *lucifugus* (once), *magnanimus*, *magnificus*, *maledicens* (once), *maledicus*, *maleficus*, *malevolus*, *manceps*, *manifestus*, *mirificus*, *miseri-cors*, *mortifer*, *multiplex*, *munificus*, *particeps*, *pedisequus* (s. m.), *pestifer*, *pinniger* (once, in technical sense), *princeps*, *quadrupes* (s.), *quadrupulus* (s. n.), *sacrilegus*, *semisomnus* (once), *signifer* (usually technical), *simplex*, *suaviloquens* (once — in a literary echo?), *triplex*, *universus*, and *veneficus*. Cicero also uses *mansuetus*, but not *mansues*.

³² O. Weise, *Charakteristik d. lat. Sprache*³, Leipzig, 1905; H. Pullig, *Ennio quid debuerit Lucretius*, Halle, 1888; J. Froebel, *Ennio quid debuerit Catullus*,

vocabulary of their predecessors (especially Ennius) and form new compounds on the analogy of those already existing. The notable exception to the general rule is Horace, who prefers phrases like *ter amplum* (*Carm.* II, 14, 7), used of Geryon, *ter aevo functus* (*Carm.* II, 9, 13) of Nestor, *ministerium fulminis* (*Carm.* IV, 4, 1) of the eagle of Jove, and *fulgente decorus arcu* (*Carm. Saec.* 61) of Apollo, to the sonorous compounds of the earlier poets.³³

It is possible to draw some general conclusions about the relation of compound adjectives to Latin style.³⁴ The power to form compounds, which the Latin language inherited from the parent speech, was probably freely employed in the pre-literary period. Traces of these compounds must have remained in the spoken language, and, to a limited extent, in literature, especially in the writings of Cato and Plautus, who (in the bulk of their work, at least) keep close to the level of everyday speech. To this class we may perhaps assign *morigerus*, which differs both in formation and in tone from the compounds of *-ger* common in Ennius and later poets; *manifestus*, with the secondary form *manifestarius*; ³⁵ *locuples*, *mansues*, and the various numeral combinations with *-plico* and *-imus*.

At the time of the earliest written Latin, however, the language had lost its flexibility. Livius Andronicus uses practically no compounds, avoiding them in his translation of the *Odyssey* even when they would have exactly represented the phrasing of Homer. In the first line, *πολύτροπον* becomes *versutum* (*Carm.* I), and *εὐώπιδα* is omitted altogether in translating *Od.* VI, 142 (= *Carm.* 19: *Utrum genua amplotens virginem oraret*).³⁶ But with the growing influence of Greek

Jena, 1910; C. A. Bentfeld, *Der Einfluss des Ennius auf Vergil*, Salzburg, 1875. I hope at some future time to carry the investigation down into the Silver Age.

³³ Cf. Stolz, *Lat. Nominalkomp.*, pp. 10-11; Fr. Seitz, *De adiectivis poetarum Lat. compositis* (Bonn, 1878), pp. 22-23; Shorey, *Horace, Odes and Epodes* (Boston, 1898), Introd. xviii-xx.

³⁴ Cf. Stolz, *Hist. Gram.* I, pp. 369-376; Norden, I, 187, n. 1.

³⁵ Parallel to *strufertarius* (Fest. 295 M).

³⁶ Cf. F. Kunz, *Die älteste röm. Epik in ihrem Verhältniss zu Homer*, Unter-Meidling (1890), p. 7.

style we find compounds reappearing in Latin³⁷ (Naev. *Carm.* 32, *arquiteneus* = τοξοφόρος; *Trag.* 20, *suavisonus* = ἡδυβόης). The introduction of hexameter verse by Ennius undoubtedly gave great impetus to the movement.³⁸ Polysyllables were better suited to dactylic meter than to the rough Saturnian, and words like *lānīgēr*, *frūgīfēr*, *dōcīlōquīs*, and *bēllīpōtēns* could be handled with special ease.

In this detail, as in many others, it was true that the Latin poets *non verba sed vim Graecorum expresserunt poetarum* (Cic. *Acad. Post.* 1, 3, 10). Compounds in the Greek manner are frequently introduced into the Latin adaptation even where the Greek original contains none. The opening lines of the *Iphigenia* of Ennius (*Trag.* 177-178),

Quid noctis videtur in altisono
Caeli clipeo?

translate Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 6,

τίς ποτ' ἄρ' ἀστὴρ ὄδε πορθμεύει;

and Enn. *Ann.* 264, *fici dulciferae*, represents the Homeric *συκέαι τε γλυκεραί* (*Od.* vii, 116 *et al.*).³⁹

Pacuvius and Accius carry on the tradition,⁴⁰ Pacuvius sometimes producing compounds that border on the grotesque (*repandirostrus*,⁴¹ *incurvicervicus*). Laevius experiments with words as he does with meters, and achieves forms destined to call forth the wonder of later generations (Gell. xix, 7).⁴²

³⁷ F. T. Cooper (*Word Formation in the Roman Sermo Plebeius* [New York, 1905], pp. 299-300) makes the tendencies of popular speech largely responsible for these compounds.

³⁸ Cf. Ribbeck, *Röm. Dicht.* 1, p. 43; Weise, *Char. d. lat. Sprache*, p. 86.

³⁹ Cf. Kunz, p. 19.

⁴⁰ See L. Koterba, *De sermone Pacuviano et Acciano* (*Diss. Phil. Vind.* viii [1905], 111-192).

⁴¹ Marx on Lucil. 212 quotes Epicharm. 46 K, μακροκαμπυλαόχευες, as a parallel to *incurvicervicus*. *Repandirostrus* may also have been paralleled in Greek, although this idea is generally expressed by σιμός. A similar phrase occurs in Liv. And. *Trag.* 5-6, and the picture of the sportive, music-loving dolphins is common in Greek literature. Cf. Pseudo-Arion, 4-11, and Eur. *El.* 432-440, parodied by Ar. *Ran.* 1317-1318.

⁴² Even some of these exaggerated forms may have been suggested by the

Dulciorelocus is quite unparalleled in Latin, and *tardigeniclo senio* and *pudoricolor aurora* belong to the mere prettinesses of language.

With the comic poets the situation is different. As we have seen, Naevius avoids compounds in his lighter work. When Plautus and Terence use words of this type, they are sometimes writing *tragice*:⁴³

Magnanimi viri freti virtute et viribus. — Plaut. *Amph.* 212.

Misericordior nulla mest feminarum. — Id. *Rud.* 281.

Em, istuc serva; et verbum verbo, par pari ut respondeas,

Ne te iratus suis saevidicis dictis protelet.

— Ter. *Phorm.* 212–213.

More often the comic poets indulged in humorous exaggerations of the word-formation current in tragedy. In so doing, the Roman writers showed kinship with Cratinus and Aristophanes, rather than with Menander and Diphilus, whom they were translating.⁴⁴ The *contortiplicata nomina* of Plaut. *Pers.* 702–705, and the epithet *Scythalosagittipelliger*, which an unknown poet gives to Hercules (*Com. inc.* 74 e), are exactly in the manner of Old Comedy. The most amusing effect, in Latin as in Greek, is produced by heaping up the compounds in a single line:

Salsipotentis et multipotentis Iovis fratri et Nerei Neptuno.

— Plaut. *Trin.* 820.

Domi habet animum falsiloquum, falsificum, falsiurium.

— Id. *Mil.* 191.

Greek. The epithets *trisaeclesenex* and *dulciorelocus*, which Laevius applies to Nestor, have an interesting parallel in an epigram in the *Palatine Anthology* (vii, 144).

⁴³ Cf. Don. ad Ter. *Phorm.* 137, 201, *Hec.* 281, *Adelph.* 638 (cited by Ribbeck, *Röm. Trag.* 643, nn. 35 and 36).

⁴⁴ See Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.* (Berlin, 1895), pp. 91–99. The abusive epithets of *Ps.* 360–367 all have Greek equivalents, many of them with comic associations. Notice especially *bustirapus* (= τυμβωρύχος, *Ar. Ran.* 1149); *sacrilegus* (= ιερβ-συλος, Id. *Plut.* 30); *periurus* (= ἐπιτορκος, Id. *Nub.* 400). Even *verberavisti patrem et matrem* (*Ps.* 367), as Leo pointed out (p. 93), represents *πατραλοίας* and *μητραλοίας*. *πατραλοίας* is used in exactly the same way in *Nub.* 911, 1327; and the dialogue between the Just and the Unjust Argument in *Nub.* 908–912 is strikingly similar to the passage in the *Pseudolus*.

Apud fustitudinas ferricrepinas insulas. — Id. *Asin.* 33.
Oculicrepidæ, cruricrepidæ, ferriteri, mastigiæ.

— Id. *Trin.* 1021.

O pestifera portentifica trux tolutiloquentia !

— Novius, *Atell.* 38.

Terence, however, is remarkably free from this tendency. With the exception of the line of the *Phormio* quoted above, which may possibly be a parody of the tragic style,⁴⁵ he fulfills the promise made in the prologue to the *Heauton Timorumenos* (46): In hac est pura oratio.

In the next generation, the function of literary criticism was taken over by Lucilius. Line 875,

Verum tristis contorto aliquo ex Pacuviano exordio,

suggests that the poet may have found a play of Pacuvius extremely tiresome. Lines 27–29 seem to have been an adaptation of the council of the gods in the *Annals* of Ennius (cf. *Ann.* 491), and *Bruttace bilingui* (1124) was borrowed from *Ann.* 496. Several other passages containing compound adjectives have the ring of *paratragedia*: *contemnificus*, 654; *Cortinipotens*, 276; *grandaevus*, 1108 (cf. *grandaevitas*, *Pac. Trag.* 162, *Acc. Trag.* 68, 245); *monstrificabilis*, 608 (cf. *luctificabilis*, *Pac. Antiopa*, frag. XIV); *mortifer*, 802 (cf. *Trag. inc.* 87); *Iovis omnipotentis*, 444 (cf. *Ann.* 458); *pecus nasi rostrique repandum*, 212 (cf. *Nerei repandirostrum incurvicervicum pecus*, *Pac. Trag.* 408); *sonipes*, 507 (cf. *Acc. Trag.* 603; *Trag. inc.* 237).⁴⁶

But at the beginning of the Ciceronian Age a reaction set in. The principle of “analogy” was invoked; forms were reduced to a norm; and the rule was formulated by Caesar: Ut tamquam scopulum, sic fugias inauditum atque insolens verbum (Gell. I, 10, 4). Even Cicero, with all his admiration for Ennius, censured the more uncouth of the old compounds: Immo vero ista (*sc. verba bene sonantia*) sequamur asperitatemque fugiamus *habeo istanc ego perterricrepam*, itemque *versutiloquas malitias* (*Or.* 49, 164). Horace, carrying out

⁴⁵ Cf. Dziatzko-Hauler on *Phorm.* 213.

⁴⁶ Cf. Norden, I, 186–187; and Marx's notes on ll. 654, 1108, 608, 444, 212, 507.

the same principle, comments on the *sesquipedia verba* of tragedy (*A.P.* 97); and Quintilian writes of the phrase *Nerei repandirostrum incurvicervicum pecus*: Dure videtur struxisse Pacuvius (I, 5, 67).

It would seem, therefore, that the capacity for composition, though latent in the language from the beginning, never had a far-reaching effect upon Latin literature as a whole. Two general classes of compound adjectives may be recognized: an older group, going back to the early period of the language and preserved to some extent in popular speech; a later group, formed by Naevius, Ennius, and their successors, on the analogy of the Greek. A few adjectives of the latter class, which lost the literal sense of the compound and developed a transferred or technical meaning, made their way into standard prose. Many others were imitated by serious poets and satirized by comic poets; but, on the whole, words of this class were regarded as more or less artificial. Writers on style advised against them, and authors who aimed at purity of diction carefully avoided their use.

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- ?aericrepitans: Acc. *Trag.* 238.
 ?albicapillus: Plaut. *Mil.* 631.
 *altipendulus: Nov. *Atell.* 110.
 altisonus: Enn. *Ann.* 575, *Trag.* 82,⁴⁸
 177.
 altitonans: Enn. *Ann.* 541.
 altivolans: (s.) Enn. *Ann.* 81; Hostius, *Carm.* I, 1.
 anceps: Plaut. *Men.* 858, *Poen.* 25, *Rud.* 1158; Lucil. 839, 840.
 armiger: Plaut. *Cas.* 257; Acc. *Trag.* 547 — (s. m.) Plaut. *Cas.* 55, 270, 278, 769, *Merc.* 852.
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 arquitenens: Naev. *Carm.* 32, 1; *ib.* 61; Hostius, *Carm.* 6, 2; Acc. *Trag.* 52 — (s.) Acc. *Trag.* 167.
 *bellicrepus: [Enn. *Carm.* 68].
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 benevolus: Plaut. [*Asin.* 66], *Capt.* 350,⁴⁹ *Cist.* 640; Ter. *Phorm.* 97, *Hec.* 761; Acc. *Trag.* 651.
 bicorpor: Naev. *Carm.* 20, 2; Acc. *Trag.* 307.
 bidens: Pomp. *Atell.* 52.

⁴⁷ For the editions referred to and the signs used in this Index see n. 4, p. 154, *supra*.

⁴⁸ Wrongly quoted in *Thesaurus* as *Trag.* 8.

⁴⁹ Wrongly quoted in *Thes.* as *Capt.* 380.

- ?biiugus: Enn. *Trag.* 156.
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 bilinguis: Plaut. *Pers.* 299, *Ps.* 1260,
Truc. 781; Enn. *Ann.* 496; ⁵⁰ Lucil.
 1124.
 bipatens: Enn. *Ann.* 61.
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 bisulcis (-us): Plaut. *Poen.* 1034; Pac.
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 *blandidicus: Plaut. *Poen.* 138.
 *blandiloquentulus: Plaut. *Trin.* 239a.
 blandiloquus: Plaut. *Bacch.* 1173.
 *bustirapus: (s. m.) Plaut. *Ps.* 361.
 caelipotens: ⁵¹ Plaut. *Pers.* 755.
 ?capreagenus: Plaut. *Epid.* 18.
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 Acc. *Trag.* 544.
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 ?carnificius: Plaut. *Most.* 55.
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 *confidentiloquus: (comp.) Plaut.
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 *contemnificus: Lucil. 654.
 ?Conterebromnius: Plaut. *Curc.* 446.
 *contortiplicatus: ⁵² Plaut. *Pers.* 708.
 *cordipugus: [Lucil. 968].
 *cornifrons: Pac. *Trag.* 349.⁵³
 *Cortinipotens: (s. m.) Lucil. 276.
 ?crebrisurus: Enn. *Carm.* 543 (= *Inc.*
 35 Vahlen).
 *crispisulcans: *Trag. inc.* 36.
 *Crucisalus: (s. m.) Plaut. *Bacch.* 362.
 *Crurifragius: (s. m.) Plaut. *Poen.* 886.
 damnificus: Plaut. *Cist.* 728.
 *damnigerulus: Plaut. *Truc.* 551.
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 ?dentefaber: Enn. *Ann.* 319.
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 *dentilegus: (s. m.) Plaut. *Capt.* 798.
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 *dulciorelocus: Laev. *Carm.* 9.
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 (s. n.) *Id. Poen.* 184, 1351.
 ?fallaciloquus: Acc. *Trag.* 694.
 falsidicus: Plaut. *Capt.* 671, *Trin.*
 770; Acc. *Carm.* 11, 1 (pars codd.).
 falsificus: Plaut. *Mil.* 191; Acc. *Carm.*
 11, 1 (pars codd.).
 *falsiurius: Plaut. *Mil.* 191.
 falsiloquus: Plaut. *Capt.* 264, *Mil.* 191.
 *ferricrepinus: Plaut. *Asin.* 33.
 *ferriterus: (s. m.) Plaut. *Trin.* 1021.
 *ferritribax: Plaut. *Most.* 356.
 *flabellifera: (s. f.) Plaut. *Trin.* 252.
 flammifer: Enn. *Trag.* 27.
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 frugifer: Enn. *Ann.* 489; *Trag. inc.*
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 *fustitudinus: Plaut. *Asin.* 33.
 *gerulifugulus: Plaut. *Bacch.* 381.
 grandaevus: Lucil. 1108.
 horrifer: Pac. *Trag.* 82; Acc. *Trag.*
 566.
 *horrificabilis: Acc. *Trag.* 617.

⁵⁰ Wrongly quoted in *Thes.* as *Ann.* 649.

⁵¹ Starred in *Lexicon*, but quoted in *Thes.* also from Prud. *Apoth.* 660.

⁵² Marked in *Lex.* as found only in grammarians.

⁵³ Quoted in *Lex.* from Liv. And.

- hostificus: Acc. *Trag.* 80.
 immisericors: Acc. *Trag.* 33.
 *incurvicervicus: Pac. *Trag.* 408.
 *ingratificus: Acc. *Trag.* 364.
 *laetificans: Plaut. *Pers.* 760.
 laetificus: Enn. *Ann.* 574; *Trag. inc.* 134 (= Enn. *Scen.* 152 Vahlen).
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 lapidicina: (s. f.) Plaut. *Capt.* 736, 944, 1000.
 largificus: Pac. *Trag.* 414.
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 *levifidus: Plaut. *Pers.* 243.
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 *lucrificabilis: Plaut. *Pers.* 712.
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 *iudificabilis: Plaut. *Cas.* 761.
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 maledicax: Plaut. *Curc.* 512.
 maledicens: Plaut. *Merc.* 410 — (comp.) *ib.* 142.
 maledicus: ?Plaut. *Asin.* 483.
 maleficus: Liv. *And. Com.* 6 (= *Carm.* 33, 2); Plaut. *Bacch.* 280, *Cas.* 783, *Mil.* 194, *Ps.* 195 a, 939 a — (s. m.) ?*Rud.* 1247, *Trin.* 551.
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 mendaciloquus: Plaut. *Trin.* 769 — (comp.) *ib.* 200.
 ?mercedimerus: Lucil. 10.
 *merobibus: Plaut. *Curc.* 77.
 mirificus: Acc. *Praetext.* 27 — (sup.) Ter. *Phorm.* 871.
 misericors: Plaut. *Amph.* 297, *Rud.* 585 — (comp.) *ib.* 281.
 *monstrificabilis: Lucil. 608.
 morigerus: Naev. *Com.* 91; Plaut. *Amph.* 842, 1004, *Capt.* 966, *Cas.* 463, 896, *Cist.* 175, *Curc.* 157, 169, *Epid.* 607, *Men.* 202, *Most.* 398, *Ps.* 208; Ter. *And.* 294; Afran. *Tog.* 372.
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 multigeneris: ?Plaut. *Capt.* 159 — (s.) Id. *Stich.* 383.
 *multigrumus: Laev. *Carm.* 9.⁵⁴
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 *munerigerulus: (s. m.) Plaut. *Ps.* 181.
 munificus: Plaut. *Amph.* 842; Lucil. 664.
 *muricidus: Plaut. *Epid.* 333.
 muscipula: (s. f.) Lucil. 1022.
 nocticolor: Laev. *Carm.* 9.
 noctiluca: (s. f.) Laev. *Carm.* 26, 3.
 ?noctipuga: Lucil. 1222.
 *noctuvigilus: Plaut. *Curc.* 196.
 *nucifrangibulum; (s. n.) Plaut. *Bacch.* 598.
 ?nugigerulus: (s. m.) Plaut. *Aul.* 525.

⁵⁴ Quoted in *Lex.* from Naev.

- Pobscuridicus: Acc. *Trag.* 75.
 *odorisequus: [Laev. *Carm.* 11 a, 4].²⁸
 omnicolor: ⁵⁶ Lucil. 311.
 omnipotens: Plaut. *Poen.* 275; Enn. *Ann.* 458, *Trag.* 141; Turp. *Com.* 118; Lucil. 444; Val. Sor. *Carm.* 4, 1.
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 opiparus: Plaut. *Capt.* 769, *Mil.* 107, *Pers.* 549, *Poen.* 132.
 ?parcepromus: (s. m.) Plaut. *Truc.* 184.
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 perterricrepus: *Trag. inc.* 142.
 pestifer: Nov. *Atell.* 38.
 pinniger: Acc. *Trag.* 547.
 *plagiger: Plaut. *Ps.* 153.
 *plagigerulus: Plaut. *Most.* 875.
 *planiloquus: Plaut. *Truc.* 864.
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 ?portentificus: Nov. *Atell.* 38.
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 *pudoricolor: Laev. *Carm.* 9.
 puerperus: (s. f.) Plaut. *Amph.* 1092, *Truc.* 414, 478; Ter. *And.* 490, *Adelph.* 921.
 *multiphagus: Plaut. *Most.* 828.
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 quadrilibris: Plaut. *Aul.* 809, 821.
 quadrimulus: Plaut. *Capt.* 981, *Poen.* 85.
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 quadrupedans: Plaut. *Capt.* 814; ?Acc. *Trag.* 603 — (s.) ?Enn. *Trag.* 154.
 quadrupedus: Plaut. *Asin.* 708.
 quadrupes: Enn. *Ann.* 232; Ter. *And.* 865 — (s.) Naev. *Trag.* 25; Enn. *Trag.* 156; Pac. *Trag.* 2; Acc. *Trag.* 315, 381.
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 ?quadrupulus: (s. n.) Plaut. *Truc.* 762.
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 *repandirostrus: Pac. *Trag.* 408.
 ?sacrificus: *Trag. inc.* 121.
 sacrilegus: Ter. *Adelph.* 304 — (s. m.) Plaut. *Ps.* 363; Ter. *Eun.* 419, 911, 922, *Adelph.* 265 — (sup.) Plaut. *Rud.* 706 — (s. f.) Ter. *Eun.* 829.
 *saevidicus: Ter. *Phorm.* 213.
 *salsipotens: Plaut. *Trin.* 820.
 *salutigerulus: Plaut. *Aul.* 502.
 *sandaligerula: (s. f.) Plaut. *Trin.* 252.
 *sapientipotens: Enn. *Ann.* 181.
 saxifragus: [Enn. *Carm.* 463].
 *scrofipectus: Plaut. *Capt.* 807.
 ?scrupeda: Plaut. *frag. fab. cert.* 100.
 ?scrupipeda: Iuvent. *Com.* 10; Val. Sor. *Carm.* 3.
 *scutigerulus: Plaut. *Cas.* 262.
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 semisomnus: Plaut. *Curc.* 115; ?*Trag. inc.* 99.
 ?semisonarius: (s. m.) Plaut. *Aul.* 516.
 ?sensiloquus: *Com. inc.* 25.
 *septempedalis: Plaut. *Curc.* 441.
 septuennis: Plaut. *Bacch.* 440, *Men.* 24, 1116, *Merc.* 292, *Poen.* 66.
 *Sescentoplagus: (s. m.) Plaut. *Capt.* 726.
 sexennis: Plaut. *Poen.* 902, 987.
 *siccoculus: Plaut. *Ps.* 77.
 signifer: (s. m.) Lucil. 90.
 *signitenens: Enn. *Trag.* 96.
 simplex: Plaut. *Pers.* 559; [Ter. *Heaut.* 6].
 simplus: (s. n.) Plaut. *Poen.* 1362.
 *sociofraudus: (s. m.) Plaut. *Ps.* 362.

⁵⁶ Marked "post-class." in *Lex.*

- sonipes: (s. m.) Lucil. 507; Acc. *Trag.* 603; *Trag. inc.* 237.
 ?speculoclarus: Plaut. *Most.* 644.
 *spissigradus: (sup.) Plaut. *Poen.* 506.
 *spurcidicus: Plaut. *Capt.* 56.
 *spurcificus: Plaut. *Trin.* 826.
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 *stultivudus: Plaut. *Mil.* 335.
 suaviloquens: Enn. *Ann.* 303.
 suavisonus: Naev. *Trag.* 20; Acc. *Trag.* 572.
 *tabificabilis: Acc. *Trag.* 421.
 ?tardigeniclus: Laev. *Carm.* 8, 3.
 *tardigradus: Pac. *Trag.* 2.
 *taurigenus: Acc. *Trag.* 463.
 terrificus: *Trag. inc.* 96.
 *terveneficus: (s. m.) Plaut. *Bacch.* 813.
 thysiger: Naev. *Trag.* 32.
 ?tricornius: (s. m.) Lucil. 669.
 trifurcifer: (s. m.) Plaut. *Aul.* 326, *Rud.* 734, 735.
 trigeminus: Plaut. *Capt.* 90, *Mil.* 717.
 trimus: Plaut. *Rud.* 744.
 *tripareus: Plaut. *Pers.* 266.
 triplex: Plaut. *Ps.* 580, 704, 1025; Pac. *Trag.* 68, 302; Acc. *Trag.* 513.
 *trivenefica: (s. f.) Plaut. *Aul.* 86.
 *turpiluricupidus: Plaut. *Trin.* 100.
 *umbraticolus: Plaut. *Truc.* 611.
 unanimans: Plaut. *Truc.* 435.
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 *Unomammius: Plaut. *Curc.* 445.
 *urbicapus: (s. m.) Plaut. *Mil.* 1055.
 vanidicus: Plaut. *Trin.* 275.
 vaniloquus: Plaut. *Amph.* 379.
 *velivolans: Enn. *Trag.* 52.
 velivolus: Enn. *Ann.* 388, *Trag.* 74; Laev. *Carm.* 11, 2.
 veneficus: Plaut. *Rud.* 1112 — (s. m.) Plaut. *Amph.* 1043, *Pers.* 278, *Ps.* 872, *Rud.* 987; Ter. *Eun.* 648 — (s. f.) Plaut. *Epid.* 221, *Most.* 218, *Truc.* 762; Ter. *Eun.* 825.
 *versicapillus: Plaut. *Pers.* 230.
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 *versutiloquus: *Trag. inc.* 114.
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 *vinibua: (s. f.) Lucil. 302.
 *viripotens: Plaut. *Pers.* 252.

XIII. — *The Origin of Greek Tragedy in the Light of Dramatic Technique*

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EXCEPT for those who adhere to some form of the traditional view of the origin of Greek tragedy — from dithyramb to satyr-chorus, to tragedy — the question has now resolved itself into two well-defined theories. Professor Ridgeway finds the origin of tragedy in the ritual performed by the chorus worshipping dead heroes at the tomb.¹ On the other hand, there is the theory that the germ of Greek tragedy is to be sought in the ritual which celebrated the annual death and rebirth of vegetation, that was a feature of the cult of Dionysus. This view is held by Professor Gilbert Murray,² Miss Jane Harrison, and Mr. F. M. Cornford.³ Mr. Pickard-Cambridge,⁴ if we may judge from his review of Professor Ridgeway's work, may also be placed among those who do not accept the theory advanced by that scholar. Only in certain particulars does Professor Murray subscribe to Professor Ridgeway's views; and, in the final analysis, these two scholars are still far apart in regard to the question of the ultimate origin of Greek tragedy. Professor Murray states his position in this matter as follows:

"The following note presupposes certain general views about the origin and essential nature of Greek Tragedy. It assumes that Tragedy is in origin a Ritual Dance, a *Sacer Ludus*, representing normally the Aition, or the supposed historical Cause, of some current ritual practice: e.g. the *Hippolytus* represents the legendary death of that hero, re-

¹ William Ridgeway, *The Origin of Tragedy*, Cambridge, 1910. Also, *The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races*, Cambridge, 1915.

² Gilbert Murray, "Excursus on the Ritual Forms Preserved in Greek Tragedy," in Miss Jane Harrison's *Themis* (Cambridge, 1912), 341-363.

³ F. M. Cornford, *The Origin of Attic Comedy*, London, 1914.

⁴ *Class. Rev.* xxvi (1912), 52-59. See also Professor Ridgeway's reply, *ib.* 134-149.

garded as the Aition of a certain ritual lamentation practiced by the maidens of Trozên. Further, it assumes, in accord with the overwhelming weight of ancient tradition, that the Dance in question is originally or centrally that of Dionysus; and it regards Dionysus, in this connection, as the spirit of the Dithyramb or Spring Drômenon, an 'Eniautos-Daimon,' who represents the cyclic death and rebirth of the world, including the rebirth of the tribe by the return of the heroes of dead ancestors.

"These conceptions, it will be seen, are in general agreement with the recent work of Dieterich (*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XI, pp. 163-196); also with that of Usener (*ib.* VII, pp. 303-313), as developed by Dr. Farnell (*Cults*, vol. v, p. 235, note A), and the indications of the Macedonian mummeries described by Mr. Dawkins and others. I must also acknowledge a large debt to Prof. Ridgeway's Tomb-theory, the more so since I ultimately differ from him on the main question, and seek to show that certain features in tragedy which he regards as markedly foreign to Dionysus-worship, are in reality natural expressions of it.

"It is of course clear that Tragedy, as we possess it, contains many non-Dionysiac elements. The ancients themselves have warned us of that. It has been influenced by the epic, by hero cults, and by various ceremonies not connected with Dionysus. Indeed, the actual Aition treated in Tragedy is seldom confessedly and obviously Dionysiac. It is so sometimes, as sometimes it is the founding of a torch-race or the original reception of suppliants at some altar of sanctuary. But it is much more often the death or *Pathos* of some hero. Indeed I think it can be shown that every extant tragedy contains somewhere towards the end the celebration of a tabû tomb. This point we gladly concede to Professor Ridgeway. I wish to suggest, however, that while the content has strayed far from Dionysus, the forms of tragedy retain clear traces of the original drama of the Death and Rebirth of the Year Spirit."⁵

⁵ *Op. cit.* 341 f. I have reproduced Professor Murray's capitalization in the citations from his work.

Many of the arguments for and against the theories of the origin of tragedy are based upon certain peculiarities in the construction of Greek tragedy, *e.g.* the *agon*, the *threnos*, the *theophany*, the appearance of the tomb, the *peripeteia*, the *anagnorisis*, the rôle of the chorus, the messenger, the ghost, etc. There are, however, other technical elements in the construction of Greek drama, which are not easily explained, nor, as yet, sufficiently elucidated for the student of dramatic technique. For instance, why is there so much more narration of past events and of events behind the scenes in tragedy than there is in comedy? Why is tragedy so retrospective that one can almost say it is in the past tense, while comedy is prospective and is in the present and future tense, and, as is natural in drama, deals with present and future events in the story? Why are scenes of violence and death banished from view in tragedy, while in comedy scenes of violence are portrayed upon the stage? Why, in comedy, does the *agon* or contest proceed before the eyes of the spectators, and why is it carried on by the individual hero and — let us say — the individual villain; whereas in certain tragedies the principal *agon* occurs behind the scenes, or, if it is on the stage, takes place between an individual and the chorus? Why, in early tragedy especially, are both the hero and the villain relatively insignificant figures, seldom issuing from behind the scenes, and why did the rôle of the villain never become extremely important; while, in comedy, each of these parts attains greater development and the chorus becomes a relatively less important factor in the play? Why is there a stricter unity of action in tragedy than in comedy? Why, in tragedy, is the point of attack, *i.e.* the place in the story where the play begins, closer to the climax and the *dénouement* than in comedy? Finally, why is tragedy more serious in tone and comedy lighter and more humorous — a question which is not so easily answered as one might think? The reasons for these technical differences between the two forms of Greek drama need explanation. By comedy is meant in every case Aristophanic comedy.

Attempts have been made to answer some of the questions

outlined above. Thus we have been told many times why deaths were not portrayed before the eyes of the spectators; but none of the explanations of this curious practice is entirely satisfactory. Hitherto there has been too marked a tendency to separate tragedy and comedy in dealing with the question of origin. We must try to find out what there is in postulated rituals that makes it possible or impossible, from the point of view of dramatic technique, for these different kinds of drama to emerge, in forms so similar in some ways and so dissimilar in others.

We shall attempt to show that it is impossible for Greek tragedy to have developed out of the ritual postulated by Professor Murray, because Aeschylean tragedy is not constructed technically in a form which corresponds to the form of this ritual. We shall attempt to show, however, that it is possible for Greek comedy to have developed out of the ritual postulated by Mr. Cornford (which is essentially the ritual of Professor Murray), because the construction of the plays of Aristophanes corresponds to what may be called the technique of this ritual. Also, we shall attempt to show that it is possible, so far as dramatic technique is concerned, for Greek tragedy to have arisen out of the ritual of the worship of dead heroes postulated by Professor Ridgeway. Finally, we hope to prove that, whatever theory is suggested in the future in regard to the origin of Greek drama, the test of dramatic technique will be found to be of value in showing whether it is possible or impossible for Greek tragedy or comedy to have evolved from any postulated ritual. It may well be found that this test is more valuable in disproving rather than in proving any theory of the origin of Greek drama, and that it brings negative evidence against the validity of Professor Murray's hypothesis rather than positive corroborative evidence of Professor Ridgeway's view. No student of dramatic technique, however, will be inclined to accept any theory of the origin of any drama unless that theory shows that it is possible for that drama to have arisen in its particular form from the postulated source. We are fully aware that objections to the theory of Professor Murray and of

Mr. Cornford and to the theory of Professor Ridgeway have been made on other critical grounds; but, at present, we are not concerned with those objections. We wish to introduce, if possible, a new method of testing present or future theories of the origin of Greek drama which are founded on any reconstructed ritual.

Professor Murray has reconstructed the ritual of the death and rebirth of the "Year Spirit" — the ritual of fertility — in which he seeks the origin of tragedy. "If we examine," he says, "the kind of myth which seems to underly the various 'Eniautos' celebrations we shall find:

1. "An *Agon* or Contest, the Year against its Enemy, Light against Darkness, Summer against Winter.

2. "A *Pathos* of the Year-Daimon, generally a ritual or sacrificial death, in which Adonis or Attis is slain by the tabu animal, the Pharmakos stoned, Osiris, Dionysus, Pentheus, Orpheus, Hippolytus torn to pieces (*σπαραγμός*).

3. "A *Messenger*. For this Pathos seems seldom or never to be actually performed under the eyes of the audience. (The reason of this is not hard to suggest.) It is announced by a messenger. 'The news comes' that Pan the Great, Thammuz, Adonis, Osiris is dead, and the dead body is often brought in on a bier. This leads to

4. "A *Threnos* or Lamentation. Specially characteristic, however, is a clash of contrary emotions, the death of the old being also the triumph of the new; see p. 318 f. of Plutarch's account of the Oschophoria.

5 and 6. "An *Anagnorisis* — discovery or recognition — of the slain and mutilated Daimon, followed by his Resurrection or Apotheosis or, in some sense, his Epiphany in glory. This I shall call by the general name *Theophany*. It naturally goes with a *Peripeteia* or extreme change of feeling from grief to joy."⁶

This theory is a development of the theory set forth by Dieterich,⁷ that the origin of tragedy is to be at least partially explained, if not wholly, by the existence of the *Sacer*

⁶ *Op. cit.* 342 f.

⁷ A. Dieterich, *Kleine Schriften* (Leipzig, 1911), p. 414 ff.

Ludus at Eleusis, especially as Aeschylus was a native of that place and as his tragedies were a development of the dramatic ritual performed there. Professor Murray sums up Dieterich's views as follows: "Dieterich has already shown that a characteristic of the Sacer *Ludus* in the mysteries was a *Peripeteia*, or Reversal. It was a change from sorrow to joy, from darkness and sights of inexplicable terror to light and the discovery of the reborn God. Such a *Peripeteia* is clearly associated with an *Anagnorisis*, a Recognition or Discovery. Such formulae from the mysteries as *Θάρσείτε, Μύσται, τοῦ θεοῦ σεσωσμένου—Ἡύρήκαμεν, συγχαίρομεν—Ἔφυγον κακόν, ἠῆρον ἄμεινον*, imply a close connection between the *Peripeteia* and the *Anagnorisis*, and enable us to understand why these two elements are regarded by Aristotle as normally belonging to Tragedy. Now *Peripeteia* of some kind is perhaps in itself a necessary or normal part of any dramatic story. But no one could say the same of *Anagnorisis*. It must come into Greek Tragedy from the Sacer *Ludus*, in which the dead God is Recognized or Discovered."⁸

Professor Murray assumes that tragedy is in origin a "Ritual Dance, a *Sacer Ludus*," and that originally there were the following component parts of the ritual in the following order: *Agon*, *Pathos*, *Messenger*, *Threnos*, and *Theophany* (or *Anagnorisis* and *Theophany*). He points out the connection between the ritual and the Satyrs as follows: "But those who have read Miss Harrison's article on the Kouretes (*B.S.A.* xv, and Chapter 1, above) will recognize that the Satyrs are the *πρόπολοι δαίμονες* in the rout of Dionysus, especially associated with his 'initiations and *hierourgiai*'—that is, exactly with our Sacer *Ludus* of Dionysus. Strabo, pp. 466-8, makes this pretty clear. Hence comes their connection with the dead and with the anodos of Korê. The subject could be illustrated at length, but probably the above point, as it stands, will hardly be disputed. The Satyr-play, coming at the end of the tetralogy, represented the joyous arrival of the Reliving Dionysus and his rout of attendant daimones at the end of the Sacer

⁸ *Op. cit.* 342.

Ludus. . . . It would suit my general purpose equally well to suppose that the Dionysus-ritual had developed into two divergent forms, the satyr-play of Pratinas and the tragedy of Thespis, which were at a certain date artificially combined by law. In any case there must have been close kindred between the two. . . . And after all Aristotle has told us that Tragedy ἐκ τοῦ Σατυρικοῦ μετέβαλεν (*Poet.* 4). It 'developed out of the Satyric' — at the very least, from something akin to the Satyrs. I therefore continue — provisionally — to accept as a starting-point some tragic performance ending in a satyr-play."

This starting-point seems to be really a step further on from his real point of departure, the *Sacer Ludus*. The tragic performance seems already at this stage to have been practically a tetralogy, *i.e.* a tragic trilogy and a satyr-play. He traces the further development as follows:

"Now we know that in the historical development of Tragedy a process of differentiation occurred. The Satyr-play became more distinct and separate from the tragedies and was eventually dropped altogether; and, secondly, the separate Tragedies became independent artistic wholes.

"This process produced, I conceive, two results. First, the cutting off of the Satyr-play left the tragic trilogy without its proper close. What was it to do? Should it end with a threnos and trust for its theophany to the distinct and irrelevant Satyr-play which happened to follow? or should it ignore the Satyr-play and make a theophany of its own? Both types of tragedy occur, but gradually the second tends to predominate.

"Secondly, what is to happen to the Anagnorisis and Peripeteia? Their proper place is, as it were, transitional from the Threnos of tragedy to the Theophany of the Satyr-play; if anything, they go rather with the Satyrs. Hence these two elements are set loose. Quite often, even in the tragedies which have a full Theophany, they do not occur in their proper place just before the Theophany, yet they always continue to haunt the atmosphere."⁹

⁹ *Op. cit.* 343-344.

So far as anagnorisis and peripeteia are concerned, we may immediately question whether either one of these terms actually represents an element peculiar to Greek tragedy and whether their presence needs to be explained. As Professor Murray admits, though rather guardedly, peripeteia of some kind is necessary or normal in drama. We must insist, however, that anagnorisis, as defined by Aristotle, is just as normal a part of any kind of drama, and indeed of any kind of story, as it is of Greek tragedy. There are many examples of recognition scenes in both medieval and modern drama. The presence of the recognition scene in Greek tragedy needs no more explanation than does the presence of such scenes in Greek epic poetry. As a matter of fact, Aeschylus, if we may judge from his extant plays, made little use of the anagnorisis; and this theatrically effective scene, in its highly developed form, seems to be rather the device of the more sophisticated dramatists than a survival from a primitive ritualistic drama. Professor Murray says that the tragic poets "find it hard to write without bringing in an Anagnorisis somewhere." However hard they found it, they certainly did not find it any harder than any writer of fiction does.

The seeming importance of the anagnorisis is due to an interesting misconception on the part of Aristotle. There may be some reason to conjecture that these critical terms, peripeteia and anagnorisis, were used in regard to tragedy before his time; but if these terms were first applied by him to dramatic technique, we question whether his choice of words to express what was evidently in his mind was entirely felicitous. Probably no one will be inclined to deny that Aristotle must have enjoyed, just as every theatre-goer does, dramatic suspense and surprise, which are the very soul of all drama. Now it is true that Aristotle never discusses directly the elements of suspense and of surprise;¹⁰ but evidently scenes in which there was a reversal, as in the *Oedipus Rex* and in the *Lynceus*, which are cited by him as examples

¹⁰ See Bywater's note on 1452 a 3 of the *Poetics*. I hope to discuss this whole question of the element of surprise in drama, as implied by Aristotle, at some later time.

of the peripeteia and which are actually scenes causing stunning surprise, aroused him to a high pitch of emotion, as they would arouse any spectator. On the other hand, any one who has analyzed the emotional effect of a recognition scene will undoubtedly admit that it is the element of suspense in such scenes which arouses one to a high pitch of dramatic excitement. Thus Aristotle pointed out the importance of the anagnorisis and the peripeteia, which *he* considered effective because they are recognition scenes and scenes of reversal, while, as a matter of fact, they are of the utmost importance because they are moments which arouse surprise and suspense. He insisted on the means, but not on the end. While it must be admitted that he was unflinching in his choice of two excellent means, he introduced two terms into Greek dramatic criticism which somewhat becloud the real question. Thus we have to interpret these terms; but we do not have to explain the presence of anagnorisis and peripeteia in Greek tragedy any more than in any other drama of any other age.

Finally, it may be pointed out that in Greek tragedy the recognition scene performs the function of exposition and preparation for the agon (*Choephorae*), of exciting incident (*Helen*), of climax (*Oedipus Rex*), and of dénouement (*Ion*). Sometimes it is a great dramatic struggle, as in the *Electra* of Sophocles; sometimes it is passed over quickly, as in the *Helen*; sometimes it constitutes practically the whole plot of the play, as in the *Iphigenia in Tauris*. Professor Murray says the recognition scene has been set loose; but there is little reason to believe that it was ever canonically situated just before the theophany. As for the peripeteia being the change from grief to joy at the resurrection of the new god, according to Professor Murray's theory, what must be said of the peripeteia attendant upon the agon and the death of the god? Is there not just as much of a peripeteia or reversal in the death of the god as in his resurrection? Professor Murray also asserts that the anagnorisis, peripeteia, and the theophany once belonged to the satyr-play. Thus the other plays must have been concerned merely with the agon, pathos, messenger, and the threnos. However, that is very

little material for three plays, and it is hard to see why three plays, or perhaps four, should have been written on one plot. The trilogy, as we know it, often contains three plays on the same theme, but each one has a complete plot. It is far more plausible to view the early trilogy as the juxtaposition of three plays, each with a complete plot; but in all of them the same thread of the story would be preserved in order to introduce more incidents and to increase the amount of the action and to give the whole story more length and breadth. The problem facing the primitive dramatist was to increase the action and to make it fuller. The problem was not to make three plays out of material for one, and to spread the thin plot over three tragedies and a satyr-play.

The opening scene of the ritual reconstructed by Professor Murray is an agon, or contest, the year against its enemy, light against darkness, summer against winter. Now, since Professor Murray expressly points out that the second step, the pathos, seems seldom or never to have actually been performed under the eyes of the audience, and since he makes no such restriction in regard to the agon, we are safe in assuming that he believes the agon to have been enacted and not narrated. Now an agon postulates two rival participants, contending before the eyes of the worshippers. In technical language, the point of attack — not necessarily the place where the myth began, but where the ritual began — was far enough back to include the agon. If the ritual showed the agon with two contestants, or performers, one representing the year and the other its enemy, then we can rest assured that the primitive drama did the same thing. *It would be unthinkable, dramatically, for action in a ritual to become narration in the drama springing from that ritual.* The whole history of Greek drama, as we can trace it, shows the narrative, or the epic and lyric elements, becoming action. A parallel development took place in the religious drama of the Middle Ages, which evolved from the church ritual. Whatever is action in the ritual, or has the germ of action in it, appears as action, not as narration, in the medieval liturgical drama. Not until the rediscovery of ancient tragedy in the

Renaissance do we find narration substituted for action, under the influence of the extremely narrative and retrospective ancient tragedies — dramas remarkable because the incidents which form the plot are often supposed to have happened before the play begins, or take place off the stage after the opening of the play. The natural thing in drama is to represent, not narrate, incidents; and if Greek tragedy is noteworthy because it is narrative and retrospective, we must seek the explanation of this in its origin. The case of the drama in the Middle Ages is not cited as proof of our theory, but it certainly constitutes illuminating corroborative evidence.

Thus the agon with the two contestants or performers, represented in the underlying ritual according to Professor Murray, must have been *enacted* in the primitive tragedy that sprang from that ritual. But how is this possible when we know very well that there was only one actor in Greek tragedy until Aeschylus introduced the second? Probably neither Professor Murray nor any one else will argue that the contest of the year against its enemy was carried on between the leader and the chorus. Indeed, Mr. Cornford plainly individualizes the two contestants, calling them *agonist* and *antagonist*, hero and villain; and he postulates a chorus and a leader in addition to these performers.¹¹

The second step in the ritual, the pathos, Professor Murray places behind the scenes. It may be said in passing that it is not entirely plain just how the end of the agon, which brought about the pathos, was placed behind the scenes, while the beginning was in full view of the worshippers. However that may be, Professor Murray says that the "reason for this" — the placing of the pathos behind the scenes — "is not hard to suggest." On the contrary, the reason is really hard to find; and the treatment of the death scene in Greek tragedy is very difficult to explain on the basis of Professor Murray's theory. As a rule, the actual death in Greek tragedy is off the stage; and yet, while it does not take place within the view of the spectators, it is sometimes within hearing. Also the dead body is often ex-

¹¹ *Op. cit.* p. 71.

posed to view. We cannot argue that these practices are legitimately accounted for by such suggestions as aversion to the sight of physical suffering (*Prometheus, Hercules*), or, as the Renaissance critics said, terror at the sight of blood (*Philoctetes*),¹² or the desire to avoid defiling a semi-religious ceremony by death (*Ajax*). Furthermore, it cannot be said that deaths could not occur on the stage because there was no means of removing the body from the scene. The *Ajax* is very strong evidence that such was not the case. The fact that the difficulty of portraying death agony on the stage was overcome in one instance, is proof that the real reason for regularly keeping deaths off the stage lies far deeper, and is to be sought in the tradition of some ritual rather than in a practice due to conditions of primitive stage mechanism. Thus we cannot accept the explanation that this custom arose from the actual difficulty of representing such an incident effectively from a theatrical point of view. It is easier to venture than to accept suggestions. We could wish that Professor Murray had told us his reason. However, we agree with him that the pathos was not on the stage, and that the reason is inherent in the ritual underlying tragedy, whatever that ritual may be.

The fact that the pathos is narrated or "messengered" — to employ the expressive terminology of the modern dramatic critic — is not sufficient to explain the great amount of narration in Greek tragedy and its strikingly retrospective quality, found especially in the choral odes. Professor Murray's ritual does not impress one as being retrospective. There is only one narrated incident in it, and that incident is supposed to take place while the ritual is being enacted. Nothing in what may be called the plot of the ritual looks back to anything which is supposed to have happened before the agon. Greek tragedy, on the contrary, looks back to events which precede the opening of the play; and the narrative element, although constantly compared to epic poetry, cannot possibly be explained as an outgrowth of the

¹² We refer to the scene in which the hero faints from the bleeding of his wound.

epic. Thus, while the habit of narrating the pathos in the ritual might explain the narration of the death in tragedy, it would hardly have introduced the narrative element into tragedy to the extent in which we find it, nor would it have caused tragedy constantly to hark back to events long past in the life of the hero. Greek tragedies, especially those like the *Oedipus Rex*, impress us deeply with the feeling that the development of the action is inevitable. Critics have often explained this as resulting from the atmosphere of fate pervading the action; but there is another cause for this element of inevitableness, and it lies in the handling of the plot. The Greek dramatist is inclined to develop his action, not by events in the ever-changing present, but by disclosing events of the unchangeable past. Remove the events which happened before almost any Greek tragedy begins and little of the action remains; but, because these events have already taken place and their consequences cannot be undone, the audience waits solemnly for the inexorable doom to fall. At the beginning of a Shakespearean tragedy it is the future which threatens evil. In Greek tragedy it is the past which forebodes the doom.¹³ There must be an explanation for this; but nothing in the ritual of fertility offers a reason for this phase of the technique of Greek tragedy.

As for the messenger and the threnos, which form the third and fourth steps in Professor Murray's ritual, their presence in Greek tragedy undoubtedly needs explanation; and in all probability the explanation is to be found in the fact that tragedy originated in some ritual. But for the reasons already advanced, the ritual postulated by Professor Murray is not the right one, because it does not offer a satisfactory explanation of what, we must insist, is a curious form of drama; and his ritual will at least have to be so reconstructed as to admit of performance by a single leader or actor and a chorus (see pp. 182-183 above). There are, however, many technical problems stated above which this

¹³ If this statement is true in regard to *Hamlet*, it is because that play is strongly influenced by Greek tradition and technique passing through Senecan dramas and Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*.

ritual, even when thus modified, would leave entirely unsolved.

Let us now consider Professor Ridgeway's theory. He has been led to the conclusion "that (1) Tragedy proper did not arise in the worship of the Thracian god Dionysus; but (2) that it sprang out of the indigenous worship of the dead, especially of dead chiefs such as Adrastus, the ancient pre-Dorian and pre-Achaean king of Sicyon, as described by Herodotus¹⁴ in a passage which is our earliest authority for Greek 'tragic dances'; (3) that the cult of Dionysus was not indigenous in Sicyon, but had been introduced there by Cleisthenes (as it had been also brought into Attica and Naxos), and had been superimposed upon the cult of the old king; (4) that even if it were true that Tragedy proper arose out of the worship of Dionysus, it would no less have originated in the worship of the dead, since Dionysus was regarded by the Greeks as *a hero*¹⁵ (*i.e.* a man turned into a saint) as well as a god."¹⁶ Professor Ridgeway holds further that "the Sicyonians honoured their old chief with sacrifices and tragic dances for the same reasons as those for which ancestors, heroes, and saints have been, and still are being, worshipped in Western Asia, India, Burma, China, Japan, and, in a word, in almost every corner of the world." He brings up many objections on historical grounds to Professor Murray's theory, and cites in favor of his own view much corroborative evidence based on the parallel development of tragic dances among other primitive nations. He also points out what he considers to be survivals in tragedy of the primitive worship of the dead hero, such as the presence of the tomb in so many tragedies, the *kommos* sung over the dead hero who is being borne to the tomb, and the commemorative *kommos* sung over his grave when many years have elapsed since his burial; also the libations in the *Choephorae*, the ghost in the *Persae*, etc.

Let us now see how Professor Ridgeway's theory stands

¹⁴ v, 67.

¹⁵ Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 36; *de Is. et Osir.* 35.

¹⁶ *Dramas and Dramatic Dances*, 5-6.

the test of dramatic technique which we have just applied to the rival view.

There were evidently two kinds of choral laments for the dead, as Nilsson has pointed out.¹⁷ In the one the leader sings the lament and the chorus sings the refrain. The composition of the oldest tragedies is similar to this form. The other form consisted of antiphonal choral song, retained in the *Septem*, *Choephorae*, and the *Persae*. Commemorative rites were performed at the tomb of the dead hero. Naturally his great deeds would be recalled to mind. The manner of his death would be sung. There would be the lament itself, the threnos. We may also assume, at the end of the ritual, the presence of the same note of future peace or of future ill, which occurs in so many Greek tragedies just before the close and which is another feature peculiar to Greek tragedy. The point may be urged that at the end of *Romeo and Juliet* there is a note of future peace; but in the dénouement of Greek tragedy this foreshadowing of the future — happy or unhappy — seems to be canonical and can hardly be explained by the theory that one play of a trilogy is preparing for the next one. We shall not insist too strongly on this point; but we offer the suggestion that it would be perfectly natural for the chorus, having sung of the past deeds and of the death or triumph of the hero, finally to think of the future and what it holds for those who are so closely bound to him.

Now all this ritual *could* have been carried on by the chorus without a leader at first. No individual characters are needed. However, one phase of the development of tragedy, which we shall attempt to trace, is what may be called the individualization of choral functions, *i.e.* the introduction of individual actors to discharge functions that originally belonged to the chorus. We shall attempt to show how the separate characters thus evolved out of the chorus, which at first performed Greek tragedy alone. According to Professor Bywater, when Aristotle says that tragedy began

¹⁷ Nilsson, "Totenklage und Tragödie," in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, ix (1906), 286.

with improvisations, he means that the author of the dithyramb came forward with an improvisation, *i.e.* with a *ῥῆσις* or "spoken statement," which he improvised in the interval between the two halves of the song of the chorus — that being the origin of the great constituents of a Greek drama, a spoken part and a sung part, an actor and a chorus.¹⁸ Of course, Aristotle is not speaking here of a chorus worshipping a dead hero; but since the improvisation took place in the chorus to which Aristotle refers, it seems quite possible that the same development would occur in the choral worship of the dead, especially since we know that in one form, perhaps a later form, the lament was actually carried on between the chorus and the leader. It is probable that the *genre* of the choral ode developed as a whole; and if the leader of the choral odes connected with the worship of Dionysus began to improvise between the songs of the chorus, a parallel development was bound to take place sooner or later in the choral odes connected with the worship of the dead hero. In this connection, one may recall to mind that the origin of the prose encomium and the *laudatio*, delivered by one person, is to be sought in the threnos sung by the chorus.

A chorus with a leader, therefore, sang of the dead hero at his tomb. The fact that the hero is dead is of the utmost importance to our theory. The great deeds and all that was important in the life of the hero would necessarily be told in narrative form. The whole ceremony would consist of retrospective narration, not merely a part of it, as in the ritual of fertility. Thus, at the outset, the problem in the primitive form of Greek drama derived from the ritual of the hero would be to reduce in quantity this retrospective, narrative element, which remains to such a great extent even in the most highly developed Greek tragedy. The point of attack in a ritual performed for a dead hero is naturally placed after the death of the hero. This fact would explain, in tragedy, not only the choral odes dealing with the past deeds of the hero, but also those dealing with his ancestors. As for his death,

¹⁸ See note 1449 a 11 of Bywater's edition of the *Poetics*. I assume that the functions of author, actor, and leader were performed by the same individual.

we may infer from the incontrovertible evidence of the later plays that it was recounted by the leader of the chorus. Thus the leader of the chorus-developed into the messenger, not into the hero, because the hero did not appear. Since in the ritual the death of the hero had already occurred, and hence could not take place before the eyes of the chorus, it became traditional in Greek tragedy to keep the death of the hero off the stage. For the student of dramatic technique, this is a more satisfactory explanation of the practice of placing the agon and the pathos behind the scenes than the explanations based on mechanical, psychological, or religious grounds, which are cited above.

Since the hero was dead and the leader had developed into the messenger, the chorus—those interested in the fate of the hero—becomes the principal character, not in the myth, but in the ritual. We see a survival of this not only in the preponderance of the choral element in tragedy, but also in the fact that the chorus is always most interested in the hero when he finally appears on the Greek stage. Its fate is linked with his. We follow the action in the *Septem* and in the *Persae* by beholding the reaction of the different events on the mind and emotions of the chorus. It is true that in the *Persae* the character of Atossa, the wife and mother, is very important; but she is the individualization of a function of the chorus, with the maternal interest added. Her rôle could revert to the chorus and the play would still exist. A development has simply taken place from the chorus interested in the fate of the hero into an individual more interested in the fate of the hero. Also, in the *Suppliants*, the chorus is, let us say, the heroine. Thus the chorus, which was at first not the chief character in the myth but only the principal character in the performance of the ritual, has now become the heroine of the drama itself. This is one of the natural developments which would almost inevitably take place if choral worship of a dead hero began to evolve into drama. However, as we shall try to show later, this was not the only way in which a hero or heroine was introduced on the Greek stage. A still further individu-

alization of a collective rôle is found in such characters as those of Chrysothemis and Ismene, the respective foils of their sisters. These characters fulfil the somewhat pale rôle of prudent counsellor and friend, which is distinctly a rôle of the chorus given to an individual.

To be dogmatic in regard to the chronological order of the successive steps in the evolution of this ritual would be dangerous, but plainly the point of attack had to be pushed back in primitive tragedy to include the hero within the play itself. It would be natural for a band of worshippers of the hero, stimulated by ecstasy and deep emotions as they would be, to feel the presence of the departed spirit. Thus, in primitive tragedy, after the process of individualization had progressed far enough to create the type of character represented by Atossa, the next step would naturally be the embodiment of the spirit of the hero, an example of which is found in the *Persae*, when the spirit of the dead Darius appears. The fact that the same actor-leader of the chorus could essay such a rôle is hardly to be offered as evidence that the leader of the chorus became the hero of the play. We must distinguish carefully between the actor and the rôle itself. The leader had assumed the rôle of the messenger before the hero could possibly have appeared in the play. In the ritual and in the primitive drama which grew out of the ritual, before the rôle of the hero was introduced, the chorus must have been practically the hero of the play. The choral rôle was the sympathetic rôle, and the *Suppliants* bears witness, as we have already said, to this stage in the development of drama.

The next step is, of course, to place the point of attack back far enough to include the hero in the drama just before the hour of his death. This is the regular point of attack in Greek tragedy; and it is perhaps not without significance in this connection that Polyneices, one of the heroes in the *Septem*, does not appear on the stage alive, but that his body is brought on and the conventional lament or threnos is sung over it and over the body of Eteocles. In the *Agamemnon*, the hero, the character with which the chorus and hence the

spectators sympathize, is on the stage alive but once during the whole play. It would seem that the individual hero had great difficulty in playing an important part on the stage, and had to force his way before the spectators, because in the ritual he played no part at all before the eyes of the worshippers. Finally, the point of attack was never pushed very far back in Greek tragedy, whereas in medieval drama, which had perhaps begun with the ritual dealing with the Resurrection, the point of attack was set farther and farther back until the whole life of Christ was included and finally the Creation. Hence we have the Shakespearean point of attack far away from the climax. The Greeks, however, met the problem of showing more of the hero's career by dramatizing it in the form of a trilogy. Thus they responded to this natural impulse to show more in action and to tell less in narrative speeches, whereas each separate play of the trilogy held to the slightly modified form of the ritual.

In that the point of attack in the single tragedy is thus held remarkably close to the climax and the dénouement, Greek tragedy differs greatly from other forms of national drama. The most important result of this selection of the opening scene is what Aristotle calls the unity of action. Whatever may be narrated in a play that is thus constructed, little can be enacted that is episodic. There are relatively few events in the course of a Greek tragedy in comparison with other forms of drama. Also, the compression of the action caused by placing the point of attack close to the dénouement makes it natural for the action in Greek tragedies to run its course during "one revolution of the sun." The hero has but little time to live even when he has been, so to speak, resurrected. Finally, the one scene of the ritual was the tomb, and thus the use of a single scene crystallized into a tradition; and because there are few events in the last hours of the life of the hero, they are likely to happen in one place. Only under exceptional circumstances does the scene of Greek tragedy change.

If, for reasons stated above, the hero in Greek tragedy had difficulty in getting on the stage and in staying on for any

length of time, his adversary had at least as much difficulty in this respect. We have already pointed out objections to Professor Murray's theory of the agon or contest between two individuals; but there is still more to be said against it. In the first place, there is no agon on the stage between two individuals in the most primitive plays of Aeschylus. In the *Persae* the agon is over before the play begins. In the *Septem* the agon is behind the scenes. In the *Suppliants* the agon is between the chorus and an individual, a herald representing in a rather pale manner the real antagonist, the sons of Aegyptus. Indeed, it is not until Aeschylus employs three actors that we find a real antagonist and a clash between two individuals on the stage. Eteocles, in the *Septem*, is hardly to be considered purely as an antagonist, for the chorus, through whose eyes we watch the action unfold, laments for him as well as for his brother. The scene, however, in which his mood clashes with the emotions of the chorus is, perhaps, a primitive form of the agon — a form which existed before the appearance of an antagonist who remains actively hostile to the hero throughout the play. The *Suppliants* shows the next step, in which the active antagonist is vicariously represented on the stage. In the *Agamemnon* the two individual contestants face each other on the stage in an "obligatory scene."¹⁹

Again, the reason for the non-appearance of the antagonist on the stage may be sought in the fact that if tragedy developed from the worship of the *dead* hero, and if, therefore, the hero had to be brought to life and then put upon the stage, naturally the antagonist and the clash of the contending forces in the agon would have to be introduced slowly and almost haltingly, as the framework of Greek tragedy became larger. Thus there are comparatively few scenes of any kind between individuals in the dramas of Aeschylus, and he only really learns how to handle the agon after Sophocles has introduced the third actor. Had the agon between the

¹⁹ I am indebted to Mr. William Archer for this excellent translation of the French phrase, *scène à faire*. He defines the obligatory scene as "one which the audience (more or less clearly and consciously) foresees and desires, and the absence of which it may with reason resent." — *Play-Making* (Boston, 1912), p. 227.

hero and his enemy been enacted in the ritual, as Professor Murray would lead us to believe, instead of being narrated, as it must have been on Professor Ridgeway's theory, it is hard to see why Aeschylus generally — and the other dramatists at times — should have been so prone to place obligatory scenes between two principal characters off the stage, and why the antagonist, if he had appeared in the ritual, should not have continued to figure in early tragedy. Indeed, in order to explain the construction of Greek tragedy in its more developed form, we must postulate a ritual and then a ritualistic drama, in which neither the hero nor his enemy appeared. In this connection the fact is hardly without significance that there is a preponderance of choral and female rôles, or, one may say, rôles of those interested in the fate of the hero, over the short rôle of the hero himself. Also, in the lament over the dead body of Hector in the *Iliad*, it is interesting to note that it is the women who carry on the threnos, whereas Priam, although he is present, does not take part in the lament. Thus perhaps in the preponderance of the choral and the female rôles in early tragedy we may see the survival of a traditional lament sung by women.

When the point of attack had been set back in the plot and the hero was brought on the stage, his rôle slowly but surely gained in importance and in length, and the rôle of those interested in his fate decreased in importance. But it is a striking fact that rarely in a Greek tragedy do we see the fault of the hero committed and expiated in the same play. Old tradition unconsciously held the point of attack close to the death of the hero. As tragedy evolved, however, there was evidently a shift in the dramatic emphasis, and hence in the sympathy of the spectator, from the chorus to individuals interested in the hero, and finally to the hero himself, who had, as it were, risen from the tomb to enact before the eyes of the audience many if not all of the events that the ritual had presented in narrative form.

In his book, *The Origin of Attic Comedy*, Mr. Cornford takes practically the same point of departure as does Profes-

sor Murray. Evidence is presented that "Athenian Comedy arose out of a ritual drama essentially the same in type as that from which Professor Murray derives Athenian Tragedy." Since he holds that the case for the origin of comedy is clearer and more convincing and reinforces Professor Murray's hypothesis, the same technical test must be applied to this theory, especially as Mr. Cornford believes that Professor Murray's hypothesis "is, in the main, true."

The parabasis, Mr. Cornford holds, is the most striking thing in Greek comedy. It normally opens with a farewell to the actors, who leave the stage until it is over. It divides the play into two parts: (1) *prologue* or *exposition scenes, parodos, agon, parabasis*, (2) *komos* (a festal procession), and a *marriage*. Somewhere between the agon and the komos there is also a scene of sacrifice and feast. In several of the earlier plays of Aristophanes these two elements, sacrifice and feast, "form nearly the whole of the action, and fill nearly the whole time of presentation, in the second part. In the later plays, from the *Birds* onward, plots of a more complicated type are developed, chiefly in this latter half of the play; but still the old sequence of fixed incidents in the old order remains as the substructure of the action: *Agon*, Sacrifice, Feast, Marriage, *Kômos*. Another regularly recurring type of incident is the interruption of the Sacrifice or the Feast, or both, by a series of unwelcome intruders, who are successively put to derision by the protagonist and driven away with blows. . . . This canonical plot formula preserves the stereotyped action of a ritual or folk drama, older than literary Comedy and of a pattern well known to us from other sources."²⁰

This is not the place to discuss in detail evidence adduced by Mr. Cornford in support of his theory. His success in finding survivals from the ritual in Aristophanic comedy is far more complete and convincing than is Professor Murray's effort to point out canonical ritualistic scenes in Greek tragedy. His conclusion shows, however, how very similar these two supposed rituals are. "Starting from Aristotle's authoritative statement," he says, "we sought the nucleus of Comedy

²⁰ *Op. cit.* p. 3.

in the Phallic ceremonies, illustrated by Aristophanes in the rites performed by Dikaiopolis at his Country Dionysia. We found there, in barest outline, a ritual procedure in three parts. (1) The procession of the worshippers of Phales moves on its way, carrying the emblem of the god on a pole and the instruments of sacrifice. (2) It pauses at some fixed place for the sacrifice, accompanied by a prayer to Dionysus. (3) The procession moves on again singing the Phallic Song. This *Kômos* hymn reflects the two essential elements: invocation and induction of the good influence or spirit, magical abuse and expulsion of the evil. The same two elements we found perpetuated in the comic *Parabasis*. In the *Agon* which regularly precedes the *Parabasis* we now have come to see the equivalent of the sacrifice which precedes the Phallic Song. The *Agon* is the beginning of the sacrifice in its primitive dramatic form — the conflict between the good and evil principles, Summer and Winter, Life and Death. The good spirit is slain, dismembered, cooked, and eaten in the communal feast, and yet brought back to life. These acts survive in the standing features of the comic plot between the *Parabasis* and the *Exodos*. Finally comes the sacred Marriage of the risen God, restored to life and youth to be the husband of the Mother Goddess. This marriage is the necessary consummation of the Phallic ritual, which, when it takes a dramatic form, simulates the union of Heaven and Earth for the renewal of all life in Spring.”²¹

One of the most convincing parts of Mr. Cornford's book is the Appendix, containing a synopsis of the extant comedies showing the reminiscences of the ritual; and it is to this Appendix that we shall refer for much evidence in support of our theory.

It will be remembered that from this ritual of the death and rebirth of the good spirit, Professor Murray derives perhaps the peripeteia and surely the anagnorisis of Greek tragedy. Mr. Cornford does not pretend to find either peripeteia or anagnorisis in comedy, and rightly so, in our opinion. For reasons stated above, we do not believe that the presence

²¹ *Op. cit.* p. 103 f.

of the recognition scene proves anything. But it would seem a pertinent question to ask Professor Murray, and also Mr. Cornford, since he accepts this theory, why peripeteia and anagnorisis happened to develop in tragedy out of the ritual, but not in comedy. Surely if these two forms of drama arose out of essentially the same ritual, they must have been strikingly similar in form and content before the wide divergence developed. Just how the question can be answered is not plain. As for the theophany, it might not be so difficult to explain why that element should remain in tragedy and not in comedy, although the burden of proof may well be left with Professor Murray and Mr. Cornford.

In regard to the agon carried on by two individuals, "the representatives of two parties or principles which are in effect the hero and villain of the whole piece," the objections advanced above in respect to tragedy are by no means valid in the case of comedy. When Aristotle says that Aeschylus introduced the second actor, he is speaking of tragedy and not of comedy. If Mr. Cornford's theory is correct, then there must have been in his ritual at least two individual performers from the earliest times—much earlier than in the ritual out of which tragedy grew. Therefore, we should expect to find in comedy, as we know it, many scenes, especially the agon, carried on between two individuals, instead of finding an individual and a chorus clashing in the obligatory scene. In the analyses of the comedies given by Mr. Cornford himself, we are immediately struck by the fact that the action in Aristophanic comedy, especially in the agon, is carried on by individual characters. A mere glance at this part of his work, or at the comedies themselves, will confirm this very important fact. We should also expect the agon to be enacted on the stage, and to be a real, clear-cut struggle, not kept off the stage nor outside the limits of the action of the play. Mr. Cornford's synopses prove that this is the case beyond the shadow of a doubt.

With these individual rôles, agonist and antagonist, hero and villain, probably well defined in the ritual, it is not surprising to find them so well defined and so important in

comedy, instead of playing almost a minor part, as they do in early tragedy, and, as it were, finding it difficult to appear on the stage at all. If we are surprised at the importance and the extent of the choral rôle in Aeschylus, what must have been the case before his time in view of the statement of Aristotle that "the number of actors was first increased to two by Aeschylus, who curtailed the business of the chorus and made the dialogue, or spoken portion, take the leading part in the play."²² It is not without significance that, while Aristotle knew that Aeschylus introduced the second actor into tragedy, he did not know who gave comedy a plurality of actors, probably because comedy had more than one from the beginning. In comedy the rôle of the hero is well developed. The hero carries on the action, and the antagonists, together with the rôle of the *alazon*, or impostor, are no less well developed and important.

Under these conditions there is consequently a diminution in importance of the choral rôle. While the statements of Mr. Cornford about the function of the tragic chorus are not entirely acceptable, the points that he makes in regard to the comic chorus are very illuminating. He shows that the comic chorus is very partisan, and that its partisan sympathies probably survive from its original function as participant in the ritual without an audience; that after the agon and the parabasis the comic chorus has no part in the action until the exodos; that its most important function is in connection with the agon; and that at the beginning of the agon the chorus is more or less violently on the side of one of the adversaries against the other, or else divided against itself, one half taking each side. If the chorus is at first hostile to the agonist it changes and always ends on the victorious side. Mr. Cornford does not offer any explanation of this phenomenon of changing sides or of being at any time against the hero; but one is immediately struck by the fact that in only one tragedy (*Eumenides*) is there a chorus taking sides against the hero, and that the tragic chorus never changes its allegiance. The explanation of this may

²² Bywater's translation of 1449 a 15 of the *Poetics*.

well lie in the ritual commemorating the dead hero. The chorus celebrating the hero would naturally be on his side first, last, and always. It could not be hostile to him. The *Eumenides*, the exception to the rule, is a relatively late play, and the latest of the extant plays of Aeschylus. In comedy, however, there seems to have been no such strong bond to keep the chorus faithful to the hero. There is no such merging of the rôles of chorus and hero in comedy as there is in the *Suppliants*. In the case of comedy the individual hero had appeared even in the underlying ritual, and hence the chorus was never paramount as it was in tragedy. We see the action in tragedy through the eyes of the chorus; but in comedy we see the action through the eyes of the hero and not always through the eyes of the possibly hostile chorus. Perhaps the explanation of this phenomenon may be that in the agon of the ritual both the agonist and the antagonist, Summer and Winter, were leaders of a half chorus. Thus the original ritualistic form may be preserved in the *Lysistrata*, in which the chorus is divided into two hostile groups. This is also the situation in the *Acharnians*, in which, as Mr. Cornford says, "Dikaiopolis pleads for peace with Sparta. He converts Half Chorus 1. Their Leader fights with the other Leader, whose party call for Lamachus."²³ Thus, since in the ritual underlying comedy there was a well-defined agon, the chorus would naturally be divided, some siding with the hero, some siding with the villain, until in the end, since there must be a joyful outcome, the whole chorus would be on the side of the victor — the new god. On the other hand, since there was no enacted agon in the ritual underlying tragedy, the chorus would be immutably in sympathy with the hero.

²³ *Op. cit.* p. 223. The presence of the agon in Professor Murray's reconstructed ritual underlying tragedy cannot be explained in this manner, since there is no evidence that the tragic chorus was ever divided into hostile half choruses. In the *Septem* the chorus separates into two groups at the end, but these semi-choruses are not hostile to each other. This division is probably a stage device for removing the dead heroes who cannot be buried together. Indeed, the division of the comic chorus into hostile groups and the entire solidarity of the tragic chorus, together with its complete loyalty to the hero, are additional evidence of the impossibility of deriving both tragedy and comedy from the same ritual.

Indeed, before the hero could be portrayed in tragedy on the stage, the chorus was what is technically known as the sympathetic character. There would be no chance for divided allegiance under such circumstances. This consideration leads us to an explanation of the relative unimportance of the chorus in comedy and the relative importance of the rôles of hero and villain. These two rôles in comedy developed evidently from the leader of the chorus. The rôle of the messenger was not needed. From the earliest times, the interest of the worshipper or the spectator must have been centred on the individual agonist and antagonist, instead of being centred on those who were beholding the struggle. The hero and the villain were present in flesh and blood in the ritual underlying comedy.

Both Mr. Cornford and Professor Murray postulate in this ritual the sacrifice in which the good spirit is slain, dismembered, cooked, and eaten in the communal feast and yet is brought back to life. Professor Murray derives from this the pathos, behind the scenes, and the messenger. Mr. Cornford derives sacrifice, cooking, and feast. Again we must ask why this ritual developed so differently in the two forms of drama. At this point of our discussion, however, the question of action on and off the stage must arise, and immediately a very remarkable state of affairs is disclosed. The action in comedy, unlike that of tragedy, is practically always on the stage. This is just what we should expect to find if comedy developed from the ritual adopted by Mr. Cornford; for in this ritual everything of importance is acted out before the eyes of the worshippers and there is little place for narration. In comedy the rôle of the messenger is as unimportant as it is important in tragedy. There is a speech in the *Knights* by a character who is practically a messenger, concerning the agon of the Paphlagonian and the Sausage-seller before the Senate; but this use of the messenger is perhaps due to the fact that the agon described is a repetition of the scene just enacted on the stage, with another scene of the same kind, but more vitally important to the action, still to come; or perhaps, with the choral rôle filled

by the Knights, the senators could not be introduced on the stage. In the *Birds*, a messenger describes the building of the walls of the new city, but this is hardly a vital part of the action. Also, these two speeches are in parody of the speeches of messengers in tragedy, as is clearly shown by the language. Thus, as a rule, everything of any importance in comedy is acted on the stage, with the exception of the canonical feast. In the *Wasps*, this feast is reported by Xanthias. Only in the *Knights* does a feast take place on the stage, and even in that play there is mention of another feast to which the Sausage-seller is invited and which is supposed to come after the play is over. That the canonical feast is practically always behind the scenes is hardly due to mere chance; nor is it to be ascribed to any difficulty of stage presentation. No explanation of the technical handling of this incident has been offered, nor are we able to suggest one at present. The important point in regard to our theory, however, is that, with the exception of this incident, all the events vital to the plot of comedy are enacted on the stage, whereas in tragedy there is much narration of important incidents. This difference in dramatic technique is not to be ascribed to the difference between a serious play and a comedy. There is much narration of important incidents of the plot in the comedies of Plautus and Terence—a further proof of the influence of the technique of tragedy on the later comedy through Menander. The difference between Greek tragedy and comedy in this respect is rather to be ascribed to the difference in their origin.

Finally, we must call attention not only to the absence of narration but also of the retrospective element in the ritual and hence in comedy. Not only are the events on the stage, but the action is in the present and looks toward the future. The point of attack is already far enough back in the ritual to include the whole action and plot of the play. Only the present situation has to be explained, and then the story unfolds with many incidents before our eyes. There was not the need of pushing back the point of attack in comedy that there was in tragedy. All these differences in dramatic

technique between these two kinds of Greek drama cannot be without deep significance.

Professor Murray believes that the important problem is to explain how tragedy could end unhappily while the ritual had a happy ending. A far more troublesome problem is how to reconcile his theory of the origin of tragedy with the statement of Aristotle that tragedy developed *ἐκ τοῦ σατυρικοῦ* into a serious play. "That the two types of drama which were presented to the same audience at the same festivals of Dionysus should have had their origins in different cults, is a thesis so paradoxical that only the most cogent proof could recommend it to serious attention." This statement on the part of Mr. Cornford leads him correctly to ask and to attempt to answer the question: "Given that Tragedy and Comedy have come from the same type of ritual drama, how and why did they part and take their divergent routes towards forms of art so widely different?"²⁴ To the student of dramatic technique this is the question of paramount importance, rather than the question how tragedy and comedy happened to be played on the same stage at the same time. While we have no important objections to the single points that Mr. Cornford makes in his answer to this question, we cannot accept them as proof, because he does not touch on any of the vital differences in the technique of these two forms of drama. His discussion of plot and character in tragedy and comedy is too general to be of any use in solving the problem. When he confines himself to the question of the evolution of comedy, he is very convincing; but as soon as he tries to strengthen Professor Murray's theory of the origin of tragedy, he is not only unconvincing, but he has unconsciously furnished much of the evidence tending to disprove that theory.

No one denies that the worship of the dead hero has had some influence on the tragic form of drama, in spite of the fact that Aristotle does not mention this influence, but says that tragedy arose from the dithyrambic chorus of the satyrs. The question is: when did this influence of the worship of the dead hero begin to be exerted on the tragic form of dra-

²⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 190.

matic art? Professor Ridgeway and Dr. Jevons²⁵ deny a Dionysiac origin of tragedy, holding that there was drama before the worship of Dionysus was introduced. Now dead heroes may well have been worshipped before the introduction of the Dionysiac cult, as Herodotus would seem to prove from his description of the ceremonies around the tomb of Adrastus. Nevertheless, how can we be sure that there was actually a dramatic element developed at that time in the ritual? Nilsson holds "that the fundamental difference between tragedy and choral lamentation for the dead is that the former is a *μίμησις δρώντων*. . . . When the messenger tells something and the chorus laments, that is almost identical with the epic form of the lamentation for the dead. The difference is shown when the hero himself appears. Hier muss der längst erkannte mimische Trieb im Dionysuskult angezogen werden."²⁶ Apart from the question of the appearance of the hero, this theory offers a partial solution to the whole question. There were at least two forms of choral worship: the worship of Dionysus, and the worship of the dead hero. There seems to be no reason to deny that the dramatic element arose first in the worship of Dionysus, especially since the ritual was probably more dramatic than was the more narrative form of the ritual followed in the worship of the hero. The mimetic element, having made its appearance in the Dionysiac ritual, was either introduced into the hero ritual or, what amounts to the same thing in the end, while the Dionysiac form of choral drama was in its infancy, the worship of the hero was drawn into it and, in a measure, combined with it. Yet, because of the difference between the two forms of ritual, two forms of drama were evolved.

In this connection, however, we must not fail to take into consideration the theory set forth by Dr. Jevons. He rejects the idea that the origin of tragedy is to be sought in the dithyramb, and claims that "the view established and commonly held by classical scholars, that the Greek drama had

²⁵ F. B. Jevons, "Masks and the Origin of Greek Drama," *Folk Lore*, xxviii (1916), 171 ff.

²⁶ *Op. cit.* 287.

its origin in the worship of Dionysus, is obviously erroneous; masking and acting were known and practised by the forefathers of the Greeks long before the worship of Dionysus was established, even though it was in connection with the worship of Dionysus that masking and acting reached their highest development."²⁷ He holds that there was no masking without acting and no acting without masking. While we do not wish to indulge in meticulous distinctions, we do feel that there may be masking without acting, that masks may well have been the insignia of the ritual, and that a performer who is wearing a mask is not necessarily an actor any more than is a bishop who is wearing a mitre. Drama means something more than persons in costume reciting a ritual. Dr. Jevons brings evidence, however, that the choruses in the worship of dead ancestors, in the worship of vegetation spirits, and in the worship of theriomorphic spirits wore masks, and that in Greece all three forms of cult became dramatic performances, *i.e.* tragedy, comedy, and satyr-play. These forms of dramatic art came to be incorporated in one festival, the Dionysia. Now the dramatic element must have arisen first in some one of the three dramatic rites. Just exactly what this dramatic element was we are frankly not going to attempt to define; but we feel sure that it was something more than mere costume. We believe, for the reasons stated above, that this true dramatic element did not arise first in the choral rites of hero worship. The case of the religious drama in the Middle Ages, which evolved from the ritual of the Catholic church, is evidence that a dramatic form of ritual can exist for centuries without becoming drama, for it was not until the tenth century that the liturgical drama developed. Thus we see no reason to deny that these Greek rituals were practised for years before any one of them became a drama; and we hold that the dramatic element arose first in the chorus of the satyrs in connection with the worship of Dionysus. Our belief in this theory is strengthened by the fact that Aristotle makes the statement that tragedy developed *ἐκ τοῦ σατυρικοῦ*.

²⁷ *Op. cit.* 174.

We hold, further, that when this dramatic element had been introduced, and the choral worship of Dionysus had become a primitive satyr-play, the choral worship of the dead was drawn into, and, in a measure, combined with this satyr-play, on which, at the same time, it superimposed its own special technique. The similarity in technical construction between tragedy and such satyr-plays as the *Ichneutae* and the *Cyclops*, as well as the close juxtaposition of the tragedy and the satyr-play in the tetralogy, would point to some such primitive connection. The difference between the primitive rituals from which these two forms of drama sprang would account for the minor differences in their technical construction.

Finally, whatever may be thought of this part of our theory, the important points which we have attempted to prove are: (1) that it is impossible to derive tragedy, as we know it, from the ritual from which we can trace the evolution of comedy, because of the wide divergence in dramatic technique between these two forms of drama; (2) that the only ritual thus far suggested which will explain the technical construction of Greek tragedy is the ritual of the worship of the dead hero.

XIV. — *Illogical Idiom*

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This is a preliminary sketch of a study which may be supplemented later. The conflict in speech between strict explicit logic and the actual historical development or psychological association of ideas is a commonplace. The entire would-be science of semantics might be, but will not here be, used to illustrate it.¹ The irradiation and the specialization of meaning are essentially akin to what the old rhetoricians called *catagoresis*. And the illogical paradoxes of *catagoresis* are an old classroom joke. Hebe "winepours nectar" in the *Iliad*; French restaurants serve "bifteck de mouton" and offer "five o'clock à toutes heures"; in Dublin they "copper-bottom" the tops of the houses with tin, and in the New England pastures blackberries are red when they are green. A like conflict underlies the old debate between the partisans of analogy and anomaly, and still divides opposing schools both in theoretic grammar and the teaching of freshman English composition: at one extreme we have the logical purists who correct *standpoint* to *viewpoint*, insist on *would rather*, and censure the false concord of Kipling's "The tumult and the shouting dies"; at the other the late Professor Lounsbury² and the emancipated young professors of English who in emulation of him periodically assure the public that any misuse of *predicate*, *stand for*, *eliminate*, *de-mean*, *transpire*, *exploit*, or *consistently*, that obtains temporary currency in the American newspaper, has thereby received the Horatian stamp of *usus* which is the law and norm of speech.

¹ Cf. my review of Bréal's *Semantic*, in the *Dial*, xxx (1901), 298. No *logical necessity* links the etymology or sensuous meaning of a word to its conventional use. "Sundowners" are tramps in Australia and night students of law in Washington.

² As interpreted by Strunsky, *Post-Impressions*, p. 158: "Aw gee! why should they? Look at Chaucer, Milton and Browning, the fiercest bunch of little spellers you ever saw. And their grammar is simply rotten."

In this as in other matters, the just mean is hit by the peremptory judgment of that educated critical instinct which Longinus tells us is the final reward of long experience with good literature. Absolute logic is helpless here. Senator Lodge condemns as illogical the American use of *expect*, for which Thucydides' ἐλπίζοντες (VI, 16) and Herodotus' ἔλπομαι supply fair parallels. On the other hand, Professor Scott denounces all restrictions on American freedom of speech as verbal taboos, and Professor Krapp (*Modern English*) seems to approve "if I was you" and "who do you mean?" on the principle "that good English is any English that hits the mark" — any English that "gets there," in the phrase that calls from Mr. Quiller-Couch the disconsolate query, "gets where?"

My present purpose is not to raise controversies on modern usage, but to collect and classify some obvious and some neglected illustrations of the human tendency to deviate from the straight path of logic in writing and speaking, with incidental consideration of some of its consequences for the interpretation and criticism of classical texts. I am not acquainted with any generalized treatment of the subject. I have not seen Fraccaroli, *L'irrazionale nella letteratura*, Torino, 1903, but infer from De Sanctis' criticism of it (*Riv. di Fil.* xxxii, 41-57) and Fraccaroli's reply (*ib.* 277-291), that it deals mainly with repetitions and alleged inconsistencies in the plot of the *Iliad*, with modern illustrations. The indices to the grammars and to such editions as the Rehdanz-Blass *Demosthenes* and the Frohberger-Gebauer *Lysias* supply some material. There is more in Campbell's essays on the language of Sophocles in his edition of Sophocles and on the language of Plato in the second volume of the Jowett and Campbell *Republic*. The collections of the Anhang to the Schneidewin-Nauck edition of Sophocles are also useful. And there are some good suggestions in Cauer's *Grammatica militans*, chap. IV: "Logik und Psychologie," p. 47 f. Professor Richard Meyer has collected some entertaining examples from German literature. The treatment of some especial peculiarities of speech in the Kühner-Gerth *Syntax*, II, pp. 558-591, is mainly grammatical.

Before attempting even a rough preliminary classification, I will give one concrete example to make my general purpose clear. In the tenth book of the *Republic* Plato writes: "The painter will portray for us the cobbler, the carpenter, and other craftsmen though he knows nothing of these arts." Adam's first edition emends τεχνῶν to τεχνιτῶν in order to secure the more logical sequence: "though he knows nothing of these artisans." This is a very simple case of the well-known type of emendation that seeks to smooth out a slight logical or grammatical inconcinnity in the text. Campbell protests against the application of this method to Sophocles, and Hicks on Arist. *de An.* 404 a 1 rejects an unnecessary emendation of Diels for the removal of an apparent illogicality due to a parenthesis, as he does Bywater's emendation of 414 a 7. There are scores of these emendations for the sake of concinnity in Agar's *Homerica* and Richards' *Platonica*. I need hardly say that in the case cited from Plato's *Republic* the emendation is obviously uncalled for. The slightly illogical reference of a word to an antecedent that is only implied, though it used to be corrected as a fault in English composition, is one of the commonest features of the speech of vivacious women and of what Wilamowitz calls the healthy nonchalance of Herodotus' Ionian style. "An all day runner and practising this," says Herodotus. "We don't need you with the bow," says Odysseus to Philoctetes (*Soph. Ph.* 1057), "for we have with us Teucer, a master of this art." Similarly Cicero (*Tusc.* 1, 2): Ergo in Graecia musici floruerunt . . . discebantque id omnes. And I could easily cite at least a dozen cases from Plato and countless others all the way down to the girl who milked the cow and strained it, the church that advertised for an organist and a boy to blow it, and Dickens who in his *American Notes* caps the climax with "The weather being unusually mild, there was no sleighing . . . but there was plenty of these vehicles in yards and by-places." To be serious, in *Odyssey*, 1, 277, Belzner (*Homerische Probleme*, 1, 71) constructs a portentous mare's nest of hypothesis to avoid the obvious reference of οἱ δέ to the family implied in μέγαρον πατρός.

In a purely popular treatment of the subject, the first and most entertaining category would comprise mere blunders, oversights, fallacies of confusion, Irish bulls, mixed metaphors, and the absurdities of pretentious fine writing generally. There are books or essays on most of these topics, as for example on author's mistakes, on mixed metaphors, and on Irish bulls. And the textbooks of rhetoric and English composition collect a sufficiency of amusing examples of slovenly or overambitious bad writing. Less familiar is the fact that the most scholarly and critical writers are not themselves free from preposterous lapses in logic. It is human to err and nobody escapes, from Huxley who prints, "No event is too extraordinary to be impossible," to President Wilson who was reported as saying, "No man is too big to decline the presidency." Professor Sandys' *History of Classical Scholarship* waxes eloquent over the industry of an old scholar, who read all night with his feet in a pail of cold water "and one eye bound up to rest the other." There are good parallels to this in Plato's *Euthydemus* and *Parmenides*, where with the aid of the double meaning of *εἰρεπος* it is plausibly demonstrated that *the other* is *the same*. In the less idiomatic English we must fall back on Alice's "jam every other day" or the gentleman who puzzled the colored waiter by ordering "two fried eggs, one fried on one side and the other on the other." These frivolous illustrations would confirm the opinion of an eminent American professor of physiological psychology who differs from his Binet-Stanford colleagues in holding that this sort of matter does not admit of scientific treatment. Professor Titchener quotes the problem, "Should a man be allowed to marry his widow's sister?" with the comment: "I may be obtuse; but I confess that I can find in this question no food for thought."

The only scientific significance of the topic of mere bulls and confusions is to keep our minds open to the possibility that the blunder may be due to the author himself and not to the corruption of his text, and that it may even sometimes be one that we are justified in correcting for the author as we might pencil a correction of an obvious misprint even in

a borrowed book. I tried to point out one such case in Plato's *Laws* in a recent note in *Classical Philology*, and whether I was right or not in this instance, the principle holds. One of the most logical of American authors writes in his haste, "Now I wish to submit that the time has not passed when we can afford to substitute etc.," which is clearly not what he intended to say. On page 55 of Leslie Stephens' *Science of Ethics* we read: "But nothing is easier than to find a mind which never permits its anticipations to intrude beyond their proper sphere." He obviously meant nothing is harder, and any reader is justified in correcting what is a slip of the pen if it is not a misprint. The number of such cases that I have observed in English inclines me to suspect that not a few may still lurk undetected in our classical texts. If this is so, may there not also be cases of positive bad grammar due to the author and not to the copyist? Modern literature is full of them, Byron's "There let him lay," and the bear that is alleged to have "laid" in Colonel Roosevelt's *Hunting the Grizzly* being only conspicuous examples. Longfellow is said to have shocked Boston by writing *dove* for *dived*, and the first copy of Oliver Wendell Holmes's "Last Leaf" rhymed *forlorn* with *they are gone* (gorn). Many writers and some critics have deliberately preferred loose elliptical idiomatic and even incorrect expression to the appearance of stiffness and pedantry. Cauer finds examples even in Cicero. The sober Quintilian says: *Aliud est latine, aliud est grammaticè loqui*. Abbott's Shakespearean grammar says of the Elizabethans: "Clearness was preferred to grammatical correctness and brevity both to correctness and clearness." Vaugelas, the seventeenth century arbiter of correct French speech, himself says: "Ceux-la se trompent lourdement et pêchent contre le premier principe des langues qui veulent raisonner sur la nôtre et qui condamnent beaucoup de façons de parler . . . parce qu'elles sont contre la raison." From Sainte-Beuve to Faguet and Brunetière a succession of French critics have pointed out that the strict rules for the use of the pluperfect subjunctive are often more honored in the breach than in the observance, and the correct use of those forms is

a regular topic of jest in French comedy. Hazlitt dealing with similar topics justifies his own practice in the words: "I plead guilty to the use of acknowledged idiom and common elliptical expressions." Matthew Arnold perhaps wrote intentionally,

They less than us might recognize,
Kept more than us their strength of soul,

which Andrew Lang in quoting corrects to "less than we." Dumas (Preface to *Un père prodigue*) says: "Ce langage du théâtre a-t-il besoin d'être correct? Non, dans le sens grammatical. Il faut, avant tout, qu'il soit clair, coloré, pénétrant, incisif.

Je t'aimais inconstant; qu'aurais-je fait fidèle?

est une abominable faute de grammaire que le vers ne nécessitait pas; cependant en prose, Racine, qui savait son métier, l'aurait présenté avec la même incorrection." On this principle we may accept Prop. II, 5, 28:

Cynthia forma potens, Cynthia verba levis.

I will not now stop to inquire how far these considerations justify us in accepting positive bad grammar in our classical texts. But they sometimes tempt me to strain idiom or ellipse in a worthy cause. Tragedy carries ellipse with *ὄπιος ἄθλις* (e.g. Soph. *Aj.* 858, *Ant.* 809; Eur. *Alc.* 207, *Hec.* 411, *Tro.* 761, *vñv, ὄπιος ἄθλις, μητέρ' ἀσπάζου σέθεν*) so far that I have sometimes fancied that it was possible to extend this to *οὐ μεθύτερον* (Aesch. *Ag.* 425)—"never to return."

No strictly scientific classification of my examples is possible. All might be reduced to the "fallacy of confusion." There is one straight track, and incalculable causes may switch the mind from it. If psychology were a science we might explain such lapses "in terms of the central nervous system." Failing that, all so-called sciences of error, including that of copyist's mistakes, are merely conveniences of pigeonholing classification. The categories of *too much, too little*, interchange, and mixture will cover most cases of irregular or illogical expression; and to them we could prac-

tically refer Kühner-Gerth's rubrics (ellipse, brachylogy, *Verschränkung* and *Verschmelzung*, pleonasm and anacoluthon) as well as most of the suggestions in Campbell, Cauer, and the Anhang to the Schneidewin *Sophocles*. Absolute ἀκρίβεια in such matters is an illusion. As Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch somewhere says: "Beetles may be classified . . . but all classifying of literature is artificially scientific." The Anhang actually invents the label, "Person, welche Leid bringt, als Leid bezeichnet," in order to characterize *Agamemnon*, 1417-1418:

ἔθυσεν αὐτοῦ παῖδα φιλάτην ἔμοι
ὠδὴν' ἐπὶ δὸν Ὀρηκίων ἀημάτων.

A more sensitive literary feeling would quite as plausibly catalogue the lines under "vowel music," "subtle use of the abstract," the "romantic note" or the "note of natural magic." For the present purpose a rough distribution of examples to (1) grammar, (2) idiom, (3) rhetoric or style will serve. I shall not attempt definitions of these categories or aim at an impracticable precision in their application. Any trait of rhetoric or idiom belongs in a sense to grammar. Purely grammatical illustration is already accessible through the indices of grammars and commentaries under such entries as ellipse, double duty, zeugma, pleonasm, synesis, pregnant construction, anacoluthon, mixed construction, shift, assimilation, attraction, prolepsis, irregular concord, cognate or adverbial accusative, *res pro rei defectu*, *comparatio compendiarum*, antecedent implied, hysteron proteron, oxymoron, and the various schemata which are on the border line of idiom or rhetoric. The Greek rhetoricians defined schema as an ἐξάλλαξις φράσεως ἀπὸ τοῦ καταλλήλου, etc. It was εὐλογος and μετὰ τινος ἀναλογίας and ἐπὶ τὸ κρείττον. This last subjective criterion was what chiefly distinguished it from solecism, a deviation from usage or direct logic ἐπὶ τὸ χείρων. Compare the sensible remarks of Herodian (Spengel, III, pp. 85-87). If you call that a schema, grows an ancient rhetorician, any solecism may pass for a schema. Quintilian (I, 5, 36) inquires whether it is a solecism to reply *εἶσο* to the question

quem video? And a Harvard professor of English unless misquoted allowed "it is me" and "I ain't" to pass as idioms. The ancient grammarians were in doubt whether to call *antiptosis* an Atticism or a solecism. "Pragmatic syntax," said Longinus (Spengel, I, p. 327), speaking more prophetically than he knew, "refers things to the general meaning." And Sextus Empiricus in his attack on formal grammar lays it down as strongly as Professor Lounsbury that we must speak with the vulgar. Language he says is full of pitfalls for the logical precisian. Take for example the "cognate" accusative *dig a well*. If it is a well it is already dug. And not a little exact modern grammatical exegesis recalls Madame Cardinal's interpretation of her son-in-law's telegram, "Virginie partie pas seule." From the feminine termination of *seule* Madame Cardinal triumphantly inferred her daughter's innocence. Croiset (*Hist. lit. gr.* I, 30) points out that Greek grammar is more flexible or licentious than French or Latin. French does not venture to turn "je nuis à quelqu'un" into "je suis nui par quelqu'un": "Il y aurait là un manque de symétrie qui nous paraîtrait barbare. Les Latins nous ressemblaient à cet égard, etc." He cites Isoc. III, 57; Xen. *Symp.* 4, 31; 8, 2; and might have added Plato, *Rep.* 337 A, ἐλεείσθαι οὐν ἡμᾶς πολὺ μᾶλλον εἰκός ἐστίν πού ὑπὸ ὑμῶν τῶν δεινῶν ἢ χαλεπαίνεσθαι, or Eur. *Bacch.* 1075, ὠφθη δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ κατεῖδε Μαινάδας. The Xenophontic instance is (*Symp.* 8, 2): Niceratus, "enamored of" his wife, is "enamored of" by her (ἐρῶν τῆς γυναικὸς ἀντρῆται). This hardly goes beyond Horace's *Ego cur . . . invidior*, *A. P.* 55. But Professor Croiset's generalization holds. The interchange or mixture, for example, of the forms of direct and indirect discourse is more frequent in Greek than in Latin (cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 188-189, 565; Jebb on Soph. *Tr.* 1238; Spieker on direct discourse with ὄτι, *A. J. P.* v, 221; Anhang to Schneidewin *Sophocles*, p. 100). There are many plausible explanations of the plasticity and freedom of Greek syntax: the genius of the language, the "liveliness" of the Greek mind, the closer contact of classical Greek literature with the speech of the people, the fact that the

Greeks tardily generalized grammar from the practice of their writers while the Latins received it as a pedagogical discipline from a higher culture.

Synesis, anacoluthon, and mixed or shifted constructions may also be referred sometimes to mere confusion of early thought wrestling with expression, and sometimes to justifiable stylistic intentions of brevity, point, pregnancy and emphasis. In Thucydides the two causes are inextricably blended. Almost all illogical idiom may be classified as "synesis" and a large proportion of it falls under anacoluthon. In this tentative paper I shall not "operate" with such comprehensive categories but merely select for illustration a few types that have interested me and that I may later try to fit into a more systematic scheme.

No sharp line separates idiomatic ease from absurdity in the management of the pronoun and the reference of the relative to an implied or a too specific or too general antecedent. This, combined with a tricky cognate accusative, involves Hector in praise of the care and the tendance and the fodder and the wine wherewith Andromache served the steeds before their master (*Il.* VIII, 185-90). The relative with a verb that shifts its sphere of meaning yields an effect of zeugma. Several fine sentences of Plato are built on this plan, notably *Rep.* 443 B, "Completed is our dream which we said we suspected etc.," *i.e.* the dream has been realized and our surmise has been verified. Similar are *Soph.* 264 B, τὴν προσδοκίαν ἣν ἐφοβήθημεν; *Polit.* 286 B, τῆς δυσχερείας ἣν . . . ἀπεδεξάμεθα δυσχερῶς. Cf. Campbell on *Theaet.* 158 B and the Anhang to the Schneidewin *Sophocles*, pp. 33-35. In Eur. *Or.* 859, ἐλπίς ἦν φοβουμένη, the ambiguity of ἐλπίς contributes. Plato, *Apol.* 39 C, is perhaps intentionally colloquial: τιμωρίαν . . . χαλεπωτέραν . . . ἢ οἶαν ἐμὲ ἀπεκτόνατε. This could be plausibly referred to the pigeonhole of confusions in comparisons (*infra*, p. 222). A malicious interpreter would find in the relative of *Symp.* 174 A a confirmation of the Aristophanic calumny that the Socratics never took a bath. Apollodorus "said that he met Socrates washed and wearing his patent-leather shoes, which was not his custom." But this is trespass-

ing again on the domain of the funny column and the warning examples in the rhetorics, to which we may refer also Dickens' masterpiece in this kind: "Girard College founded by a deceased gentleman of that name and of enormous wealth, which if completed . . . will be perhaps the richest edifice of modern times." Pregnant causal implications of the relative are familiar to all students of Greek. Cf. Jebb on *Soph. O.C.* 263 and 866. The following up of the relative by a demonstrative passed from Greek to Biblical and Ruskinian English and is sufficiently illustrated by the commentators on Plato, *Rep.* 353 D etc. More interesting is the coördination of the relative clause with an independent sentence containing no demonstrative, on which Jebb (Appendix to *Soph. O.C.* 424) comments without, however, collecting the examples which I think would prove it a special (not of course exclusive) feature of tragic style. The slightly illogical use of ἀνθ' ὧν and ἐξ ὧν needs no comment here. Thucydides' mannerism of defining an abstract general, often a neuter, term by a concrete personal relative clause is fairly common in Euripides and other writers: "Good government is this who benefits his country" (*Thuc.* vi, 14). Cf. Burnet on *Phaedo*, 68 B 8; *Eur. I.T.* 484, (?) 1064, *Hel.* 272, 943, *El.* 816, frag. 28, 778. The same thing occurs in *Tyrt.* 10, 15, *Hom. Il.* xiv, 80, *Od.* xv, 72; and *Hes. Works and Days*, 327 and 359-360 are perhaps cases.

The too narrow or too broad reference of the relative suggests the universal tendency to the maladjustment of the specific and the general—a comprehensive category of irrationality which I will for the present dismiss with trivial illustration. "God only has a right to kill his fellow" argues an opponent of capital punishment in a comedy of Labiche—"Il n'y a que Dieu qui a le droit de tuer son semblable." This is only a little funnier than Darwin's "Except in the case of man hardly any one is so ignorant as to allow his worst animals to breed." Similar was the pathos of the citizen who watching a herd of cattle "driven to Boston to be made into beef" cried, "That's what happens to all of us"; and the eloquence of the British orator who defending the sanctity of

the Englishman's "house his castle" perorated: "The rain may enter it, all the winds of heaven may whistle round it, but the King cannot." Walter Pater in an essay on style, of all places, says: "Any writer worth translating . . . is conscious of the words he would reject were the dictionary other than Johnson's." The maladjustment of the general and the specific may be extended to include confusion of tenses, the species of time—though brachylogy, ellipse and synesis would often serve as well. Examples range from the metaphysical equivocations of which Plato (*Tim.* 37 E) and Lucretius (I, 465) warn us, to the White City advertisement, "Here we may sit on summer evenings in dreaming recollection of idyllic days spent or to be spent in Europe." The well-known problem of epistolary time tangles up a writer in the *New Republic* to this result: "What the President will say on that occasion the reader of these lines probably already knows as their writer does not." But as Mr. Tulliver observes, "never mind—it's puzzling work, talking is." *Soph. Tr.* 322–326, would repay analysis. In *Ant.* 1066 the confusion is perhaps breviloquence of passion. To this topic we could refer Verg. *Aen.* iv, 597, which has needlessly troubled commentators:

Infelix Dido! nunc te facta impia tangunt?
Tum decuit, cum sceptrā dabas.

Dido means that what are certainties now ought to have been warning suspicions then. Henry, Mackail, and Glover refer *impia facta* to Dido's own acts. But *Eur. Med.* 800 is only a verbal parallel, and *Hipp.* 1072 is itself illogical. They may illustrate but do not support an interpretation. There is no hint of self-reference in the Vergilian context, and *impia facta* better fits the *perfidus* of 421, the *prodidit* of 431, the *inluscrit* of 591, and the sneer *en dextra fidesque* of 597.

But in a fuller treatment of the subject it would be better to allow a distinct category for the natural tendency of impatient or impassioned speech to confuse the precise expression of time-relations.

Professional grammarians regard the assumption of ellipse with disfavor. It has sometimes been overworked, as for

example by Bos in his *Ellipses Graecae*, and they fear that the student will attribute explicit consciousness of the precise words omitted. With the Englishman in Howells' *Lady of the Aroostook* they ask: "When you say you never did do you know what is the full phrase?" Nevertheless ellipse is a real factor in all idiom and especially perhaps in French and English and certainly in Greek. Without resort to ellipse, there can be no valid explanation of the uses of ἀλλά, γάρ, ἐπεί, ὡς, and the particles generally (cf. Cauer, *Grammatica militans*, p. 55). The precise point at which ellipse or the assumption of ellipse becomes irrational for the purposes of logic, style, or interpretation must be left to the judgment of the φρόνιμος in each case. The violent ellipse by which Aristotle (*Eth. N.* 1108, b 6) makes plausible the opposition of φθόνος and ἐπιχαιρεκακία draws from the youthful Ruskin an indignant protest (*Modern Painters*, iv, Appendix). The omission of the pronoun in Thuc. 1, 73, εἰ καὶ δι' ὄχλου μᾶλλον ἔσται ἀεὶ προβαλλομένοις, misleads some commentators to take the participle passively with ὑμῖν instead of supplying ἡμῖν suggested by the following ἀνάγκη λέγειν. *Soph. Tr.* 94-95,

ὄν αἰόλα νύξ ἐναριζομένα
τίκτει κατευνάζει τε . . . ,

illustrates the elliptic breviloquence of poetic logic (see Jebb's note) rather than the primitive logic in which "consecution figures as generation so that day is the offspring of night or night of day indifferently" (Gomperz). Brachylogy is Quintilian's comprehensive rubric for much illogical and elliptic idiom, as for example Sallust's *ingenti corpore proinde armatus*, which he praises in VIII, 3, 82. How far we should go in this direction is perhaps a matter of taste. Hoc male imitantes sequitur obscuritas, says Quintilian. "He is unmarried but expects to be next fall" perhaps goes too far. "Washing taken in and gone out done here" strains idiom, and "The witness admitted that babes in arms were counted as one person" perhaps belongs with fallacies of confusion. "'We shall miss you,' Rhoda sadly said. 'And me you,' is the reply." So writes a popular novelist. "Mr. Smith, I

want you to know my mother," says the lady in Howells. "And I you mine" is the reply, which recalls Plato, *Phaedo*, 60 A, καὶ σὺ τούτους; or Thuc. vi, 18, οὐδὲ ἐκείνοι ἡμῖν. Homer's οὐδ' ὑπ' Ἀχιλλῆος, *Il.* xvi, 709, goes nearly as far. Cf. Eur. *Hel.* 564, ἐγὼ δὲ Μενελάω γε σ'; *Bacch.* 364, καὶ γὰρ τὸ σόν; *Hec.* 748, καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἐγὼ κλύειν; *H. F.* 577, εἴπερ οἴδ' ὑπὲρ πατρός. In poetry the brachylogy that strains logic is often due to the desire to compress the meaning within a single line, as for example in Soph. *O. T.* 583:

οὐκ, εἰ διδοίης γ' ὡς ἐγὼ συντῶ λόγον.

Lowell's

Things that are, not going to be, good;

Waller's

She flatters with the same success she frowned;

Whittier's

To make the West, as they the East,
The homestead of the free;

and in a large number of the epigrammatic monostichs of Pope.

Double duty of a single word is recognized as a species of ellipse or brachylogy by Campbell, *Sophocles*, i, 66, Jebb on Soph. *Tr.* 936 and *O. C.* 1034, and Kühner-Gerth, ii, p. 564. In the narrowest sense it is the implied repetition of the word, as in Shakespeare, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, ii, 1:

The more you beat me I will fawn on you.

In Greek it avoids cacophonous repetition of the article. Wilamowitz on Aesch. *Supp.* 596 comments: "Verstehen müssen wir's als τὸ τὸ μείον κρείττόνων κρατύνειν. Ich zweifle auch nicht dass man zu Platon sagen könnte οὐκ ἀποδέχομαι σου τὸ τὸν δίκαιον τοῦ ἀδίκου εὐδαιμονέστερον εἶναι." But in *Rep.* 332 C Plato shuns the repetition of the same form of the article and writes: ὅτι τοῦτ' εἶη δίκαιον, τὸ προσῆκον ἐκάστῳ ἀποδιδόναι. No sharp line separates such cases from the implied repetition of the word in a different form, or in another syntax. Cf. Pope's "Man's as perfect as he ought" (to be); Livy VIII, 5, venturum se esse, etc.; Eur. *Hec.* 834, τοῦτου καλῶς δρῶν ὄντα κηδεστήν σέθεν | δράσεις; *Alc.* 291,

with *Class. Phil.* iv (1909), 85; Pind. *P.* 10, 18, σφισω, where the scholiast repeats αὐτοῖς; Plato, *Euthyph.* 4 D, ὡς; *Soph.* 257 E, ἄλλο. The overlooking of this usage sometimes misleads interpretation. In Plato, *Phileb.* 11 C, δυνατοῖς δὲ μετασχεῖν ὠφελιμώτατον ἀπάντων εἶναι πᾶσι, the word εἶναι is felt as "to be" with δυνατοῖς (assimilated in case to πᾶσι) and as "is" with ὠφελιμώτατον. See *Class. Phil.* III (1908), 343-4. In Eur. *H. F.* 65,

ἔχων τυραννίδ', ἧς μακρὰι λόγχοι πέρι
πηδῶσ' ἔρωτι σώματ' εἰς εὐδαίμονα,

I think ἧς is construed first with πέρι and again by implication with ἔρωτι. Wilamowitz pronounces the lines hopelessly corrupt. But if I am right, they are no more corrupt than is Pope's

And virgins smiled at what they blushed before.

A curious possible case of double duty is the use of καὶ . . . καὶ with the further meaning of "even" attached to the first καὶ. Cf. Plato, *Rep.* 360 B, καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς etc.; *Soph. Aj.* 649; Plato, *Phaedo*, 82 A (?). There is perhaps an analogue of this in Vergil's *illa vel intactae . . . vel mare per medium*, *Aen.* vii, 808-810; cf. xi, 259, *vel Priamo miseranda manus*. The English sentence, "I do not think any one has or can overcome it," is accidentally and literally correct, but "functionally" *overcome* is two distinct forms.

Pleonasm the counterpart of ellipse is less definably illogical, and belongs perhaps rather to rhetoric, by which it must be judged. What is surplusage to one reader is breathing space or indispensable exegesis to another. Flexnerized graduates will not feel it painfully in "canine dog," "bovine cow," or "the nation's natal birthday." And the journalist who reviewed what he called "an anthology collection of English poems" was perhaps merely translating. Tautology, as Kühner-Gerth point out (II, p. 582), is a trait of popular and colloquial speech. Literature may imitate this, or employ it for humorous effect as in Shakespeare's "Hebrew Jew," or for intensity and emphasis as in Demosthenes' pairs of synonyms, and Plato's cumulative anaphora of πᾶς (*Menex.* 249 C;

cf. *Phaedo*, 66 C, *Lach.* 187 B). There is no law for these things save instinctive tact and literary taste. Some classifiers treat all "polar expressions" as pleonastic (cf. *infra*, pp. 220, 230). And a recent school of literal-minded would-be scientific criticism condemns the standing Homeric and ballad epithet as the tautology of the primitive mind. Of late the detection and censure of tautology have passed from the textbooks of rhetoric to the funny column: "'Jupiter is visible in the heavens'—we usually look for it there. 'He sat down in a vacant chair'—it's the safest way.'" The originator of this type of criticism was the Lacedaemonian who objected τῶ θυλάκῳ περιεργάζεσθαι (*Hdt.* III, 46). For the rest, pleonasm though inviting endless illustration and provoking much diversity of judgment in particular cases presents no problems that need detain us here.

The double negative is an accepted Greek idiom, and logical confusion in the use of words expressing negation, privation, hindrance, and exception is common in all languages. Shakespeare's

Heaven forbid my outside have not charmed her,

and his

You might as well forbid the mountain pines
To wag their high tops and to make no noise,

are normal Greek idiom. Plato speaks of hindrances to nobody's obeying the laws (*Legg.* 925 E). The Stoics, according to Galen (*xiv*, p. 495 K), classified this idiom as an example of equivocation by pleonasm. In the sentence ἀπηγόρευσεν αὐτῷ μὴ πλεῖν the μὴ they said made the meaning ambiguous. From the prohibition, "Eat of every tree but not of the tree of knowledge," Philo Judæus inferred by strict logic that the tree of knowledge was not in Paradise. The illogical extension of the formula εἰ δὲ μὴ is familiar. Heraclitus, frag. 94 Diels, is a good example. In frag. 121 this passes by easy transition into the illogical, apparent, self-annulling exception: ἡμέων μηδὲ εἰς ὀνήστος ἔστω, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἄλλη τε καὶ μετ' ἄλλων— with which we may compare the alleged rule of the coeducational college "that no male or

female student shall walk together unless they are going in the same direction." This is the underlying principle of the Porsonian Phocylidean epigram: "all save only Hermann — and Hermann's a German." Milton's

for what peace will be given
To us enslaved, but custody severe,

is probably a case. And akin to this epigrammatic logic is the addition *παρὰ προσδοκίαν* to an enumeration already presumed complete of a further *condicio sine qua non* as in Beatrice's "Such a man would win any woman in the world, — if he could get her good will," and perhaps in the afterthought of Pind. *O.* 6, 7 (Gildersleeve). But in thus following out the psychology we are extending a category of grammar or idiom to include such cases of pleonasm as Soph. *O.T.* 57 (Jebb) and anticipating usages that belong rather to the rhetoric of illogical emphasis. Thus in *Phaedo*, 82 B, where the exception *ἀλλ' ἢ τῷ φιλομαθεῖ* merely repeats and emphasizes the preceding negation, Burnet says: "The tendency to 'polar expression' here asserts itself at the expense of logic." To return to the negative, other confusions are the shift from all to none or vice versa as in Hor. *Sat.* I, I, 1-3, or in Howells' "No living man is a type but a character," and the cumulation of privation with negation as in Eur. *Andr.* 746,

ἀδύνατος οὐδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν λέγειν μόνον,

Shakespeare's

The cease of majesty
Dies not alone,

and the vulgar "unsurpassed by none." With this may be associated the illogical intensive use of negatives and privatives in compounds such as *disannul*, *unloose*, *invaluable*; and Dryton's

Can'st thou, unkind, inviolate that band?

— *Barons' Wars*, II, 17.

The cases where the force of the negative goes through the entire sentence and does double or triple duty still baffle many commentators, as I pointed out in a note on Plato, *Tim.* 77 B

(*A. J. P.* x). Simpler examples are *Il.* xxii, 283; *Hymn. Hom. Dem.* 157; *Pind. N.* 3, 15. Cauer (*Grammatica militans*, p. 52) glances at the difficulty of translating such passages in the classroom; but wrongly cites *Il.* v, 150, where ἐρχομένοις means "as they went to Troy." I still think Vergil's *Nec dextrae erranti deus afruit* (*Aen.* vii, 498) pertinent, though it has been explained otherwise.

When attention has once been called to it, illustrations of the inability of the human mind to manage negatives and privatives logically present themselves from every quarter. Jowett and Campbell give a long list of errors arising from this cause in the Platonic manuscripts. Tennyson writes to a friend: "Have you observed a solecism in Milton's *Penseroso* :

But let my due feet never fail
To walk the studious cloister's pale
And love the high embowed roof
With antic pillars massy-proof?"

This could of course be brought under ellipse or double duty. The imperative idea in *let* is understood again with *love*. So in Greek δεῖ is often understood from a neighboring verbal in -τέος (Plato, *Legg.* 876 C, Stallbaum). Professor Irving Babbitt writes with no satirical intention: "Our inferiority in literary scholarship might be remedied in some measure if it were led up to and encouraged with us as it is in France and England by an appropriate degree." This could also be referred to management of the pronoun or to *res pro rei defectu*. Mr. Owen Johnson "balls himself up" in the following fashion: "Gunther was of such power that no broker was unwilling to conceive that the slightest move of his could be without significance." German style is especially rich in illogical negatives, and indeed in illogical constructions generally. The late Professor Richard M. Meyer collected many examples. The *Kölnische Zeitung*, April 30, 1914, writes: "dass die aufständischen . . . Zuschauer der mexikanisch-amerikanischen Wirren bleiben sollen, ausser wenn ihr Gebiet nicht angegriffen werde." This does not go further

than the message to Chicago which the newspapers attribute to Mr. Balfour: "The members of the mission asked themselves if it was too much to hope that the visit to the great lake city might not seal the comradeship in arms recently inaugurated."

Somewhat akin to the confusion in the use of negative and privative terms is that which is frequently found in measurements, ratios, proportions, degrees, comparisons, and superlatives real or rhetorical. The advertisement, "No job is too small to be slighted," is a familiar type. Mr. Robert Chambers in *Who Goes There* says that "nothing is too unimportant to ignore." Mr. John Bigelow says of Franklin: "There was no one too eminent on either side of the Atlantic not to esteem his acquaintance a privilege." Mr. Berenson writes: "There is scarcely a painting of his which does not betray a sense no less delicate if at all, etc."; Mr. Frederick Harrison: "Why did he write much less publish his memoirs?"; Mr. Edmund Gosse: "Nowhere is an arrogant dogmatism so thoroughly out of place than in a critical history of style"; the *Springfield Republican*: "The labor of small talk is in inverse ratio to the lack of interest."

The confusion of *too . . . to be* and *so as to be* or their equivalents, is becoming incredibly common, even in good writers. A usually careful journal writes of "a problem not too complex to excuse inaction"; and Mr. Howells speaks of "teeth not too regular to be monotonous." The *Nation* writes: "The lines of his pencil are not too sombre to disguise him entirely." It would be easy to adduce countless examples of similar confusion in the management of *so, so as to, too, much less, much more, rather*, and similar expressions. In Latin, some uses of *nedum* illustrate the same tendency (cf. Walden in *Harv. Stud.* II, 110). In Greek practically all terms of comparison, relation, and exception illustrate it. For ὥστε cf. Plato, *Rep.* 394 E. For πρὶν: Jebb on *Soph. Tr.* 1133, *Aj.* 110, *Ph.* 551; Eur. *I.T.* 102; Hom. *Il.* xv, 557. For μᾶλλον ὥς: Aesch. *Pr.* 629. For ἕξω ἤ: Hdt. vii, 228 and Kühner-Gerth, II, pp. 301-302. For ἢ ὥς: Plato, *Rep.* 335 A and Thuc. v, 20; also Isae. iv, 5. For

διπλή ἤ: Plato, *Rep.* 330 C and *Legg.* 842 C. For ὡς τοῦτο: *Rep.* 526 C with Adam's note. For διαφέρον ἤ: Isae. IV, 5. For συμφέρει . . . ἤ: Just. Mart. *Apol.* I, 15. For πλήν: Eur. *Heraclicid.* 231, *Ion*, 1060. "Blacker as pitch," says Homer already.³ Sensible critics have always recognized this tendency and allowed some license in expressions of comparison. Brunetière says (*Var. lit.* p. 77): "Nous n'interdirons à personne d'écrire *d'avantage que*."

This principle is the probable explanation of Plato, *Phaedo*, 85 D, ἐπὶ βεβαιότερου ὀχλήματος ἢ λόγου θείου τινος διαπορευθῆναι, where we should retain ἤ. It may be true that the explicit technical use of ἤ to introduce an explanation is late. But the careless use of *or* where *and* is virtually meant is possible at any time, and suits the wistful afterthought of the passage.

The illogicality of short-cuts in comparisons is the best explanation, I think, of the supposed crux in Plato, *Prot.* 355 E, ἀντὶ ἐλαττόνων ἀγαθῶν μείζω κακὰ λαμβάνειν, which is discussed by Stark in *Class. Quart.* VII (1913), 100, and translated by Jowett: "You choose the greater evil in exchange for the lesser good." To be painfully explicit, Plato means: "You make a choice which involves a subsequent evil greater than the present compensating good." And, with the context, a reasonable critic understands him as we understand the adventurous spirit who said: "I think I'll enjoy the coffee more than I'll lose my sleep." The same general principle I think would defend the text of *Phaedo*, 69 A-C, against Burnet's excisions and his objection that "we are not supposed to buy and sell goodness for wisdom but to buy wisdom with pleasures." He is apparently thinking in English, not with Plato and Euripides in terms of νόμισμα and its associations. But to waive that point, you cannot press literary figures of exchange and balance and purchase and sale with that kind of logic. What would it make of Emerson's "For the real price of labor is knowledge and virtue" or of the poet's

³ *Il.* IV, 277; cf. Mooney on *Ap. Rh.* I, 269. Herodian (Spengel, III, 86) calls it συγκριτικὸν ἀντὶ ἀπολύτου.

there's not a crime . . .
 But takes its proper change still out in crime
 If once rung on the counter of the world.⁴

The abbreviated contrast of past and present, hope and actuality strains the explicit logic of grammar in Shakespeare's

With twenty hundred thousand times more joy
 Than thou wentst forth in lamentation.

This explains Soph. *El.* 1127, where I think interpreters err:

ὡς σ' ἀπ' ἐλπίδων
 οὐχ ὥνπερ ἐξέπεμπον εἰσεδεξάμην.

Here ἀπό is not I think "contrary to" but virtually "with," and the irrationality is the generalization of ἐλπίδων to go with both verbs. Similar pregnant compression in poetry is often due to impatience of explicit prolixity or to metrical convenience: so in Shakespeare, *M. of V.* 1, 1,

showing a more swelling port
 Than my faint means would grant continuance,

and in Soph. *Aj.* 1415-16,

τῷ πάντ' ἀγαθῷ
 κοῦδενί πω λῶνι θνητῶν.

A kind of illogical comparison is the forced use of καί "also" to introduce a far-fetched or merely emotional association of an instance with something that matter-of-fact critics would deem too remote. So in *Il.* vi, 200, ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ κείνος, Ameis rightly says καὶ relates Bellerophon to Lycurgus in line 140. There is no difficulty. The unity of feeling with the repeated formula ἀπήχθετο πᾶσι θεοῖσιν is enough. Similarly in the moralizing of the chorus in Soph. *Ant.* 986, καὶ ἐκεῖνα, where Jebb rightly renders "also" not "even." A slightly differing illogicality of καί is *Il.* xvi, 623, εἰ καὶ ἐγὼ σε βάλοιμι. A still subtler case is *Ar. Nub.* 27, ὄνειροπολεῖ γὰρ καὶ καθεύδων, etc. For dreaming is precisely what one may do "even in sleep," as the formula runs.

The idiom "equally and" is common to both Greek and Latin. Cf. Jebb on Soph. *O.T.* 1187, and Plato, *Crito*, 48 B,

⁴ Cf. ἀνθ' ὧν, Soph. *Ant.* 1068, and Jebb on ἀντί in *O.C.* 1326.

ὄμοιος . . . καί. The alleged Celtic idiom "and we far away on the billow" ("Burial of Sir John Moore") has recently been used in a book widely and respectfully reviewed to support the hypothesis of special affinities between Celtic and Latin. The author discovers the idiom in Vergil's *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*, where *et* is of course "even."

All causal reasoning is liable to confusion, and especially common is the interchange of purpose and result. Evolution has been defined as the reasonable sequence of the unintended. But in spite of Lucretius' admonition (iv, 834),

Nil ideo quoniam natum est in corpore ut uti
Possemus etc.,

an eminent modern evolutionist, Romanes, writes, confusing purpose and result: "Peculiarities of color have often been acquired for the purpose of enabling members of the same species quickly and certainly to recognize one another." This tendency and not primitive superstition is the explanation of Homer's statement that Achilles' spear did not wholly sever Hector's throat in order that Hector might speak his dying words. Matthew Arnold explains in the same way Romans, 11, 32: "For God hath concluded them all in unbelief, *that* he might have mercy upon all." For similar reasons we must not scrutinize too closely Homer's use of τῶ "therefore," as for example in *Il.* 1, 418 and 21, 190, which Nauck needlessly suspects and Leaf wrongly interprets as τῶ "by how much." We may compare Lloyd Morgan's discussion of children's use of *because* in *Psychology for Teachers*, p. 238. More interesting is the wavering of διά between "because of" and "for the sake of" (Kühner-Gerth, 1, p. 485; Plato, *Phaedo*, 66 C), which Grote mistakenly imputes to Plato's bad logic in the *Lysis*.

In Thuc. iv, 40, δι' ἀχθηδόνα is probably "to vex them," but it might be "owing to spite." A striking classical example often misunderstood is Plato, *Rep.* 524 C, διὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων σαφήνειαν; cf. Arist. *Metaph.* 982 b 20, διὰ τὸ εἰδέναι τὸ ἐπίστασθαι ἐδίωκον. Simplicius (*in Phys.* 144, 25) uses both meanings in one sentence: διὰ τε τὴν πίστιν τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ

λεγόμενων καὶ διὰ τὴν σπάνιν τοῦ Παρμενιδείου συγγράμματος. The treatment of this usage is inadequate in all lexicons and grammars known to me. The scholiasts and later philosophic and theological writers supply abundant illustrations.

Further examples of confusion in causal reasoning for which space fails could be found in the possible interchange of οὐ ἔνεκα and ἔνεκα τοῦ and other usages of ἔνεκα and its compounds, in the variations of meaning of χάριν in Pindar and elsewhere (cf. Jebb on *O.C.* 443 and *Anth. P.* ix, 306), and in some uses of *cur* and the later developments of *quod* in Latin. In brief, almost any complication or subtlety of thought may confuse the utterance of an unsophisticated or careless speaker. The history of the conditional sentence would supply ample illustration of this. Homer, it has been maintained, was unable to manage the unreal condition, to narrate contemporaneous events, and in general to deal with the refinements and abstractions of thought. But in many such cases it is not Homer that nods but we that snore. And Homer's *naïveté* never equals that of his commentators. Cauer's comment on *Il.* xxiii, 698, ἀλλοφρονέοντα, is funnier than anything in the *Iliad* (*Grundfragen*, 175-176): "How could he think of other things when sore wounded and hardly able to drag himself along?" Bret Harte may answer: "And the subsequent proceedings interested him no more." The unreal condition is a problem to the early poets and still more to their interpreters. In the prophetic speech of Medea in Pindar's fourth *Pythian* the form of a past unreal condition applied to a future event throws Myers' translation off the track, and even Professor Sandys is not quite able to "negotiate" it.

Misapprehensions due to ambiguous order of words could be treated under syntax, idiom, or style, or relegated to the funny column. Aristotle touches upon the topic. It was a traditional jest against the oracles, and Quint. VIII, 2, 14, censures Vergil's

Saxa vocant Itali, mediis quae in fluctibus, aras,

but real ambiguity is comparatively rare in the inflected Greek and Latin and would seem rarer than it does to us if we read

aloud with a just feeling for emphasis. A summer student once marred the pathos of Achilles' pursuit of Hector by the rendering: "And they came to the fountain where the wives of the Trojans washed their shirts and their blooming daughters." This (the translation, not the Greek) recalls the style of the western legislator who introduced a bill making it a penal misdemeanor to discharge a firearm on any public road of the state except for the purpose of killing a noxious animal or an officer in pursuit of his duty.

Style, says Quintilian, is corrupted in as many ways as it is adorned; and so in our third division we might include all that the Greeks generalized as *κακόζηλον*, the Latin *mala affectatio* (Quint. VIII, 3, 56). And indeed all rhetoric and ornament of style might as irrelevance be classified as irrational. It is the element of play which Plato says inevitably enters into every written work. More particularly simile, metaphor, antithesis, the transferred epithet, and all schemata in so far as they strain resemblance, exaggerate opposition, or distort the precise logic of thought, belong to the domain of irrationality. But that is too ambitious a program for the present study, which aims to present only a few topics and typical illustrations. The modern "best seller" resembles Thucydides in this at least that he is especially liable to snarl up his syntax when he tries to be philosophical. Mr. Jack London, for example, writes in *The Mutiny of the Elsinore*, p. 127: "The first word much less the last of the phenomena of personality yet remains to be uttered by the psychologist."

Macaulay's review of Robert Montgomery and the handbooks of rhetoric have dealt sufficiently with the incongruous imagery or self-contradictory phrasing that result from defective imagination and the failure to visualize: the warrior who lying on his bleeding breast contrives to stare ghastly and grimly at the skies, and the girl who took her lover by his coat-lapels and hugged him. There is a special literature on bulls and mixed metaphors. In the *Agamemnon* Clytaemnestra bids Cassandra if she doesn't understand Greek to reply by a gesture of her barbarian hand. This it is cus-

tomary to illustrate by the ancient story of the sign which read: "When this board is under water the ford is impassable." But it has been argued that the words $\sigma\upsilon\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}$ are addressed to the chorus who are bidden to drag Cassandra in with barbarian hand. Whether Aeschylus' and Pindar's metaphors are mixed or only "telescoped," as Professor Gildersleeve would say, is one of the many topics which the present study must enumerate without discussing. It suffices to note the place of mixed or incoherent metaphor in an exhaustive consideration of irrationality. To praise, as Shaftesbury does, the "predecessors who have gone before and broken the ice for us to follow them," indicates an imperfect adjustment of the thought to the image. To begin with a whirlwind and conclude with a conflagration, says Quintilian, is *inconsequentia rerum foedissima* (VIII, 6, 50). More pertinent to philological criticism is the question of the degree of consistency and persistency to be expected in the metaphors of a given author, as for example in Aeschylus as interpreted by Verrall or Tucker. Unity of metaphor may, as Jebb drily observes (*Antigone*, 959), "be bought too dearly." Nothing is less critical than the application of rigid logic to the processes of an illogical mind or mood. Reserving this topic, I confine myself here to one possible illustration. The Pandora's jar in Hesiod's *Works and Days* has a large and unsatisfactory literature. May not irrationality be the simpler solution? The allegory accounts for the diffusion of evil by the escape of the plagues from the jar. The poet also wishes to symbolize the obvious commonplace that hope always remains with man. Regardless of consistency with the main body of the allegory, he expresses this by saying Hope remained in the jar. It is possible that the confusion was helped by the ambiguity of the Greek Ἐλπίς, which is often an evil. But the main point is that the poet did not consider the matter so curiously or carefully as do the modern interpreters who torture his meaning in the endeavor to force it into a logical strait-jacket. With metaphor, in a fuller treatment, we might associate the illogical implications of the transferred epithet and the impossibility of determining by strict etymo-

logical logic the meaning of poetic compounds (see Jebb on Soph. *Tr.* 188, *O.T.* 846, *Aj.* 144).

Another main cause of irrationality in style is straining for emphasis and intensity of expression. As Quintilian (VIII, 6, 75), anticipating Bacon's famous sentence about poetry, says, *natura est omnibus augendi res minuendique cupiditas insita, nec quisquam vero contentus est.* This is the simplest explanation of the famous *crux* and Homeric problem in the tenth book of the *Iliad*: "More than two-thirds of the night is gone and a third is left." It is the impulse that prompted a college trustee to say: "The income of the college for last year more than exceeds the expenditure." A similar consideration perhaps disposes of the chronological discussion provoked by Aristotle's statement in *Poet.* 1448 a 33 that Epicharmus was much earlier than Chionides. He is arguing and hence exaggerates. It is superfluous to emend to "not much earlier." So in *Aθ. πολ.* 24, 10, Aristotle justifies "more than twenty thousand" by the enumeration of 15,750.

Psychologically akin to rhetorical or argumentative exaggeration is the illogical threat of anger: "I'll teach you," etc. Jebb on Soph. *Aj.* 100 calls it grim irony and cites *O.T.* 1273, *O.C.* 1377 (where see his note), *Ant.* 310, *Tr.* 1110. Here belongs perhaps the *κῶρον ἐόντα* of *Il.* VI, 59, of which the anthropologists have made too much. Leaf's explanation is that we must regard the optative as expressing a hope, unless Agamemnon's fury makes him unreasonable. It could also be forced into the category of illogical specification (*supra*, p. 214). About the literature on Vergil's fourth *Eclogue* "knowing I am silent," as Herodotus would say. For the illogical threat compare further Marlowe's

Strike off their heads and let them preach on poles;

Eur. Bacch. 511, *ἐκεῖ χόρευε*; and *Tro.* 85 and 1041, where Professor Murray's

And ere this night is o'er

Thy dead face shall dishonor me no more,

softens the colloquial irrationality of the Greek.

In general, intensity of feeling, whatever its cause or purpose, tends to irrational hyperbole or paradox of expression: "Si Perkins ain't the man he used to be — naw and he never was." In Shakespeare, *Winter's Tale*, II, 3, Paulina's passion explains the logical absurdity:

No yellow in it; lest she suspect as he does,
Her children not her husband's.

The suggestion in the *Odyssey* of how greatly Achilles would have enjoyed his own funeral recalls the blessing, "May you live to eat the hen that scratches on your grave!" The principle could also be applied to such expressions as Milton's "surer to prosper than prosperity"; to "You'll never raise that boy the longest day you live," with the Latin *numquam hodie*; to the use of *θάσσον*, "weil ταχέως dem Redenden nicht genügt" (Anhang to Schneidewin, *Sophocles*, p. 148; cf. *πάλαι*, *ib.* 151, and *πάν*, 152).

Many passages in Greek literature seem designed to express the incoherence of strong feeling either in the writer or dramatically in the character portrayed. Many of the anacolutha of the *Agamemnon* express the poet's own excitement by his theme. The cumulation of negatives in Thuc. VII, 87 has the same effect. In Plato, *Legg.* 896 B, the sputtering intensity of the language reveals Plato's own feeling. In the speech of Polus in the *Gorgias* (461 B) it is dramatic satire of Polus. In *Od.* XI, 613 ff. the poet himself is apparently incoherent from admiration of a work of art. In the great speeches of Achilles in the *Iliad* the consistent incoherence of the language is too apt to be other than conscious dramatic art.

Worth distinguishing though not always distinguishable from this is dramatic reproduction of incoherence and anacoluthon in the speeches of the *ἄγγελος* and other uneducated persons, e. g. the swineherd in *Od.* xv, 361, and the nurse in the *Choephoroe*.

The orator whose emotional expansion carried him from the East pole to the West pole plausibly if not quite logically suggests the polar *Ausdrucksweise* which may be assumed to

be familiar to all readers of this paper. It sometimes falls under the head of intensity, as when the angry king in Aesch. *Sept.* 179 threatens "man and woman and aught that lies between." More often it is the illogical or irrelevant completion of a familiar formula by verbal association. This explains the apparent contradiction of Xenophanes' "one God (only) supreme among gods and men"; as well as the lesser irrationality of *Il.* ix, 239, where Hector trusts in Zeus and has no regard for either gods or men. It probably justifies the text of *Il.* xxiv, 44-5:

ὡς Ἀχιλεὺς ἔλεον μὲν ἀπώλεσεν οὐδέ οἱ αἰδῶς
γίγνεται, ἢ τ' ἄνδρας μέγα σίνεται ἦδ' ὀνίησιν,

where to the severe logic of Leaf "the second line is absolutely senseless." It accounts for many subtleties or paradoxes of expression, as for example the ἔρξαι τε καὶ παθεῖν ὁμῶς of Pind. *P.* 8, 6, where in the Gallicism of Gildersleeve "analysis loses its rights." The strain on logic is less in Livy's *Et facere et pati fortia Romanum est* (ii, 12, 9), and in Milton's "To be weak is miserable, | doing or suffering." How little this sort of thing offended the Greek logical sense appears from the fact that it is peculiarly frequent in Plato, the world's most exact dialectician (see commentators on *Rep.* 367 D, καὶ ἀδικία βλέπει, and *Gorg.* 471 D). He assumed that his readers would have the intelligence to allow for it. He expected like allowance when for colloquial ease or rhetorical effect he sometimes admitted the appearance of the direct conversion of a universal affirmative in cases where it made no real difference in the argument. Modern critics have disappointed him but the ancients often understood, notably Themistius and Olympiodorus. Further exemplification of irrational formula is found in Soph. *Tr.* 488 and *O.T.* 1380. This is perhaps the explanation of the puzzle in Soph. *Aj.* 478,

προσθεῖσα κἀναθεῖσα τοῦ γε καθανεῖν;

and in Diog. *L.* vii, 102, μὴ γὰρ εἶναι ταῦτα ἀγαθὰ ἀλλ' ἀδιάφορα, it defends the text against Von Arnim's strictures.

The irrationality of intimate association appears also in such phrases as "set my ten commandments in his face," and

"had I as many lives as Plutarch," when the link is purely numerical or verbal. Similar is the Greek and Platonic abuse of the formula *τρίτος σωτήρ* etc. (Plato, *Legg.* 692 A; *Epist.* 7, 340 A).

False or imperfect antithesis is another comprehensive category of unreason. For the Attic orators it has been partially studied in the Chicagò dissertation of Hollingsworth. In our scheme it falls under rhetoric because in the words of Edmond Scherer (*Works*, v, 150): "La préoccupation de certains effets produit le gauchissement de la pensée." The textbooks of rhetoric warn against this fault of style and supply the more obvious illustrations. From Heraclitus to Victor Hugo and Mr. Chesterton writers who are overambitious for this effect must, as Plato pointed out, pay this price for it. I will delay for but one minor type: the false antithesis or balance of prepositions and lesser parts of speech. Scherer censures this in Lamartine: "C'est ainsi que l'écrivain oppose Rousseau à Saint Augustin comme un fou de génie à un fou de ciel, sans s'apercevoir que le génitif exprime ici des rapports différents et que par conséquent l'antithèse n'est que dans le son." Isocrates, *Panegy.* 34, balances *περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ μεγίστου*, etc., with *περὶ δὲ τοῦς αὐτοῦς χρόνους*. But perhaps the difference between genitive and accusative justified this to a Greek ear. Butcher (*Aristotle's Theory of Poetry* [1895], p. 239) finds this fault in Aristotle's *ἔλεος μὲν περὶ τὸν ἀνάξιον, φόβος δὲ περὶ τὸν ὅμοιον*, which he interprets "pity for, fear in connexion with." Hdt. 1, 106, *χωρὶς μὲν . . . χωρὶς δέ*, is a notable instance. The occasional juxtaposition by Plato of *παρὰ . . . παρὰ* in different meanings slightly offends the logical sense. In *Julius Caesar*, III, 1, Antony says,

As here by Caesar and by you cut off,

taking *by* in two meanings. Walt Whitman in "The Song of the Exposition" actually seems to balance *to sing in songs*, etc. (infinitive) with *to manual work for each and all*.

All but the simplest and most matter-of-fact transitions tend to do some violence to the thought and are in so far

irrational. They impose associations that suit the writer's purpose not the facts. This is the besetting temptation of otherwise exquisite writers, as I instanced in *Class. Week*. iv, 95. The limit of this tendency is reached in the so-called "pivot words" of Japanese poetry, where the first half of the sentence takes the word in one sense and the second in another. Mr. W. G. Aston illustrates this by Thackeray's "devoteapot" presented to the Reverend Mr. Honeyman. The bilingual coinage "polyphloisboisterous verse" is of the same order. This is the trick of O. Henry's surprises: "A demi-tasse? No, not a demi Tasso"; and of Professor Leacock's imitations of it: "for all he was Words-worth." The common garden pun fulfills a similar function in violently disrailing the train of thought, as the Autocrat explains in an entertaining diatribe. Quintilian, whose own transitions are direct and simple, reprobates as "semper vitiosae" *transitiones a verbo* (VIII, 5, 19). Matthew Arnold's favorite transition by repetition of a key-word causes Jack London to stumble thus: "attempting to rear . . . but rear she would have"; and the *Nation*, Sept. 14, 1914, p. 261, is little more successful: "but confute it he has."

Lack of space compels me to reserve for another occasion a final category of subtlety, paradox, and oversophistication of the expression. Here as elsewhere the chief problem is that of the Greek writers on schemata to distinguish the boldness of a virtue from the blindness of ignorance or mental confusion. Shakespeare's

Caesar did never wrong but with just cause,

misquoted and condemned by Ben Jonson, seems to me a permissible paradox of hyperbolic rhetoric. Aesch. *Supp.* 893,

τί δ' ἠμπλάκηται τῶνδ' ἐμοὶ δίκης ἄτερ,

is apparently a fair parallel, though we must allow for the differing connotation of the Greek word. The true subtlety of Plato, *Phaedo*, 85 D, and of Euripides seems to be parodied in the advertisement, "If you use a typewriter, you'll never be inconvenienced without one," and in the intentional

confusion in a conversation of Mr. Howells' *Penelope and Corey*: "'Oh thank you,' said Penelope, 'I'm afraid you wouldn't have missed me if I had been there.' 'Oh yes we should,' said Corey.'" Vergil's subtleties so baffling to matter-of-fact commentators still would fill a monograph. But I must conclude.

In the space available I have been able to use only a part of my own insufficient collections. I have retained some frivolous illustrations intended to relieve the tedium of analysis and classification for an audience. They exemplify principles as well as more dignified instances would. I hope to return to the subject and try to improve classifications, correct errors, and supply ampler or more pertinent illustration.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

FORTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

HELD AT ST. LOUIS, MO., DECEMBER, 1916

ALSO OF THE EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

Philological Association of the Pacific Coast

HELD AT SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., DECEMBER, 1916

MEMBERS IN ATTENDANCE AT THE FORTY-EIGHTH
ANNUAL MEETING, ST. LOUIS, MO.

Louis F. Anderson, Whitman College, Walla Walla, Wash.
William W. Baker, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.
LeRoy C. Barret, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.
Herbert J. Barton, University of Illinois, Champaign, Ill.
William N. Bates, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
William J. Battle, University of Texas, Austin, Tex.
Gertrude H. Beggs, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Leonard Bloomfield, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
Alexander L. Bondurant, University of Mississippi, University, Miss.
Campbell Bonner, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Alice F. Bräunlich, Frances Shimer School, Mount Carroll, Ill.
Carl D. Buck, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Mary H. Buckingham, Boston, Mass.
John M. Burnam, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O.
Mitchell Carroll, Archaeological Institute, Washington, D. C.
W. H. Chenery, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
Guy Blandin Colburn, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
Cornelia C. Coulter, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Edmund D. Cressman, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan.
Frank M. Debatin, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
Norman W. DeWitt, Victoria College, Toronto, Can.
William Prentiss Drew, Knox College, Galesburg, Ill.
Emily Helen Dutton, Tennessee College, Murfreesboro, Tenn.
Jefferson Elmore, Stanford University, Palo Alto, Cal.
H. Rushton Fairclough, Stanford University, Cal.
Harold N. Fowler, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
Raymond D. Harriman, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah.
Benjamin Horton, Iberia Academy, Iberia, Mo.
Samuel A. Jeffers, Central College, Fayette, Mo.
William H. Johnson, Denison University, Granville, O.
Eva Johnston, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
Roger M. Jones, Grinnell College, Grinnell, Ia.
Robert James Kellogg, James Millikin University, Decatur, Ill.
Gordon J. Laing, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
O. F. Long, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
Christopher Longest, University of Mississippi, University, Miss.
Louis E. Lord, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O.
John L. Lowes, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
Walton Brooks McDaniel, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
Ralph Van Deman Magoffin, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

John M. Manly, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 Richard Clark Manning, Kenyon College, Gambier, O.
 Alfred William Milden, University of Mississippi, University, Miss.
 Walter Miller, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
 E. W. Murray, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan.
 Barker Newhall, Kenyon College, Gambier, O.
 Margaret B. O'Connor, St. Teresa College, Winona, Minn.
 Walter Hobart Palmer, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
 Walter Petersen, Bethany College, Lindsborg, Kan.
 Henry W. Prescott, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 David M. Robinson, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
 Evan T. Sage, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
 Henry A. Sanders, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
 W. S. Scarborough, Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, O.
 John Adams Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
 William Tunstall Semple, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O.
 Emily L. Shields, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
 F. W. Shipley, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
 Paul Shorey, Chicago University, Chicago, Ill.
 Martin Sprengling, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 R. B. Steele, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.
 James Sterenberg, Knox College, Galesburg, Ill.
 S. E. Stout, University of Indiana, Bloomington, Ind.
 Edgar Howard Sturtevant, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
 Rollin Harvelle Tanner, Illinois College, Jacksonville, Ill.
 Frank B. Tarbell, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 Eugene Tavenner, Normal School, Murfreesboro, Tenn.
 George R. Throop, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
 Elizabeth McJimsey Tyng, Packer Collegiate Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y.
 B. L. Ullman, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
 A. T. Walker, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan.
 Alice Walton, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.
 Charles Heald Weller, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.
 Arthur L. Wheeler, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
 John Garrett Winter, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
 Ellsworth David Wright, Lawrence College, Appleton, Wis.

[Total, 76]

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

I. PROGRAMME

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 27

JOINT SESSION WITH THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

8.00 O'CLOCK P.M.

CARL DARLING BUCK

Comparative Philology and the Classics (p. 65)

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 28

FIRST SESSION, 9.30 O'CLOCK A.M.

ROBERT J. KELLOGG

On the Need of Establishing Laboratories for Experimental Linguistics and Fonetics (p. xix)

JEFFERSON ELMORE

Municipia Fundana (p. 35)

EVAN T. SAGE

The Date of the Vatinian Law¹

LEONARD BLOOMFIELD

Subject and Predicate (p. 13)

CORNELIA C. COULTER

Compound Adjectives in Early Latin Poetry (p. 153)

ALBERT J. CARNOY

Some Obscurities in the Assibilation of *ti* and *di* before a Vowel in Vulgar Latin (p. 145)

CHARLES CHRISTOPHER MIEROW

St. Severinus and the Closing Years of the Province of Noricum (read by title)²

¹ To be published in the *American Journal of Philology*.

² Published in the *Colorado College Publication*, Language Series, II (1907), 299-318.

H. C. TOLMAN

The Graphic Representation of Final Indo-Iranian *a* in Ancient Persian (read by title, p. xxix)

SECOND SESSION, 2.30 O'CLOCK P.M.

HENRY RUSHTON FAIRCLOUGH

On the Virgilian *Catalepton* II (p. 43)

GEORGE R. THROOP

Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 69-71 and 94-96 (p. xxiv)

FRANK B. TARBELL

A Rhodian Inscription Reëxamined¹

LOUIS E. LORD

Vergil's Theocritus (p. xxi)

ALFRED W. MILDEN

Ionia and Greek Colonization (p. xxi)

ANDREW R. ANDERSON

The Olive Crown in Horace, *Carm.* 1, 7, 5-7

GEORGE CONVERSE FISKE

The *Genus Tenue*, or Plain Style, in Lucilius and Horace (read by title)²

WALTER WOODBURN HYDE

The Homicide Courts of Athens, and their Religious Significance (read by title)³

SAMUEL E. BASSETT

Λόγος and *Ἔργον* in the *Ἐπιτάφιος* of Thucydides (read by title, p. xiv)

CURTIS C. BUSHNELL

A Supposed Connection between Certain Passages in Ovid and Genesis, 18-19 (read by title, p. xv)

F. W. SHIPLEY

Notes on Velleius Paterculus, II, 47, 2 (read by title)⁴

¹ Published in *Classical Philology*, XII (1917), 190-191.

² To be published as part of a more extended investigation upon Lucilius and Horace.

³ To be published elsewhere.

⁴ To be published in *Classical Philology*.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 29

THIRD SESSION, 9.30 O'CLOCK A.M.

WILLIAM N. BATES

Notes on the *Rhesus* (p. 5)

EDGAR H. STURTEVANT

An Obvious Means of Increasing the Study of the Classics¹

ELIZABETH MCJIMSEY TYNG

An Attempt to Explain Tense Usage in Cicero's Orations (p. xxx)

MARTIN SPRENGLING

A Reëxamination of Galen's Statement on the Christians²

HENRY A. SANDERS

The Text of the Pauline Fragment in the Freer Collection³

THEODORE ARTHUR BUENGER

The Phonetic Presuppositions of the Fulgentian Etymologies (read by title, p. xv)

SAMUEL GRANT OLIPHANT

Ἡ Ὀλολυγών — What was It? (read by title, p. 85)

JOSEPH E. HARRY

Emendations to Aeschylus, *Supp.* 186, *Cho.* 224, *Eum.* 203 (read by title)⁴

FOURTH SESSION, 2 O'CLOCK P.M.

HENRY W. PRESCOTT

Inorganic Rôles in Roman Comedy (p. xxiii)

DONALD CLIVE STUART

The Origin of Greek Tragedy in the Light of Dramatic Technique (p. 173)

EUGENE TAVENNER

Three as a Magic Number in Latin Literature (p. 117)

R. B. STEELE

The Sources of the History of Alexander the Great (p. xxiv)

¹ To be published in the *Classical Weekly*.

² Published in the *American Journal of Theology*, XXI (1917), 94-109.

³ To be published in the *University of Michigan Studies*, Humanistic Series, IX, part 2.

⁴ To be published in the *Classical Review*.

EDGAR H. STURTEVANT

The Monophthongization of Latin *ae* (read by title, p. 107)

W. SHERWOOD FOX

The Origin of the Delphic Earth Goddess (read by title, p. xviii)

SECOND JOINT SESSION WITH THE INSTITUTE

8 O'CLOCK P.M.

JOHN ADAMS SCOTT

The Close of the Odyssey¹

JOHN M. MANLY

Cuts and Insertions in Shakespeare's Plays²

PAUL SHOREY

Illogical Idiom (p. 205)

¹ Published in the *Classical Journal*, XII (1917), 397-405.² Published in *Studies in Philology*, XIV (1917), 123-128.

II. MINUTES

ST. LOUIS, MO., December 27, 1916.

JOINT SESSION WITH THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

The Societies met together at 8.15 P.M. in the Rose Parlor of the Buckingham Hotel, Professor F. W. Shipley, President of the Institute, presiding.

Brief addresses of welcome were given by Acting Chancellor Frederic A. Hall, of Washington University, and Mr. Bostwick, President of the St. Louis branch of the Institute.

The President of the Association, Professor Carl Darling Buck, of Chicago University, delivered the annual address, *Comparative Philology and the Classics*.

FIRST SESSION

Thursday morning, December 28.

In the absence of the President the Forty-eighth Annual Meeting was called to order by Professor W. B. McDaniel.

In the absence of the Secretary, Professor R. W. Husband, of Dartmouth College, was appointed to act as Secretary for the St. Louis meeting.

The reading of papers was at once begun.

During the session the President took the chair, and the following business was transacted.

The Secretary read the list of new members elected by the Executive Committee :

- Prof. Lillian G. Berry, University of Indiana.
- Dr. Ella Bourne, Vassar College.
- Dr. Joseph Granger Brandt, University of Kansas.
- Prof. Frank H. Cowles, Wabash College.
- Dr. William Anthony Dittmer, Princeton University.
- Dr. Raymond D. Harriman, University of Utah.
- Miss Elizabeth Pierce, Vassar College.
- Lewis L. Sell, Columbia University.
- Prof. Martin Sprengling, University of Chicago.
- Prof. Donald Clive Stuart, Princeton University.
- Miss Elizabeth McJimsey Tyng, New York.
- Feliciu Vexler, Columbia University.

The Secretary further reported that on December 30, 1915, the Executive Committee voted to appropriate the sum of \$400.00 toward the expenses of the Joint Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature, Professor William G. Hale, Chairman.

The Secretary also reported that the TRANSACTIONS and PROCEEDINGS, Volume XLVI, were issued at the beginning of October.

The following report of the Treasurer was then read :

RECEIPTS	
Balance, December 28, 1915	\$1518.73
Sales of Transactions	\$238.92
Membership dues	1575.00
Life membership dues	50.00
Initiation fees	100.00
Dividends	6.00
Interest	53.27
Reprints	21.00
Philological Association of the Pacific Coast	240.00
Total receipts to December 15, 1916	<u>2284.19</u>
	\$3802.92
EXPENDITURES	
Transactions and Proceedings (Vol. XLVI)	\$1507.81
Salary of Secretary	300.00
Printing and stationery	50.80
Postage	28.70
Express	1.99
Press clippings	5.00
Modern Language Association	24.00
Joint Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature	400.00
Incidentals (exchange, telegraph)	1.10
Invested (life memberships)	<u>148.31</u>
Total expenditures to December 15, 1916	\$2467.71
Balance, December 15, 1916	<u>1335.21</u>
	\$3802.92

The Acting Treasurer, Professor Husband, called attention to the fact that in accordance with a vote taken at the last annual meeting the Treasurer had closed his books on December fifteenth.

The reports of the Secretary and Treasurer were duly accepted and placed on file.

The Chair announced the appointment of the following Committees :

To Audit the Treasurer's Accounts : Professors Henry A. Sanders and Evan T. Sage.

On the Place of the Next Meeting : Professors William N. Bates, Henry W. Prescott, and Edgar Howard Sturtevant.

On Resolutions : Professors Walter Miller and Alexander L. Bondurant.

The reading of papers was then resumed.

SECOND SESSION

Thursday afternoon, December 28.

The Association met in University Hall, and was called to order at 2.40 P.M. by the President. The entire session was given to the reading of papers and their discussion.

Thursday evening, December 28.

The Societies met at 7 P.M. at the Buckingham Hotel, and dined together as the guests of the Board of Trustees of the Missouri Botanical Garden, Acting Chancellor Frederic A. Hall, of Washington University, presiding.

The following speakers were called upon by the toastmaster : Mr. Edward C. Eliot, Trustee of the Missouri Botanical Garden ; Professor Paul Shorey, of the University of Chicago ; Professor Frederick W. Shipley, of Washington University ; Professor James H. Breasted, of the University of Chicago ; Dr. William H. Holmes, of Washington, D. C. ; Professor H. R. Fairclough, of Stanford University ; and Dean Andrew F. West, of Princeton University.

THIRD SESSION

Friday morning, December 29.

The Association met in University Hall, and was called to order at 9.40 A.M. by the President. The session was devoted to the reading of papers.

FOURTH SESSION

Friday afternoon, December 29.

The business meeting of the Association was called to order by the President, at 2 P.M., in the same room.

The Committee to Audit the Treasurer's Accounts reported by Professor Sage :

We have examined the accounts of the Treasurer for 1916, including the vouchers for bills paid, the statements of the deposit accounts in banks, and investment of life-membership funds, and find the same correct.

December 28, 1916.

(Signed) HENRY A. SANDERS, }
EVAN T. SAGE, } *Auditors.*

The Committee on the Place of the Next Meeting reported by its Chairman, Professor Bates, recommending that the Association accept the invitation of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, and meet there in conjunction with the Archaeological Institute, in December, 1917. This report was accepted and adopted.

The Committee on Resolutions reported by its Chairman, Professor Miller, the following resolutions, which were accepted and adopted :

Resolved, That we, the members of the American Philological Association, in our forty-eighth annual meeting assembled, would hereby give expression to our grateful appreciation

(1) Of the generous hospitality of the authorities of Washington University in opening to us its lecture-rooms and offices for our meetings and its dormitories for the convenient entertainment of our members and in inviting us to the very enjoyable luncheons on Thursday and Friday ;

(2) Of the opportunity for friendly intercourse provided by the St. Louis Society of the Archaeological Institute at the smoker and the reception on Wednesday evening ;

(3) Of the bountiful hospitality so splendidly manifested by the Board of Trustees of the Missouri Botanical Garden at the dinner on Thursday evening ;

(4) Of the gracious courtesy extended by Mr. and Mrs. W. K. Bixby in generously welcoming the Association to their home with its treasures of art ;

(5) Of the automobile ride afforded by various citizens of St. Louis ;

(6) Of the privileges extended to the members of the Association by the Automobile Club, the City Club, the Mercantile Club, the St. Louis Club, and the University Club, of St. Louis ;

(7) Of the courtesies of the Directors of the City Art Museum in conveying us to the Museum building and kindly receiving us there ;

(8) Of the gratifying spirit of coöperation on the part of the Archaeological Institute of America and the College Art Association in making the joint meeting successful ; and

(9) Of all the thorough work done by the local committee in perfecting the arrangements for the various meetings and contributing in so many ways to the pleasure of those who have been in attendance.

Upon motion of Professor Arthur L. Wheeler it was

Voted, That whereas the Association has learned with regret of the resignation of Professor Frank G. Moore from the office of Secretary-Treasurer, be it

Resolved, That the Association express its high appreciation of his long, untiring, and efficient service, and record its decision by a rising vote.

The Executive Committee reported the following supplementary list of new members :

Miss Alice F. Bräunlich, Mount Carroll, Illinois.

Miss Emma Cauthorn, University of Missouri.

Prof. W. H. Chenery, Washington University.

Benjamin Horton, Iberia, Missouri.
Prof. John L. Lowes, Washington University.
Miss Margaret Brown O'Connor, Winona, Minnesota.

Upon recommendation of the Executive Committee it was

Voted, That the Executive Committee be empowered to make a new contract with Ginn & Company concerning the printing and sale of the TRANSACTIONS and reprints.

Upon recommendation of the Executive Committee it was

Voted, That the offices of Secretary and Treasurer be kept in the hands of one person, and that the stipend be increased to three hundred and fifty dollars per year.

A report was made by Professor Arthur L. Wheeler for the Executive Committee on the proposed change in the method of publication of the TRANSACTIONS and PROCEEDINGS. It was thereupon

Voted, (1) That it is inexpedient to make any change in the method of publication at the present time ;

(2) That the Committee be discharged from further consideration of the question.

The Executive Committee through its Secretary presented the following

PROPOSED ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION AND THE PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST

I. Any member of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast for whom the Treasurer of said Association shall on or before the fifteenth day of March pay to the Treasurer of the American Philological Association the sum of two dollars and fifty cents (\$2.50) shall be admitted to full membership in the said American Philological Association and shall have for that year and for any subsequent year in which said sum is paid as aforesaid all the privileges pertaining to membership in the American Philological Association, to participate in meetings, to submit articles for publication, to receive the TRANSACTIONS and PROCEEDINGS of the American Philological Association, to have his name printed in the list of members of the same, and to share equitably in any other benefits that may accrue to members of said American Philological Association.

II. Any member of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast for whom the Treasurer of said Association shall after the fifteenth day of March pay to the Treasurer of the American Philological Association the sum of two dollars and fifty cents (\$2.50) shall be admitted to full membership in the said American Philological Association and to all the privileges thereof, except that his name shall not in that year be printed in the list of members of the American Philological Association, nor in any other year in which payment is not made as aforesaid before the fifteenth day of March.

III. If at any future time the annual payment of three dollars (\$3.00) now required by Article IV, Section 2, of the Constitution from every member of the American Philological Association not a life member shall be increased or diminished, the sum of two dollars and fifty cents provided in Articles I and II above shall be increased or diminished in the same ratio; otherwise this Agreement shall terminate.

IV. This Agreement shall terminate upon one year's notice given by either party to the other; otherwise it shall continue in full force and virtue.

It was thereupon

Voted, (1) That the Proposed Articles of Agreement between the American Philological Association and the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast be hereby approved, and

(2) That these Articles of Agreement shall go into effect immediately upon their acceptance by the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast.

The Joint Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature, in a letter from its Chairman, Professor John C. Kirtland, reported progress. It was thereupon

Voted, That the Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature be continued for another year.

The Committee on International Meetings, Professor E. T. Merrill, Chairman, reported by letter that it had been unable to accomplish anything during the year. It was thereupon

Voted, That the Committee on International Meetings be continued for another year.

The Committee on Nominations, through its Chairman, Professor Paul Shorey, reported as follows:

President, Professor Frank G. Moore, Columbia University.

Vice-Presidents, Professor Kirby Flower Smith, Johns Hopkins University.

Professor James R. Wheeler, Columbia University.

Secretary and Treasurer, Professor Clarence P. Bill, Western Reserve University.

Executive Committee, The above-named officers, and

Professor Campbell Bonner, University of Michigan.

Professor Richard Wellington Husband, Dartmouth College.

Professor Walton Brooks McDaniel, University of Pennsylvania.

Professor Grace Harriet Macurdy, Vassar College.

Professor Arthur Leslie Wheeler, Bryn Mawr College.

These officers were then duly elected.

The Chair then announced the appointment of Professor Edward P. Morris, of Yale University, as the new member of the Committee on Nominations.

It was voted that the business session be then adjourned.

The remainder of the session was devoted to the reading of papers.

SECOND JOINT SESSION WITH THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL
INSTITUTE

Friday evening, December 29.

The Societies met at the City Art Museum, President Buck, of the Association, presiding. The session was devoted to the reading of papers.

III. ABSTRACTS

I. Λόγος and Ἔργον in the Ἐπιτάφιος of Thucydides, by Professor Samuel E. Bassett, of the University of Vermont.

The contrast between "word" and "deed" is used, in one form or another, more frequently in the "Funeral Oration of Pericles" (Thuc. II, 35-46) than in any other passage of equal length in extant Greek literature. This use has been characterized as "tasteless tautology" (Mure, *History of Greek Literature*, v², 169). The present paper attempted to acquit Thucydides of this charge by establishing these points:

I. Thucydides uses the contrast as something more than a mere rhetorical device. Λόγος meant to him the *ratio* as well as the *oratio* of the ἔργον. While he uses the popular antithesis (Professor Gildersleeve, in *A. J. P.* xxvi, 112, remarks that it was a "new toy") as the *motif* of the oration, and belittles the Λόγος (= *oratio*), he praises the Λόγος (= *ratio*) as being of greater importance than the ἔργον. In fact, his eulogy of Athens consists essentially in the repeated indications that Λόγος, in this sense, is a fundamental characteristic of the Athenians.

II. In his use of the antithesis Λόγος — ἔργον, and other "polar" expressions, Thucydides presents a striking similarity to Sophocles, who of all fifth century poets is most fond of polarity and most frequently employs the contrast between "word" and "deed." Whether Sophocles is to be regarded as the first to make prominent this peculiarity of style (so Navarre) or whether he was influenced by the innovations of Gorgias or other rhetoricians is uncertain, but since the *Antigone* offers the best illustrations of polarity, it is clear that this feature became popular soon after 450 B.C. It is therefore altogether possible that the style of the Thucydidean "Epitaphius," in which "polar" expressions are very numerous, is, to some extent, Periclean. At all events, it presents many points of contact with the third quarter of the fifth century.

III. Thucydides regards the Peloponnesian War from the point of view of the preceding generation. Together with Sophocles and Pericles he represents the ideas of the Great Age of Athens. Furtwängler ascribed the greatness of this brief period in sculpture to the attainment of the nearest approach to a balance between two antithetical principles of art. In a similar way we may say that the intellectual character of the Age of Pericles is marked by an

approximate equilibrium between the *λόγος* and the *ἔργον*. In preceding generations the *ἔργον*—or rather, *ἔργα*—had somewhat more attention; later, the influence of the sophists on the one hand, and of Socrates on the other, made the *λόγος* of superior importance; but for a few years about the middle of the fifth century both *λόγος* and *ἔργον* receive due consideration. The Age of Pericles is marked not only by its material achievements but equally by the idealism of Phidias, Sophocles, and Pericles. Hence it is not unfitting that Thucydides in showing the real significance of Periclean Athens should “overwork the new toy” of literary style, and at the same time demonstrate that the true greatness of the Athenians lay in their attention to the *λόγος* as well as to the *ἔργον*. This subtle use of the antithesis prevents it from being a literary blemish.

2. The Phonetic Presuppositions of the Fulgentian Etymologies, by Dr. Theodore Arthur Buenger, of the University of Pennsylvania.

The etymologies contained in the writings of the African Fabius Planciades Fulgentius (500 A.D.) give evidence for the following phonetic phenomena: the change of *aë* > *ae* > *e*, *ae* > *e*, *au* > *u*, *η* > *i*, *oe* > *e*, *oi* > *i*, *ū* > *o*, *v* > *i*; the occurrence of prosthetic *e* or *i*; the weakening of vowels in unaccented initial syllables, in unaccented penults, and in final syllables; the loss of the aspiration; the simplification of *ct* > *tt*, *pt* > *tt*, *ps* > *ss*, *mn* > *nn*, *nt* > *tt*; the interchange of *c* and *t*; the change of *g* > *y*, the interchange of *b* and *v*; assibilation; and the loss of final consonants and unaccented syllables.

3. A Supposed Connection between Certain Passages in Ovid and Genesis, 18–19, by Professor Curtis C. Bushnell of Syracuse University.

The story of Philemon and Baucis (Ovid, *Met.* VIII, 617–724) is not, like most of its fellows, a mere wonder-tale, but rather what in Biblical study is called a *Midrash*, i.e. a homiletic story. The texts enforced (ll. 618–619, 724) are in the form called in Hebrew poetry the parallelism. The miracle of 679–680 resembles I Kings, 17, 8–16 and II Kings, 4, 1–7. The story as a whole closely parallels Gen. 19, 1–29, with additional elements parallel to parts of Gen. 18.

The points of resemblance to Gen. 19, 1-29 (the story of Sodom) are: inhospitality on the part of a community toward unrecognized divine beings who seek food and shelter at evening; their contrasting friendly reception by a single household; their recognition through a miracle; their decree of punishment to the community at large and of immunity for the hospitable household; their command to the latter to go to the mountain; their protecting escort; the execution of the sentence on the morning that follows this eventful night (according to Ovid by submergence in a lake, in Genesis by a fiery rain and "overthrow"); and metamorphoses of certain characters of both stories.

The resemblance is made still closer in that a submergence of some kind is thought of as accompanying the destruction of Sodom (Gen. 14, 3; 13, 10; Jos. *Ant.* 1, 9; Strabo, xvi, 2, 44). The preponderance of present opinion is that the Biblical writer thought of the Dead Sea as submerging its site.

Features of Ovid's story that might have come from Gen. 18 are the representations that the hospitable pair are old, that the wife takes part in preparing a repast of an elaborate character, and perhaps the suggestion of sacred trees (Gen. 18, 4, 8; *Met.* viii, 712-724).

Gen. 18, 1-15 also finds a parallel in *Fasti*, v, 495-534. An old man offers ample entertainment to three unrecognized divine beings, the chief of whom, when they have disclosed their identity, promises a miraculously given child. The hour is the same as in Gen. 19, 1. The passages in the *Fasti* and *Metamorphoses* have many resemblances in general thought, in details, and in verbal expression, and must be companion pieces. They differ from the Biblical passages in stressing the poverty and the conjugal affection of the hosts.

Ovid's introduction to his account of the Deluge, *Met.* 1, 211-261, is like the story of Sodom in that inhospitality to divine beings brings a catastrophe as a punishment (here the flood). Here too as in that story the divinity comes down in human form to make personal investigation of a report of wrong-doing, and the punishment is by "avenging fire" and an "overthrow." Compare *Met.* 1, 230, 231 with Gen. 19, 24-25, and *Met.* 1, 211-213 with Gen. 18, 20-21. In all this Ovid agrees with the Greek Deluge story as told by Apollodorus.

The *Metamorphoses* passages seem plainly to show a contact

with the Biblical ones. The following may explain the relationship of these to one another and to several similar stories.

The ancient versions of the Deluge story are the Babylonian (Berosus, Gilgamesh epic, Scheil's tablet), the Hebrew version in Gen. 6-8, the Syrian version, and the Greco-Roman version. The story of Sodom is related to these, as is also that of Philemon and Baucis.

Before any of these narratives there seem to have existed two others which were both independent of one another and the sources of the rest, the one telling of a *local*, the other of a *universal* catastrophe (caused by inundation). Both appear in the Gilgamesh epic (though the former is only in outline), in the tale of Sodom (to the extent of just a trace of the latter, viz. in Gen. 19, 31), and in the Greco-Roman version. The tale of Philemon and Baucis has only the local story, the remaining versions have only the universal story.

The story of Sodom seems, except as just noted, to be a localized Hebrew version of the original story of a limited inundation. The Dead Sea environment accounts for such changes and additions as the metamorphosis of Lot's wife and the substitution of fire for water as the agent of destruction (though, as stated, there seem to be traces of an earlier submergence story, for which, indeed, the command to flee to the mountain would have more meaning). The divine personal investigation of and personal dealing with the situation is, as far as we can tell, a wholly new element; it is exactly what the Yahwist writer with his anthropomorphic conception of God would be drawn to add. Compare his narratives in Gen. 3, 8-19; 4, 9-12; 11, 5-9.

Antiochus the Great (B.C. 223-187) removed 2000 families of Jews from Mesopotamia into Phrygia (Jos. *Ant.* XII, 3, 4). This would bring Gen. 18-19 into Phrygia to be remoulded in accordance with local environment and local religious ideas into the story of Philemon and Baucis, to whose existence in this locality both *Met.* VIII, 620 ff. and Acts 14, 11-13 testify. As the Dead Sea environment had suggested destruction by fire, the Phrygian environment now suggested destruction by water, since parts of that country are subject to violent floods, a fact which localized in Phrygia both Noah's deluge and that of Deucalion. Here in Phrygia the element of personal investigation and action by the Deity that had originated with the Yahwist writer might naturally

pass over from the local adaptation of the story of Sodom into the kindred Deluge story so that eventually the version of the Deluge story according to Apollodorus and Ovid resulted. Thus the local and the general stories of the Flood were again combined, or the local story at least enlarged.

The history of the origin of the *Fasti* passage seems similar to that of the *Metamorphoses* passages.

Thus our three Ovid passages seem to go back to the Hebrew scriptures, a fact which explains the homiletic quality and other Biblical resemblances of the story of Philemon and Baucis and suggests an explanation for certain other parallels, as that of *Met.* 1, 80-83, 363-364 with Gen. 2, 7.

4. The Origin of the Delphic Earth Goddess, by Professor W. Sherwood Fox, of Princeton University.

In his *Quaestiones Graecae*, 12, Plutarch asks the question, "Who is Charila among the Delphians?" In answering this he states that it is the name of one of the three octennial feasts of Delphi, the other two being the Stepterion and the Herois. It is significant that all three are peculiarly local in their character. The myth which Plutarch relates concerning the Stepterion plainly shows that in origin it was a ceremonial link connecting the cult of Apollo with that of the earth goddess. The Herois, too, through its legendary associations with Semele, is certainly to be traced back to some ritual of earth worship. But as yet no satisfactory explanation of Charila has been forthcoming. Can we not, however, see in its name some indication of its history? Charila is apparently a diminutive of Charis, and Charis, the wife of Hephaestus, is none other than Aphrodite, the earth goddess of the East. All these festivals then are basically of the same nature.

From Plutarch's account we gather, first, that the Charila festival, though the last in order of celebration, is the most important of the rituals and therefore probably the oldest; secondly, that all three took place every eighth year (or, according to Greek reckoning, every ninth year) in the dry weeks of summer immediately following harvest. It is scarcely an accident that this period corresponds to the time fixed for the celebration of the Pythian games, the second full moon after the summer solstice. At all events, we are evidently to look for an astronomical explanation of this combination of ceremonies. Now the chief octennial celestial phenome-

non is the coincidence of the sun, moon, and Venus years, a fact known early to the Babylonians and Egyptians, but unknown to the Greeks until a relatively late date. Whence came this knowledge, then, preserved apparently for centuries in these obscure local festivals of Delphi? Doubtless from Babylonia rather than from Egypt. On quite other grounds this origin has been claimed before, but not proven. M. Bérard derives the name of Delphi from Delephat, the Babylonian designation of the planet Venus, *i.e.* Aphrodite, Ishtar, Ishkhara, etc. It is possible that all doubt may be cleared up by a thorough investigation of the origin and significance of octennial, or enneateric, feasts in Greece and the nearer East.

5. On the Need of Establishing Laboratories for Experimental Linguistics and Fonetics, by Professor Robert J. Kellogg, of the James Millikin University.

Laboratory work in language includes experimental, observational, clinical, and anatomical study of its mental, fysical, fysiological, fonetic, acoustic, and social aspects. It falls under the partly overlapping fields of experimental fonetics, acoustics, metrics, anatomy and fysiology of speech and hearing, psycology and psycofysiology of language, linguistic pedagogy, pathological and defectiv forms of language, child language, and animal language.

The work is important for general linguistics, for theoretical and practical fonetics, and for methods of language teaching. Many pressing problems can only be solvd by experimental or observational investigation. Also experimental linguistics can furnish important data for psycology and psycofysiology.

The work has hitherto been largely carried on by fysiologists, psycologists, and fysicists from the standpoint of their respectiv sciences rather than from the linguistic standpoint. Important work has, however, also been done by linguists and foneticians.

Work along these lines is now being done at more than thirty American colleges and universities under individual or departmental auspices. Workers ar mostly isolated, but some ar collaborating. Laboratory facilities ar partly private, partly furnisht by existing psycological, fysical, and fysiological laboratories, and in several institutions by newly establishd fonetic laboratories. Departments interested include fysics, fysiology, medicin, fonetics, filology, German, Latin, Romance, Arabic, oriental languages, English,

retoric, public speaking, zoology, anthropology, and missionary training.

Problems investigated include: (1) graphic recording of speech, (2) fonograms, (3) speech curves, (4) manometric flames, (5) palatograms, (6) radiograms of spoken sounds, (7) physiology of speech and (8) of hearing, (9) brain localization, (10) pathological and defective language, (11) blunders and contaminations in speech and writing, (12) student errors in composition, (13) vowel analysis and synthesis, (14) theory of vowels, (15) whisper sounds, (16) records of special languages and dialects, (17) individual speech variations, (18) reaction to sound intensities, (19) sound and speech perceptions, (20) sound assimilations, (21) conditions of linguistic change, (22) syllabication, (23) accent, (24) quantity or duration, (25) intonation, (26) word tones, (27) speech melody, (28) breath flow and pressure, (29) overtones, (30) difference tones, (31) singing tones, (32) function of inner speech in thought processes, (33) mental and objective connections of speech, (34) national speech habits, (35) methods of language teaching and study, (36) child language, (37) animal language. There are probably other lines of research not yet reported.

The work rests largely on individual zeal. Much of it suffers from isolation and scant equipment, with consequent duplication of elementary effort and corresponding loss in volume of advanced results. Most workers also lack facilities for publishing.

The situation demands: (1) strengthening and extending existing work, (2) stimulation and encouragement of new workers, (3) additional phonetic laboratories, (4) increased cooperation between different workers and agencies, (5) thoroughly equipped linguistic laboratories at one or more strategic centers, with phonetic, linguistic, psychological, pedagogical, physiological, pathological, clinical, physical, zoological, and anthropological departments, all organized from and subordinated to the linguistic standpoint.

The linguistic laboratory should attempt: (1) coordinated study of linguistic problems by its own corps of investigators, (2) to devise new and improved apparatus, (3) to cooperate with workers in fields allied to linguistics, (4) to encourage and help isolated investigators and bring them in touch with each other, (5) to provide facilities for them to do special work at the central laboratory, (6) to maintain demonstration and research apparatus and (7) a complete seminar library, (8) to provide a publication fund for (a)

collecting and synthesizing past results, (b) establishing a suitable journal and (c) publishing in book form any complete work of its own or other investigators.

6. Vergil's Theocritus, by Professor Louis E. Lord, of Oberlin College.

Imitations of Theocritus before Vergil are surprisingly few. The earliest edition of his works which we can define is that of Artemidorus, a contemporary of Vergil, and not of Sulla as Wilamowitz holds.

An examination of the recognized imitations of Theocritus by Vergil shows that Vergil used only those *Idyls* usually numbered 1-11. Supposed imitations from later *Idyls* are similarities in commonplace ideas or else consist of material which came into the *Eclogues* and the later *Idyls* from *Idyls* 1-11.

The Theocritean material in the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid* is also drawn from this group of *Idyls*. The account of the boxing match in the fifth book of the *Aeneid* is taken from Apollonius and not from Theocritus' twenty-second poem.

This conclusion is strengthened by the evidence of the pastoral names. All that are common to Vergil and Theocritus occur in the first eleven *Idyls*, and only four of these (Adonis, Daphnis, Lycidas, Menalcas) appear in the later *Idyls*.

The existence of a collection of the first eleven *Idyls* is suggested by the character of the hypothesis of *Idyl* 12 and by the preservation of these *Idyls* separately in a Vienna manuscript.

Idyls 8 and 9 were probably unfinished studies regarded as a single poem in Servius' time. Hence the collection then consisted of ten poems which were the ten "merae rusticae" from which Vergil took his seven.

7. Ionia and Greek Colonization, by Professor Alfred W. Milden, of the University of Mississippi.

The seventh century B.C. is the earliest period for which reliable data exist such as written records and stamped coins. Our principal sources of information, however, are Herodotus, Thucydides, and Strabo.

In the realm of speculation the place of highest honor is, I think, due to David G. Hogarth for his admirable monograph on *Ionia and the East*. Hogarth holds with Hellenic tradition when it says that

not far from the beginning of the first millennium B.C., bands of colonists came from the west and settled on the western coast of Asia Minor. He reaches the general conclusion that in Ionia we have, not a pure Hellenic civilization, but an amalgam of Asiatic, European, and Aegean culture. This theory is to my mind convincing.

Ionia comprised in all twelve city-states, situated along a strip of some ninety miles of the western coast of Asia Minor, which I would characterize as the United States of Ionia. The southern group was composed of Miletus, Myus, and Priene; the Lydian comprised Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedus, Teos, Clazomenae, and Phocaea; while the island group included Samos, Chios, and Erythrae (on the mainland adjoining).

Ionia enjoyed the finest air and climate in the world (Hdt. I, 141). The Panionium, their common shrine, sacred to Poseidon, was open only to states belonging to the union, Smyrna, therefore, being excluded. Monarchy, at first universal, was displaced in a few centuries by oligarchy. The colonists, inspired by their new environment, soon reached in literature and science heights unattainable by the Asiatic peoples. In the eighth century there followed a second period of colonial expansion in which the leading part was taken by the Ionians and the Dorians. Miletus alone is credited with the founding of eighty colonies — later the principal source of the grain supply of Greece.

There is no modern parallel for these Greek colonies. They were attached to the mother city by a sentiment of reverence, but were *politically independent and autonomous*. The new citizen held property and married only within the bounds of his own city-state (Abbott, *History of Greece*, II, 8). Quite the opposite of these is that artificial type of the sixth century known as a *cleruchy*, the archetype, doubtless, of the *coloniae* of the Roman republic, and an anticipation of the modern colony which is based on the theory of territorial sovereignty. It was this latter type which was extensively used by Pericles in cementing together the Athenian empire by establishing outposts to ensure the corn trade of the north and preserve, at the same time, the allegiance of doubtful allies.

It was alike the strength and the weakness of the Greeks that they separated their politics from their religion. Slowly but surely the Ionians were reduced to political bondage by the empire of the Lydians. After Cyrus conquered Croesus, Lydian domination

gave place to Persian. The voice of protest against the inevitable, the recurring note of freedom, can be heard frequently in the writings of the sympathetic historian of Ionia (Hdt. 1, 164; 4, 137; 5, 78). The revolt from the government of Darius finally ended in the sea-fight at Lade in 496 B.C., when disunion in the Greek ranks was attended with disaster. The tragic fall of Miletus was the culminating blow.

Ionia had borne the lighted torch of civilization for half a millennium. It was here that true democracy was born, with its fundamental idea of *ισονομία*, perfect equality of all civil and political rights. It was here that the alphabet, brought by the Phoenicians, received its final shape, before it was carried by the Greeks to the civilized world. Here was the home of epic and elegiac poetry, of history and geography, of natural science and philosophy, where a great impulse was given to architecture, sculpture, painting, and kindred arts. Here lived Hecataeus, Herodotus, Anaximander, Thales, Heraclitus, Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, Xenophanes, Mimnermus, Anacreon, and, above all, the immortal Homer.

8. Inorganic Rôles in Roman Comedy, by Professor Henry W. Prescott, of the University of Chicago.

The paper was an attempt both to present, in synthetic form, the main features of inorganic rôles, with their function in the plays, and to determine the significance of the similarity and dissimilarity of Euripidean tragedy and Hellenistic comedy in this phase of dramatic technique. The rôles were discussed in their relation to the three main divisions of the plot: exposition, complication, and solution. The similarity between comedy and tragedy is most apparent in the use of inorganic rôles to assist in exposition and dénouement; this similarity is not inevitably a proof of close dependence of comedy upon tragedy; for as the beginning and the end of dramatic action present usually greater difficulties than the middle, any employment of mechanical devices common to both comedy and tragedy may be, to a large extent, independent of any historical relation between the two types. On the other hand, comedy and tragedy differ in the use of inorganic rôles to assist in the complications of the plot; the tragic plot makes little use of such rôles; comedy freely employs loosely organized and temporary rôles even after the difficulties of exposition are solved. To some extent this may be due to the difference in general character of

the tragic and the comic plot; but a notable feature of the use of inorganic rôles in this part of the comic plot is the extent to which they are employed to perform the function of a chorus in filling intervals of time; the significance of this will be discussed in a larger context. The general result of the argument was the suggestion that comedy and tragedy are quite independent of each other; comedy, issuing from earlier stages in which organic unity was minimized, revels in inorganic rôles; in the protatic rôle (already established, however, in Old Comedy), in the *homo ex machina* (Crito in the *Andria*, Callidamates in the *Mostellaria*, Gripus in the *Rudens*, Syncerastus in the *Poenulus*, illustrating in various degrees the mechanical use of rôles to assist in the dénouement), and in a few other rôles, there are apparent points of contact with tragedy. but these only reveal a common use of mechanical devices to surmount common difficulties.

9. The Sources of the History of Alexander the Great, by Professor R. B. Steele, of Vanderbilt University.

This paper reviewed and criticised the conclusions in the work of Fränkel, *Die Quellen der Alexanderhistoriker*, Breslau, 1883. The effort to determine from short quotations the length of passages which Plutarch, Strabo and other writers gleaned from their predecessors is criticised on the ground that the larger part of the quotations in Plutarch are merely incidental and throw no light on the source from which the context was derived. Plutarch mentions several writers of the affairs of Alexander whose works have perished, so that conclusions based only on the works which have come down to us can, at the best, be only problematical. The hypothesis that there were several Alexander writers between the time of Clitarchus and that of Diodorus is a necessary one for the development of the scheme of Fränkel, but it presupposes that the later writers could not do for themselves the task which is assigned to these *auctores ex coniectura*.

10. Notes on Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, 69-71 and 94-96, by Professor George R. Throop, of Washington University.

οὐθ' ἱποκλαίων οὐθ' ἱπολείβων
 οὐτε δακρύων ἀπύρων ἱερῶν
 ὄργας ἀτενεῖς παραθέλει. — 69-71.

I have quoted the reading of the text as found in the Mss. The change from ὑποκλαίων (Mss.) to ὑποκαίων was an early correction by Casaubon. For ἐπιλείβων, the correction of Schütz, we may compare Homer, *Il.* 1, 462-463; *Od.* 111, 341; Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 1, 1133-1134, IV, 1721; etc. οὔτε δακρύων has been recognized by Bamberger as a gloss upon the early corruption and unusual word ὑποκλαίων. It is also customary, even if not regular, for an anapaestic dimeter catalectic closing a system to be preceded by a dipody. These dipodies are at times completed by the insertion of glosses, as in *Pers.* 6, Δαρειογενῆς Δαρείου υἱός.

ἀπύρων ἱερῶν is correctly interpreted by the scholiast: τῶν θυσιῶν τῶν Μοιρῶν καὶ τῶν Ἑρινύων ἃ καὶ νηφάλια καλεῖται. The metaphorical interpretation of the words as (1) rejected sacrifice, (2) the offering of Iphigeneia, (3) unholy rites (the marriage of Paris and Helen), are purely subjective, not to say imaginative, in character. Such interpretations are fully discussed and rejected by L. R. Farnell in *Class. Rev.* xi, 293. The words should be taken in their literal and technical meaning and referred to the Fates, Furies, etc., as the scholiast indicates and as Farnell clearly proves. The expression is not uncommon and Aeschylus may have taken it from Pindar, *O.* 7, 88 (ἱεροῖς ἀπύροις). The fireless rites of the Furies are substantiated, not refuted, by *Eum.* 108. The Fates were worshiped with the same rites as the Furies, as seen from Paus. 11, 11, 4 and the scholiast as cited. The contrast is between ὑποκαίων, *i.e.* offerings to the gods above, and ἐπιλείβων, those to the chthonian deities. This contrast is clearly made and is evident in the entire passage: compare ὑπάτων and χθονίων (v. 89)—the same antithesis—where the thought is directly reproduced.

The words ἀπύρων ἱερῶν must be taken as partitive genitive, as might perhaps be inferred from Farnell's note, though he adduces no proof or argument. They go with ἐπιλείβων, as under their technical meaning they can have no connection with ὄργας ἀτενεῖς. The rather unusual use of the genitive is paralleled elsewhere by similar expressions: Hes. *Op.* 596, τρις ὕδατος προχέειν, certainly an extremely similar passage and closely, even if not exactly, parallel; Theocr. 2, 152, ἀκράτω ἐπιχέιτο. Other instances are mostly in prose or late, as Herodian v, 57, σπένδειν οἶνου; Luc. *Jur. Trag.* 35, βλασφημιῶν ἐπιχέειν. The meaning and use of ἐπιλείβω need not be entirely restricted to liquid offerings, just as θύω is not confined to those by fire. It is improbable, however, that other than liquid

gifts are here intended. The remarks of A. D. Godley, *Class. Rev.* xxv, 73 and Arthur Platt, *Journ. of Phil.* xxxii, 43 are not pertinent to my discussion and involve as well conjectures or transpositions of text not readily defensible.

ὄργας ἀτενεῖς is to be referred to the Gods, the Fates, the Furies (vv. 55 ff.), though Zeus, *ὁ κρείσσων* (60), *ὁ ξένιος* (61), is the predominant idea. (It is perhaps relevant here to note that Zeus Hypatos (cf. *ὑπατος*, 55) was worshipped on the Acropolis at Athens with bloodless offerings.) Because of this double character appeasement must be wrought, if possible, by *ὑποκαίων* and *ἐπιλείβων*. But, as the passage states, the decision of Fate, or of Zeus who stands therefor, cannot be checked or changed by any kind of sacrifice. If the application of the expression be thus limited and defined, the words *ὄργας ἀτενεῖς* would hardly denote "excessive anger," as often rendered, for the Fates as such are without emotion. *ἀπύρων ἱερῶν* could also not be taken in connection therewith, whatever the meaning assigned to the latter expression. However, the separation of the two ideas, Zeus and the Fates, is the more apparent.

On *παρθέλει* the scholiast gives *λείπει τὸ τίς*. This is entirely possible and can be supported by syntactical usage. The correct explanation, however, is undoubtedly the omission of the definite article with participle used substantively; cf. Kühner-Gerth³, I, p. 608, 1; Soph. *El.* 697, *δύναται ἄν οὐδ' ἰσχύων φυγεῖν*; Aesch. *Ag.* 39, 59, 180, 393 (nom.), 413, 455, 696, 706, 840, etc.; and elsewhere both in poetry and prose. This is merely the epic usage in which Aeschylus abounds. It survives most frequently in the oblique cases, but instances of the nominative are easily found. A more definite force than is given by the insertion of *τίς* is needed in the passage and is hereby added. The conception is of course general in character. The translation will then be: "Nor will he who kindles sacrifice to the Olympians or offers fireless rites to the Chthonians charm into abeyance their temper stern (unyielding)."

*φαρμασσομένη χρίματος ἀγνοῦ
μαλακαῖς ἀδόλοισι παρηγορίαις
πελανῶν μυχόθεν βασιλείων. — 94-96.*

In line 96 the Medicean Ms. (M) reads: *πελανῶ μυχόθεν βασιλείω*. The scholium to the line is as follows: *λείπει κομζομένων*. Neither the Ms. reading nor the scholium is apparently found in the later Mss. Consequently the line has generally been written by editors: *πελάνω μυχόθεν βασιλείω*. The reading *πελανῶ* in M has been noted,

but not βασιλείω. The importance of the scholium in the present instance had been minimized or entirely disregarded, and the dative case has been adopted seemingly without argument. πελανῶ was held an obvious mistake of the Ms. for πελάνωι (or πελανῶι), and as sufficiently refuted by the reading βασιλείωι, which, however, the Ms. does not have. The scholium was thought so evident a mistake as to be changed by Stanley to κομζομένω, a conjecture generally accepted. There exists, then, the alternative of the omission of the ν with πελανῶ and βασιλείω, as is certainly indicated by the scholium κομζομένων, or of the omission of the iota subscript, or rather adscript, with the same words.

Iota subscript, as is well known, probably does not date from earlier than the 12th century, and consequently does not appear in M (*sæc.* x-xi). In the Ms. then, this iota is commonly written as adscript by the first hand or added slightly above the line by a later hand. The 403 lines of the Oxford Classical Text, representing so much of the *Agamemnon* as is contained in M, exhibit 46 instances of iota subscript. Of these, nine must be eliminated as being corruptions of text, *in rasura* in the Ms., true variants, or, as the present two, under discussion. Of the remaining thirty-seven, twenty-nine have iota adscript written by the first or second hand. In the eight remaining instances the iota has been omitted altogether. Six of these are datives but found in the same sentence in agreement with other words which have the iota adscript or are datives of the consonant declension; one is in the phrase ἐπὶ γλώσση (36); the eighth is in the verb form τεύξῃ (150). In no single instance has the iota adscript been omitted, even by the first hand (by which it is mostly written), where the slightest ambiguity could result. The scribe would hardly, then, in the present instance, where either genitive or dative might be syntactically possible, have made such an omission with both words. The scholium κομζομένων of course indicates an earlier reading in the genitive case. The dropping of the ν is difficult of solution. However, either a capital or cursive exemplar would account for the error by a case similar to haplography: NM or μμ; the eye omitting, in πελανῶν μνχόθεν, the first of two similar letters, and unconsciously assimilating βασιλείων to the form of the noun; especially as the dropping of the letter in no way influences the meter of the line.

It is of course well known that the iota adscript was regularly

omitted in the Mss. of the first centuries of the Christian era, and the complete history of its omission covers a long period of tradition. I have merely endeavored to show that palaeographically, so far as the Medicean is concerned, the reading *πελανῶν* has equal authority with *πελανῶι*. Whether the insertion of iota adscript in M is due to the superior knowledge of the scribe or the peculiar excellence of the Ms. from which he copied cannot of course be told. The omission of the sign for *ν*, so common in this Ms. and in others, is an obvious and common palaeographical error and can perfectly account for the loss of the letter, especially at the end of the line.

Paley once read (4th ed., 1879): *πελάνῳ μυχόθεν βασιλείων*, "the thick essence from the inmost stores of the palace," but apparently by conjecture only, and wrongly interpreting *βασιλείων*. Others, such as Blaydes, Enger, etc., represent the ordinary view that *βασιλείῳ* is to be taken with *μυχόθεν*, "with the cake from the royal recesses." Such extreme hypallage is not easy to parallel in Greek. A less frequent interpretation is that of Conington and Headlam, "with the royal (*i.e.* choice, excellent) cake from within." This connotation of "choiceness of quality" is well attested by such phrases as: *βασιλικὸν φάρμακον*; *βασιλικὸν λάχανον*; *βασιλείον σῦκον*; *βασιλείον εἶδος μύρον* (Hesychius); *βασιλείον μύρον* (Crates and Sappho quoted by Athen. 690 d, e)—cf. Sappho, 3, 20–21, in Edmonds, *New Fragments of Alcaeus, Sappho, and Corinna*; Pollux, vi, 105, of a kind of unguent; Stephanus' *Thesaurus*, s.v. *βασιλείος* etc. The latter cases are peculiarly applicable to the present passage.

The plural use of *πελανός* is well supported in tragic usage, and in the sense of *πέμματα*, "cakes for sacrifice," the plural form seems to be preferred to the singular. Oily cakes were as suitable as oil for feeding the flames of the altars, if it were so desired. We may compare Eur. *Trö.* 1063, *πελάνων φλόγα*; Id. *Hēr.* 147, *ἀθύτων πελάνων*; Id. *Hcl.* 1333–1334, *οὐδ' ἦσαν θεῶν θυσίαι βομῶις δ' ἀφλεκτοί πέλανοι*; Schol. ad *Rhes.* 430, *οὕτως γὰρ ἔλεγον πελάνους τὰ πόπανα*; Schol. ad Eur. *Hēr.* 146, *πέλανοι δὲ τὰ εἰς θυσίαν πέμματα . . . πελάνων δὲ τῶν πλακούντων καὶ πεμμάτων τῶν ἐπιθυομένων*; Schol. ad Eur. *Or.* 220, *κυρίως πέλανος τὸ λεπτὸν πέμμα ᾧ χρῶνται πρὸς τὰς θυσίας*.

There is, besides, a distinct incongruity in the following translation of 94–96, taking *πελανῶ* . . . *βασιλείῳ* in the dative in apposi-

tion with *παρηγορία*s, as is regularly done: "charmed by the pure unguent's soft and guileless spell, (namely) the cake (or even essence) from the royal stores." Rather should we read *πελανῶν* . . . *βασιλείων* and render: "charmed by the soft and guileless persuasion of the pure unguent, the noble offering from the inmost shrines (recesses)."

The accentuation of *πελανός* is in conformity with the evidence as presented in Dindorf, *Lex. Aesch.* p. 281, and Roberts-Gardner, *Introd. to Greek Epigraphy*, p. 27. The meaning and use of the word are also discussed by P. Stengel, *Herm.* xxix (1894), 281 ff.

11. The Graphic Representation of Final Indo-Iranian *a* in Ancient Persian, by Professor H. C. Tolman, of Vanderbilt University.

The final Indo-Iranian *a* is generally indicated by *scriptio plena*, giving graphically \bar{a} , e.g. gen. sg. — *hyā* < I. E. — *syo*, 1 pl. act. — *mā* < I. E. — *me*, 2 pl. act. *tā* < Ar. — *ta*, 3 sg. mid. — *tā* < I. E. — *to*, 3 pl. — **tā* < I. E. — *nto*. We believe that this system of writing was not intended to indicate the presence of a long vowel, but rather that the cuneiform sign for *a* follows the vowel sound inherent in the preceding consonant for the purpose of more accurately marking its distinct character. A good illustration of the necessity of graphical representation of *a* even when not final is seen in such a gen. sg. as *cišpāiš* (*Bh.* 1, 5-6). Etymologically we should have *cišpaiš*, but if written *cišašpaš* (as in *Bh.* a, 8) it is not to be distinguished from the nom. sg. *cišpaš*. The form *cišpāiš*, thus written and correctly transliterated, does not mean that the gen. sg. of *i*-stems in Ancient Persian ended in $\bar{a}iš$, but that $\bar{a}iš$ is simply a graphic representation of *aīš* for the purpose of differentiating this case form from that of the nom. sg. *iš*.

We wish we could see thus plainly the reason for *scriptio plena* in cases of final *a*. Since final *i* and *u* are always reinforced by their corresponding semi-vowels (e.g. *aitiy*, *pātuv*) except before enclitics (e.g. *api* — *mai*y, *hau* — *ci*y), it appears that it was a characteristic of the Ancient Persian to fortify a final vowel by a distinctive sign. We believe that the writing of the *a*-sign after the *a*-sound inherent in the preceding consonant (thus forming graphically *a a* = \bar{a}) is simply this same tendency to support the final vowel *a* of the Indo-Iranian period. This seems all the more conclusive because *scriptio plena* never occurs in the case of an apparent final *a* caused by

phonetic change within the Ancient Persian itself, e.g. nom. sg. — *a* < Ar. — *as* < I.E. — *os*; *abara* < I. E. **ebheret*.

When this support is made no longer necessary through the presence of an enclitic the historic quantity appears in *scriptio defectiva*, e.g. *man^aa* (*manā*) but *mana-ca*, Slav. *mene*; *avad^aa* (*avadā*) but *avada-šš*, where the suffix *da* is cognate to the Skt. *-ha*.

We should expect also that protection to a final vowel would not be required in cases of composition and juxtaposition, e.g. *paru* — *zanānām* (beside *paruv* — *zanānām*). In like manner we have *avahya* — *radiy* beside *avahyā*. The collocation *aurahya mazdāha* inflects the two members without graphical representation of final *a* in *-hya*, owing doubtless to the influence of the composite character of the words, while in *mazdāha* the final *a* < Ar. *as* is not an Indo-Iranian final. Where the word is written — *mazdāhā* the final vowel seems to be treated erroneously by the stone-cutter as if it were in that class.

The influence of juxtaposition preserves *a* in the combination of name + month, e.g. *āθⁱiyādiyahya māhyā*. This is seen sometimes in the case of the genitive preceding the noun, e.g. *uvaxštrahya taumāyā*.

It seems to the writer that the mooted question of *nama* and *namā* comes under this head of juxtaposition. It is this influence which causes *scriptio plena* where the preceding fem. nom. gives to the phrase something of a composite character (Tolman, *Anc. Pers. Lexicon*, 105).

In two cases (*Bh.* 3, 39; 46) we have *a* in gen. sg. — *hya* where the word lies entirely outside the influence of composition or juxtaposition. So too *āhaⁿta* occurs in *Bh.* 3, 49; 51. It is interesting to note that in these four examples the following word begins with a short vowel. It would, however, be hazardous to conjecture any influence of sandhi here since *scriptio plena* is used before vowels in two occurrences of *āhaⁿtā*, *Bh.* 2, 77; 3, 75.

The 3 sg. pret. *āha* (in place of **āst*) is probably the perfect (cf. Skt. *āsa*), but it is likely that a final *t* was added from the imperfect, **āhat* > *āha*. This theory would explain the failure to express *āha* (Skt. *āsa*) by *scriptio plena*.

12. An Attempt to Explain Tense Usage in Cicero's Oration, by Elizabeth McJimsey Tyng, of the Packer Collegiate Institute.

The accepted explanations of the tenses of the Latin verb are unsatisfactory for four reasons, which become evident from a consideration of the explanations themselves :

1. There is no real antithesis between the statement that the aorist expresses an idea viewed absolutely, and the traditional explanations of the imperfect.

2. It is often impossible to decide from the context whether an aorist or a present perfect is intended.

3. The accepted explanations do not show why all three tenses of past time may be used to express an idea completed in either past or present time.

4. They prevent placing the tenses of the subjunctive in exact correspondence with the tenses of the indicative.

The solution of the difficulty can be found in an examination of the typical uses of the past tenses. The perfect, whether used as aorist or as present perfect, expressing the past idea as prior to a present situation or as absolute, must view that idea from the speaker's standpoint; that is, it must express an idea of importance to the speaker. On the other hand, the imperfect, expressing an idea that is a part of a past situation, and the pluperfect, expressing an idea that is prior to a past situation, are unimportant to the speaker except in their relation to that situation.

My conclusions may be summed up in five statements :

1. The tenses of the indicative and the subjunctive are identical in meaning except for the difference in mood.

2. The tenses indicate time merely by showing that an idea is present, past, or future.

3. The perfect expresses a past idea that is shown by the context to be important to the speaker's argument.

4. The imperfect expresses an unimportant past idea viewed as a part of some situation.

5. The pluperfect expresses an unimportant past idea viewed merely as prior to some situation.

A few examples may serve to make the above statements clearer :

PERFECT

Phil. XIV, 17, *dixerim*. Cicero's plea in his own behalf was, as the parenthesis shows, not regarded by him merely as a purpose.

Pro Arch. 9, *venerit*. The passage states the characteristics of the three praetors, with the result clause used by Cicero to emphasize his statement about Lentulus.

Pro Deiot. 24, *habuit*. The perfect gives Cicero's apology for the character of the troops that Deiotarus had sent Caesar.

IMPERFECT

Phil. XI, 11, *dicebat*. The contrast is between *verbo* and *re*; therefore *dicebat* is unimportant.

Phil. XIII, 26, *iubebat*. It is really the infinitive *caedi* that identifies Varius.

Pro Rosc. Com. 30, *explodebatur*. The development of the argument is as follows: The reputation of Roscius benefited Eros, who went to him because of failure and through his help became a successful actor.

In Pis. 30, *dicerent*. The objection to the consuls is indicated by the infinitive *metuere*.

PLUPERFECT

Pro Leg. Manil. 17, *proposueram*; *Phil.* V, 27, *miserat*; *in Cat.* IV, 15, *frequentasset*. These pluperfects, all prior to a present time, are merely parenthetical and in no way add to the idea expressed by the sentence.

The above conclusions are based on an examination of all result clauses and exceptions to sequence in Cicero's orations, together with all dependent indicatives and subjunctives from orations representing his entire career. Among these verbal forms — a total of over 6000 — there are only 24 which much be admitted as exceptions. They occur only in certain passages in the *Philippics*, where the reference is clearly to the present and to the future, as for instance, *Phil.* XI, 31, *iuvisent, fecissent, videretur*.

PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
OF THE PACIFIC COAST

I. PROGRAMME

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 1

FIRST SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK A.M.

STANLEY A. SMITH

Bianca Maria di Challant, Heroine of Giacosa's Drama *La signora di Challant*, as a Romantic Type (p. xlii)

MONROE E. DEUTSCH

Suetonius and Caesar's German Campaigns (p. 23)

WILLIAM A. COOPER

History of the Writing of Goethe's *Tasso*¹

WILLIAM A. MERRILL

Some Etymologies by Cassiodorus (p. xl)

SECOND SESSION, 2 O'CLOCK P.M.

IVAN M. LINFORTH

On the Elegiac Couplet in Plato's *Lysis* 212 E

WILLIAM CHISLETT, JR.

Swinburne as an English Pindar (p. xxxix)

GEORGE HEMPL

English *box* 'cuff,' 'veer,' *box* 'seated apartment in a theatre,' *box pleat*, German *bugsen*, *bugsieren* 'tow,' 'drag away,' 'eject,' etc.
(p. xxxix)

S. GRISWOLD MORLEY

Rubén Darío, a Cosmopolitan Poet (p. xl)

EDWARD B. CLAPP

A Prose Translation of Pindar's *Tenth Nemean Ode*

¹ To be incorporated in an annotated edition with critical introduction.

JOHN S. P. TATLOCK

Dramatic Irony from Chaucer to Hardy (p. xlii)

PAUL SHOREY

Illogical Idiom (p. 205)

JAMES T. ALLEN

The Fifth-Century Proscenium (p. xxxviii)

THIRD SESSION, 8 O'CLOCK P.M.

WALTER MORRIS HART

A Vanishing Type :

Annual Address of the President of the Association¹

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 2

FOURTH SESSION, 9.15 O'CLOCK A.M.

HENRY RUSHTON FAIRCLOUGH

On the Virgilian *Catalepton* II (p. 43)

TORSTEN PETERSSON

Cicero as a Pleader²

CLARENCE PASCHALL

Some Germanic Etymologies (p. xli)

ARTHUR G. KENNEDY

Some Aspects of the Modern English Verb-Adverb Compound
(p. xxxix)

AUGUSTUS TABER MURRAY

Plot and Character in Greek Tragedy (p. 51)

CLIFFORD G. ALLEN

La Gran comedia de los famosos hechos de Mudarra (p. xxxviii)

LAWRENCE MARSDEN PRICE

Karl Gutzkow and Bulwer Lytton³¹ Published in the *University of California Chronicle*, XIX, no. 1.² Part of a larger work.³ To be published in the *Journal of English and German Philology*.

II. MINUTES

The Philological Association of the Pacific Coast held its Eighteenth Annual Meeting on Friday and Saturday, December 1 and 2, 1916, in the California School of Fine Arts, San Francisco, Professor Walter Morris Hart, of the University of California, presiding.

FIRST SESSION

Friday morning, December 1.

The minutes of the last Annual Meeting having been published in the PROCEEDINGS for 1915, the chair ruled that it would not be necessary to read them. The Secretary read instead the record of a meeting of the Executive Committee held February 26, 1916, and reported orally the results of the meeting of the same Committee held just before the opening of this session. One recommendation of the Committee was that the annual dues be raised to \$3.50. It was moved and seconded that the recommendation of the Committee be adopted. On motion the final vote on the question was postponed till the end of the fourth session.

A request from southern members for permission to hold a summer meeting of the Association in Southern California was referred to the new Executive Committee with power to act.

The Treasurer presented the following report :

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand November 27, 1915	\$164.72	
Dues	309.00	
Interest	6.15	
	<hr/>	\$479.87

EXPENDITURES

Sent to Professor Moore (June 6, 1916)	\$240.00	
Printing and stationery	36.80	
Postage	25.88	
Stenographer for Secretary	10.10	
Addressograph plates	5.42	
Janitor (2 years)	4.00	
Miscellaneous	1.30	
Balance on hand December 1, 1916	156.37	
	<hr/>	\$479.87

On motion the Treasurer's report was received.

The Chair appointed the following committees :

Auditing: Professors Deutsch, Paschall, and Johnston.

Nomination of Officers: Professors C. G. Allen, Stanley A. Smith, and Merrill.

Membership: Professors J. T. Allen, Fairclough, Gaw, and Frein.

Time and Place of Next Meeting: Professors Bradley, Foster, and Linforth.

Social: Professors Cooper, Tatlock, Richardson.

The number of persons attending this session was forty.

SECOND SESSION

Friday afternoon.

This session was devoted entirely to the reading and discussion of papers. There were fifty-two persons present.

THIRD SESSION

Friday evening.

Through the generosity of the University Club of San Francisco a private dining-room was turned over to the men of the Association for this session. After dining together the thirty members present listened to the address of the President, which was followed by impromptu remarks on the same topic by President Benjamin Ide Wheeler, Professor Paul Shorey, and several others.

FOURTH SESSION

Saturday morning, December 2.

The Secretary read the recommendations of the Executive Committee concerning annual dues of members, and said that the recommendations were to be construed as a proposed amendment to Article IV, Section I, of the Constitution. The recommendations, which were approved by unanimous vote, read :

1. That the annual dues of members shall be three dollars and fifty cents.
2. That of this amount the sum of two dollars and fifty cents shall be paid to either the American Philological Association or the Modern Language Association of America, as individual members may prefer.
3. That such members as pay their dues before the 1st of March shall be entitled to all the privileges of membership in the national organization of their choice, for that year, and those who pay after the 1st of March shall be entitled to all these privileges except that of having their names appear in the alphabetical list of members published in the TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS of the

American Philological Association, or the PUBLICATIONS of the Modern Language Association of America, as the case may be.

4. That for such members as desire to be enrolled in both national bodies the annual dues shall be six dollars.

It is understood that the provisions of these recommendations are to go into effect only provided the arrangement is acceptable to the two national organizations.

The Auditing Committee reported the accounts and vouchers of the Treasurer correct and in perfect order. On motion the report was adopted.

A vote of thanks was extended to the Regents of the University of California, the Directors of the California School of Fine Arts, and the Directors of the University Club, for their hospitality.

The Nominating Committee nominated the following officers, who on motion were elected for the year 1916-1917 :

President, O. M. Johnston.

Vice-Presidents, H. C. Nutting, G. Chinard.

Secretary, W. A. Cooper.

Treasurer, B. O. Foster.

Executive Committee, the above-named officers, and

M. E. Deutsch, P. J. Frein, A. Gaw, and F. O. Mower.

The choice of the time and place of the next meeting was left to the discretion of the Executive Committee.

Thirty-five persons attended this session.

The following persons were elected to membership :

Prof. Howard L. Bruce, of the University of California.

Leslie G. Burgevin, of the University of California.

Gabriel H. Grojean, of Stanford University.

Dr. Irvin C. Hatch, Polytechnic High School, San Francisco.

Prof. Benjamin Roland Lewis, of the University of Utah.

Miss Laurence Hélène Péchin, High School of Commerce, San Francisco.

Miss Anna M. Tietjen, High School of Commerce, San Francisco.

Prof. Eliza G. Wilkins, of the University of Southern California.

III. ABSTRACTS

1. *La gran comedia de los famosos hechos de Mudarra*, by Professor Clifford G. Allen, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

The story of the seven *infantes* of Lara is found in various chronicles and ballads. The latter are the principal source of this drama.

Of the six old ballads (*romances viejos*) which treat of this subject the author seems to have used only two, *Convidárame a comer* in the first *jornada* and *A cazar va Don Rodrigo* in the second.

The ballads which he knew best were the later ballads of Sepúlveda and of the *Rosa Española* published by Timoneda. As the ballads in the *Rosa Española* are in many cases imitations of Sepúlveda's ballads, it is often impossible to tell whether the original or the imitation was the source, but the author of the drama may have used as many as nine of these later ballads. These ballads are, in the first *jornada*: *Muy grande era el lamentar* (Sepúlveda), *Llorando está Doña Lambra* (*Rosa Española*), *Los siete infantes de Lara* (Sepúlveda), *Siete cabezas los moros* (*Rosa Española*), *Ese buen Gonzalo Gustios* (Sepúlveda), *Una hermana de Almanzor* (Sepúlveda) and *Gonzalo Gustios sacado* (*Rosa Española*); in the third: *De Córdoba la nombrada* (Sepúlveda) and *Salé Mudarra González* (*Rosa Española*).

The introduction to the first *jornada* and the larger part of the second and third *jornadas* are original.

The drama in its turn served as the source of at least one ballad, *Sentados a un ajedrez*, and perhaps of others.

2. The Fifth-Century Proscenium, by Professor James T. Allen, of the University of California.

A discussion of some of the inconsistencies in the current views regarding the stage-buildings of the early Attic theater, including that of Fiechter (*Die baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des antiken Theaters*; see *Class. Phil.* XII, 214).

The simplest explanation is that the proscenium of the fifth century closely resembled that of the Hellenistic period. The *prothyra* depicted in Hellenistic vase-paintings, etc., afford no evidence for the reconstruction of the fifth-century building.

3. Swinburne as an English Pindar, by Dr. William Chislett, Jr.

On the basis of the number and general excellence of Swinburne's Greek, Greek-English, English and Swinburnian Pindarics, the speaker proposed a somewhat higher position for Swinburne in the Pindaric tradition than is commonly assigned him.

4. English *box* 'cuff,' 'veer,' *box* 'seated apartment in a theatre,' *box pleat*, German *bugsen*, *bugsieren* 'tow,' 'drag away,' 'eject,' etc., by Professor George Hempl, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

An attempt to explain various English and German words as *s*-derivatives of Old-English *bōg/bōh* 'upper arm,' 'shoulder,' 'bough of a tree,' Old-Icelandic *bōgr* 'shoulder,' 'bow of a ship,' Old-German *buog*, Middle German *buoc* 'upper arm,' 'shank,' 'shoulder,' 'hip,' 'fore-leg,' Greek *πᾶχυς/πῆχυς* 'arm,' 'forearm,' 'elbow,' 'ell,' etc.

5. Some Aspects of the Modern English Verb-Adverb Compound, by Dr. Arthur G. Kennedy, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

The combination of the verb with a prepositional adverb is becoming more common. The variation in the closeness of combination makes an attempt at absolute classifications impracticable, but certain generalizations can be made. The combination with *up* (e.g. *to furnish up*, *to clear up*) is by far the most common. The effects of this combination are both syntactical and semasiological. Verbs ordinarily transitive become intransitive, and vice versa. The compound may take an object of an entirely different nature from that of the simple verb. New meanings are given to the verbs. Often the particle is merely perfective or intensive. Occasionally the particle is unnecessary, tho it seldom fails to add a slight force to the verb.

Most of the verbs thus compounded are monosyllabic and of Anglo-Saxon origin. While many of these compounds are regarded generally as colloquialisms or slang, they are being used with increasing frequency by writers and public speakers, so that no satisfactory line can be drawn between good and bad usage. Often compounds have several meanings, some colloquial, some of good literary standing.

While figurative usage is undoubtedly the early and primary cause of this tendency to combine, its later growth is influenced also by a desire to strengthen or emphasize the simple verb, by a tendency to add to the categories into which these combinations often fall, by a certain striving for a rhythmical effect at times, and by a sort of linguistic laziness, which prefers to combine fewer well-known verbs with a few particles rather than remember longer and more highly specialized verbs.

The tendency is Germanic in nature and often conducive to a simpler, more forceful diction. But if it goes too far there is danger that it will eliminate some more highly specialized and desirable verbs, encourage slovenliness in speech, and increase the possibilities of misunderstanding the meaning of the speaker or writer by emphasizing word-combination and sentence-context rather than word-individuality.

6. Some Etymologies by Cassiodorus, by Professor W. A. Merrill, of the University of California.

Cassiodorus, in his commentary on the Psalms, gives the etymology of 66 words, of which 58 are nouns, 2 adjectives, and 6 verbs. He agrees with both Varro and Isidorus in 8 cases, with Varro alone in 4, and with Isidorus alone in 18. Presumably where this agreement occurs the derivation was traditional. In the other cases we may infer originality until further investigation is made. Like all other ancient etymologizers his methods are arbitrary and uncritical: typical examples are *uxor* from *ut soror* (127, 3), *mensa* from *mensis* (22, 6), *lacus* from *latet* (7, 16), *frenum*—*a fero retinendo* (31, 13), *olera* from *olla* (36, 1), *fons* from *refovere* (67, 30), *limus* from *ligans humum* (68, 2), *dorsum* from *deorsum* (68, 25), *palma* from *pacis alma* (91, 12), *stagna* from *stando* (106, 35), *barbarus* from *barba* and *rus* (113, 1), *lac* from *liquor* (118, 70), *pax* from *parcendo* or *pascendo* (121, 7), *sera* from the adverb *sero* (147, 2), and *gemitus* from *geminatus luctus* (6, 7).

7. Rubén Darío, a Cosmopolitan Poet, by Professor S. Griswold Morley, of the University of California.

A consideration of some of the mental attributes of Rubén Darío, the Nicaraguan, who, at the time of his death (Feb. 6, 1916), was the acknowledged leader of Spanish poetry. He had few of the characteristics usually associated with Spanish literature, and his mind was far more Parisian than Castilian.

8. Some Germanic Etymologies, by Professor Clarence Paschall, of the University of California.

1. *bleips*

Instead of an I. E. **bhlei-*, it is quite likely that we have in *bleips* a contracted form corresponding to the verb *bileipan*. The older meaning of *bi-* was apparently 'round about.' It might designate a condition of rest, as in *bisitan*; a comprehensive motion, as in Ger. *begreifen*; the reverse of this, as in *biaukan*; motion toward the object, as in *bigitan*; or the reverse of this, as in *biniman* and *bileipan*. Originally the verbal stem could be used to express either 'going' or 'coming' (cf. *galeipan*). An older meaning of the adjective may be preserved in *Helga Kviþa Hundingsbana* 11, 25, *þat's bliþara an brimis dómur*. Here Gering translates *bliþara* with 'zutraglicher.' 'Das bekommt dir besser' would render it. One might translate into Latin with 'convenit.' In fact *bekommen* and *convenire* are analogous to Germanic **bilþan* both as to formation and as to meaning. The original concrete idea may have been that of 'gathering about some one.' The meaning 'compassionate,' 'sympathetic' is a connecting link between this idea and the later and more abstract meanings.

2. *Bild*

In Ger. *Bild* we probably have the same compound, only here the meaning of the prefix continued to be strongly felt, and it was the stem vowel which suffered reduction. The word retains the oldest meaning of the verb, namely, 'to move around.' It was the shadow that moved around a person or an object—the first image that primitive man saw. The O. H. G. spellings, *pilidi*, *pilodi*, *piladi* are exactly what one might expect in the case of a vowel which had become obscure and was on the point of complete extinction.

3. *gageigan*

Like the other two words, *gageigan* contains an unrecognized prefix—in this case *ga*. The stem was Germanic **igan* < **than*, which, with the prefix, formed **Ga-igan* > **gigan*. When the contraction had taken place the *ga-* was no longer felt, and the perfective meaning resulted in the prefixing of a second *ga*. We have an analogous case in Ger. *gegessen*. *Gageigan* is to be connected with *aigan*. The Germanic languages agree in having a

preterite present *aih* or a form derived from it. *Gageigan* meant 'to gain.' *Aih* meant originally 'I have gained.' Later it came to mean 'I possess.' Grammatical change and levelling easily account for the different forms.

9. Bianca Maria di Challant, Heroine of Giacosa's Drama *La signora di Challant*, as a Romantic Type, by Professor Stanley A. Smith, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

This character has seemed inconsistent and enigmatical to certain critics. While agreeing to a certain extent with the first charge, the writer of this paper thinks that Giacosa's conception of his heroine was clearly that of the stock romantic type of the misunderstood and erring woman regenerated through pure love. The argument is based (1) upon an analysis of the source of the play, viz., the fourth *Novella*, Part 1, of *Bandello*; (2) upon a careful examination of the play itself; (3) upon Giacosa's own discussion of the character of Bianca Maria, found in Chapter VI of his *Castelli valdostani e canavesani*.

10. Dramatic Irony from Chaucer to Hardy, by Professor John S. P. Tatlock, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

Dramatic irony involves something said or done, the surface meaning of which strongly contrasts, unknown to the sayer or doer, with something elsewhere in the same story. A sinister, or comic, or gentle light shines back on it, or forward, from something which we, the favored audience, know or may foresee. Sometimes the emotional effect is humorous or satiric, sometimes genial and cheering, sometimes pathetic or tragic, sometimes generally heightening and intensifying. Among numerous English writers who employ dramatic irony with skill, perhaps the most skilful are Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Thomas Hardy.

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PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS

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| <p><i>A.A.</i> — Art and Archaeology.
 <i>A.H.R.</i> — American Historical Review.
 <i>A.J.A.</i> — American Journal of Archaeology.
 <i>A.J.P.</i> — American Journal of Philology.
 <i>Am.</i> — American.
 <i>A.Y.B.</i> — American Year Book.
 <i>B.</i> — Bulletin.
 <i>B.ph.W.</i> — Berliner philologische Wochenschrift.
 <i>C.J.</i> — Classical Journal.
 <i>C.P.</i> — Classical Philology.
 <i>C.Q.</i> — Classical Quarterly.
 <i>C.R.</i> — Classical Review.
 <i>C.W.</i> — Classical Weekly.
 <i>E.R.</i> — Educational Review.
 <i>H.S.C.P.</i> — Harvard Studies in Classical Philology.
 <i>J.</i> — Journal.
 <i>J.A.O.S.</i> — Journal of the American Oriental Society.
 <i>J.B.L.</i> — Journal of Biblical Literature.
 <i>J.E.G.P.</i> — Journal of English and Germanic Philology.</p> | <p><i>L.C.L.</i> — Loeb Classical Library.
 <i>M.</i> — Magazine.
 <i>M.L.A.</i> — Publications of the Modern Language Association.
 <i>M.L.N.</i> — Modern Language Notes.
 <i>M.P.</i> — Modern Philology.
 <i>Nat.</i> — The Nation.
 <i>N.I.Y.B.</i> — New International Year Book.
 <i>O.P.</i> — Old Penn.
 <i>P.A.P.A.</i> — Proceedings of the American Philological Association.
 <i>Pr.</i> — Press.
 <i>Qu.</i> — Quarterly.
 <i>Rom. R.</i> — Romanic Review.
 <i>S.P.</i> — Studies in Philology.
 <i>S.U.P.</i> — Stanford University Publications.
 <i>T.A.P.A.</i> — Transactions of the American Philological Association.
 <i>U.</i> — University.
 <i>U.C.P.</i> — University of California Publications.
 <i>Y.R.</i> — Yale Review.</p> |
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- Quality credits; *High School Qu.* IV, 121-123.
- B. L. ULLMAN.
- Proper names in Plautus, Terence, and Menander; *C.P.* XI, 61-64.
- Rev. of Pascal's *Poeti e personaggi catulliani*; *A.J.P.* XXXVII, 481-486.
- Associate editor: *C.W.* Editorial, Aims in the teaching of Latin; IX, 177-178. Other contributions; *ib.* 152 (German trenches on a Roman battlefield), 192; X, 40.
- LARUE VAN HOOK.
- On the degradation in meaning of certain Greek words; *C.J.* XI, 495-502.
- Rev. of Palmer's *Use of anaphora and Hollingsworth's Antithesis in the Attic orators*; *C.W.* X, 9.
- ALICE WALTON.
- Painted marbles from Thessaly; *A.A.* IV, 47-53.
- RAYMOND WEEKS.
- Phonetics; *New Internat. Ency.*² XVIII, 539-542.
- Musset, *Quatre comédies*; pp. xii + 301; New York: Oxf. U. Pr.
- As general editor:
- L. H. Alexander, A practical introduction to French; pp. xxi + 355; New York: Oxf. U. Pr.
- Scribe and Legouvé, *Adrienne Lecouvreur*, by T. E. Hamilton; pp. xix + 200; New York: Oxf. U. Pr.
- Sand, *Le Marquis de Villemer*, by C. E. Young; pp. ix + 221; New York: Oxf. U. Pr.
- Beaumarchais, *Le mariage de Figaro*, by E. F. Langley; pp. xxxviii + 261; New York: Oxf. U. Pr.
- Joint editor: *Rom. R.*
- MONROE NICHOLS WETMORE.
- Forty-seventh annual meeting of the American Philological Association; *C.J.* XI, 257-260.
- Rev. of Beggs's *Four in Crete*; *ib.* 375-378.
- Rev. of Morgan's *Vitruvius*; *C.W.* IX, 116-118.
- The college entrance examinations in Latin in June 1916; *C.J.* XII, 1-6.
- Joint editor: *C.J.*
- JOHN GARRETT WINTER.
- The *Prodromus* of Nicolaus Steno's Dissertation; pp. v-viii + 169-283; New York: Macmillan Co. (*U. Mich. Humanistic Stud.* XI, part 2).
- FRANCIS ASBURY WOOD.
- Some Latin etymologies; *C.P.* XI, 208-210.
- Some verb-forms in Germanic; *M.P.* XIV, 121-128.
- Rev. of Leo Wiener's *Commentary to the Germanic laws and mediaeval documents*; *ib.* 384.
- Editor: *Linguistic Studies in Germanic*, III-IV.
- ELLSWORTH DAVID WRIGHT.
- A graphic device for marking syllable quantity in Latin; *C.J.* XI, 367.
- HERBERT H. YEAMES.
- Rev. of Angus' *Environment of early Christianity*; *C.W.* X, 39.
- Associate editor: *C.W.*

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Prof. Charles Darwin Adams, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1892.
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* Prof. Raymond M. Alden, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1914.
* Albert H. Allen, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2317 Prospect St.). 1900.
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Prof. Francis G. Allinson, Brown University, Providence, R. I. (163 George St.). 1893.
Prof. Andrew Runni Anderson, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah. 1905.
* Prof. Louis F. Anderson, Whitman College, Walla Walla, Wash. (364 Boyer Ave.). 1887.
Prof. Herbert T. Archibald, Wooster College, Wooster, O. 1901.
Prof. Henry H. Armstrong, Drury College, Springfield, Mo. 1906.
* Prof. Ernest G. Atkin, University of Washington; Seattle, Wash. 1912.
Prof. William G. Aurelio, Boston University, Boston, Mass. (48 Pinckney St.). 1903.
Dr. Charles R. Austin, New Jersey Normal and Model Schools, Trenton, N. J. (56 N. Clinton Ave.). 1910.
Prof. C. C. Ayer, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo. 1902.
Prof. Frank Cole Babbitt, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. (65 Vernon St.). 1897.
Prof. Earle Brownell Babcock, New York University, University Heights, New York, N. Y. 1913.

¹ Membership in the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast (established 1899) is indicated by an asterisk. This list has been corrected up to June 1, 1917. The Secretary and the Publishers beg to be kept informed of all changes of address.

- * Leonard Bacon, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2247 Piedmont Ave.). 1913.
- * Prof. William F. Badè, Pacific Theological Seminary, Berkeley, Cal. (2223 Atherton St.). 1903.
- Prof. William Wilson Baden, Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pa. 1912.
- 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, 15 Ashburton Pl., Boston, Mass. (Life member.) 1894.
- Prof. Floyd G. Ballentine, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa. 1903.
- Dr. Susan H. Ballou, Normal School, Kalamazoo, Mich. (939 Walwood Pl.). 1912.
- Cecil K. Bancroft, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. 1898.
- Miss Margaret Bancroft, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1912.
- Prof. Grove E. Barber, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. (1320 L St.). 1902.
- Prof. Amy L. Barbour, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1902.
- Prof. LeRoy C. Barret, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1906.
- Phillips Barry, 83 Brattle 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 Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O. 1893.
- Prof. Paul V. C. Baur, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (166 Edgehill Rd.). 1902.
- John W. Beach, 404 S. Pine St., Cameron, Mo. 1902.
- Prof. Edward A. Bechtel, Tulane University of Louisiana, New Orleans, La. 1900.
- Prof. Isbon T. Beckwith, 35 W. 64th St., New York. 1884.
- Prof. Charles H. Beeson, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. (1009 E. 60th St.). 1897.
- Prof. Gertrude H. Beggs, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (Martha Cook Bldg.). 1912.
- Prof. A. J. Bell, Victoria University, Toronto, Can. (17 Avenue Rd.). 1887.
- * Clair H. Bell, 2249 College Ave., Berkeley, Cal. 1914.
- * Prof. William Gordon Bell, Occidental College, Los Angeles, Cal. 1915.
- Prof. Harold H. Bender, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1912.
- * Prof. Allen R. Benham, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1913.
- Prof. Allen R. Benner, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. 1901.
- Prof. Charles Edwin Bennett, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1882.
- Prof. Charles Ernest Bennett, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1910.
- Prof. John I. Bennett, Union College, Schenectady, N. Y. 1897.
- Prof. George O. Berg, St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minn. 1909.
- Pierre Arnold-Bernard, 321 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. (G.P.O. Box 45). 1913.
- Prof. Lillian G. Berry, University of Indiana, Bloomington, Ind. 1916.
- Prof. Louis Bevier, Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J. 1884.
- Prof. Clarence P. Bill, Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. 1894.

- Albert Billheimer, Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, Pa. 1912.
 Prof. Charles Edward Bishop, West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va. 1890.
 Prof. Robert W. Blake, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa. 1894.
 Prof. Leonard Bloomfield, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. 1914.
 Prof. Maurice Bloomfield, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1882.
 Prof. Willis H. Bocock, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga. 1890.
 * Prof. B. Boezinger, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Cal. (176 Bryant St., Palo Alto). 1910.
 Prof. George M. Bolling, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. 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. Margaret G. Borthwick, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Cal. 1915.
 Prof. George Willis Botsford, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1894.
 Prof. Benjamin Parsons Bourland, Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. 1900.
 Dr. Ella Bourne, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1916.
 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.
 * Miss Gertrude G. Brainerd, Los Angeles High School, Los Angeles, Cal. (454 S. Gramercy Pl.). 1915.
 Prof. H. C. G. Brandt, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. 1876.
 Dr. Joseph Granger Brandt, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan. 1916.
 * Prof. Carlos Bransby, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2636 Channing Way). 1903.
 Miss Alice F. Bräunlich, Frances Shimer School, Mount Carroll, Ill. 1916.
 Charles Henry Breed, Lawrenceville School, Lawrenceville, N. J. (Woodhull House). 1915.
 * Rev. William A. Brewer, Burlingame, Cal. 1900.
 Miss Ethel Hampson Brewster, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa. 1914.
 Prof. James W. Bright, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1887.
 Prof. George P. Bristol, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1914.
 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. Harold L. Bruce, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2529 Hilgard Ave.). 1917.

- Prof. Carl D. Buck, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1890.
Miss Elinor M. Buckingham, 96 Chestnut St., Boston, Mass. 1914.
Miss Mary H. Buckingham, 96 Chestnut St., Boston, Mass. 1897.
Dr. Theodore A. Buenger, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. 1915.
Director Theodore C. Burgess, Bradley Polytechnic Institute, Peoria, Ill. 1900.
* Leslie G. Burgevin, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2711 Virginia St.).
1917.
Prof. John M. Burnam, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O. 1899.
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. (1215 Hill
St.). 1907.
Pres. Henry A. Buttz, Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J. 1869.
Prof. George M. Calhoun, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. 1911.
Prof. Donald Cameron, Boston University, Boston, Mass. 1905.
Seth Bunker Capp, Box 2054, Philadelphia, Pa. (Life member). 1914.
Prof. Edward Carps, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1889.
Prof. Albert J. Carnoy, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (4511 Chester
Ave.). 1915.
Dr. 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.
Dr. Franklin Carter, Williamstown, Mass. 1871.
Director Jesse Benedict Carter, American Academy, Porta San Pancrazio, Rome,
Italy. 1898.
Dr. Earnest Cary, 16 Lee St., Cambridge, Mass. 1905.
William Van Allen Catron, Lexington, Mo. 1896.
Miss Emma Cauthorn, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1916.
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, P.O. Box 59, 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. W. H. Chenery, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1916.
* Prof. Gilbert Chinard, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2805 Kelsey St.).
1912.

- * Dr. William Chislett, Jr., 2623 Le Conte Ave., Berkeley, Cal. 1914.
- * Prof. J. E. Church, Jr., University of Nevada, Reno, Nev. 1901.
William Churchill, F. R. A. I., Yale Club, 50 Vanderbilt Ave., New York, N. Y. 1910.
- * Prof. Edward B. Clapp, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2636 Dwight Way). 1886.
Prof. Charles Upson Clark, American Academy, Porta San Pancrazio, Rome, Italy. 1905.
- Dr. Clifford Pease Clark, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1914.
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 Pl.). 1905.
- Miss Katharine M. Cochran, Ferry Hall, Lake Forest, Ill. 1914.
Ernest A. Coffin, High School, Hartford, Conn. 1914.
Dr. George H. Cohen, 110 Capitol Ave., Hartford, Conn. 1914.
Dr. James Wilfred Cohoon, Mt. Allison University, Sackville, N. B., Can. 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.
- * Dr. Clinton C. Conrad, 1640 Oxford St., Berkeley, Cal. 1915.
- * Prof. William A. Cooper, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1901.
- * Prof. Herbert E. Cory, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2558 Buena Vista Way). 1913.
- Dr. Mario E. Cosenza, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. (291 Edgecombe Ave.). 1908.
- Dr. Cornelia C. Coulter, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1912.
Prof. Frank H. Cowles, Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Ind. 1916.
Prof. William L. Cowles, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1888.
- * Miss Anna Shipley Cox, 855 Chapman St., San José, Cal. 1912.
John R. Crawford, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1912.
- Edmund D. Cressman, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan. 1914.
William Day Crockett, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa. (226 S. Atherton St.). 1915.
- Prof. W. H. Crogman, Clark University, South Atlanta, Ga. 1898.
Prof. H. 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. Lindley Richard Dean, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1912.
Prof. Sidney N. Deane, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1912.
Frank M. Debatin, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1915.
- Dr. Roy J. Deferrari, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1915.
Prof. William K. Denison, Tufts College, Mass. (42 Fletcher St., Winchester, Mass.). 1899.

- † Prof. Walter Dennison, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa. 1899.
 Prof. Samuel C. Derby, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. 1895.
 * Prof. Monroe E. Deutsch, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (1630 Le Roy Ave.). 1904.
 * Dr. Louis P. de Vries, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1913.
 Prof. Henry B. Dewing, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. (132 Mercer St.). 1909.
 Prof. Norman W. DeWitt, Victoria College, Toronto, Can. 1907.
 Prof. Sherwood Owen Dickerman, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1902.
 Prof. Thomas Wyatt Dickson, Thiel College, Greenville, Pa. 1915.
 George E. Dimock, Jr., Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1913.
 Dr. William Anthony Dittmer, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1906.
 Prof. Benjamin L. D'Ooge, State Normal College, Ypsilanti, Mich. 1895.
 Prof. Louis H. Dow, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1895.
 Prof. James Walker Downer, Baylor University, Waco, Tex. 1915.
 Prof. William Prentiss Drew, Knox College, Galesburg, Ill. 1907.
 Dr. Eleanor Shipley Duckett, Western College, Oxford, O. 1914.
 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.
 Prof. 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.
 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, Cal. (1134 Emerson St., Palo Alto). 1900.
 †† Prof. Levi Henry Elwell, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1883.
 Miss E. Antoinette Ely, Evanswood, Clifton, Cincinnati, O. 1893.
 Prof. Robert B. English, Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pa. 1905.
 * Prof. Aurelio M. Espinosa, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1910.
 Prof. George Taylor Ettinger, Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa. 1896.
 Edith Fahnstock, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1914.
 Dr. Arthur Fairbanks, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1886.
 * Prof. Henry Rushton Fairclough, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1887.
 Prof. Edwin W. Fay, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. 1889.

† Died March, 1917.

†† Died December, 1916.

- * Prof. Percival B. Fay, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2508 Hilgard Ave.). 1914.
- Pres. Thomas Fell, St. John's College, Annapolis, Md. 1888.
- Daniel Higgins Fenton, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1911.
- Prof. 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. (21 Mendota Ct.). 1900.
- Prof. Edward Fitch, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. 1890.
- 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, Union College, Schenectady, N. Y. 1908.
- Prof. Charles H. Forbes, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. 1907.
- * Prof. Alfred Forke, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (1840 Berryman St.). 1915.
- * Prof. Benjamin O. Foster, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Cal. (1445 Tasso St., Palo Alto). 1899.
- Prof. Frank H. Fowler, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah. 1893.
- Prof. Harold North Fowler, College for Women of Western Reserve University, 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. (919 Edgewood Ave.). 1908.
- * Prof. P. J. Frein, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. (4317 15th Ave.). 1900.
- Prof. A. L. Frothingham, Princeton, N. J. 1914.
- * E. V. Gage, 230 Kellogg St., Palo Alto, Cal. 1914.
- Prof. Charles Kelsey Gaines, St. Lawrence University, Canton, N. Y. 1890.
- Prof. John S. Galbraith, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1907.
- Alexander B. Galt, 2219 California St., Washington, D.C. 1917.
- Prof. Josiah B. Game, Florida State College for Women, Tallahassee, Fla. 1907.
- * Prof. Robert M. Garrett, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1914.
- * Prof. Allison Gaw, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Cal. 1912.
- Dr. Henry S. Gehman, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1914.
- Prof. John Lawrence 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. (2113½ Delaware St.).
1912.
- Prof. Meta Glass, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va. 1916.
- * Charles B. Gleason, High School, San José, Cal. (456 2d St.). 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. (2541 Ellsworth St.).
1912.
- Prof. Thomas D. Goodell, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (35 Edgehill Rd.).
1883.
- Prof. Charles J. Goodwin, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa. (118 Church St.).
1891.
- Prof. 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.
- Dr. William D. Gray, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1907.
- William C. Greene, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1915.
- Prof. Wilber J. Greer, Douglas, Mich. 1892.
- * Prof. James O. Griffin, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.
(Box 144). 1896.
- * Gabriel H. Grojean, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.
1917.
- Prof. Alfred Gudeman, Franz Josefstrasse 12, Munich, Germany. 1889.
- Prof. 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, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1910.
- Prof. George D. Hadzits, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1904.
- * Prof. A. S. Haggert, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1901.
- Prof. Elizabeth Hazelton Haight, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1902.
- Prof. William Gardner Hale, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1882.
- Prof. Frederic A. Hall, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. (5846 Julian Ave.).
1896.
- Frank T. Hallett, care of 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, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1907.
- Dr. Gustave Adolphus Harrer, Jr., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
1914.
- Dr. Raymond D. Harriman, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah. 1916.
- Prof. Karl P. Harrington, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. 1892.
- Prof. Clarence O. Harris, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa. 1914.
- Prof. W. A. Harris, Richmond College, Richmond, Va. 1895.
- Prof. William Fenwick Harris, 8 Mercer Circle, Cambridge, Mass. 1901.
- Pres. Fairfax Harrison, Southern Railway, Washington, D. C. (Life member).
1914.
- Prof. Joseph E. Harry, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O. 1896.

- Dr. Carl A. Harström, The Harström School, Norwalk, Conn. 1900.
 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.
 * Dr. Irvin C. Hatch, Polytechnic High School, San Francisco, Cal. (142 Hugo St.). 1917.
 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.
 * Prof. George Hempl, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Cal. (609 Kingsley Ave., Palo Alto). 1895.
 Prof. George L. Hendrickson, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1892.
 * Prof. Elizabeth Adelaide Herrmann, Mills College, Cal. 1915.
 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.
 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.
 Prof. Arthur Winfred Hodgman, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. (314 W. 8th Ave.). 1896.
 Prof. Charles Hoeing, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y. 1899.
 * Prof. Hans J. Hoff, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1915.
 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., New York). 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.
 Benjamin Horton, Iberia Academy, Iberia, Mo. 1916.
 Pres. Herbert Pierrepoint Houghton, Waynesburg College, Waynesburg, Pa. 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.

† Died 5 May, 1916.

- Prof. George Edwin Howes, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1896.
Prof. Harry M. Hubbell, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (137 Canner St.).
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, 142 N. Arlington Ave., East Orange, N. J. 1887.
Prin. 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.
* Morris C. James, High School, Berkeley, Cal. (17 Eucalyptus Rd.). 1900.
Prof. Samuel A. Jeffers, Central College, Fayette, Mo. 1909.
Prof. Allan Chester Johnson, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1912.
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 Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1902.
* Prof. Oliver M. Johnston, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University,
Cal. (Box 767). 1900.
Prof. Horace L. Jones, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1908.
Dr. Roger M. Jones, Grinnell College, Grinnell, Ia. 1915.
* Clinton K. Judy, Throop College of Technology, Pasadena, Cal. 1915.
Prof. Arthur Leslie Keith, Carleton College, Northfield, Minn. 1914.
Prof. George Dwight Kellogg, Union College, Schenectady, N. Y. (4 Rosa
Rd.). 1897.
Prof. Robert James Kellogg, James Millikin University, Decatur, Ill. 1912.
Prof. Francis W. Kelsey, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1890.
* Dr. Arthur G. Kennedy, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Cal. (1527 Waverly
St., Palo Alto). 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 Martin Key, Millsaps College, Jackson, Miss. 1917.
Dr. Clinton Walker Keyes, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C. 1914.
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, care of The Macmillan Co., Seattle, Wash. 1909.
- Charles S. Knox, St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H. 1889.
- * Prof. Alfred L. Kroeber, University of California, Affiliated Colleges, San Francisco, Cal. 1902.
- Prof. William H. Kruse, Concordia College, Fort Wayne, Ind. 1905.
- Prof. Raymond Henry Lacey, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. 1915.
- 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. (889 St. Nicholas Ave.). 1895.
- Mrs. Caroline Stein Ledyard, 1111 Third Ave., Salt Lake City, Utah. 1911.
- Prof. David Russell Lee, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn. (1717 Yale Ave.). 1907.
- Prof. Winfred G. Leutner, Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. 1905.
- * Prof. Benjamin R. Lewis, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah. 1917.
- * Prof. Ivan M. Linforth, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2233 Eunice St.). 1903.
- Prof. Herbert C. Lipscomb, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va. 1909.
- Dr. Henry Wheatland Litchfield, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1912.
- Prof. Charles Edgar Little, Peabody College, 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.
- Prof. John L. Lowes, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1916.
- * Mrs. Elizabeth Perkins Lyders, 2429 Green St., San Francisco, Cal. 1904.
- * W. W. Lyman, Jr., University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (11½ Panoramic Way). 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. Walton Brooks McDaniel, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (College Hall). 1901.
- Prof. J. H. McDaniels, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y. 1871.
- Miss Cecelia Baldwin McElroy, 668 Irving Park Bd., Chicago, Ill. (Life member). 1914.
- Prof. Mary B. McElwain, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1908.
- Dr. Charles W. Macfarlane, Ritz-Carlton Hotel, Philadelphia, Pa. 1914.
- Pres. A. St. Clair Mackenzie, Lenox College, Hopkinton, Ia. (Life member). 1901.
- * Dr. Arthur P. McKinlay, 100 East 16th St., Portland, Ore. 1913.
- Miss Harriett E. McKinstry, Lake Erie College, Painesville, O. 1881.
- Dr. Charlotte F. McLean, 277 S. Fourth St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1906.
- Pres. George E. MacLean, 1511 Albemarle Rd., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1891.
- Prof. James Sugars McLemore, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. 1912.
- * G. R. MacMinn, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (Faculty Club). 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. (101 Library Pl.). 1901.
- * Dr. J. A. Magni, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2434 Haste St.). 1915.
- Dr. Ralph Van Deman Magoffin, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1908.
- Dr. Herbert W. Magoun, 70 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass. 1891.
- Prof. John M. Manly, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1896.
- Dr. Clarence Augustus Manning, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1915.
- 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, Cal. (525 Lincoln Ave., Palo Alto). 1903.
- Prof. Henry Martin, Wells College, Aurora, N. Y. 1909.
- 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. Elmer Truesdell Merrill, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1883.
- Prof. William A. Merrill, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2609 College Ave.). 1886.
- William Stuart Messer, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1915.
- Dr. Truman Michelson, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C. 1900.
- Prof. Charles Christopher Mierow, Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Colo. 1909.
- Herbert Edward Mierow, Lakewood, N. J. 1914.

- Prof. Alfred William Milden, University of Mississippi, University, Miss. 1903.
 Dr. Anna Bertha Müller, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1915.
 Prof. C. W. E. Miller, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1892.
 Theodore A. Miller, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1915.
 Prof. Walter Miller, University of the State of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1900.
 Prof. Clara E. Millerd, Grinnell College, Grinnell, Ia. 1902.
 Prof. Walter Lewis Moll, Concordia College, Ft. Wayne, Ind. 1909.
 Prof. James Raider Mood, 9 George 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.
 Paul E. More, 245 Nassau St., Princeton, N. J. 1896.
 * Prof. S. Griswold Morley, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2535 Etna
 St.). 1914.
 Prof. Edward P. Morris, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (53 Edgehill Rd.).
 1886.
 Prof. Lewis F. Mott, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. 1898.
 * Francis O. Mower, Madera Union High School, Madera, Cal. 1900.
 Prof. George F. Mull, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa. 1896.
 * Dr. E. J. Murphy, Laoag, Ilocos Norte, 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. 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, State College, N. M. (Life member). 1900.
 Prof. Barker Newhall, Kenyon College, Gambier, O. 1891.
 Dr. Samuel Hart Newhall, Deerfield Shields, Highland Park, Ill. 1913.
 Dr. Edward Wilber Nichols, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1915.
 Prof. Paul Nixon, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. 1907.
 * Prof. George Rapall Noyes, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (1434 Green-
 wood Ter.). 1901.
 * Prof. H. C. Nutting, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (Box 272). 1900.
 Prof. Irene Nye, Connecticut College for Women, New London, Conn. 1911.
 * Prof. Caroline H. Ober, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1914.
 Miss Margaret Brown O'Connor, St. Teresa College, Winona, Minn. 1916.
 * Prof. John Price Odell, Occidental College, Los Angeles, Cal. 1915.
 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. (123½ Broadway).
 1900.
 Prof. W. B. Owen, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. 1875.

- * Prof. W. H. Oxtoby, San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo, Cal. 1914.
- * Prof. Frederick Morgan Padelford, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1914.
- Prof. Elizabeth H. Palmer, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1902.
- Prof. Walter Hobart Palmer, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1914.
- Henry Spackman Pancoast, Spring Lane, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa. 1914.
- † Prof. Charles P. Parker, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (1075 Massachusetts Ave.). 1884.
- * Prof. Clarence Paschall, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2319½ Haste St.). 1903.
- Prof. James M. Paton, 302 Strathcona Hall, Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
- Dr. John L. Patterson, University of Louisville, Louisville, Ky. (1117 Fourth St.). 1900.
- Prof. Henry D. Patton, Waynesburg College, Waynesburg, Pa. 1915.
- * Prof. Otto Patzer, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1915.
- Dr. Charles Peabody, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (197 Brattle St.). 1894.
- Dr. Mary Bradford Peaks, 165 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1905.
- Prof. Arthur Stanley Pease, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. 1906.
- * Miss Laurence Hélène Péchin, High School of Commerce, San Francisco, Cal. (1802 Union St.). 1917.
- Prof. Tracy Peck, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1871.
- †† * Prof. R. E. Pellissier, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1911.
- Prof. 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.
- * I. D. Perry, Los Angeles High School, Los Angeles, Cal. 1915.
- Prin. Lewis Perry, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. 1914.
- Prof. Walter Petersen, Bethany College, Lindsborg, Kan. 1913.
- Prin. Sir William Peterson, McGill University, Montreal, Can. 1910.
- * Dr. Torsten Petersson, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2520 Hillegass Ave.). 1905.
- Dr. Clyde Pharr, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, O. 1912.
- Dr. Aristides E. Phourides, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1915.
- Miss Elizabeth D. Pierce, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1916.
- * Prof. W. R. R. Pinger, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (1210 Shattuck Ave.). 1908.
- Prof. Perley Oakland Place, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1906.
- * Otto E. Plath, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass. (92 St. James Ave.). 1913.

† Died 2 December, 1916.

†† Fell in battle on the Somme, 1916.

- Prof. Samuel Ball Platner, Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. (1961 Ford Drive). 1885.
- George A. Plimpton, 61 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1916.
- * Prof. William Popper, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (6 The Alameda, Thousand Oaks). 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.
- Dr. Keith Preston, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 1914.
- * Prof. Clifton Price, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (23 Panoramic Way). 1899.
- * Dr. Lawrence M. Price, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2404 Cedar St.). 1915.
- 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, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. (33 W. 95th St.). 1912.
- * Dr. 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, Cal. (318 Lincoln Ave., Palo Alto). 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. (2415 College Ave.). 1895.
- Prof. Ernest H. Riedel, Tulane University of Louisiana, New Orleans, La. 1908.
- Dr. Ernst Riess, Boys' High School, Brooklyn, N. Y. (221 W. 113th St., New York). 1895.
- Joaquin Palomo Rinçon, Ava. Uruguay 45, Mexico, D. F., Mexico. 1912.
- Rev. P. H. Ristau, Lakefield, Minn. 1913.
- Prof. Edmund Y. Robbins, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1895.
- Dr. Frank Egleston Robbins, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1912.
- Prof. Archibald Thomas Robertson, Southern Bapt. Theol. Seminary, Louisville, Ky. 1909.
- Prof. John Cunningham Robertson, St. Stephen's College, Annandale, N. Y. 1909.
- Prof. David M. Robinson, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1905.

- Prof. Dwight Nelson Robinson, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, O. 1911.
Fletcher Nichols Robinson, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. 1909.
Dr. James J. Robinson, Hotchkiss School, Lakeville, Conn. 1902.
W. A. Robinson, Lawrenceville School, Lawrenceville, N. J. 1888.
Prof. Joseph C. Rockwell, Municipal University of Akron, 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. Clarence F. Ross, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa. 1902.
Martin L. Rouse, 25 Westdown Rd., Catford, London, S.E. 1908.
Prof. August Rupp, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. 1902.
Thomas De Coursey Ruth, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1914.
* Prof. 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. 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. (916 Monroe St.). 1899.
Prof. Myron R. Sanford, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt. 1894.
Winthrop Sargent, Jr., Box 224, Haverford, Pa. 1909.
Prof. Catharine Saunders, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1900.
Prin. Joseph H. Sawyer, Williston Seminary, Easthampton, Mass. 1897.
† * Dr. Attilio 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. Rudolph Schevill, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (1308 Tamalpais Rd.). 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. Nathaniel Schmidt, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1914.
Prof. D. T. Schoonover, Marietta College, Marietta, O. 1912.
* Prof. Roy Edwin Schulz, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Cal. 1915.
* Prof. H. L. Schwarz, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore. 1913.
Prof. Robert Maxwell Scoon, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 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. Helen M. Searles, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1893.
Lewis L. Sell, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. (240 W. 122d St.). 1916.
Prof. William Tunstall Semple, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O. 1910.

† Died.

- * Prof. J. Henry Senger, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (1321 Bay View Pl.). 1900.
- * Prof. S. S. Seward, Jr., Leland Stanford Jr. University, Cal. (262 Kingsley Ave., Palo Alto). 1902.
- Dr. T. Leslie Shear, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. (468 Riverside Drive). 1906.
- * Prof. Hubert Gibson Shearin, Occidental College, Los Angeles, Cal. 1915.
- * Prof. W. A. Shedd, Manzanita Hall, Palo Alto, Cal. 1911.
- Prof. Edward S. Sheldon, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (11 Francis Ave.). 1881.
- Dr. Emily L. Shields, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. (36 Bedford Ter.). 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.
- Prof. Charles F. Sitterly, Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J. 1902.
- Prof. Moses Stephen Slaughter, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1887.
- Prof. Charles N. Smiley, Grinnell College, Grinnell, Ia. 1907.
- Prof. Charles Forster Smith, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. (1715 Kendall Ave.). 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. Kendall Kerfoot Smith, Brown University, Providence, R. I. 1910.
- Prof. Kirby Flower Smith, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1897.
- * Prof. Stanley A. Smith, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1913.
- * Dr. George A. Smithson, 2319 College Ave., Berkeley, Cal. 1913.
- Prof. Herbert Weir Smyth, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (15 Elmwood Ave.). 1886.
- * Alfred Solomon, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2001 Allston Way). 1912.
- Prof. Edward H. Spieker, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. (915 Edmondson Ave.). 1884.
- Prof. Martin Sprengling, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1916.
- Dr. Sidney G. Stacey, Erasmus Hall High School, Brooklyn, N. Y. (177 Woodruff Ave.). 1901.
- * Prof. Jasper 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, Harvard School, Los Angeles, Cal. 1913.
- * Prof. Rufus T. Stephenson, De Pauw University, Greencastle, Ind. 1910.
- Prof. James Sterenberg, Knox College, Galesburg, Ill. 1910.

- Prof. Manson A. Stewart, Yankton College, Yankton, S. D. 1909.
- † * P. O. Stidston, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Cal. (Homer Ave., Palo Alto). 1913.
- Prof. Francis H. Stoddard, 22 West 68th St., New York, N. Y. 1890.
- Alvin H. M. Stonecipher, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 1914.
- Prof. S. E. Stout, University of Indiana, Bloomington, Ind. 1915.
- Prof. Robert Strickler, Davis-Elkins College, Elkins, W. Va. 1911.
- Prof. Donald Clive Stuart, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1916.
- Prof. Duane Reed Stuart, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1901.
- Prof. Edgar Howard Sturtevant, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1901.
- Dr. Mary Hamilton Swindler, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1912.
- Prof. Rollin Harvelle Tanner, Illinois College, Jacksonville, Ill. 1911.
- Miss Helen H. Tanzer, Hunter College, New York, N. Y. (Life member). 1910.
- Prof. Frank B. Tarbell, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. (5344 University Ave.). 1882.
- * Prof. John S. P. Tatlock, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1915.
- Prof. 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.
- Prof. Ida Carleton Thallon, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1915.
- Everett E. Thompson, American Book Co., New York, N. Y. 1914.
- * Prof. Reuben C. Thompson, University of Nevada, Reno, Nev. 1908.
- Prof. William E. Thompson, Hamline University, St. Paul, Minn. 1877.
- Prof. Wilmot 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, 15 Ashburton Pl., Boston, Mass. 1901.
- * Miss Anna M. Tietjen, High School of Commerce, San Francisco, Cal. (2510 Bush St.). 1917.
- Prof. Henry A. Todd, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1887.
- Prof. Herbert Cushing Tolman, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 1889.
- Prof. J. A. Tufts, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. 1898.
- * Prof. Leslie M. Turner, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2707 Virginia St.). 1914.
- Miss Elizabeth McJimsey Tyng, 430 W. 119th St., New York, N. Y. 1916.
- Prof. B. L. Ullman, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1910.
- Dr. Harry Brown Van Deventer, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1907.
- Dr. Henry Bartlett Van Hoesen, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 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.
- Felicu Vexler, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1916.

† Died.

- Prof. N. P. Vlachos, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.
 Prof. Frank Vogel, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass. 1904.
 Dr. Anthony Pelzer Wagener, Roanoke College, Salem, Va. 1911.
 Prof. W. H. Wait, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1893.
 Miss Mary V. Waite, Baldwin School, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1908.
 Dr. Margaret C. Waites, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1910.
 Dr. John W. H. Walden, 7 Irving Terrace, Cambridge, Mass. 1889.
 Prof. Arthur Tappan 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 Pl.). 1897.
 Andrew McCorrie Warren, care of Brown, Shipley & Co., 123 Pall Mall, London. 1892.
 * Prof. Oliver M. Washburn, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (30 Arden Rd.). 1908.
 Prof. William E. Waters, New York University, University Heights, N. Y. 1885.
 Prof. John C. Watson, Rantoul, Ill. 1902.
 Prof. Robert Henning Webb, University of Virginia, University, Va. 1909.
 * Prof. Herman J. Weber, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (1811 La Loma Ave.). 1913.
 Shirley H. Weber, Graduate College, Princeton, N. J. 1914.
 Dr. Helen L. Webster, National Cathedral School, Washington, D. C. 1890.
 Prof. Raymond Weeks, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1902.
 Prof. Charles Heald Weller, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. 1903.
 Prof. J. H. Westcott, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1891.
 Arthur Harold Weston, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1915.
 Prof. Monroe Nichols Wetmore, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1906.
 Prof. Arthur Leslie Wheeler, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. (221 Roberts Rd.). 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 Rd.). 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. Henry D. Wild, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1898.
 * Prof. Eliza G. Wilkins, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Cal. 1917.
 Arthur Williams, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. (16 Park Pl.). 1915.
 Charles Richards Williams, Benedict House, Princeton, N. J. 1887.

† Died May, 1917.

- 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, Bryn Mawr School, Baltimore, Md. 1906.
Harold R. Willoughby, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. 1915.
Dr. Thomas J. Wilson, Jr., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. 1914.
Prof. Herbert Wing, Jr., Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa. 1915.
Prof. John Garrett Winter, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1906.
Prof. Boyd Ashby Wise, Stephens City, Va. 1909.
Prof. Francis Asbury Wood, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1913.
* Prof. Paul S. Wood, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Cal. 1914.
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.
W. F. Wyatt, Tufts College, Mass. 1915.
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.

[Number of Members, 706]

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 New York, N. Y.: Library of Columbia University.
 New York, N. Y.: Library of the College of the City of New York.
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 Philadelphia, Pa.: University of Pennsylvania Library.
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 Providence, R. I.: Brown University Library.
 Rochester, N. Y.: Rochester University Library.
 Springfield, Mass.: City Library Association.
 Stanford University, Cal.: Leland Stanford Jr. University Library.
 St. Louis, Mo.: Library of Washington University.
 Toronto, Can.: University of Toronto Library.
 University of Virginia, Va.: University Library.
 Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Library.
 Washington, D. C.: Library of the Catholic University of America.
 Washington, D. C.: United States Bureau of Education.
 Worcester, Mass.: Free Public Library.

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 American School of Classical Studies, Athens.
 American Academy in Rome, Porta San Pancrazio.
 British Museum, London.
 Royal Asiatic Society, London.
 Philological Society, London.
 Society of Biblical Archæology, London.

Indian Office Library, London.
Bodleian Library, Oxford.
University Library, Cambridge, England.
Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, Scotland.
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North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Shanghai.
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University of Lund, Sweden.
University of Upsala, Sweden.
Stadsbiblioteket, Göteborg, Sweden.
Russian Imperial Academy, Petrograd.
Austrian Imperial Academy, Vienna.
Anthropologische Gesellschaft, Vienna.
Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence.
Reale Accademia delle Scienze, Turin.
Société Asiatique, Paris.
Athénée Oriental, Louvain, Belgium.
Curatorium of the University, Leyden, Holland.
Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia, Java.
Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences, Berlin.
Royal Saxon Academy of Sciences, Leipzig.
Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences, Munich.
Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Halle.
Library of the University of Bonn.
Library of the University of Freiburg im Breisgau.
Library of the University of Giessen.
Library of the University of Jena.
Library of the University of Königsberg.
Library of the University of Leipzig.
Library of the University of Toulouse.
Library of the University of Tübingen.
Imperial Ottoman Museum, Constantinople.

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TO THE FOLLOWING JOURNALS THE TRANSACTIONS ARE ANNUALLY SENT, GRATIS
OR BY EXCHANGE

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 Literaturzeitung, Berlin.

Literarisches Zentralblatt, Leipzig.

Indogermanische Forschungen, Strassburg (K. J. Trübner).

Musée Belge, Liège, Belgium (Prof. J.-P. Waltzing, 9 Rue du Parc).

Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien, Vienna (Prof. E. Hauler, Währinger Gürtel 88).

Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica, Turin (Ermanno Loescher).

Bollettino di Filologia Classica, Turin (Ermanno Loescher).

La Cultura, Rome, Via dei Sediari 16A.

Biblioteca delle Scuole Italiane, Palermo (Dr. A. G. Amatucci, Via Goethe, 40).

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[Total (706 + 53 + 46 + 21) = 826]

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION¹

ARTICLE I. — NAME AND OBJECT

1. This Society shall be known as "The American Philological Association."
2. Its object shall be the advancement and diffusion of philological knowledge.

ARTICLE II. — OFFICERS

1. The officers shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and Curator, and a Treasurer.
2. There shall be an Executive Committee of ten, composed of the above officers and five other members of the Association.
3. All the above officers shall be elected at the last session of each annual meeting.
4. An Assistant Secretary, and an Assistant Treasurer, may be elected at the first session of each annual meeting, on the nomination of the Secretary and the Treasurer respectively.

ARTICLE III. — MEETINGS

1. There shall be an annual meeting of the Association in the city of New York, or at such other place as at a preceding annual meeting shall be determined upon.
2. At the annual meeting, the Executive Committee shall present an annual report of the progress of the Association.
3. The general arrangements of the proceedings of the annual meeting shall be directed by the Executive Committee.
4. Special meetings may be held at the call of the Executive Committee, when and where they may decide.

ARTICLE IV. — MEMBERS

1. Any lover of philological studies may become a member of the Association by a vote of the Executive Committee and the payment of five dollars as initiation fee, which initiation fee shall be considered the first regular annual fee.

¹ As amended December 28, 1907.

2. There shall be an annual fee of three dollars from each member, failure in payment of which for two years shall *ipso facto* cause the membership to cease.

3. Any person may become a life member of the Association by the payment of fifty dollars to its treasury, and by vote of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE V. — SUNDRIES

1. All papers intended to be read before the Association must be submitted to the Executive Committee before reading, and their decision regarding such papers shall be final.

2. Publications of the Association, of whatever kind, shall be made only under the authorization of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VI. — AMENDMENTS

Amendments to this Constitution may be made by a vote of two-thirds of those present at any regular meeting subsequent to that in which they have been proposed.

COMMITTEES AND BUSINESS MATTERS

1. NOMINATING COMMITTEE, established July 8, 1903 (xxxiv, xix, xlvi). One member retires each year after five years of service, and is replaced by a successor named by the President of the Association. The present membership of the Committee is as follows:—

Professor Edward D. Perry.
Professor John Carew Rolfe.
Professor Harold North Fowler.
Professor Edward Capps.
Professor Edward P. Morris.

2. COMMITTEE ON GRAMMATICAL NOMENCLATURE (Philological Section of the Joint Committee), appointed in 1911 (xlii, xii), and continued at the subsequent meetings:—

Professor John C. Kirtland.
Professor Benjamin L. Bowen.
Professor Hermann Collitz.
Professor Walter Miller.
Dr. Sidney G. Stacey.

3. COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS, appointed December, 1909 (xl, xiv), and continued since:—

Professor Elmer Truesdell Merrill.
Professor Edward P. Morris.
Professor Edward Kennard Rand.

4. 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).

5. SALARY OF THE SECRETARY AND TREASURER. In December, 1916, the Association fixed the salary of the Secretary and Treasurer at \$350, to include any outlay for clerical assistance (xlvii, xi).

6. PUBLISHING CONTRACT. A new contract was made by the Executive Committee with Messrs. Ginn & Co., as of July 1, 1916, under authority of the Association (xlvii, xi).

7. 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.

8. LIFE MEMBERSHIPS. On December 31, 1914, it was voted by the Association that the Treasurer be instructed to fund all sums received for life memberships.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE ASSOCIATION

THE annually published PROCEEDINGS of the American Philological Association contain, in their present form, the programme and minutes of the annual meeting, brief abstracts of papers read, reports upon the progress of the Association, and lists of its officers and members.

The annually published TRANSACTIONS give the full text of such articles as the Executive Committee decides to publish. The PROCEEDINGS are bound with them.

For the contents of Volumes I—XXXIV inclusive, see Volume XXXIV, pp. cxliii ff.

The contents of the last thirteen 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, Mo., 1904.
Proceedings of the fifth and sixth annual meetings of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, San Francisco, 1903, 1904.

1905. — Volume XXXVI

- Sanders, H. A. : The Oxyrhynchus epitome of Livy and Reinhold's lost chronicon.
Meader, C. L. : Types of sentence structure in Latin prose writers.
Stuart, D. R. : The reputed influence of the *dies natalis* in determining the inscription of restored temples.
Bennett, C. E. : The ablative of association.
Harkness, A. G. : The relation of accent to elision in Latin verse.
Bassett, S. E. : Notes on the bucolic diaeresis.
Watson, J. C. : Donatus's version of the Terence *didascaliae*.

Radford, R. S. : Plautine 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., 1906.

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. : *Ruscina*.

Van Hook, L. R. : Criticism of Photius on the Attic orators.

Abbott, F. F. : The theatre as a factor in Roman politics.

Shorey, P. : Choriambic dimeter.

Manly, J. M. : A knight ther was.

Moore, C. H. : Oriental cults in Gaul.

Proceedings of the thirty-ninth annual meeting, Chicago, Ill., 1907.

Proceedings of the ninth annual meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, Stanford University, 1907.

1908. — Volume XXXIX

Spieker, E. H. : Dactyl after initial trochee in Greek lyric verse.

Laing, G. J. : Roman milestones and the *capita viarum*.

Bonner, C. : Notes on a certain use of the reed.

Oldfather, W. A. : Livy i, 26 and the *supplicium de more maiorum*.

Hadzsits, G. D. : Worship and prayer among the Epicureans.

Anderson, W. B. : Contributions to the study of the ninth book of Livy.

Hempl, G. : Linguistic and ethnographic status of the Burgundians.

Miller, C. W. E. : On τὸ δέ = whereas.

Proceedings of the fortieth annual meeting, Toronto, Can., 1908.

Proceedings of the tenth annual meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, San Francisco, 1908.

1909. — Volume XL

- Heidel, W. A.: The *ἀναρμοὶ ὄγκοι* of Heraclides and Asclepiades.
 Michelson, T.: The etymology of Sanskrit *punya*-.
 Foster, B. O.: Euphonic embellishments in the verse of Propertius.
 Husband, R. W.: Race mixture in early Rome.
 Hewitt, J. W.: The major restrictions on access to Greek temples.
 Oliphant, S. G.: An interpretation of *Ranae*, 788-790.
 Anderson, A. R.: Some questions of Plautine pronunciation.
 Flickinger, R. C.: *Scaenica*.
 Fiske, G. C.: Lucilius and Persius.
 Mustard, W. P.: On the *Eclogues* of Baptista Mantuanus.
 Shorey, P.: *Φύσις, μελέτη, ἐπιστήμη*.
 Proceedings of the forty-first annual meeting, Baltimore, Md., 1909.
 Proceedings of the eleventh annual meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, San Francisco, 1909.
 Appendix — Index to volumes XXXI-XL.

1910. — Volume XLI

- Kent, R. G.: The etymology of Latin *miles*.
 Hutton, M.: Notes on Herodotus and Thucydides.
 Husband, R. W.: The diphthong *-ui* in Latin.
 Fay, E. W.: A word miscellany.
 Adams, C. D.: Notes on the peace of Philocrates.
 Macurdy, G. H.: Influence of Plato's eschatological myths in Revelation and Enoch.
 Goodell, T. D.: Structural variety in Attic tragedy.
 Hewitt, J. W.: The necessity of ritual purification after justifiable homicide.
 Knapp, C.: Notes on *etiam* in Plautus.
 Shipley, F. W.: Dactylic words in the rhythmic prose of Cicero.
 McWhorter, A. W.: The so-called deliberative type of question (*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.
 Hutton, M.: The mind of Herodotus.
 Sturtevant, E. H.: Notes on the character of Greek and Latin accent.
 Hyde, W. W.: Greek literary notices of Olympic victor monuments outside Olympia.
 Kent, R. G.: Latin *mille* and certain other numerals.
 Saunders, C.: Altars on the Roman comic stage.

- Oldfather, W. A. : New manuscript material for the study of Avianus.
 Dickerman, S. O. : Some stock illustrations of animal intelligence in Greek psychology.
 Miller, C. W. E. : τὸ δέ in Lucian.
 Pease, A. S. : Fragments of a Latin manuscript in the library of the University of Illinois.
 Scott, C. P. G. : *Bogus* and his crew.
 Proceedings of the forty-third annual meeting, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1911.
 Proceedings of the thirteenth annual meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, San Francisco, 1911.

1912. — Volume XLIII

- Adams, C. D. : Are the political "speeches" of Demosthenes to be regarded as political pamphlets ?
 Bradley, C. B. : The proximate source of the Siamese alphabet.
 Kent, R. G. : Dissimilative writings for *ii* and *iii* in Latin.
 Sturtevant, E. H. : The pronunciation of *cui* and *huic*.
 McDaniel, W. B. : The Ferentinum of Horace.
 Macurdy, G. H. : The origin of a Herodotean tale.
 English, R. B. : Parmenides' indebtedness to the Pythagoreans.
 Hewitt, J. W. : On the development of the thank-offering among the Greeks.
 Prentice, W. K. : Officials charged with the conduct of public works in Roman and Byzantine Syria.
 Knapp, C. : Horace, *Epistles*, II, 1, 139 ff. and Livy, VII, 2.
 Baker, W. W. : Some of the less known Mss. of Xenophon's *Memorabilia*.
 Meader, C. L. : The development of 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.
 Anderson, A. R. : Repudiative questions in Greek drama, and in Plautus and Terence.
 Allinson, F. G. : Some passages in Menander.
 Fahnestock, E., and Peaks, M. B. : A vulgar Latin origin for Spanish *padres* meaning 'father and mother.'
 Saunders, C. : The site of dramatic performances at Rome in the times of Plautus and Terence.
 Sturtevant, E. H. : The genitive and dative singular of the Latin pronominal declension.

- Fay, E. W.: Pada endings and pada suffixes.
 Elmore, J.: The Greek *cautio* in Cicero, *Fam.* VII, 18, 1.
 Oliphant, S. G.: The story of the strix: ancient.
 Robinson, D. N.: A study of the social position of the devotees of the oriental cults in the western world.
 English, R. B.: Heraclitus and the soul.
 Hempl, G.: The Old Doric of the Tell el Amarna texts.
 Lockwood, D. P.: The plot of the *Querolus* and the folk-tales of disguised treasure.
 Bonner, C.: The sacred bond.
 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 its fifteenth annual meeting, San Francisco, 1913.

1914. — Volume XLV

- Linforth, I. M.: Hippolytus and humanism.
 Deutsch, M. E.: The year of Caesar's birth.
 McDaniel, W. B.: Apragopolis.
 Rolfe, J. C.: Notes on Suetonius.
 Oliphant, S. G.: The story of the strix: Isidorus and the glossographers.
 Bloomfield, L.: Sentence and word.
 Hewitt, J. W.: The thank-offering and Greek religious thought.
 Knapp, C.: Horace, *Sermones*, 1, 1.
 Van Hook, L. R.: Greek rhetorical terminology in Puttenham's *The arte of English poesie*.
 Anderson, A. R.: -EIS in the accusative plural of the Latin third declension.
 Cohoon, J. W.: Rhetorical studies in the arbitration scene of Menander's *Epitrepontes*.
 Taylor, L. R.: *Augustales, seviri Augustales, and seviri*.
 Proceedings of the forty-sixth annual meeting, Haverford, Pa., 1914.
 Proceedings of the May meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, Seattle, Wash., and of its sixteenth annual meeting, San Francisco, 1914.

1915. — Volume XLVI

- Husband, R. W.: The year of the crucifixion.
 Humphreys, M. W.: Hephaestion and irrationality.
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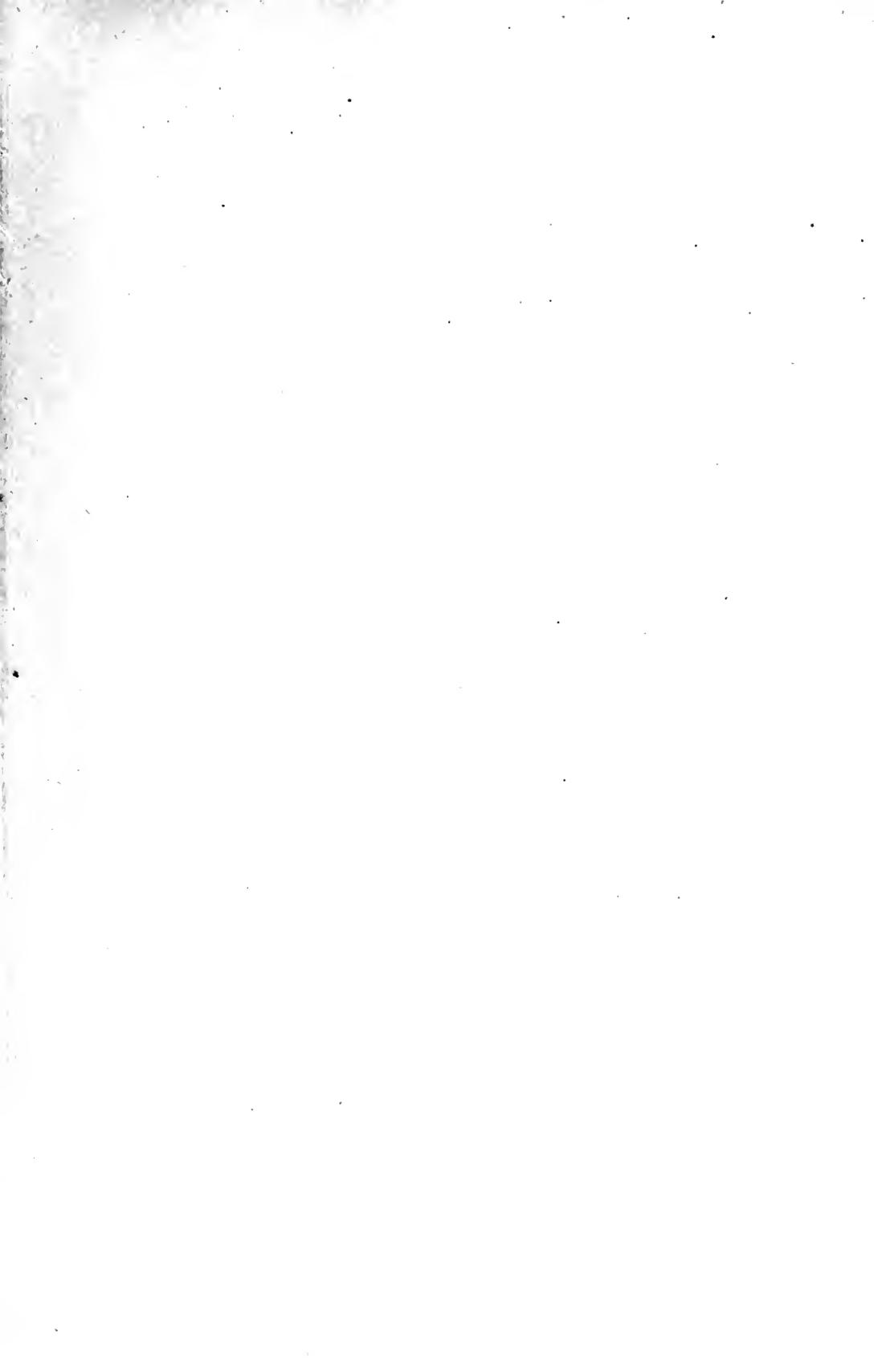
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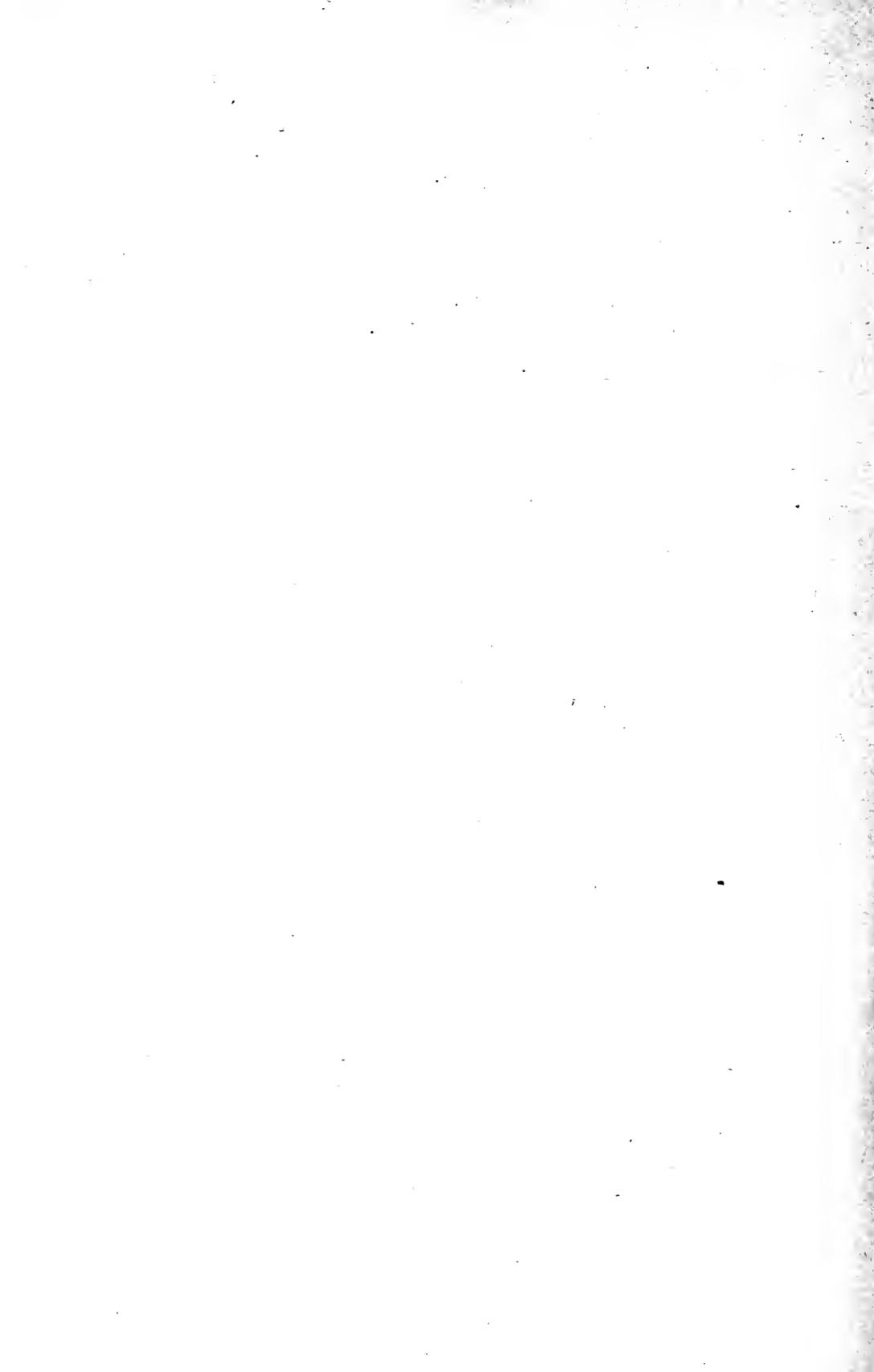
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